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Contents

Preface	
Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen	3
Prehistoric shoes	4
Ulla Mannering	
Shoes under the surface – a work process	
Footwear from recent years' archaeological excavations in Copenhagen	9
Experience Lena Andersen	
Komulesko	
With one foot in the Middle Ages and the other in the Renaissance	19
Michael Bækskov Thomasen	
SHOES – the footwear says it all	28
Margaret Petersen	

Minor Notices:

Talons rouges - the red heels of absolutism	41
Sidsel Frisch	
Vær'SKO - a	
collection of decorated and manipulated high-heeled shoes	45
Rick Ruff	

Suit Journal's Favorite 9

A pair of high-heeled, red slippers in the Old City	48
Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen	

Varies

Shoes in change approx. 1550-1700	53
Camilla Luise Dahl	
Reviews.....	57
Contributors to this issue.....	64

Preface

By Kirsten Rykind-Eriksen

Theme song about shoes

At the Dragtpuljen's late summer meeting 2013, a review of Viborg Stiftmuseum's special exhibition on shoes was included: "Shoes - the footwear tells everything". We were so taken by the topic and the exciting exhibition that we decided that the upcoming issue of Dragtjournalen should be about shoes. Shoes are as interesting markers of the wearer's self-perception, status and, in many cases, the urge to stage, as suits and clothes are.

It has now been possible to collect shoe articles that have a large time spread. The subjects range from the Bronze Age to shoes, which form the basis of art.

Ulla Mannering introduces us to the uni design of the oldest shoes, which lasted for over 1000 years.

Leather flaps that were shaped around the foot and held in place with straps.

Vivi Lena Andersen's article on Shoes under the surface also originates from excavations, where these are due to the upcoming MetroCityring in Copenhagen.

Vivi Lena writes about the work process of getting the shoe parts up and out of the ground, and getting them treated so that they can fit into a museum. (She has written about the shoes themselves from the excavation at the Esplanade in Dragtjournal 5). The shoes were found under the current town hall site in waste fill, which was primarily thrown out in the 16-1700s.

Michael Bækskov Thomassen has written a thesis on komuleshoes and their manufacture. At the pool meeting in Viborg, he told about these. They had a short life in the 16th century, and for us today it is almost incomprehensible that they, with their narrow edges, could be held firmly on the foot. But it has a technical explanation, which Michael demonstrates.

Margit Petersen shows us the shoe exhibition in Viborg, which was divided into themes: Shoes as a symbol, shoes for everything, healthy feet and feet with special needs, development of fashion phenomena and about shoe craftsmanship. Within each theme, there were many types of shoes and boots with explanations about their background, development and idioms. For illustrations, a selection of the types is shown. The reader must imagine the others, as we know many of the shoes and boots from our everyday lives.

Sidsel Frisch deals with the red soles and heels that were part of Louis XIV's, the court's and other noblemen's staging of their own status.

Rikke Ruff uses shoes for everything but walking. She sees shoes as a basis for building imaginative sculptures that contain some kind of symbolism.

Favorite 9 is a pair of red 18th century velor slippers in Den Gamle By in Aarhus. Tove E. Mathiassen describes them as if they were mentioned in an 18th-century fashion journal, but with today's language.

Camilla Luise Dahl writes about shoes in 1550-1700 and what they can tell us. She supplements with some cobbler shifts.

Dragtjournal 9 ends with five reviews, where it is characteristic of the book reviews that they all have to do with the concept of fashion in one way or another. The reviews give insight into the fact that fashion is not just an aesthetic phenomenon, but is also a concept that defines today's society, a way of socially organizing the world. Fashion can also become a political tool and part of national economic interests, as Marie Riegel's Melchior discusses in her PhD thesis. Fashion has many facets. The Swedish book Markeringar og maskeringar deals with how fashion is a mediator for both clothes and postures.

Have fun reading!

Prehistoric shoes

By senior researcher Ulla Mannering

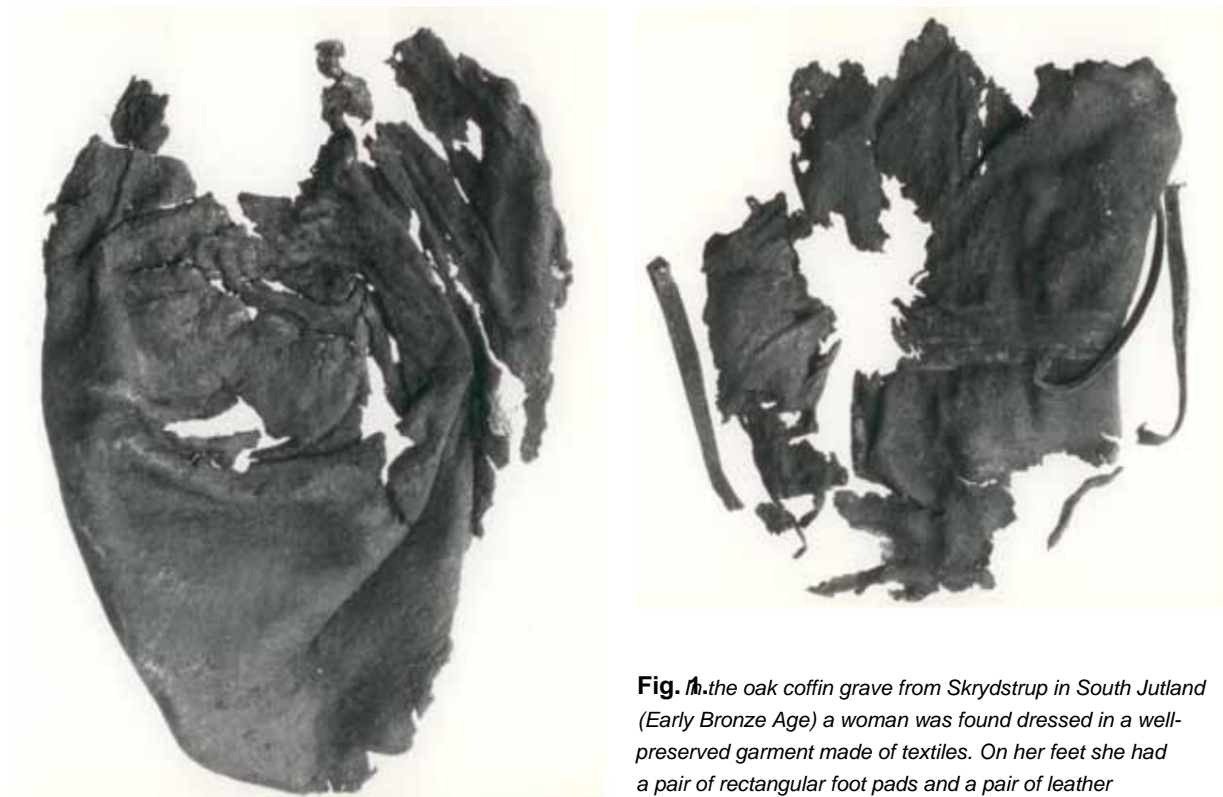


Fig. 1. *From the oak coffin grave from Skrydstrup in South Jutland (Early Bronze Age) a woman was found dressed in a well-preserved garment made of textiles. On her feet she had a pair of rectangular foot pads and a pair of leather shoes.*

The shoes are not fully preserved. The find belongs to the National Museum (© National Museum).

Several leather shoes are found in the collections of several Danish museums, which have been shown to be more than 3000 years old. They are an important testimony to our ancestors' adaptation to and solutions to the then climatic and cultural conditions.

Dress and shoes in the Early Bronze Age

We know, based on the many well-preserved grave finds from the Early Bronze Age (1800-1100 BC), that men's and women's clothing in this period were primarily made of textiles, and that there was a difference in the shape of the clothing parts that men and women joined. At the same time, the clothing finds from the oak coffin graves show that the Bronze Age people in Scandinavia were skilled with needle and thread, and that they were used to cutting and adapting clothing to the body. It is particularly striking that many forms of clothing point back to a clothing tradition where the raw material was animal skin. The fact that the clothes were now made of textile did not immediately lead to a significant change in the cut of the suit¹.

A common feature of many of the oak coffin graves from the Early Bronze Age are the textile pieces that are often found at the feet of the dead - also called foot pads. The foot patches, which have been interpreted as a form of foot covering, consist of smaller, irregular pieces of textile which were folded together or placed on top of the feet. They are not processed in any way and seem to have had a more symbolic than practical function.

¹ Broholm & Hald 1935; Frei et al. in print.



Fig. 2. A well-preserved pair of shoes found in 1942 in Søgårds Mose in Central Jutland together with the body of a man. The shoes are made of cowhide with the hair side facing inwards. Each shoe consists of an approximately 3 mm thick piece of leather, which has been folded around the foot and held together with a leather cord. The shoes are C14 dated to 352-51 BC, that is pre-Roman Iron Age. The find belongs to Museum Salling, Skive Museum (© Roberto Fortuna, National Museum).

In the oak chest graves from Skrydstrup and Jels in South Jutland and Borum Eshøj B in East Jutland, actual skin foot clothing has also been found, and in these cases only the foot pads have been used as shoe linings. The mentioned shoes are unfortunately so fragmented that it is difficult to describe their shape precisely, but they probably resemble the shoes that we know from the slightly younger bog finds.

Since shoes and foot patches have been found in both men's and women's graves, it is not possible to see any gender differences in the use or design of this type of clothing, which stands in contrast to the otherwise gendered clothing tradition of the Bronze Ages.



Fig. 3. A well-preserved pair of shoes found in a bog at Ørbækgård on Djursland in East Jutland. The shoes are made from a 3 mm thick cowhide with the meat side facing outwards. Each shoe is fitted with a gusset, which provides a good fit. The shoes are C14 dated to 920-807 BC, i.e. Late Bronze Age. The find belongs to the National Museum (© Roberto Fortuna, National Museum).

Clothing and shoes in the Younger Bronze Age and Early Iron Age

A large number of shoes have been found in the Danish peat bogs, which are dated to the younger Bronze Age (1100-500 BC) and the older Iron Age (500 BC-400 AD). These findings provide a detailed insight into prehistoric shoe construction and shoe production². The shoes consist mainly of a single piece of hide or skin without a separate sole, which was folded around the foot, but most often they have a heel seam. The shoes were held in place around the foot by leather laces, and from time to time minor additions to the overall design such as incisions, a tongue or inserted wedges are seen. In addition, it was common to improve the fit with cut holes and tongues, or stitching. This flexible construction involved no special cutting or processing for right and left shoes, but wear marks show that the shoes were subsequently worn as left and right shoes. There also does not seem to be a difference between men's and women's footwear in this period, and children's footwear is of the same type, just smaller. There are more than 20 shoes from the Danish bogs, eight of which make up par³.

In general, in the early part of the Iron Age, there is a marked change in the appearance of the suit and the textiles that are used compared to earlier times. A common feature of suits made from textiles in the pre-Roman Iron Age (500-1 BC) is that they were largely finished on the loom, and then draped around the body. The textiles produced in this period, unlike those we know from the older Bronze Age, are not suitable for cutting and sewing. The rectangular-shaped so-called wrap-around garments were worn by both men and women, and we find this unisex concept both in the shoe design and among many other suit parts which are made of leather.

Especially from the pre-Roman Iron Age, quite a large number of skin suits such as capes, kilts, tunics, hats, belts and bags have been preserved, which shows that skin was an important resource in the suit. In general, however, leather garments are produced in a completely different production tradition than textiles. Sewing and complicated pattern construction were well known to these craftsmen⁴.

While textile and leather production thus developed differently during the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age, it seems that shoe design in particular remained largely unchanged well into the Iron Age. Furthermore, a slightly more open type of shoe appears, which, however, is constructed in exactly the same way as the more closed shoes. This shoe type has been found in Havndal Mose near Viborg in Central Jutland and in Store Borremose in North Jutland. Although this more sandal-like construction may have been inspired by contemporary Roman footwear, the method of processing reveals that they were locally made. That this is a particularly tenacious design tradition is shown by the well-



Fig. 4. A well-preserved right shoe from Borremose in North Jutland. The shoe is one of the few that is sewn together from several parts. It is made from an approximately 3 mm thick piece of cowhide, which has had the hairs removed. The flesh side of the skin is turned inwards. The shoe is C14 dated to 46 BC-115 AD, i.e. the transition between the pre-Roman and older Roman Iron Age. The find belongs to Vesthimmerlands Museum (© Roberto Fortuna, Nationalmuseet).

² Hold 1972; Andersen et al. 2011; Mannering & Lynnerup in print.

³ Mannering et al. 2009.

⁴ Mannering 2011.



Fig. 5 A well-preserved right shoe with carved pattern from Arnitlund Mose near Haderslev in South Jutland. The is made in one piece from an approximately 3 mm thick piece of cowhide. The hair side of the skin faces inwards. The shoe is C14 dated to AD 600-775, i.e. Late Germanic Iron Age. The find belongs to Museum Sønderjylland, Archeology Haderslev (© Roberto Fortuna, National Museum).

preserved shoes with a carved pattern, which were found in Arnitlund Mose near Haderslev in Sydjylland. The shoe is C14 dated to the 6th century AD, but resembles many of the shoes from the early part of the Iron Age, which are thus many centuries older⁵.

Shoes, shoes and shoes

It is well known today that women love shoes and like to spend a lot of money on these lovely creations. There is much evidence that shoes were also valued objects in prehistoric societies. The study of the prehistoric shoes has shown that they follow a different design line than other clothing items in the same material and textiles. Presumably, this is a more individual and less specialized production. This is not to say that they are an expression of an indifferent throw-away culture, because the shoes we are lucky enough to have preserved are often quite worn or repaired several times, and thus also give the impression of having been used for the last.

Furthermore, it seems that shoes, despite having lost their mate or being totally worn out, could serve completely different and less practical purposes. Several of the Danish shoes from the early part of the Iron Age have thus been found in earthen vessels submerged in bogs. In these cases, they must be symbolic gifts, just as it applies to other objects found in the bogs. In other cases, we are so

Fig. 6 Left foot preserved in a leather shoe, which was found in 1842 during peat digging in Fræer Mose in North Jutland. Originally, a fully preserved bog was found, but only the foot in the shoe was brought to the then Old Norse Museum. The shoe is made of goatskin, which has the hair side facing outwards. The shoe is C14 dated to 110 BC-60 AD, i.e. the transition between pre-Roman and early Roman Iron Age. The find belongs to the National Museum (© Roberto Fortuna, National Museum).



⁵ Mannering et al. 2011.

lucky that the shoes are found with the owner or wearer of the shoes. Four of the approximately 30 bogies, which were found together with various textile and leather clothing parts, wore shoes or were laid in the bog together with the shoes. It concerns three men and a find whose gender cannot be determined further. In the latter case, the only thing preserved of the bog corpse is the foot inside the left shoe.

The description of the find from 1842 states that it is a woman, while the new anthropological studies of the foot show that it could also be a man⁶. Here we probably don't get much closer to a definite gender determination, but it is striking that in this context it is mainly men who have been found together with shoes. None of the well-preserved and otherwise well-dressed bog women, such as the Huldremosek woman, the Borremosek woman or the Auning woman, were wearing shoes when they were laid to rest in the bog. Was it because they did not own shoes, did not need shoes on their feet to be dressed for burial in the bog, or because at the time of year they died they did not wear shoes? We can only speculate about this, but are unlikely to get any more concrete answers.

Shoes are thus not just a practical item that protects the feet from dirt and cold. It is possible to derive a lot of different information about the production of clothing in the prehistoric societies and the prehistoric people's view of the clothing based on their shoes. It doesn't matter whether you are a man or a woman, you have to marvel at human ingenuity and the craftsmanship of earlier times.

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⁶ Mannering & Lynnerup in print.

Shoes under the surface - a work process

Footwear from recent years' archaeological excavations in Copenhagen

By museum inspector and Ph.D. scholar Vivi Lena Andersen

Background

Footwear is a type of find which, unfortunately, often receives a stepmotherly treatment when they are found during archaeological excavations. Not because they are uninteresting, or the archaeologists in question find them unimportant, but rather because they are a great challenge to take care of. The footwear of the past consisted primarily of leather, wood and/or textile, and thus belongs in the category of organic finds. These "living" materials require special needs within facilities, equipment and climate control as well as very careful handling, both in the excavation phase and in post-processing. It results in a more time-consuming and costly process than when we e.g. find flint or ceramic material. When all the practicalities are in place, the statement value of the footwear must be examined, so that we can argue why exactly the found footwear must be registered and preserved for posterity.

Some museums have neither the right facilities nor the right expertise in-house to take care of the found footwear, but fortunately I am regularly contacted by museums and conservation centers who seek help, advice, guidance and/or outsourcing of the task, it is best to excavate, store, record and analyze the footwear.

As I have previously described here in *Dragtjournalen* in an article about approx. 1,600 of the shoes and shoe parts found during the excavation at Esplanaden 50 in 2003/04, then these discarded shoes provide some insights that move us several steps closer to the past person and the society in which the person lived.¹ Happily, recent years have large, archaeological excavations, in connection with the construction of the MetroCityringen in Copenhagen, contributed a considerable amount of organic finds, including footwear.² The Copenhagen Museum's collection of archaeologically found shoes is now estimated to consist of around 6,500 shoes and shoe parts. Work with this type of find is currently in full swing, and in the following, an insight is given into some of the conditions, challenges and opportunities involved. The article is divided into the five supporting pillars of the museum act: Collection (here excavation), registration, preservation, research and dissemination, which together form the framework for the work process with the found footwear.

Excavation

Archaeological responsibility in the Copenhagen and Frederiksberg municipalities rests with the Copenhagen Museum, and in recent years the museum's archaeologists have been busy in connection with the excavation work ahead of the construction of another section of the Copenhagen metro, Cityringen. The usual archaeological work in the capital can be handled by 5-10 men, but with the subway excavations the museum had to call for a staff of approx. 60 archaeologists when the excavation work was at its peak. At the time of writing, the large excavations at Assistens Kirkegård, Kongens Nytorv and Rådhuspladsen have been completed, and the indoor work with the reports and the many finds is underway. We still have the large excavation at Gammel Strand to our credit, but preliminary investigations on the site have already yielded good results. Although this significant excavation is still pending, the museum's expectations for how many objects/finds would be made during these many excavations have already been met - and exceeded.

¹ Andersen: 2009. The article is written on the basis of my master's conference thesis, Andersen: 2007.

² Other types of leather objects found include: gloves, hats, purses, belts, knife sheaths and book bindings.

New found intake, workshops and workplaces were built and furnished with the essentials equipment prior to the excavations, so that the incoming finds could be handled satisfactorily, but the quantity, especially of the organic finds, has nevertheless surprised. This is partly because the preservation conditions for the organic material were better than expected. And partly, the excavated areas on Rådhuspladsen turned out to be nowhere near as disturbed as feared, despite "modern" excavations of underground toilets and bunkers from the Second World War. The good conservation conditions are due in particular to the locations themselves in relation to the city's history and topographical development. The excavations at both Rådhuspladsen and Kongens Nytorv have been carried out in areas that uncover parts of the fortifications that encircled inner Copenhagen in the Middle Ages, and in the case of Rådhuspladsen also the Renaissance and the monarchy. There were, among other things, found parts of the eastern and western gates into the city, the city wall, rampart and moat. The moat in particular, which was full of water, has an environment that has been kind to the organic. But the bottom conditions on Gammel Strand are also favorable, since the area, as the name indicates, was formerly a wetland. The former coastline was further inside the city than now, as centuries of infilling with the city's waste along the coast and harbor have caused the city to grow out into the water. When we dig in these areas today, we find the well-preserved waste, the remnants of everyday life from the city's Copenhageners.

The moat around inner Copenhagen can no longer be seen with the naked eye in the street car lane, but it exists in a certain sense under the surface of modern asphalt, gravel and a supply network of pipes and wires. From the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 17th century, part of the moat was located where Kongens Nytorv is located today. Under today's Town Hall Square, part of the moat lay until the end of the 1660s, when the fortifications were modernized and expanded, the old moat looped and filled up with waste from the city. The moat was in all its func-

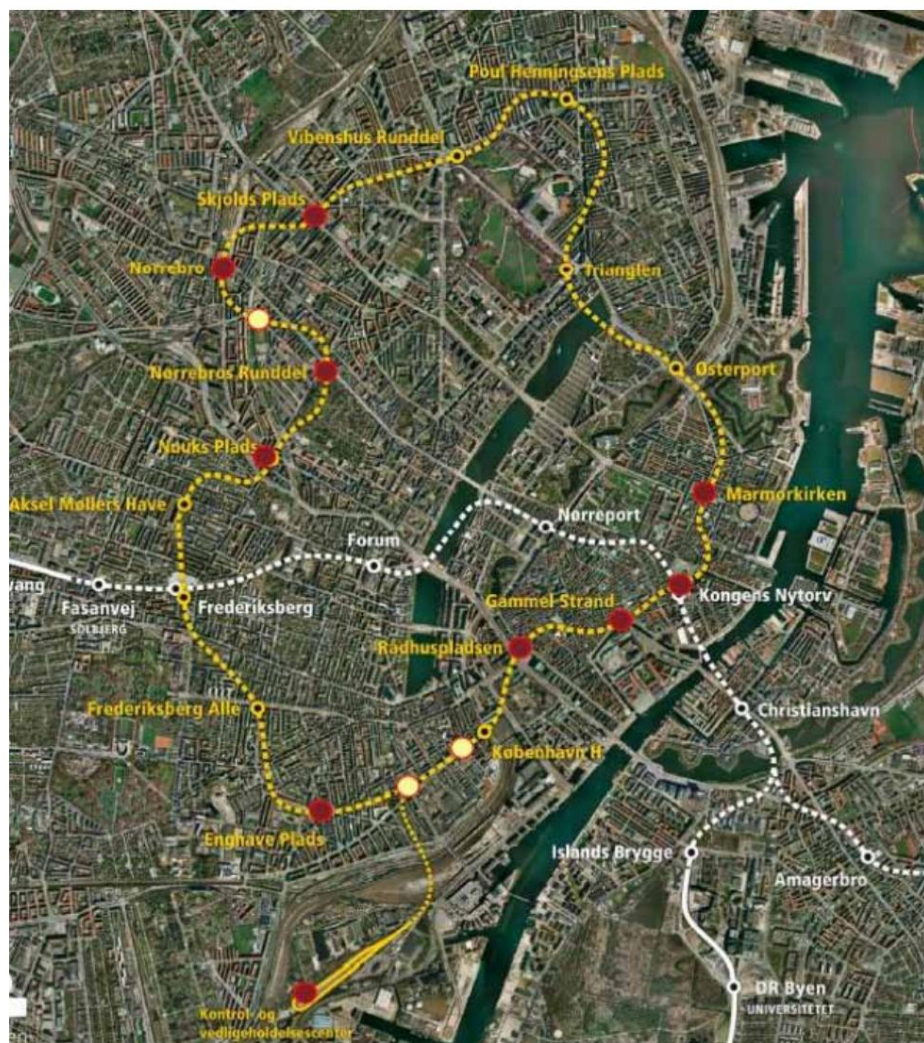


Fig. 1 Run over Copenhagen Metro. White line marks the existing subway lines and yellow line the projected Cityring. Parts of the Cityringen were built under the oldest Copenhagen. The metro stations at Rådhuspladsen, Gammel Strand and Kongens Nytorv have resulted in three of the largest archaeological excavations in Copenhagen, and involve, among other things, Copenhagen's old fortifications and former coastline. All locations which have favorable conditions for the preservation of organic material. Photo: Metro



Fig-2 Town Hall Square below archaeological excavation. Note the dark "soil" that is dug in. It is in layers like these that the organic material thrives in, as the conditions are very moist.

The excavation of the moat, which was found in this area, contributed the largest amount of footwear, due to the good preservation conditions and intensive filling of the moat at the end of the 1660s. Photo: Copenhagen Museum.

period, a place where, in the absence of a better sanitation system, people got rid of their waste in the form of a latrine, and waste from households, trade and crafts. Out of sight, out of mind, covered by the waters of the moat. In the same way, the wetlands along the coast were, according to the norms of the time, a suitable place for disposing of the city's waste. As an archaeologist, you have no doubt as to where and when you have reached these layers of waste. The layers are dark, brown, moist, strongly smelling and with a high content of organic material, including items made of leather, wood and textiles.

In archaeological excavations, it is basically essential not only to collect the whole shoes, or the larger parts of them. In very rich excavations, one can easily be tempted to collect only what "looks like" something, but also small parts of leather, wood, textile and metal can prove to be of great value when the shoe has to be assembled and the footwear analyzed. Often the threads in the shoes are not preserved, so one shoe can consist of a puzzle of small individual parts, which individually do not look like much, but as part of a whole are an important piece. It is therefore important that individual shoes are kept together during excavation, preferably with the surrounding soil around them in which they were found. In this way, the best possible attempt is made to protect the shoe and its possibly intact stitching and small parts. It can be helpful to fold plastic around the found shoe immediately after excavation, so that it is stabilized. When collecting, it is important to store different shoes separately and carefully observe which loose shoe parts belong to which shoes. It is important to isolate the individual shoe in a separate bag, so that other shoe parts are not misinterpreted as belonging to the shoe.

This is the ideal collection method, but in situations in the excavation phase where the deadline



Fig-3 On the forecourt to the museum stands a refrigerated container, which acts as a huge refrigerator for the organic finds. This is a picture of the inside of the refrigerated container, where the footwear takes up most of the space on the shelves. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.



Fig. 4. *Leather in the fridge. A look into one of the many refrigerators in the museum's find cellar. Place the shoes carefully in a zip lock bag with cold water and place in the fridge. Since you cannot number the leather, the identification numbers on the outside of the bag and on the manila tag inside the bag are important to keep track of. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.*

and budget does not favor this optimal method, then the order of priority is: The whole shoes, almost whole shoes and finally the shoe parts. Among the individual, loose shoe parts, priority is given to the sole parts which are best suited for dating the context. A sequence may read: Upper leather, sole, heel, back piece, tongue, leather reinforcement, edge/bes, joint and lace. For the subway excavations, the ideal collection is fortunately the method that has been consistently practiced. Large quantities of soil samples have also been taken and hydrosoled, so that even very small parts of shoes have been picked up by the fine-mesh nets.

Storage and preservation

Once the shoes are dug up from the oxygen-poor layers that have preserved them over the centuries, they are now inevitably exposed to oxygen and an escalated decomposition process begins. In order to minimize the degradation after excavation, an attempt is made to create an environment which partly mimics the conditions in the ground in which the footwear has been lying: Cold, dark and wet. The found shoes are placed in a ziplock plastic bag and cold water is added. The leather must be completely covered with water so that parts of the shoe do not dry out. The bags are initially stored in a refrigerator at the excavation site and will be transported to the museum as soon as possible. Although several refrigerators had been purchased to store the organic material prior to the subway excavations, the space quickly became too cramped. Quite simply, more well-preserved items of organic material were found than we had expected. A large refrigerated container has been rented for the purpose, which stands on the museum's forecourt, and in it there are shelves for temporary storage of footwear from the subway excavations in particular. Here it is kept cold, dark and wet while the registration and analysis is in progress.



Fig. 5. *One of the conservators at the Copenhagen Museum, Julie Kofod Hansen, inspects a piece of organic material that has been freeze-dried at the museum. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.*



Fig. 6 Children's boot from the 14th century, found in Lille Kongensgade by Kongens Nytorv, before conservation. The thread that held the leather boot together has not been preserved. The sole is newer than the upper leather, as the original, worn sole has been replaced.



Fig. 7 The children's boot after conservation at the National Museum's Conservation Department, where it was collected. The boot is now on display at the Copenhagen Museum. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum

At the washing tables in the museum's find cellar, the shoes are rinsed free of soil so that they can be registered, but gently so that, for example, colour, hair or plant material is not washed away. The shoes and shoe parts are then sorted into different categories depending on what will happen to them after registration. Should it be able to be exhibited? Should it be included in the study collection? Should tests be carried out with/special analyzes of the leather? Is the leather too degraded to be discarded?



Fig. 8 Example of preserved shoe of a more complicated type from the second half of the 17th century. Ribbed thong shoe with high, folded tongue and stacked heel. This shoe consists of numerous shoe parts, several types of leather as well as wooden pegs to hold the heel's many layers of leather together. Preserved by the National Museum's Conservation Department. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.

At the Copenhagen Museum, there is a permanent conservator who is responsible for the day-to-day work of looking after the museum's collection, the

objects on display and the magazines. Decisive conservation work is only carried out on a smaller scale, and the enormous conservation work that has resulted from the metro excavations was then also put out to tender in accordance with current EU regulations. The National Museum's conservation department in Brede won the tender, and

has, among other things, was busy conserving some of the found shoes, which were to be used for exhibition, by means of freeze-drying. At the Copenhagen Museum, work is being done locally to be able to preserve the simpler, non-composite shoes by freeze-drying. The ideal conservation of archaeological leather begins with the shoe being cleaned with water and a soft brush, and documented with a 1:1 drawing on overhead plastic. Ideally, metal salts are washed out, after which the leather is impregnated in 10% PEG. A foam mold is then made for the shoe so that it retains its three-dimensional shape during the freeze-drying process. The shoe is frozen in a chest freezer at minus 18 degrees, then transferred to a freeze-dryer, in which a fan is installed at the bottom. The shoes are placed on gray foam in mesh plastic trays on shelves, under which there is silica gel, which is continuously replaced during the process. This process (though without the washing) is the same process that the leather goes through in the National Museum's conservation department. The freeze-dryer there is far more advanced and can control the freeze-drying process much better and thus ensure a better conservation result, as well as preserve wooden soles and heels.³

Registration

Before conservation, the shoes are registered. Partly because the organic material shrinks slightly when freeze-drying, and partly because the archaeologically found shoes have the advantage that they are often found separated. That is it is possible to thoroughly examine how the shoe is made, from the inside to the outside, and thus record technical, craftsmanship and usage traces on the shoes, while the leather is still wet and soft. Cut pattern drawings in 1:1 are carried out for the shoes or shoe parts for which the method is relevant.⁴ For example as registration of a special cut, seam or shape, or as an illustration of a representative shoe type. Photos can then be taken of the shoe, and important details can advantageously be photographed with a microscope camera, which is directly connected to the computer.
ren.

All information about the shoe is registered in a database, and for the metro excavations the archaeological database system Intrasis was introduced as the current registration platform. The database records information on: shoe type (ex. thong shoe, slipper, ankle boot), components (ex. outsole, heel, edge), color (ex. brown, black, red), material (ex. leather, wood, textile), shape (ex. pointed toe, curved heel, left shoe, symmetrical sole, convex curved tongue edge), construction and technique (ex. flip-flops, stacked leather heel, tunnel stitch on shaft); decoration (ex. embroidery, cut, painting), age of the shoe owner (child, young, adult), gender of the shoe owner (m/f), measurement (length, width, thickness, shoe size), condition (preservation, wear, repairs, recycling), dating (e.g. period, century, interval in decades) and any comments.

When describing the shoe, I follow June Swann's regulations on shoe registration, which she uses in her work *"History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland"*, which briefly describes the shoe from toe to heel, from the bottom up and from the inside to at the very end.⁵ Also Grew and De Neergaard's book on medieval shoes from London,⁶ as well as the work by Goubitz et al. on archeologically found shoes from the Netherlands,⁷ is literature that has greatly inspired the work process and the analyses, and is highly recommendable reading.

The database used, Intrasis, is a system where the object is linked to the find context in the excavation via identification numbers, and it will therefore also be possible to obtain a digital floor plan of where the many shoes were found in the large excavation fields. Are there, for example, concentrations of leather waste in one particular area/layer? Where were the footwear from the different periods found and what were they found with? What is the dating of the other find types from the same find context, and can this make us more aware of the period of circulation of an object in the society of the time and/or how archaeologists date finds?

³ Conservation method provided by conservators at the Copenhagen Museum, Nicole Rehné and Julie Kofod Hansen.

⁴ Cut pattern drawings are carried out via a light table, a transparent plastic sheet, drawing foil and waterproof marker.

⁵ Swann: 2001, p. 12. Here Swann also refers to other works where the registration process is described.

⁶ Grew & De Neergaard: 2006 (1988).

⁷ Goubitz et al.: 2001.



Fig. 9 Information about the shoe is digitally recorded in the Intras database, pictures are taken and any cut pattern drawings are made before conservation while the leather is still wet. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.

Analysis and research

Recent years of archaeological investigations in Copenhagen have created an internationally significant collection of archaeologically found shoes. It is therefore obvious that this is a collection that needs to be studied more closely. Although research is one of the pillars of the Museums Act, the excavation work does not automatically generate funds to also research what has been found. Separate funding must be sought for this. With funds from the Danish Agency for Research and Innovation, the Danish Agency for Culture and the Center for Textile Research, a PhD project on footwear has become a reality. The project is a collaboration between the Copenhagen Museum, the Saxo Institute at the University of Copenhagen and the undersigned, and was launched on 1 March 2013. The title is: *"Between cobblestones, knots, shoes and fashion. An appropriation and adaptation analysis of footwear from the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the monarchy from archaeological excavations in Copenhagen".*⁸

The project aims to take a closer look at what influenced the Copenhageners' footwear in the period 13th-18th century, and explore the relationship between the artisanal, functional and fashionable aspects of the way the footwear was designed and worn. The description of the footwear found on the ground involves, as mentioned before, a registration and analysis of aspects relating to material, type, technique, dating, wear, owner's sex, age, height, social class, type of gait, foot defects, craftsmanship, production, repair, recycling and archaeological find context.⁹

In the analysis part, it is relevant to include the comparative collections at home and abroad to study the creation of fashion in addition to local and international trade in footwear. The study of this collection will provide an insight into a broad section of the Copenhagen population during a period when the city went from being a small settlement and trading center to being a capital with a broad, international network and outlook.

Since the found footwear is from the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the monarchy, then it is within so-called historical archaeology, where the analysis also includes written sources, the visual art of the time, as well as the preserved, non-archaeological footwear from the periods. Historians such as Georgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack have researched footwear based on the written sources from Renaissance Central Europe and 18th century England and France. So, internationally, there are extensive studies of the written source material to stand on, and similar research in the Danish area would be incredibly exciting to link with the

⁸ The title means: The relationship between the footwear, the city and the person (as producer or consumer) forms focal point for the project, where footwear is considered a product of appropriation (borrowed *elements in the creation of something new*) and *adaptation*.

⁹ See possibly Andersen: 2007 as an example of this approach to working with footwear. As specifically regarding traces of foot defects, I can refer to my own studies of this: Andersen:2009 and Andersen et al.: 2009. In the article about Sudergade in Helsingør, I note that there are far fewer traces of foot defects in medieval footwear than there are in Renaissance and imperial footwear. I believe this is because the footwear of the latter period has high heels and is symmetrical, both of which are factors that stress the foot and inhibit its natural function.



Fig. 10.
*The shoes are analyzed.
Look for wear and tear from
use and foot defects as well
as signs of
craftsmanship, reuse,
decoration and repair. Photo:
Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen
Museum.*

material culture.¹⁰ In addition, clothing studies for the periods are included, as footwear is seen here as an integral part of clothing and a person's self-staging. All too often, footwear is interpreted in isolation from clothing – and vice versa. It will be interesting to examine how the different types of sources have interacted in the society of the time and what picture this paints of the footwear and the people who wore it and the society in which they lived.

The majority of the footwear has been found discarded as waste. It is therefore relevant to include the philosophy behind waste archaeology, which is the scientific study of waste and the way in which it reflects the lifestyle of a waste-producing group of people.¹¹ Waste is a valuable source for everyday life



Fig. 11 & 12.

*Children's slipper before and
after conservation, found during the excavation at
Rådhuspladsen. This little slipper was originally
a closed shoe, but the back piece with the
straps has been cut off at some point to
make room for the growing owner's larger foot
or to pass down to another larger child. The
leather cover on the muzzle is a repair that
covers a hole. The baby slipper was preserved
at the National Museum's Conservation
Department. Now on display at Copenhagen
Museum Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.*



¹⁰ Riello: 2006 and Rublack: 2010.

¹¹ Rathje & Murphy: 1992. Garbage archeology is the direct translation of the American term *Garbage Archaeology*, sometimes shortened to *Garbology*.



Fig. 13. Refrigerated container on the forecourt of the Copenhagen Museum. The purpose is practical, but with the banner also used as part of the dissemination of the archaeological work process. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.

and the diversity, and it harmonizes nicely with historical archeology's idea of being a voice for the parts of society that are only sparingly represented in the other sources of the past. The work is great, but so is the potential.

Dissemination

Footwear is a subject that the vast majority of people can relate to and have an opinion about, child as well as adult, man as well as woman, and it is therefore a very grateful material to convey to the general public. The public's interest in the old footwear was already evident, while the finds emerged from the excavations, and the preliminary stories were covered by, respectively. television, radio, newspapers, magazines and a fashion festival.¹²



Fig. 14. A small selection of the many found shoes, which are exhibited in "The past under us" at the Copenhagen Museum. Photo: Mia Toftdal, Copenhagen Museum.

¹² For example, in the programs Goodmorgen Danmark, Lounge and Lorry news on TV2, Videnskabens verden on DR P1, Weekendavisen, Politiken, 24timer, Familie Journalen, Copenhagen Fashion Festival and others.

In addition to disseminating the results in professional forums by teaching, giving presentations and lectures and publishing articles, the thesis is thought to be published as a book aimed at a broad readership.

But the footwear itself must also be displayed. As an appetizer, seven of the new shoes in the collection are on display in the special archaeological exhibition "Fortiden under os", which opened in January 2013. The idea is that the PhD project should also lead to an exhibition about Copenhagen shoes through time, which also includes teaching in the school service, tours, events, workshops and holiday activities at the museum. Right now, the refrigerated container on the forecourt has been decorated with a banner, which gives the visitors an insight into the post-processing phase which is currently underway.

Some of the shoes can also be seen online and in the city space in the form of the award-winning, digital image platform VÆGGEN. The WALL is partly an image database that is accessible via any computer with internet access, and partly a physically interactive wall of touch screens which in the real world tour Copenhagen's squares.¹³ The WALL functions both as the museum's public database with photos from the image archive and as Copenhageners' own image database, where everyone can upload their own photos related to Copenhagen. Perhaps this platform will be suitable as a new alternative to the well-known blogs - also when it comes to sharing old shoes. The WALL could function both as a database of images of the found shoes with corresponding short comments and descriptions, and as a way in which the footwear is integrated with the other diverse stories about the life of the city. In the ideal scenario, a contemporary relevance is created for the shoes of the old Copenhageners in dialogue and exchange with the Copenhageners of today.

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13

Example of dissemination of shoes on the interactive platform VÆGGEN: <http://vaeggen.copenhagen.dk/media/45167>

Komulesko

With one leg in the Middle Ages and the other in the Renaissance

By medieval archaeologist Michael Bækskov Thomasen

Shoe fashion in the Middle Ages contained a surprising variety of shoe types. There were shoes for every purpose, every condition and every wallet. If you were to highlight some common features for all the fashionable shoes of the Middle Ages, the most conspicuous would probably be the shoe toes. They all had, to a greater or lesser extent, pointed snouts, and at times definite "proboscis". However, two other common features emerged: firstly, they were all asymmetric, i.e. manufactured as either right or left shoes. Second, they only had one sole.

The sole, with which the upper leather of the shoe was sewn together, was also the sole of the shoe. But in the last quarter of the 15th century, a new type of shoe appeared within a short time, which was not only significantly different from all previous shoes, but which also came to revolutionize shoe manufacturing: the Komuleskoen.

The three decisive differences between the komule shoes and the other shoes of the time were precisely to be found among the aforementioned

common features: - The komule shoe did NOT have a pointed toe.

The name of the shoe type came precisely from the rounded and wide design of the toe.

- The Komuleshoe was symmetrical.
- And last, but certainly not least: the Komule shoe had not just one, but both two and three soles.

The Komuleskoen appeared in the last decades of the 15th century and soon made its way through Europe, from Finland in the north to Spain and Portugal in the south. It adorned the feet of men as well as women and children and was to be found among very different people, from the harlot and the soldier to the nobleman and the merchant.

During its lifetime, it developed towards an increasingly wider, but at the same time increasingly graceful appearance, which bordered on the absurd towards the end of the shoe type's lifetime. But where did it come from? Why did it look the way it did? Why did its appearance evolve as it did? And not least: How was it made? In this article, I will try to get around some of the most important aspects regarding the komule shoe and try to show how decisive it has been for the development of shoe manufacturing.



Fig. 1 Working drawing for komule shoes by Albrecht Dürer from 1525-1526. The drawing indicates in detail how the upper leather in the forefoot should be carved and decorated, as well as how the heel should run. It provides a nice example of the type of shoe before the appearance of the more extreme shapes. After Gall 1975.

The slipper

If you look at the development of shoe fashion in isolation, the komule shoe, with its fundamentally different characteristics, appears almost like lightning from a clear sky. But if you include the other footwear of the Middle Ages, it quickly becomes clear that the shoe type was simply a further development of another piece of foot clothing, namely the slipper.



Fig. 2 Medieval leather patina. From Swann 2001, p.78.

The word "*pantoufle*" is first used in France in 14651 and covers a piece of footwear with two soles, between which a layer of cork is inserted. The three layers, the binding sole, the cork layer and the outsole, are held together by a so-called hollow strand and required a different insole technique than that used in shoe manufacturing.

The slipper is described in a source from the late 15th century as follows: "*A healthy foot covering that is good for health and provides support for the foot*".² The fact that the slipper is referred to as "healthy" is undoubtedly due to the shock-absorbing layer of cork. Stone paving in the city streets had become the norm and the hard surface must have left its mark in the form of pain in the ankles, knees and back of a population that only had a thin sole between the feet and the surface. The lifespan of the shoes was also significantly shorter on the hard surface. The slipper thus fulfilled the same need for shock absorption as the patinas, which were made of either wood or leather, and which were put on the shoes. But unlike the patinas, the slipper was closed in the forefoot and thus better protected the shoes from dirt. It was for this reason that the slipper was usually rounded or straight ended at the nose. In Spain we find a variant of the slipper called "*chinela*". The chinela was a piece of footwear that, from the last quarter of the 15th century at the latest, was worn as protection over very fine boots of thin leather when "riding in the field".³ The chinela had two or three leather soles and was symmetrical.



Fig. 3 Front part of slip sole from slipper with holt edge and cork filling preserved. The binding sole and upper leather are missing. From Thomasen 2008, catalog number 24. s.78.

The emergence of the komule

shoe So, with the Spanish chinela, all the special characteristics of the komule shoe were present: Two or more soles, a symmetrical cut and a rounded or straight toe. But was the komulesko just a slipper or chinela with a back piece? Not quite. That from the beginning

1 Jäfvrt: 1938, p. 38.

2 Jäfvrt: 1938, pp. 38, 43.

3 Anderson: 1979, s. 81.



Fig. 4. *Earliest image that reliably reproduces a komule shoe. From a French manuscript, dated 1485. Note how relatively little of the forefoot is covered and how this accentuates the stockings. From Evans 1952, pl. 62.*

characteristic of the komule shoe was that it did not cover as much of the forefoot as a slipper would. As a result, more of the modern tight-fitting stockings of the time came into view, and the shoe achieved greater cohesion with the rest of the suit. This interaction with the clothing was later to have a decisive impact on the appearance of the cow-mule shoe. The oldest, reliable source of images on komulesko comes from a French manuscript, dated to 1485. Written sources that refer to a change in shoe fashion are extremely rare, if not almost non-existent. But there is much evidence that the komule shoe originated in France or Germany around 1480.⁴

The fashion quickly spread from the highest classes to the bourgeoisie. The figures on an altarpiece from 1498 in Ulm have been provided with komule shoes, which was a change compared to the 20-year-old original.⁵ The Komule shoe had, by all accounts, already created fashion among the population around the year 1500. It is around this time that a very

specific population group adopted the Komule shoe and made themselves its main exponents: the Landsknægten.

The country boys

The word "*Landsknecht*" first appears in German language usage from 1486. The most striking thing about them was their extravagant clothing, which, although they were far too different to be called "uniform", was a characteristic of the country squires. Their choice of clothing, approved by Emperor Maximilian, was not subject to the same restrictions that existed for other strata of society. This of course raised a lot of criticism from the higher social classes and the country serfs' right to free choice of clothing had to be established in Augsburg in 1530.⁶ The fashion for the very voluminous, colorful and slitted clothes that were so characteristic of the country serfs is said to have originated with Duke Charles of Burgundy defeat of the Swiss at Nancy in 1477, on which occasion the marauding soldiers are said to have pitched up the duke's fine silk tents and used the strips in their suits. The new fashion is mentioned by the German Konrad Pellicanus of Rufach in the work "*Chronikon*" in

⁴ Thomasen: 2008, p. 26.

⁵ Gall: 1975, s. 181.

⁶ Seggern: 2003, p. 55.

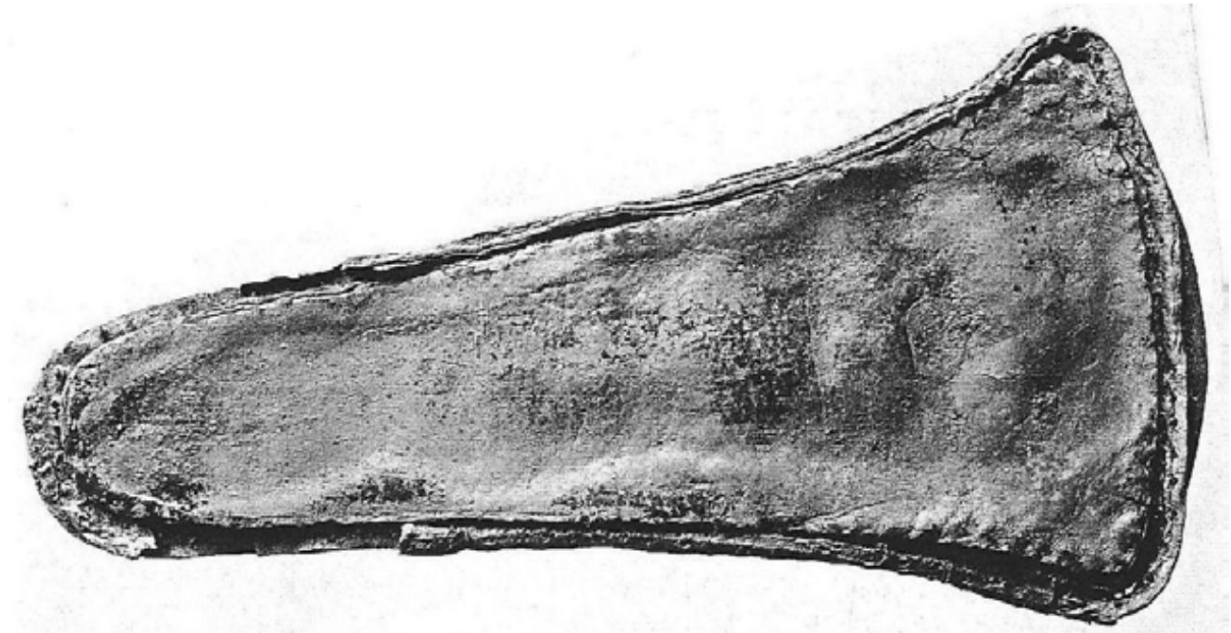


Fig. 5 Binding and wear sole from the extreme variant of the komule shoe. Found during sewer digging in Admiral-gade in Copenhagen, 1907. Note the concave sides compared to Dürer's shoe, fig. 1. From Thomasen 2008, catalog number 44.

1490.7 And for a country servant of this time, who was allowed to dress exactly as he wanted, what could be more natural to put on his feet than the latest in shoe fashion, the komul shoe?

Under the watchful eye of the country boys, the komuleshoe underwent a rapid development. Landlord-tene were contemporary idols, on a par with today's professional footballers. They were therefore a favorite motif for the German artists known collectively as "*The Little German Masters*", whose detailed woodcuts excelled at depicting the more down-to-earth aspects of contemporary Germany. It is through these artists' many hundreds of peasant pictures that the development of shoe fashion can be documented in detail. Around 1510, a development towards a more graceful shoe begins to become evident: the upper leather now only covered the toes, and the shoe is increasingly seen without a buckle strap. From around 1520 and 25 years onwards, one can speak of a definite heyday for the komul shoe.

The heyday

The cohesion of the Komuleskoen with the dress became particularly evident in the period 1520-1545. The country boys had now really found a common identity, and increasingly began to dictate fashion, which is not surprising when you consider that they had a free hand to dress as they saw fit and enjoyed hero status in the broad population. The many woodcuts from the period, as well as the fact that it was necessary to establish the country boys' freedom of choice of clothing in Augsburg, testify that the country boys were now seriously the avant-garde of fashion. The dress became fuller and more voluminous. And the komule shoe followed: The shoelaces became wider, whereby the sides of the forefoot got a concave cut and the upper leather crept even further out onto the toes. The buckle strap disappeared from komule shoes from this period, and it was now only the shoe's buckle that held it firmly on the foot - a feat that was neither easy for the shoemaker nor cheap for the customer to achieve, which for a peasant has been so abundantly reasoned to do it! Towards the end of the komuleshoe's heyday, this extreme form of the komuleshoe was largely dominant among country boys.

Alongside the country boys' shoes with concave sides, another variant arose, the so-called horn shoe. With the horn shoe, the toe of the shoe gets its width via two protrusions on the sides, they so-

7 Boehn: s. 118.



Fig. 6 Binding sole from horn shoe. Found at Nørregade 27 in Copenhagen, 1919. Note how the sides are narrows in, ahead of the origin of the horns. From Thomassen 2008, catalog number 41.

called horn. Where the komule shoe had until then had trapezoidal soles or concave sides, the horned shoe tended to have a narrowing at the forefoot, behind the "horns" outlet. The horn shoe thus followed the shape of the foot to a greater extent, while at the same time fulfilling a fashionable need for wide shoe toes. In connection with the horn shoe, it is interesting to see that it is apparently exclusively a civilian fashion. No peasant seems to wear them, while all forms of komulesho, even the less extreme forms, were in use in the civilian sphere. This suggests that the variant with the concave sides was a military fashion phenomenon, and that the peasants had now become fashion designers.

But how did you manage to make a shoe that could stay on the foot, even though it had no buckle strap, only wrapped around the heel, had sides that were only a little over 2 cm high and at the toe only just barely covered the toes? The ideals of fashion set new standards for what was required of footwear. And it is through the archaeological finds that the secrets of the Komule shoe are revealed.

New techniques

As mentioned before, the komule shoe used a different insole technique than the shoes of earlier times. The single-soled shoes from the Middle Ages were reverse stitched. This means that the shoe was sewn together inside out and then turned over so that the stitching was protected inside the shoe.

A quite clever invention, which, however, made it very difficult to provide the shoe with more than one sole.

The Komuleshoe was edge stitched, which means that it was provided with a leather strip (the edge), the purpose of which was to protect the stitching between the upper leather and the sole, while also allowing extra soles to be sewn onto it. The new technique meant that you did not have to turn the shoe over, which could now be made of much stronger leather than before. And because it didn't have to be turned over, the komule shoe could also be reinforced to a much greater extent than previously: Where previously only the heel of the shoe had been reinforced, so that it wouldn't be stepped on too quickly, with the komule shoe you also started to reinforce the toe. The explanation for this was initially linked to the shoe's ideal: That it should be symmetrical. Relatively broad-toed, asymmetrical shoes were not uncommon for the lower social classes of the time, and it is often the case that these are confused with komule shoes in literature. The shoes of the lower classes, however, were foot-shaped. Everything indicates that, through the structure of the komu-lesko, everything was done to ensure that it could retain its strictly symmetri



Fig. 7. Front part of upper leather from one of the late, extreme variants of the komule shoe. Found at the corner of Vingårdsstræde and Laksegade, Copenhagen 1926. Note the reinforcement on the inside of the toe section and how little of the toes are covered. From Thomasen 2008, catalog number 29.



Fig. 8. Rear part with reinforcement, extended with wooden wedges. Found at the corner of Vingårdsstræde and Laksegade, Copenhagen 1926.

be taken off and thus foot-shaped as the "mob's" footwear. During the heyday of the komule shoe, a ban was even introduced in parts of Germany for residents below a certain status to wear edge-stitched shoes.⁸ The reinforcement of the toe of the shoe, together with the reinforcement of the heel, made the shoe strong enough to withstand the tension of the foot, which was one of the secrets behind the strapless model.

The last technical finesse must be found in the heel: common to all the extreme, strapless komule shoes was that their rear part completely surrounded the heel of the foot. This is no coincidence, since the heel

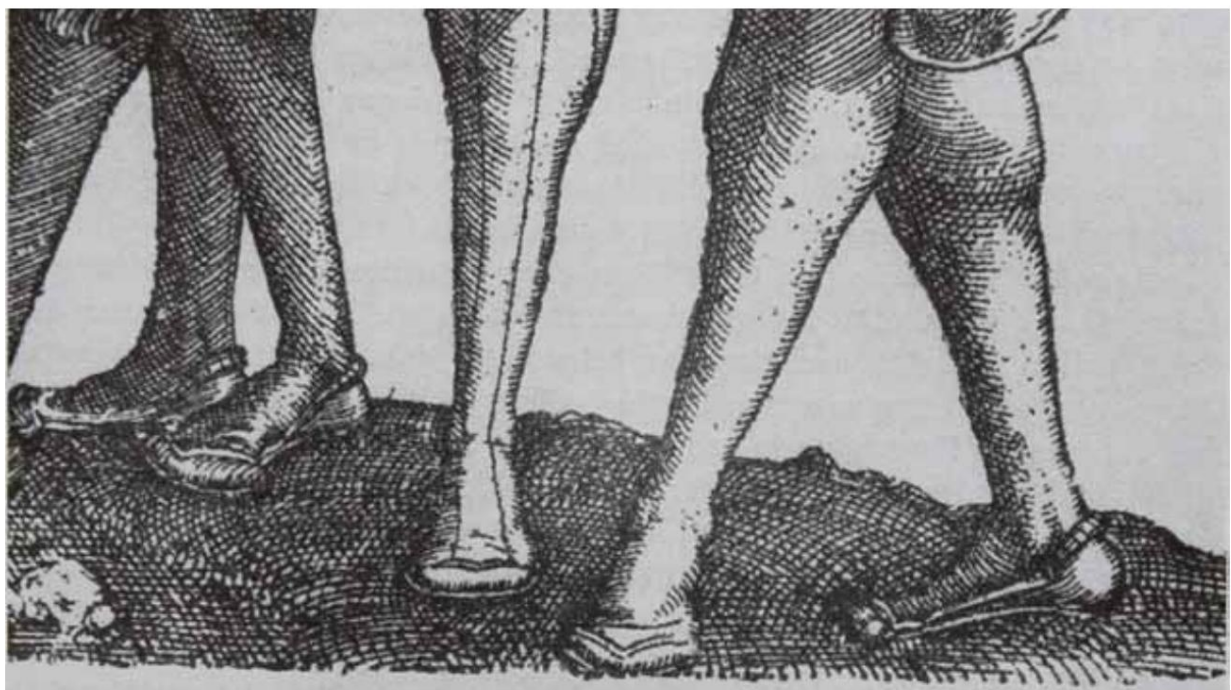


Fig. 9. Section of Heinrich Aldegrever's copper engraving *Die Hochzeitstänzer*, 1538. All shoes have the characteristic heel bead. From Jäfvirt 1948, p. 361

⁸ Atzbach: 2002, s. 235.

was decisive for whether the shoe could stay put. Drop the heel, drop the shoe. A great deal of ingenuity was therefore used to give the heel the necessary shape and strength to be able to cope with the task. First, small wooden wedges were inserted between the heel reinforcement and the upper leather. The wooden wedges were widest at the foot opening of the shoe and narrowed towards the sole. In this way, you could make a back piece that "gripped" the heel of the foot.

The other technical finesse was the so-called "heel bead" (a spiral-shaped stitching to the mouth edge of the heel), which partly strengthened it and at the same time made it more difficult for the heel to release the shoe.

The ideal of the wide shoe, which almost seemed to be one with the dress, was pursued to the point of absurdity. In England, Henry VIII issued a law stating that the width of shoes could not exceed 6 inches (15 cm), and in a picture by Gustav Vasa from 1542, the shape is so rudimentary that it is probably not shoes, but rather soles is sewn on the stocking.

The Komule shoe went out of fashion among country boys in the years 1545-1550, but almost 30 years had to pass before it was completely supplanted by the new shoe fashion: A symmetrical shoe with a rounded pointed toe, which had its appearance around 1525-1530, in the shadow of the komulesko's heyday.

The distribution of the Komuleskoen

Who wore komule shoes? Judging by the many pictorial sources, it was especially the society's elite who wore komule shoes. In extension of this, the servants with the highest status in the household also wore komulesko.⁹

If you dive down a layer in the hierarchy, down into the craftsman class, there seems to be a distinction between the highly specialized crafts and the others. Here you can see the fashion of the elite in craftsmen such as bookbinders, coinsmiths and glass painters. The painters Albrecht Dürer and Hans Burgkmair were photographed in the 1515 and 1516, both wearing komule shoes. The extreme forms of the shoe, with concave sides or with horns, were only to be found among the elite, who in a city like Nuremberg in the first half of the 16th century made up just 5% of the city's total population.¹⁰ The shoes with concave sides, which which previously mentioned was a military fashion, was worn only by the men of the elite. Instead, the women seem to have worn horned shoes or the less extravagant versions of the shoe. The children's shoes were small versions of the parents'.

As for the geographical distribution of the komulesko, the sources are scattered and limited. However, everything indicates that the fashion has had roughly the same impact in Germany, England and France. If fashion has lagged behind in Denmark, it has not been much. On a tombstone in Grin-derslev Kirke for Bertel Kaas, who died in 1503, you can see Komule shoes in the style of the German ones.

⁹ Harjula: 2008, p. 69

¹⁰ Zika: 1994, p. 35.



Fig. 10 Oil-painted copy after portrait of Gustav Vasa from 1542. Note how little contact there is between feet and "shoes". From Swann 2001, p. 87.



Fig. 11 Woodcut depicting a shoemaker's workshop in Nuremberg at the end of the 16th century. The shoemaker is on the far right in the picture, wearing the new shoe fashion. Among the middle shoes above the counter, a pair of cow mules can still be seen for sale. From Zika, p. 36.

Through a close study of Danish tombstones and epitaphs from the 16th century, and combined with finds from both Aalborg and Copenhagen, a picture emerges of a Denmark which, as far as cow mules are concerned, corresponds to Germany. In the composition of shoe finds from Uppsala, there is a striking coincidence between the end of the "low thong shoe" type and the appearance of the komule shoe around the year 1500. ¹¹ Since the typical komule shoe IS a low thong shoe, there has therefore only been talk of "old wine" here in new bottles". From Turku Castle in Turku, Finland, a chalk painting, dated 1530, of a nobleman wearing komule shoes with concave sides can be seen in the guard chamber. Combined with finds from the area, it can be stated that the same types of Komule shoes were in use as in the rest of Northern Europe, and that in the heyday of shoe fashion they corresponded to the German ones. In Southern Europe, it is unclear when the trend will catch on. In Valencia, in 1514, a squire and a harlot are depicted, both wearing komule shoes that correspond to the northern European ones. From the heyday of the komul shoe, the work "*Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien*" from 1529 provides an invaluable insight into shoe fashion in both Southern France and the Iberian Peninsula. Here the komul shoe has gained traction as in Northern Europe, although with the difference that the more extreme forms - the horn shoe and the variant with the concave sides - do not appear nearly as frequently as in the German source material. Here, people have adopted the new shoe fashion, but have not succumbed to its whims to the same extent as in Northern Europe. Incidentally, it is from the same work that we first see the replacement shoe fashion pictured in Spain. At almost the same time, in 1532, it is seen in the middle field of Skt. Lucia altar in Iesi, Italy.

The disappearance of the Komuleskoen

The decline of the Komule shoe is inextricably linked to the rise of the new type of shoe. As I said, this seems to originate in Italy or Spain around 1525-1530 and completely supplants the komule shoe from the images of peasants in the period 1545-1550. The Komuleskoen can still be found among the pictorial sources until the end of the 16th century. In a costume book entitled "*Habitus Praecipuorum Populorum*" from 1577, older men from Switzerland and Bohemia are still seen wearing komule shoes, even though their younger compatriots wear the new shoe fashion. On a woodcut from the same period, depicting a shoemaker's shop in Nuremberg, Komule shoes can still be seen for sale in the window. However, the shoemaker himself wears the new shoe type.

From the komule shoe, two characteristic features were to be inherited over several centuries within the shoemaker's craft, namely symmetry and edge stitching. Only in recent times are asymmetrical

¹¹ Broberg and Hasselmo: 1981, p. 129.

shoes have again become the norm, and even modern, glued shoes can sometimes be provided with "stitches" along the edge. They must draw attention to the edge stitching, which since the Komule shoe has been a hallmark of high-quality shoe craftsmanship. The Komuleskoen is thus not just a comical-looking footwear from the time of the Reformation. It is the sign of a break with some basic principles for what was required of one's footwear, while at the same time being "The Missing Link" between medieval shoemaking and more recent principles for shoe craftsmanship. It appeared seemingly out of the blue, but was based on techniques well known in the late Middle Ages. It is so well illuminated through a wealth of source material that its development can be followed with remarkable accuracy.

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Shoe

The footwear says it all

By conservator Margit Petersen

In the summer of 2012, Viborg Museum showed a different exhibition about shoes.

Shoes are our faithful subjects. They were created in the dawn of time to protect our feet. 40,000 years ago it was said that whoever could move easily lived easily. But we don't have to get far into the story of shoes before it is about many other things than needs.

The exhibition focused on the shoe as an expression of culture, craftsmanship, style or symbol. Footwear today is extremely nuanced, and there are shoes for every imaginable situation. Our footwear reveals who we are and what is important to us in life.

The exhibition is the result of three employees' long-standing passion for footwear, albeit from different points of view. The museum's mediator, ethnologist Rikke Johansen Smidt, has always had a passion for shoes, styles, fashion and, not least, the story the footwear tells about the wearer. Museum assistant Liselotte Sørensen has a past as a state-authorized podiatrist, and has a particular passion for healthy feet and "real" footwear. Conservator Margit Petersen has worked with leather and shoecraft for many years, reconstructed Viking shoes and is interested in the many facets of shoecraft.

Viborg Museum has quite a few shoes in the collection, but not enough for all the stories to be told, so we borrowed partly individual shoes and partly larger collections from both museums and private individuals for the exhibition.

The article follows the thematic structure of the exhibition and is based on the exhibition texts. Liselotte Sørensen is the photographer for most of the pictures.

Chronology of footwear

In the history of shoes, there are some significant stylistic-historical landmarks: In ancient times, footwear was used where the sole and upper leather were made from the same piece of leather. Around the year 1000, independent soles of stronger and differently tanned leather began to be made. The shoes were sewn from the inside and turned when finished. In the 16th century, people changed from sewing from the inside to edge-stitching shoes. The fashion for komule shoes was the reason for this development. In the 17th century, people began to put heels on shoes - both for men and women. In 1950, Salvatore Ferragamo figured out how to shape the heel from an iron point and thus invented the thin high heel: the stiletto heel. After that, the shoe industry did not develop significantly in any other way than what the fashion of the changing times required. Fashion has always left its mark on the appearance of footwear. High heels - low heels, pointed noses - flat noses, open shoes - closed shoes.



Fig. 1 In the exhibition, the audience was presented with the chronological development of footwear on the "catwalk". At the front is Viborg Museum's oldest shoe, which is C14-dated to the Bronze Age 1020-870 BC. It was found in Søvsø Mose near Daugbjerg.



Fig. 2 Shoes for style and signal value - not for comfort

Thousands of shoes are bought by women for a particular occasion because they look beautiful. They might suit the dress you're going to wear, but do they also suit the foot? Sore feet and blisters after a party are a widespread phenomenon. In the 1960s it was completely wrong. The footwear was unusually pointed, and the anatomy of the foot has rarely been less of a focus than in that decade.

Shoes and symbol

Why are so many women attracted to shoes? What does the footwear say about its owner? What do shoes reveal about our culture? Why are shoes often used as a symbol of freedom, power or loss?

The high heels are known back to the 16th century, they were strong and consisted of either a wooden block or many joined pieces of leather. In 1955, the Italian Salvatore Ferragamo invented the so-called stiletto heel, named after the Italian term for a short knife. The heel is built up on a steel pin, which makes it possible to make shoes with heels up to 18 cm high. One of the first icons to make the stiletto famous was Marilyn Monroe. The stilettos were very popular throughout the first half of the 1960s, much to the dismay of various dance floors around the world, which were ruined by the stiletto heels.



Fig. 3 1-3.2.

Wedding shoes: For many women, wedding shoes are something you only wear once, but which you keep for the rest of your life. The white chalky canvas shoes on the far right, however, show signs of having been used a lot. For men it is different, many do not keep their wedding shoes, but if they are kept, it is to be used as "nice shoes" until they are worn out.



Fig. 4 Stilettos for everyday life: Kirsten Frishmann (1911-1986) helped start the textile company Asani in 1929. For most of her life, she was manager of the canteen and cleaning at Asani. Kirsten was a very independent woman. She loved fashion, bags and not least shoes. She always wore high heels. In the 1960s, when she had her leg in a cast for 9 months, she had to have a large rubber block under the cast to match the stiletto on the healthy foot.

In the 1970s there was a female backlash. The stilettos had to give way in favor of the flat foot-shaped "sisters". Only in the disco environment of the 1980s did they cautiously reappear. In the 1990s, the platform and wedge heel mixed in the fashion picture. But from 2000 onwards, the stiletto has again enjoyed great popularity. The stiletto provides a swaying gait and supports a posture which emphasizes the bottom and bust area of the woman. The stiletto is a symbol of vulnerability and independence in one and the same form. Perhaps it is precisely this duality that makes it so fascinating?

Female passion for shoes: Imelda Marcos was married to the Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. From 1972, the dictatorship was characterized by repression and violation of human rights. When the government was overthrown in 1986, i.a. his wife's luxury habits for the day. Her unique collection of approx. 3000 pairs of shoes became a symbol of the dictatorship's unscrupulousness, the corruption and the hopeless conditions of the poor Filipinos.

The passion to own many shoes has become a symbol of the modern woman's freedom to buy what she wants and her freedom to think of herself first. Quite ordinary Danes can have large shoe collections.

Alberte Husted is 18 years old and started collecting shoes when she was 16. In 2010, she started high school and earned her own money at the same time. Alberte falls in love with a pair of shoes when they sit beautifully on the foot, but because of that they are not necessarily good to walk in. Alberte is not interested in brands, but in whether the shoe has a soul and an aesthetic that she likes. It must be feminine and feminine.

For many hundred years, red shoes have received attention in art and literature. In 1845, HC Andersen wrote the fairy tale "The Red Shoes". It's about a little girl's split between her urges and her reason. The red shoes symbolize her sexuality and the lust of the flesh.

In the fairy tale "The Snow Queen", HC Andersen has little Gerda sacrifice her red shoes to the river hoping to get her beloved friend Kay back. Here, the Freudian analysis lets the red shoes symbolize Gerda's sexual maturation.

In the Catholic Church, the color red symbolizes blood and spirituality. The tradition of the Pope's red shoes is very old. Way back in ancient Rome, red shoes were only for the emperor, empress or the pope. In art, the red shoes are also reserved for these persons and angels. The Pope's shoes



Fig. 5 Red shoes for adults women often represent the very feminine and sensual. Red shoes radiate eroticism and joie de vivre. Children love red shoes because the color attracts the eye the most. Children react impulsively and positively to color.

has been adorned through the ages by first a gold cross and then gold buckles. Today, only the red color remains on the shoe.

Boots symbolize power: In the fairy tale Puss in Boots, everyone shows respect for the cat and what it says when it has the boots on.

When Chr. IV was wounded on the warship Trefolddigenden in 1644, he himself decided that his blood-stained clothes should be preserved. It is exhibited at Rosenborg Castle, and here you can see that the king wore small, low embroidered shoes. The painting was painted by Wilhelm Marstand in 1864 and was intended as a national motif, and the distinctive sea boots in particular are shown to be more powerful than the reality was in 1644.

The social realist boots: Several times in history, boots have been used as a symbol of the life and conditions of the working class. In 1886, Vincent Van Gogh bought a pair of boots at a flea market and painted a picture of them, where they are a symbol of the hard and poor life of the farm worker. In 1936, Rene Magritte painted surrealist boots, where the owner's feet are not only visible through the use and wear of the boots, but where the feet actually merge with the boots.

The idealistic boots: The German doctor Klaus Märtens damaged his ankle in the latter half of the Second World War and, right after the war, produced a boot which made his walking easier. The sole of the boot had built-in air chambers, and the boot supported the ankle optimally. In 1959, an English company bought the rights to the boot. It quickly became a favorite among England's many factory workers and an icon in industrial society. This symbolism and iconography is used many times ago by various subcultures: in the 1970s by skinheads, in the 1980s by punks and in the 1990s by pinballers. The boot has become a classic, but will probably never be neutral. It always is an expression of attitude to wear a pair of "Docs".

Nikita Khrushchev: The scene of Nikita Khrushchev raising his shoe to emphasize his views at the UN General Assembly in 1960 has gone down in history. Today we know that the image is manipulated. Khrushchev did indeed bang on the table from his seat in the hall in protest of the Philippine delegate's statements about the expansion of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe.

Shoe throwers: People can express their contempt and disrespect for political leaders or others by throwing their shoes at them. It is equivalent to recognizing the person as "the dirt you step on". In 2008, Muntadhar al-Zaidi threw his shoes at the then American President George W. Bush, as a particularly insulting gesture. It was the starting point for a series of similar incidents.

Fig. 6 *In the 1970s, desert boots became a symbol of being left-wing. With conscientious objectors, it became part of "their uniform".*



Way too long lines - way too many losses: Shoes in long lines have been used in recent years as a symbol of loss of life or opportunities. 9133 pairs of half shoes in the Plaza de Bolivia in Bogota, Columbia were set up in memory of the people who lost their feet, legs or lives to landmines between 1990 and 2010. On 6 August 2009, 3F Ungdom lined up 5,587 pairs of shoes in a long row at Christiansborg Castle Square to symbolize the growing queue for internships.

To illustrate the costs of traffic accidents, the Council for Greater Road Safety asked 2003 shoes on the Town Hall Square in Copenhagen - a pair for every person who had lost their life in traffic that year.

On the quay in Budapest, the artists Gyula Pauer and Kan Togay have cast 50 pairs of iron shoes in memory of the thousands of Jews who were executed along the riverbank during World War II.

Most of us have had goosebumps over photographers Stanislaw Mucha photo showing mountains of shoes left in 1945 from the mass exterminations at the Auschwitz concentration camp in Birkenau, Poland.



Fig. 7 *Shoes with memories and soul*
30 years ago it was very common to have your child's first shoes silver plated. In this way, we preserved a small piece of childhood and sweet toddlerhood. The rubber boots were riding boots for an officer who was killed by the Germans on 1 March 1945.

The boots are kept as a memory. The women's shoe is an example of how a shoe completely takes the shape of the owner's foot, and the clogs tell their own story of frugality and wear.

Shoes for everything

Good footwear is the most important prerequisite for a successful result, whether you are a sportsman, craftsman, mountaineer, dancer, expedition participant, angler, soldier, cycling enthusiast or child.

Skis, skates, roller skates, inliners.

In the world of fairy tales and in proverbs, seven-mile boots can quickly get one going. Among the Greek and Roman gods, Hermes and Mer-kur are messengers of the gods, therefore there are wings on the boots which make them fly and quickly get from place to place. In real life, we can put on skis or skates in the winter and roller skates in the summer, then we can speed up.

In the Middle Ages, an iron blade was attached to the leg skate, and in the 1800s, people found the idea of screwing a skate onto ordinary boots.

Later, skating boots were designed. In principle, skates are used to move quickly on frozen ground



Fig. 8. Exhibition wall with footwear for all purposes.

streams and lakes, but skating evolved into both fun and competition. Competition skates are optimized within the individual sports - e.g. ice hockey, ice dancing and speed running.

Skis and ski boots: The world's oldest ski is 5000 years old and found in Sweden. Skis were an important aid when moving around in the snow hunting, in war or simply when going from place to place. The skis' many possibilities are used for sports, exercise and pleasure. Ski boots have undergone a specialisation. From being laced over the ankle to the ski, to boots with special soles fastened with straps and cables. Today it is molded plastic boots.

Roller skates and inliners: The first roller skates were invented in the Netherlands at the beginning of the 18th century, where a young man nailed wooden coils under his shoes so he could "dry" skate in the summer. In 1863, the Americans developed a more efficient and maneuverable roller skate with two sets of parallel rubber wheels. In 1979, roller skates were reinvented with the wheels set on stripes, called inliners.



Fig. 9. Skates made of cow's shin bone used 1000 years ago on Viborg Søndersø. The skate is ground smooth underneath and may have been tied to the boot.



Fig. 10. Ski boots from 1970 for cable bindings.

Military: A good soldier is known by his well-kept footwear, a trait he often retains for the rest of his life. Duke Wellington, the victor of the Battle of Waterloo, stated that the three most important items in a soldier's equipment were a good pair of shoes, another pair of good shoes and a spare pair of soles. When the soldier is in dress uniform, a completely different type of boot is required.

Expedition: Footwear is very important for a successful expedition. At Knud Rasmussen's 5.

Thuleeksspedition included a Greenlandic woman on the 18,000 km long sled journey to maintain the essential footwear, the kamiks. On previous expeditions, the feet had to be wrapped in cloths when the footwear wore out.

Running: Running shoes are individually adapted. Running puts a lot of strain on the body, and proper shock absorption and support under the arch is necessary if you are to avoid injuries. Sprinter shoes have a completely different purpose.

Here it applies to the offset, so that there are spikes under the forefoot.

Bowling and cycling also require specially designed shoes that support the athlete. Bowling shoes are known for being two-tone. It is important that one sole is smooth so that you can slide, the other a little rough so that you can get a foothold. The sliding sole means that you can perform a "controlled braking" at the end of the approach.

Cycling shoes are not intended for walking. They have brackets under the sole so that they can be fastened to the pedal, and in this way the cyclist has the opportunity to add power, even when the pedal is pulled upwards.

Sneakers are a pleasant and comfortable con-disco that many people use every day, even if they just have to sit at a desk or go to school. This phenomenon is expressed in such a way that fashion is formed in sports-like footwear. Not least, the Danish company ECCO has produced a number of shoes with the appearance of sports shoes but only suitable for general everyday use.

Dancing shoes: In the fairy tale Cinderella dances until midnight, and in the fairy tale "The Girl with the Red Shoes" the shoes dance with the little girl. In the fairy tale about the holey shoes, it is the worn dancing shoes that reveal that the twelve princesses are going to the nocturnal ball without the king's knowledge.

A sports dancer's shoe must be both elegant, durable and, not least, have the correct sole, preferably split, so that there is a suitable balance between standing firm and gliding elegantly.



Fig. 11. Riding boots: Rider Per Ørnholdt and competition rider Jørgen Mathiasen both won championships in dressage and show jumping in the 1970s in these boots.

The boots are hand-sewn from fine leather, fit tightly to the leg, so that the horse can be controlled by the smallest movements.

Dear child has many names: pacifiers - morning slippers - slippers - slippers - pacifiers - pacifiers - drags - slippers - smutters. Shoes that are just at home, soft, worn out, the ones you put on when there is no need to maintain the facade. They are placed right next to the bed, so they can warm up on a cold morning. Camel wool slippers – rag shoes – Mao shoes – reed shoes.

A slipper hero is a man who lets himself be subdued by his wife, on the understanding that he must make housework - work in one's house slippers.

The expression to be under the slipper comes from an old superstition which states that if one of the bride and groom stepped on the other's foot at a wedding, it meant that the one who stepped would gain the power in the marriage. Therefore, it became the case that the bride and groom fought to step on the other's foot for fun.

Work footwear must fulfill many characteristics. First of all, safety and comfort conditions that are set for carrying out the work, and standards for the appearance that apply within the industry. Added to this is a certain kind of fashion touch, so that the user can feel modern and show that you are keeping up with the times. White shoes belong in healthcare and the food industry. Time-lier, the well digger had to be able to stand in water to the death, and the telephone fitter had to wear mast shoes to quickly get up to the telephone wires.



Fig. 12. Safety shoes look quite ordinary looking, but the toe and sole are reinforced with iron.

"In rain and sleet, the post has to go out". The Post Office's slogan applies to many others. The nice shoes in a pair of galoshes or simply putting on a pair of rubber boots, any puddle can be overcome.

In 1872, manufacturer Julius Kopp was the first to make and sell rubber products in Denmark after a trip to America, where he was fascinated by the new technique of rubber-coated textiles. Until then, rubber boots came from the Swedish company Tretorn.

Galoshes are not as personal as other footwear. In HC Andersen's fairy tale "Happiness galoshes", the characters wear galoshes on the outside of their own footwear, and the same pair is used by many different ones. Today, galoshes have completely fallen into disuse. Partly you bring a change of shoes, and partly you are probably no longer so sore about the relatively cheap industrially produced shoes.



Fig. 13. Galoshes for women's and men's shoes. Galoshes, made of rubberized textile, became popular for all age groups. With them you could walk outdoors in the small, delicate shoes of the time.

Children's shoes: A child's foot is fine and unspoiled. In the beginning it is mostly to keep the feet warm, that we wrap them up. From the child's one year, there is a need to stand firmly and support the foot in the first steps. Shoes are always made for the special needs of little feet. But there have also always been children's shoes, which most of all can be described as shoes for small adults. Some used children's shoes also show that they have been good for playing, running, jumping, climbing and crawling in.

Healthy feet and feet with special needs

Foot care: In the past it was the barber who knew little about remedying patients' blemishes due to bad feet, but in 1932 a group of Copenhagen so-called podiatrists formed their own association and undertook to train foot specialists. In 1972, the subject received state authorization and

The National Board of Health established guidelines for podiatrists' work area, e.g. preventive treatment of diabetes patients.

The state-authorized podiatrists worked mainly in the big cities, and when Liselotte Sørensen took over the clinic in Grønnegade in Viborg in 1973, it was the only one in Central Jutland. It was largely podiatrists who advocated sensible footwear after the 1960s' great fondness for pointy shoes and high heels. The slogan became: "The shoe must fit the foot - not the other way around". The reaction also came in the wake of the youth rebellion's thoughts about a more natural existence, and a number of movements for better and healthier footwear arose.

Doctors and podiatrists documented that the usual footwear produced crooked toes, short Achilles tendons, bunions and much more, and X-ray images of unnatural feet were often seen in the press.

Never before in the history of footwear has there been so much interest in the natural anatomy of the foot.

Movements and shoe brands such as Jacoform, Trim and Birkenstock found fertile ground and have had their special customer group ever since, while others had a heyday, but disappeared again after a few years. Kalsø shoes with \pm heels can no longer be bought, and the health sandals have long since been declared unhealthy.

Orthopedic shoes are handmade shoes, made for disabled feet: Sahva began its business in 1872 with a vision to give the physically disabled the opportunity for an independent life. It was about education, housing conditions and, not least, aids, which today is the primary task. Sahva is Scandinavia's largest retailer of orthopedic shoes and aids. The orthopedic shoes are sewn at the main department in Glostrup. The modellers design the upper leather, the needlewomen sew it, and the shoemaker puts it together with the sole so that it fits this particular last and this customer.

Excerpt from Hardy's story: "My name is Hardy and I was born in 1946.

When I was 1½ years old I got polio, or polio as it was called then.

When I started running around, I had to wear an orthopedic custom-made boot.

There were some rails in them and it hurt to walk in them, and they were ugly and clumsy. I would rather use rubber shoes, and my mother stuffed cotton wool in the shoe I had my bad foot in.

As I got older, I kept wearing regular shoes. It wasn't until I was in my mid-twenties that I started using custom-made boots. When they had found out how to construct boots that looked nice and looked like normal short boots and that compensated for the fact that one of my legs is a little shorter than the other. In the beginning I had to get used to it



Fig. 14. *Orthopedic school reading. Today, the orthopedist measures and describes the customer's foot or takes an impression over which the last is made. This is returned to the orthopedist covered with a hard plastic shell. With this transparent "shoe" around the customer's foot, the last corrections are described and the last is sent for correction.*

me to walk with them and I stumbled around a bit before I got used to those boots. Now I have become very happy using them".

A little about the development of fashion phenomena

The cowboy boot is a variant of the work boot.

It originates from Spain and Mexico, where it was developed for horse people. A man who lives his life on a horse needs boots that protect his foot against the horse, but where the shafts are not too long and thus too warm. Horse people the world over have always been happy to have a little heel on their boots, so it's easier to hold on to the stirrup.

The moccasin is characterized by the fact that the leather from the sole is pulled all the way up over the toes before it is attached to the upper leather. Originally, the moccasin was the Indian's footwear with a flexible sole, developed to move silently through tall grass and impassable terrain. Often they were decorated with pearls and fringes on top of the foot.

The canvas shoe: In the early 1900s, there was a focus on health and exercise. As part of this movement, light everyday shoes were developed, inspired by tennis and gym shoes.

From the 1950s onwards, rubber soles came underneath. For many years, canvas shoes were looked down upon by the cobblers. They are cheap shoes that cannot be repaired, and it was claimed that they were unhealthy for the feet because of the moisture that occurs.

The company Converse has made the canvas shoe above all of them, which since the 1950s has been widely used as everyday shoes. It is probably the only shoe used by both sexes and all ages.

The sandal's history is many thousands of years old. In the Roman Empire, the sandal was the property of every man. In all the desert countries of the world, it is indispensable. The sandal is optimal because it protects the sole of the foot from the hot sand. At the same time, it is not too hot, and the sand comes out of the shoe as quickly as it came in. At home, sandals are a phenomenon that has grown in parallel with tourism. As we travel more often to warmer climates, we have discovered the joy of having air for our toes. The sandal's success at home can also be found in the entire foot therapy movement from 1970 onwards.



Fig. 15. *Since the 1960s, boots inspired by the cowboy boot have been a fashion phenomenon. In the 1990s they had a brief success among the youth, but otherwise this kind of boot is for the grown man or woman.*



Fig. 16. *Moccasins were in the early 1980s a fashion phenomenon. It is characterized by being soft and comfortable without being bulky. The sailing shoe, which was also popular in the 1980s, has many of the same characteristics.*



Fig. 16. *Canvas shoes*

The craft

The development of shoe craftsmanship: Today, shoe production has completely transitioned to industrial production compared to the past, when it was a craft. The shoes were made for the individual customer. In many industrially produced shoes, the aim is to look as if they were made according to old craft traditions. Note the edge stitching pattern even though the shoes are glued together.

The molded plastic heel has a pattern as if it is many pieces of leather glued together.

After industrialization, the shoemaker had to make a living by making repairs, but nowadays almost no one gets shoes repaired. An emergency repair, when a heel breaks or a strap breaks, is handled at a heel bar.

The clog maker: Originally, the clog was made from a piece of whole beech wood, cut to size by the clog maker. If it was possible, the upper part was replaced with leather. It was both easier and more convenient to make. Over time, the bottoms were industrially manufactured, and the rest of the production was done at smaller companies. Clogs have always been a comfortable piece of footwear that can be put on and off quickly. You are not sore about your clogs, and often they are extremely robust.

Even clogs can form fashion. At the end of the 1970s, high heels suddenly appeared on clogs, they came in many colors and were decorated with holes. It even became chic to walk with clog boots.

Today, many people use the colorful synthetic clogs for the same purpose as wooden shoes were previously used.

Viborg's Shoemakers

Viborg has been a very large shoemaking town. There were two types of shoemakers: The "fine" custom shoemakers who made custom-made footwear. Each customer had his own read and ordered footwear according to the latest fashion. The second group was the market shoemakers. They made standard sizes and went around markets selling their wares. In Viborg, there were permanent stalls that were inherited.

Even though the market cobblers were competing, they were able to join forces and buy a shared horse-drawn carriage so that they could come home to the family in the evening.

After industrialization, a third group emerged, namely the repair shoemakers, who resoled shoes and boots, made narrow shoes for wider feet and adjusted shoes for customers' bunts and other things.

Military cobblers: Viborg's cobblers' guild was an active player in the city's activities. At the beginning of the 19th century, seven of the city council's eight members were shoemakers. According to the censuses, for a large part of the 19th century there was one master shoemaker per 100 inhabitants, and around 1860 there were 70 inhabitants per master.

When journeymen and apprentices are included, this can explain the large production. During the Three Years' War, the shoemakers from Viborg supplied a large part of the footwear, and during the war in 1864 applied for and received Viborg Shoemaker's Guild the supply of footwear for the military, a total of 500 pairs of boots and 500 pairs of shoes.

Handberg - a family of shoemakers

The Handberg family goes back a long way in Viborg's history. In the 17th century, the first Handbergers were field preparers and tanners. That is, that they processed hides and leather. Side by side with the tannery, they later also became shoemakers and



Fig. 18. Military boots from the 1860s.



Fig. 19 Viborg Museum was given the opportunity to collect Martin Rausenberg's entire workshop after his death.

breeders. From the beginning of the 19th century, part of the family lived in St. Mogens Street. First in No. 68 and then in No. 57, where they had a workshop and business. As the shoe factories gradually phased out hand shoemaking, the Handbergers placed more and more emphasis on breeding.

Shoemaker Rausenberg

Martin Rausenberg came from Southern Jutland. He worked for 12 years with Ernst Pilgaard, wooden shoe manufacturer in Viborg, before in 1941 he bought the shoemaker's shop on Ramsvej.

Martin Rausenberg was a repair shoemaker and very active in the shoemaker's organization as elder for many years. It was during his working life that the profession went from having more than 50 masters in the 1930s to only eight remaining in 1975. When he died aged 89 in 1994, he was one of the last. The shoemakers' organizations agitated a lot for people to buy factory-made footwear of good quality, maintain their shoes, and have them repaired by the shoemakers. In any case, Martin Rausenberg's children were not allowed to wear rubber shoes.

Idioms and legends where shoes are included

It's raining cobbler boys: Expression for rain with unusually large raindrops. The term originates from a triple murder in Læderstræde in Copenhagen in 1758. The shoemaker Carl Jepsen was known as a very hard employer who often punished his apprentices physically for even small mistakes. One day one of them made a major mistake, after which the cobbler threw him out of the window on the second floor. When the other apprentices protested the expulsion, they also jumped out of the window. Only two of the five apprentices survived the trip down the hard cobblestones.

In the vernacular, the tragedy gave birth to a new expression: "It's raining shoemaker boys in Læderstræde". Later, the term was used generally when large things fell from the sky, such as unusually large raindrops. As the expression spread to the rest of the country, the local accent fell away, so people simply said: "It's raining shoemaker boys".

Shoemaker stick to your reading: Alexander the Great's court painter, Apelles, was known to like to display his pictures in such a way that he could listen unseen to people's criticism of the works. One day he changed a detail of a shoe in a painting to study people's reaction. A shoemaker noticed the mistake, but when he continued to also criticize the way the legs were painted, Apelles would no longer listen to him. "A shoemaker should not judge by the shoe", was the saying at the time.

Vidar is the silent son of Odin, the strongest of the gods second only to Thor. Vidar will defeat the Fenir wolf at Ragnarok. He does this by putting his foot on the wolf's lower jaw, while he grabs its upper jaw and tears its head to pieces. On his foot he has a particularly thick shoe, made of scraps from shoe stores all over the world.

Jerusalem's cobbler - also called "The Eternal Jew" - belonged to the horrors of Christmas night for the people of the peasant community. According to an account that has been known in Denmark since the 1500s, "The Eternal Jew" was condemned to wander until the end of the world. The restless journey was a punishment because he had chased Jesus away when he wanted to rest at the cobbler's house on his way to Calvary. Once a year, "The Eternal Jew" must rest, namely Christmas Eve. For the farmers, it was a matter of getting the plow in, because if you were so careless as to leave your plow outside, you risked the Shoemaker of Jerusalem coming and sitting on it. If that happened, for the future only weeds would grow where the plow ploughed.

Literature.

The list of sources and literature used is long, but the three titles below were a great source of inspiration.

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Riello, Giorgio & McNeil, Peter (red.): *Shoes. A history from sandals to sneakers.* London 2011.

Strømgaard Dalby, Mette (ed.): *Shoes. Style, sex and healthy feet,* Trapholt, 2008.

Less notifications

Red heels

- the red heels of absolutism

By stud.mag. Seat Frisch

When you, as a visitor to the Danish castles and museums that display historical portraits, decide to closely study the shoe fashion of the people depicted, it can be amusing to notice the looks of the other guests. Especially if you bend down for the tenth time to be at eye level with the shoes rather than looking more closely at the face higher up. Most guests will probably be inclined to pass by the many portraits without paying much attention to the suits or how the shoes look. Most often, the portraits are referred to based on the people and their life stories, good anecdotes and achievements or lack thereof.

It is told, for example, not about the costume, why Spanish courtiers from the 17th century are dressed markedly differently from the French, why some fashion phenomena last half a century while others barely last a decade, or why noblemen from the 17th and 18th centuries have red heels and soles on their shoe. The following sections attempt to take a closer look at the latter phenomenon as part of a larger political power shift associated with the introduction of absolute power in France in the mid-17th century.

Talons rouges (French for 'red heels'¹) is the term most often used for this type of shoe, and they are often equated with the court of the Sun King, Louis XIV, in France, although the red heels are seen in portraits from before his time.² Louis XIV has gone down in history as the very symbol of absolute power, since in his time he set completely new standards for the display of splendor and power at court, first in Paris and then Versailles. The latter, as a monument in itself, symbolizes the new political order.

The king went from being *primus inter pares* (lat. 'the first among equals') i.e. part of the nobility and dependent on its political and military support, to be able to independently exploit and create new hierarchies of power under the autocracy. By playing off the political factions (between the nobility and the bourgeoisie and internally within the two groups) against each other, he could secure his own position without becoming part of either group.³ To support his own power and for to ensure what can be described as 'continuous competition'⁴ between the subjects, Louis XIV introduced and reinforced ceremonies, routines and orders of rank. This was often expressed in a certain type of suit, ribbon or similar material equipment. Likewise with the red heels, which in France were reserved for nobles. This restriction became more diffuse in the Scandinavian countries, where one can come across images of bourgeois gentlemen and children wearing shoes with red heels.⁵

¹ Etymologically, it is interesting to mention that the term *talons rouges* was also used figuratively as a term for men from the court. Later, the phrase evolved to also include people who behaved like one from the court. (*Dictionnaire de la Langue Française*, 1874, under the entry 'talon')

² June Swann mentions an English monument from the year 1614 as one of the first pictorial references (Swann: 1982, p. 7), but also Danish portraits are wearing boots with red heels and soles before the reign of the Sun King.

³ Elias: 1983, s. 168.

⁴ Duindam: 1995, s. 195

⁵ Swann: 2001, s. 126.

With the change from one monarch to another, a corresponding change in fashion at court was often seen according to the personal taste of the new regent⁶. The introduction of absolutism was completely unique in this area.⁷ Louis XIV - and with him as a model most of Europe's courts - used textiles to promote political positions and to enforce and symbolize the new political hierarchy that absolutism introduced. The old nobility saw themselves removed from many of the most important offices, which were given to newly minted nobles or burghers. The former power elite could then choose between retiring to their country estates with limited political influence or participating in court life. Despite the limited privileges of the nobility, life at court allowed for some influence if one was able to bear the expenses that it entailed. A nobleman's prestige and power could therefore no longer be defined solely on the basis of landed property or offices, but had to be defined to a greater extent on the basis of his personal reputation. This was constantly retold and reinforced through personal relationships with people respectively above and below him in the hierarchy as well as the material facets. These were expressed in everything from the right architectural style on the facade of the mansion to the acquisition of fashionable clothing - including shoes.⁸ Material values such as clothes, shoes, parties and prominence took on a much greater importance for the nobility than before in their pursuit of the king's favour. The Duke of Saint Simon (1675-1755) in his memoirs gives an excellent example of the extreme extravagance life at court necessitated:

In the year 1697, Louis XIV's grandson was married to Princess Marie-Adélaïde of Savoy. The king announced beforehand that he wanted a brilliant court at the wedding and set the standard himself by swapping the moderate style he had adopted in his older days for a more flamboyant one. Saint Simon tells: *"This was enough; no one thought of consulting his purse or his state: each one tried to surpass his neighbor in wealth and invention. Gold and silver scarcely sufficient: the shops of the dealers were emptied in a few days; in a word, luxury the most unbridled reigned over Court and city, for the fete had a huge crowd of spectators. Things went to such a point, that the King almost repented of what he had said, and remarked, that he could not understand how husbands could be such fools as to ruin themselves by dresses for their wives; he might have added, by dresses for themselves. [...] he who should have held only to what had been said, as to the folly of expense, would have grown little in favour. There was no means, therefore, of being wise among so many fools."*⁹

The latter sentence describes Saint Simon's understanding of the necessity to howl with the wolves he is among despite the fact that he perceives them as fools. If you read further in his descriptions, the madness reaches new heights, as some nobles feel compelled to steal each other's tailors, as there is a shortage of these in the run-up to the wedding.¹⁰ Whether the descriptions of the race to be noticed by the majesty can be taken for good goods is a question for a longer discussion that does not belong here. The anecdote - parody or not - gives a good insight into the prestige that had to be achieved at the expense of the private economy. The introduction of red heels as a permanent part of the fashion at Louis XIV's court - and the courts he inspired - must be seen in the context of the need for splendor and self-presentation that Saint Simon describes.

High heels were nothing new at Louis XIV's court, but they fit perfectly into the king's plans to appear superior to others. The Sun King was only about 1.60 meters, and the need to camouflage this 'defect' could be met by the use of high heels and the high wig.¹¹ In an anecdote handed down in the memoirs of Louis XIV's mistress Madame de Montespan, this problem is brought to a head. Montespan says that Monsieur (the king's brother) was offended when his wife pointed out his short stature compared to Louis XIV. *"The very next*

⁶ There are several examples of fashion being influenced by external trends in royal marriages or the taking over of the throne in another country. Examples include Philip V of Spain (grandson of Louis XIV), who initially had to adapt to elements of Spanish court fashion in order to fit in with the new court.

⁷ Swann: 1982, s. 7.

⁸ Duindam: 1995, s. 14.

⁹ Saint-Simon: 1847, 143.

¹⁰ Saint-Simon: 1847, 144.

¹¹ Burke: 1992, s. 125.

day he [Monsieur] summoned his old bootmaker Lambertin, and ordered him to put extra heels two inches high to his shoes. Madame [hans kone] having told this piece of childish folly to the king, he was greatly amused, and with a view to perplex his brother, he had his own shoe-heels heightened, so that, beside his Majesty, Monsieur still looked quite a little man."¹²

Whether the anecdote should be seen simply as the record of a rumor or funny story that has been around at court is debatable. That such a rumor can arise is, however, enough to show that personal appearance (and height) was part of the social game at court.

That no one must stand taller than the king can also be seen in the paintings of the time, where the crown prince is often positioned so that he appears smaller than the regent, despite the fact that the reverse was the case.¹³ The popularity of high heels is therefore probably to be sought in the desire to appear authoritative .

The red color belongs to another side of Louis XIV's staging. At the start of the Sun King's reign, he displayed his overwhelming power and wealth

by a massive consumption of embroidery, lace and colored ribbons in his attire. Louis XIV especially preferred the red color, *la couleur de feu* (in Danish: the color of fire), which could be attached to hats, clothes and shoes via feathers or ribbons. It is also this color that repeats itself on the heels and soles of the shoes.

"The magnificence and splendor which surround kings form part of their power,"¹⁴ points out the social theorist Montesquieu (1689-1755). Thus, it is not only the power of the absolute king that makes the staging possible, but also the staging that gives the king power; a kind of double-acting political instrument. It is the splendor as a whole that constitutes what can be called Louis XIV's 'theatre'¹⁵, where the protagonist is undeniably the king himself with the self-appointed role of the sun god Apollo. It is in this discourse that the color red should probably be seen, combined with the other references Louis XIV made, from his to the person of the sun god: soli icons, pictures and statues of the king wearing 'antique' costume and references in contemporary court-sponsored literature are merely some of the examples of this. In his later years, the very colorful 'sun god fashion' was toned down, which is also seen on the shoes. From having only ribbons (most often red) as decoration and closure, there was a short period of both ribbons and buckles from around the 1670s and finally only buckles. The buckles allowed for more wealth to be displayed on the shoes than the bands had, as they could be studded with precious stones or the like. They could be conveniently moved from shoe to shoe or used to decorate other parts of the garment.¹⁶ However, the red heels continued to shine, despite the fact that the monarch's other attire had become more muted in color during what has aptly been called 'the royal sunset'.¹⁷ Perhaps the red heels were retained because they constituted a symbol of aristocracy in themselves and were not necessarily related to the rest of the attire?



Fig. 1 Sketch of Louis XIV's shoe (ca. 1670s) in brown leather with red sole and high, red heel (not visible). Combination of ribbon and buckle, where the ribbon has become an object of decoration more than a method of closure. (Drawing: the author).

¹² Montespan: 2004, p. 26.

¹³ Burke: 1992, s. 125.

¹⁴ Burke: 1992, s. 5.

¹⁵ Burke: 1992, s. 7.

¹⁶ Swan: 1982, p. 20.

¹⁷ Burke: 1992, s. 108.

An example of the changed fashion and the red shoes can be seen in the generational portrait painted by Nicholas de Largillière from 1710, which shows Louis XIV and his son and grandson. Where the king and crown prince show off the red heels, the grandson has switched to black, combined with a lower wig and the modern Steinkirk cravat. Whether this is a short-lived youth revolt against the fashions of the older generations is not clear, but the red heels did not disappear with the reign of Louis XIV or remained within the borders of France. In Carl Gustav Pilo's picture of the Danish crown prince Christian (later VII) from 1762, the red heels are shown in a lower model, just as they do a generation later in the picture of his son Frederik (later VI) painted by Jens Juel in 1783.¹⁸



Fig. 2 Sketch of Frederik VI's shoes (1783). Note the low heel and the simple buckle, which is probably mostly for decoration. (Drawing: the author).

In the 19th century, the red-heeled shoes disappeared in favor of the more military style of black, flatter boots. The colorful heels are, however, seen as part of the anointing suit up to and including Christian VIII (king 1839-1848).

Today, red soles are primarily associated with the French shoe designer Christian Louboutin's stilettos, where the design is perceived as so unique that the red sole has been defined as a trademark and is thus legally protected by copyright.¹⁹ Whether Louboutin has drawn inspiration from the historical fashion, is unknown to me.

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¹⁸ Both pictures can be found at the National History Museum at Frederiksborg Castle.

¹⁹ source: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/09/06/nyregion/court-rules-louboutin-can-enforce-a-trademark-on-its-red-outsoles.html?_r=0 (used on 19.02.13).

Weather'SHOES

- a collection of decorated and manipulated high heels

By needlework teacher and museum mediator Rikke Ruff

I am fascinated by the very construction of the high-heeled shoe, not as a utility item but as a unique 3D object. My sculptural shoe collection: "Vær'SKO" started ten years ago, now it counts 37 pieces.

The first unique shoe I made was simply to be used as a pincushion. But more ideas popped up and I continuously continued this shoe transformation. My starting point is always a real high-heeled shoe that I get donated or find at marketplaces.

I have set myself a few dogmatic rules, which read as follows: each shoe must have its very own personal identity and DNA profile, and each shoe must have a title from real shoe life.

With these few criteria, this collection and traveling exhibition has left its mark in several places in Denmark.

The choice of materials is extremely varied, I often use known materials but in unknown constellations, e.g. candy canes, shuttlecocks, pacifiers, safety pins, bells, horns, wood chips, etc.

The goal is always a transformation from the general user-friendly to the sculptural unique exhibition-friendly. My passion is the manipulated shoe objects on podiums and in showcases.

Italian fashion designer Elsa Schiaparelli, 1890-1973, placed *her* shoe hat on her head, designed by Salvador Dalí.

The Indian designer Vivian Sundaram has just had her exceptional shoe-dress exhibited at the Ark, and the artist Méret Oppenheim laced a pair of white shoes together like a roast on a silver platter and gave them paper cuffs around the high heels and called the work: My governess, 1936 .

In the following, I will take a look at some of them the stories behind the manufacturing process and the associated narrative anecdotes. A selection of the shoes will be presented as a comic strip.



Fig. 1: *The SCHOOL teacher's pincushion*

This shoe came into the world as the first - and before my rules of dogma were established. It is thus the founder of the entire Vær'SKO collection. The rose is made in lace embroidery surrounded by a steel wire shape.



Fig. 2: *Military shoes*

This camouflage shoe was supposed to contain a military tank, but it was not up for grabs at the time, that was before Denmark became a belligerent nation. After searching in vain in BR shops and other well-stocked toy stores, I simply had to give up my venture. Actually, I wasn't proud of having to ask for war toys as a social worker either. I ended up getting my tank bought on a trip to London. The caterpillar feet are handmade felt in measured rolls and the rose was a humanistic must.



Fig. 3: Lotus

Lotus shoes are a prototype of a Chinese shoe, as fashion and culture dictated laced feet. The ideal measurement of a lily pad was just 7.5 cm. My lotus shoe is placed on a decoupage decorated shoe, where the illustrations are the bare feet with broken and broken toes that cruelly lie under the foot. The embroidered shoe is made with silk and has a felt sole. The Chinese shoe has just had a renaissance this year, when the artist Tine Louise Kortermant performed a work about secrets, identity and language - inspired by the secret Chinese women's language Nüshu. My lotus shoe has, among other things, participated as a source of inspiration for: Nordic Nüshu.



Fig. 4: Shoe horn shoes

Shoe horns are a necessary prop for a shoe collection. When this cow horn shoe was to be manufactured in the year 2000, mad cow disease broke out in Denmark, therefore it was not legal to purchase cow horn. I was thinking of using a cow horn as a heel. After a lively correspondence, I finally ordered a horn from Sweden and an old mink hat has added body to the garment itself.



Fig. 5: Golf

Hunting in the underbrush near a golf course can trigger a win on both old golf balls and colored tees. Both effects are used on my golf shoes. Originally, I wanted a piece of plastic grass as the base material, but it was only possible to buy a roll of grass several meters long, so I switched to the real thing, i.e. it became moss from the garden, which even grew long after it had been dug up and sat in the shoe.



Fig. 6: The temperamental Flamenco shoe:

Duende - is the soul and authenticity of Flamenco music, the temperamental dance fascinates me. Having acquired a pair of real Flamenco shoes myself, which fit like butter on the foot, a ditto had to enter my collection. The shoe is from scratch. of the 20th century, the fixed short heel has of course been studded and the polka dots are the epitome of sizzle in the skirts. As a play on words, a Flamingo BZat

At the beginning of 2013, the Vær'SKO traveling exhibition could be seen in the following places:

Værløse Library. www.furesoebibliotekerne.dk

from February 4 to February 28, 2013

Helsingør library and Kulturværft. www.helsbib.dk

from March 4 to April 30, 2013

- the exhibition has previously been shown at Textilforum in Herning, 2006/07, where registrar Ida Hansen was the prime mover for the exhibition and, in a whimsical way, let the sculptural shoes enter into dialogue with specially selected museum objects.

- other exhibition venues; Among other things, art associations, cultural centers, magazine houses, banks, museums, libraries, galleries and the Bella Center in KBH.

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Hellerup

<http://webtv.fjordtv.dk/fjordtv.aspx?tagsid=400&soegeord=kulturkraft&period=2010-10--2010-11> (approx. 12 min. in) *Vær'SKO interview*

The Suit Journal's Favorite #9

A pair of high heels, **red** slippers in Den Gamle By

By museum inspector Tove Engelhardt Mathiassen

In 2012 there was an 18th century festival in Aarhus. During the nine days the festival lasted, Den Gamle By contributed several events, for example a Holberg performance and subsequent historical dinner, concerts and also with lectures, where my contribution was about 18th century textiles and child rearing. Of a more persistent nature was the exhibition "Shoes and Accessories". Fashion and Luxury in the 18th century." It could be seen from 9 March 2012 and the rest of the year.

The exhibition was established in a side cabinet in Møntmestergården, the large bindery farm that was originally built in Borgergade in Copenhagen in 1683. The exhibition included a pair of high-heeled slippers, and they are Dragtjournalen's Favorite in this themed issue about shoes.

Focus on shoes and accessories

The idea for the exhibition's focus came partly from the large column space that has been used on accessories in fashion magazines in recent years, partly from the fact that many of today's people think of accessories as an integral part of personal 'styling', as it is called a good English word. Many specialty stores have sprung up for accessories at many different price levels, from plastic jewelry to bags that cost several months' salary.

Shoes, on the other hand, have been in focus for many years. It is nothing new at all with specialist shops for footwear, even though the shoemakers of the market towns before the Business Act 1857 did not actually have a monopoly on trade and craftsmanship like so many other artisans in the cities.

The country cobblers had royal permission to sew the coarser footwear; 1

but elegant fashion shoes and slippers were the call of the urban shoemakers. The shoemakers of the market towns had a negotiation of footwear in connection with their workshop, where they sewed shoes to measure. In Riello and McNeil²



Fig. 1 The display case 'Close up' from the exhibition "Shoes and Accessories. Fashion and Luxury in the 18th century." Photo: Kamma Mogensen, The Old Town, 2012.

1 Mathiassen: 2001, p. 97.

2 Riello and McNeil: 2011, p. 13.



Fig. 2: Notices from the exhibition texts, which were in the form of an 18th-century fashion magazine. Each post corresponded to one section of the exhibition. Trends was chosen as an obvious category because it was a term that was used strikingly often in the fashion magazines in 2011. In Denmark, there are also trend researchers. A post on the word 'trend researcher' yielded 15,900 hits on Google in January 2013.

an interesting, colored copper engraving from the 17th century by Melchior Tavernier has been reproduced. It depicts a shoemaker's workshop with three busy shoemakers at work, the craftsmen sitting on stools with the bucket strap around their legs. The buckle strap holds the footwear to the knee while the cobbler sews the pieces together.³ An elegantly dressed couple has entered and stands at the counter to buy, and one cobbler hands an item to the customer. Under a beam and on long wooden hooks in the background hang a selection of goods: boots with wide openings, shoes and also slippers in red and yellow. It's a specialty shoe store, presumably in Paris.

Nevertheless, there is a particular focus on shoes these years. Where Philippine First Lady and Manila Mayor Imelda Marcos' heavy consumption of shoes in the 1970s and 80s was seen as an expression of the couple's personal enrichment at the country's expense and total decadence. Well-known women are now coming forward and talking about their great interest in shoes and the importance of shoes in the larger context. Steele humorously writes: "*There is a little of Imelda Marcos in many women, and many men exhibit an almost Pavlovian response to the sight of a woman in high heels.*"⁴ about the connection between erotic imagination and shoes. Sociologist Emilia van Hauen gives a lecture entitled "Can I have sex in these shoes?" It can be seen from Athena's website with the dissemination of lectures that Hauen talks about shoes as tools for women to celebrate our own beauty and have more sex.⁵ For the people of the 18th century, at least those who have left behind

³ Mathiassen: 2001, p. 94.

⁴ Steele: 2011, s. 250.

⁵ <http://www.athenas.dk/emilia-van-hauen-foredrag-sociologi-ledelse-stress.htm> (Accessed 11 January 2013).

written and iconographic evidence, the foot was also surrounded by a great interest of an erotic nature.

*"That small feet were part of the beauty ideal of the time is clear from, for example, Boileau's La Comparaison des petits pieds (The comparison of small feet) from c. 1787, where two women compare feet with a view to their value as beautiful, erotic objects."*⁶

In an analysis of the French painter Jean-Honoré Fragonard's painting 'Gyngen' from 1767 the erotic connotations of the rocking girl's foot and the high-heeled slipper flying through the air very prevalent. Yes, the flying slipper in the picture is directly interpreted as an orgasmic element.⁸ The work 'The swing' was commissioned by Baron de Saint Julien, which can be seen in the lower left corner of the picture, from where there is a good view up between the young lady's skirts. She was his mistress, so much suggests eroticism in this picture.

The current exhibition

Museum exhibitions must be current, so what was more obvious than to thematize shoes and the concept of accessories in an exhibition where the focus was the 18th century? Across more than 300 years for the oldest items and up to the newest items from the end of the 18th century, it was my aim to show both recognizable and completely different accessories – not just shoes.

I wrote the texts of the exhibition in the same style as the fashion magazines, and thematized the objects based on the logic of a fashion magazine. A logic which is not necessarily identical to the context from which the objects originate. The pair of women's slippers that is Dratjournalen's Favorite was exhibited together with four pairs of cloth-covered women's shoes and two elegant fans, two bright men's waistcoats with embroidery and three pairs of shoe buckles for men's shoes, a knee buckle for 18th century knee breeches, various silver buttons and an elegant box turned of ivory. The show's headline was 'Close up', which was also a favorite headline in fashion magazines from 2011, where people went up close to various accessories. The footwear and the fans were given a single object text in the "fashion magazine", and it read like this: *"The style specialists have put a sharp focus on feminine, beautiful wooden heels covered with the thinnest leather. The slippers are comfortable with red silk velvet and leather soles and the silk shoes are for more formal occasions. Matching silver buckles can be bought from the town's jeweller. Fans are a separate chapter in a feminine lifestyle. You can buy them in the hot boutiques in Copenhagen or directly from the fan maker. Choose silk fan model 1750s with gold decor on ivory and gouache painting or a 1790s fan with leg frame and silk leaf with printed decor. Both with sequins."*⁹

The other display cases had headings such as 'Accessories that complete your look', 'Trends' and 'Indispensable on the journey', 'Hunting season' and for the display case with exclusive tobacco accessories from the 18th century, the heading was 'Tobacco is hot.' Hot understood as hot and fashionable, which can be difficult to understand today, when smoking has become politically incorrect. The texts were printed in a small magazine on glossy paper with a layout like a fashion magazine. These magazines hung on the display cases and are sold in the Shop in Den Gamle By.

A pair of bourgeois slippers from Skanderborg

The slippers or pampus, as they were also called at the time,¹⁰ were the oldest example of footwear in the exhibition. They date from the second half of the 18th century, presumably from the 1750s or 1760s, when fine slippers were still popular. Especially as indoor clothing. Bills, i.e. estate inventories, from that time can tell about social level. Anna Slåthugger, who died as early as 1735 in Aarhus, owned a pair of red velvet slippers.¹¹ Anna's slippers presumably had pointed toes that tilted up a little and a slightly stronger heel than the Dress Journal's Favorite.

6 Søndergaard: 1997, p. 143.

7 The Great Danish Encyclopedia, vol. 6, 1996, p. 628.

8 Søndergaard: 1997, p. 130.

9 Mathiassen: 2012, p. 10.

10 <http://ordnet.dk/ods/ordbog?aselect=Pampusse&query=pampusser> (Accessed 16 January 2013).

11 Lorenzen: 1975, p. 55.



Fig. 3: Slippers with a wooden heel that is placed deep under the foot, which made it difficult to move around. The heel is covered with glacé leather, and the sole is also made of leather. The red velvet is edged with a bright silk ribbon. Photo: Frank Pedersen, *The Old City*.

Shapes of shoes and slippers used in Scandinavia are shown in June Swann's book *History of Footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland* (2001). Anna was first married to an innkeeper and later to a tailor,¹² so she has belonged to the market town's middle class, to express it now with terms from another time. Inger Rasmusdatter, who died in 1758, had a pair of blue slippers in her stash; but the material is not known.¹³ She was married to a carpenter.¹⁴ Inger's slippers could well have had the same shape as *Dragtjournalen's* Favorite with a so-called pompadour heel after the French King Louis XV's mistress Madame Pompadour. The French painter Boucher has painted Madame Pompadour's portrait several times.¹⁵ The slightly thicker slippers were used as work clothing.

The provenance of the favorite is quite short. On the registration card it says: "*Found on the Amtsgården's loft in Skanderborg.*" In their museum number AM45, AM stands for Aarhus Museum. It was established in 1861, so object number 45 in Aarhus Museum indicates an early incorporation, probably already in the 1860s. The historical objects from Aarhus Museum were incorporated into Den Gamle By in the 1920s. The digital Skanderborg Lexicon tells about Skanderborg County Court that it was built in 1804 at Adelgade 19 in Skanderborg.¹⁶ The builder of the stately building was the town clerk Andreas Nicolai Bagger; but that is not the same as knowing that it was him or his wife Karen Hasselmann Voetmann,¹⁷ who put a pair of old slippers in the attic.

Of the two, it is most likely that it was him. He was born in 1763 and could perhaps have inherited them from his mother Bodil Andersdatter Wonge, who died in 1783. She was born in 1742 on the farm Donneruplund near Give in a family with ambitions, especially her grandfather Niels Andersen

¹² Lorenzen: 1975, p. 305.

¹³ Lorenzen: 1975, p. 101.

¹⁴ Lorenzen: 1975, p. 325.

¹⁵ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Boucher_Marquise_de_Pompadour_1756.jpg (Accessed 16 January 2013). At Bouchers portrait of Madame Pompadour from 1756, you can clearly see Pompadour heels."

¹⁶ http://www.skanderborgleksikon.dk/index.php/Skanderborg_Amtsg%C3%A5rd (Accessed 11 January 2013).

¹⁷ http://www.skanderborgleksikon.dk/index.php/Andreas_Nicolai_Bagger (Accessed 11 January 2013).

Wong raised money for houses and bought land,¹⁸ so why not let a daughter of the family own a pair of red silk velvet slippers?

The slippers in Borgmestergården

Normally, these slippers are part of the permanent exhibition 'Populated rooms', which can be seen in six rooms during the time journey in the Mayor's Garden, Den Gamle By.¹⁹ They stand by the alcove in the Mayor's alcove room, where the lady has just stood up in the small scenography. She has put on her adrienne, the loose house dress, and is choosing lace for her suit; but that's a whole other story.

Literature for Favorite 9

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Varies

Shoes in change approx. 1550-1700

By cand.mag. Camilla Luise Dahl

Shoes and footwear do not appear so often in the shifts, although one must otherwise assume that some form of footwear was by far the most common. One of the reasons is presumably that the shoes of that time wore out quickly and therefore had no greater value. Of course, worthless items were not included when the estate was settled. New and unused shoes, or simply shoes that were not yet completely used up and worn out, can, on the other hand, be included because they were after all worth something.

When footwear appears in the shifts, they are therefore often new, fine (expensive), or they appear as part of the product range in, for example, the grocery shifts. Several change inventories of merchants' and peddlers', shoemakers' and slippermakers' stalls and warehouses mention large quantities of footwear. Often neither they nor the overviews of ordinary people's belongings are particularly generous with information other than shoe type and occasionally material. The artisans associated with the manufacture of footwear also give us an idea of the types of footwear that were produced and sold in the cities. This applies, for example, to the traditional shoemakers, slipper makers, patina makers and wooden shoemakers. The changes also show that in a city there could be both craftsmen who produced footwear and merchants who sold ready-made ditto.

Probably the most common footwear throughout the 16th and 17th centuries were clogs. However, we do not find such or only rarely mentioned in the deeds. This is undoubtedly because they were of such low value that they were not included. However, we know from other contexts that they existed and were used. A pair of clogs was among the footwear that a young girl in Vordingborg received from her guardian in the 1640s.¹ And a young girl in Kalundborg was given short boots (clogs with wooden soles and upper leather) by her guardian in the late 1580s, they cost 1½ mk in 1583, the following year she had them fined for 2 shillings.²

Hans Helsing, shopkeeper in Kalundborg (1652) was inside with 90 pairs of clogs at 4 shillings a pair, and a shopkeeper's wife in Vordingborg had 25 pairs of clogs at 4 shillings a pair in 1690. At such a low price, even for brand new shoes, it's no wonder that used clogs weren't worth including in swap shops. The leather shoes are also usually rated low. In finer people's estates among what had the lowest value, in poor people's estates, it could more often be among the few things that constituted a value. Anne Måttemagers in Vordingborg, at her death in 1673, left behind only a modest amount of personal property, in the exchange it was only a skirt of plain yarn and a pair of shoes, both valued at 2 mk, that were included.³

Among the footwear that otherwise appears among women's possessions are shoes and slippers. The shoes could be made of suede (rysleder), of thin fine leather (cardevans) or of stronger leather. The latter is only rarely mentioned in the changes. Anne Cathrine Jonas, the young mistress of Captain Christian Frederik Langkoppe, who died in Elsinore in 1679, left behind a magnificent wardrobe at her death, which included, among other things, "2 paar fransche quinde schoe med baand och knipling" valued at 2 dalers.⁴ And Mette Lauridsdatter, wife of a councilor in Holbæk, had in 1659 a pair of fine shoes with gold lace and a pair of embroidered slippers.⁵

¹ LAK, Vordingborg town clerk, probate documents 1646-69, guardian account dated 1646-50.

² LAK, Kalundborg town clerk, probate documents 1541-1645, trustee's accounts 1579-89.

³ LAK, Vordingborg town clerk, probate documents 1670-99, deed of probate 18 Feb. 1673.

⁴ LAK, Helsingør town clerk, transfer protocol 1677-1680, pag. 180v.

⁵ LAK, Holbæk town clerk, probate documents. *1 pahr quinde schoe, with gold lace on 2 dr, 1 pahr slipper prom 1½ dr.*

Slippers are mentioned sporadically in the shifts throughout the century. Slippers were shoes without a heel flap, and were mainly used for home use. The slippers were usually made of velvet or thin leather. They are mentioned especially in the women's shifts, but slippers for indoor use were also used by men. A pair of old slippers and a pair of Kardevan shoes are mentioned at Anne Bruun in Vordingborg (1637), they cost 2 mk each, and Karen Thomasdatter (1638), wife of the town clerk in the same place, was in possession of a pair of velvet night slippers.⁶ Anne Jørgensdatter in Næstved (1684) had a pair of sewn slippers, which must mean with embroidery.⁷ Such slippers with embroidered upper leather are also known from finds.⁸ Unmarried Maren Eriksdatter, who stayed with a beer tapper in Copenhagen, left behind in 1696 a pair of shoes and a pair of plush green slippers.⁹

In 1584, the shopkeeper Henrik PIPHERING in Aalborg had different kinds of slippers made of leather, velvet and "slippers with shoes", which perhaps means with stronger soles or with associated patinas (a kind of removable soles of either leather or wood equipped with straps into which the slippers were stuck).¹⁰ Leather and velvet slippers cost 28 shillings a pair, while slippers with shoes cost as much as 2 mk 8 shillings.

Maren Nielsdatter in Svaneke had a pair of practical shoes made of black leather with "wooden inserts" that were presumably based on the same principle.¹¹

The leather shoes could be suede or leather, occasionally fitted with fine buckles, or tied with straps. Ellen Jensdatter, a cobbler's widow from Kalundborg, had at her death in 1690 a pair of silver shoe buckles that weighed 2 lots and were valued at 1 daler and 1 mark.¹²

Boots made of suede and leather are one of the types of footwear that are particularly associated with men in the 17th century. Boots are mentioned only in men's shifts. Throughout the century, knee-high boots were preferred, often further up with a leather collar. Around 1630 it had become fashionable to wear canvas notices for the boots, a kind of decoration that was placed at the top of the shaft and folded down so that they covered the upper part of the boot shaft. Called boot stockings or cannons, they may be identical to the canvas stockings occasionally mentioned, but canvas stockings could also be worn under the more scratchy woolen woven stockings.

Frederik Neinaber, organist in Vordingborg (1660) left behind two pairs of old canvas stockings. The boot shafts could apparently also be independent pieces, Anders Pedersen, a journeyman brewer in Helsingør, in 1659 left behind a pair of Cardevan boot shafts for 1 mk 8 sk.¹³

According to the fashion of the time, shoes and boots had to have square toes. They could also be decorated with buckles, rosettes or ribbons. The rosettes could be removable. Augustus Werlauff, customs officer in Køge, in 1648 had 4 pairs of "skoros" for 1 rd.¹⁴

Both highly rated boots that were probably new, good quality and low rated by rings quality is mentioned in the changes.

For the boots could also hear spurs. At his death in 1645, the soldier Anders Rienken in Odense had "1 pair of *old* boots with a spur" that were only valued at 1 mk.¹⁵

6 LAK, Vordingborg town clerk, probate protocol 1637-64, p. 14r and p. 48v, Karen Thomasdatter had: "j par kardewanß schoe" and "j par fløiels Nat chöfell", p. 48v.

7 LAK, Næstved: probate documents 1603-1700, deed of probate without number dated 16 Jan. 1684.

8 Vivi Lena Andersen: The shoe in the trash, p.

9 Copenhagen City Clerk, Gårdretten, deeds of probate 1683-1740, Bs. no. 1: 1683 9 12 -1697 12 23, bill of exchange no. 2.

10 LAV, Aalborg city clerk, deeds of probate 1584-1627, deed of probate dated 19 June. 1584.

11 LAK, Svaneke town clerk, probate protocol, Probate protocol: 1686-1736. Change dated 21 Nov. 1688. "*Jt paar qvinde schoe af black conductor with wooden offset underneath ... 3 mk 8 sk*"

12 LAK, Kalundborg town clerk, probate documents 1675-1690, deed of probate no. 5 2 schoe-sølfspender wog 2 loed à 2 mk 8 sk 1 row 1 mk

13 LAK, Helsingør town clerk, probate protocol 1658-59, p. 141v. 1 pair of Cardeuenske boots makes 1 mk 8 sk.

14 Transfer from Køge, p. 194.

15 LAO, Odense city clerk, probate protocol 1645-46, pag. 139 r.

Selection of switches**Probate for Peder Stub and wife, shoemaker and citizen, Malmö 3 Feb. 1560**

Malmö council room, probate documents 1560-62, deed of probate no. 48.

The wife's name is not given, Peder Stub belonged to the town's citizens and was clearly better off. According to the list, he was a shoemaker on shift. According to the land register 1549-59, Peder Stub's wife's mother was Gundel Jens Gummesens, the wife's name was thus Jensdatter. Perr Stub regularly appears as a bailiff. His first wife (or same as here) died in 1551, with her 2 children: Niels and Karine.

Shoes in the store

2 pairs of knee high boots

1 pair of high heels

1 pair of high heels

16 pairs of men's shoes

10 par mandesco

32 pairs of quinde oc boys' shoes 9 pairs

of children's shoes

9 value mandesko

5 deger quinde oc boys shoes

Probate for Lisbeth Jacobsdatter, cobbler's wife, Randers 21 May 1641 Probate documents 1629-43

probate no. 103.

Wife of Mickel Jensen, shoemaker and citizen of Randers. Children from a previous marriage named Ove, Chresten, Jørgen and Jacob Laursen and Margrethe and Mette Laursdatter. The probate also contains guardianship accounts of what the stepfather Mickel Jensen had spent on the children, the accounts are not written off here.

Loose 7

small hides and 3 skins for 30 pairs of	10½ dr
leather, parit for 3 sk of ufer houdet, is 1 shoe of iron for 12 skins	10 mk 10 sk ½
vdi stenkarit, stuchett	mk 18
1 rdr, is ... 1 stoch solleler for 2 pairs of soles, for ... 10 pairs	sldr 1½
of farmer's shoes small and big for...	mk 4 dr

The salig quindes dresser:

Hinde's best dressing gown for ... 1 other	10 sldr 3
gamell split dressing gown for ... 1 green pettewan	dr
schjørt with 4 rows of bright yellow galloons for ... 1 black coarse	
green schjørt ... 1	5 dr
brown kleschiort with 2 rows of wide	3 dr
corde and holes on the front ... 1 grouff brown climbing shirt ... 1 small	
gamel wuseful	3 dr
trøie aff trip, giort after the old wise,	5 mk
bleff the smallest girl of the aruingers beuilget frj. 13	
pairs of sølffmaliger woeg to 14 another pair to 2	
gamel snøreliff bleff bege the girls vden schiffte beuilget,	
1 gamel blaa upsplit rye schjørt, bleff and ...	7 rdr
sambtycht ...	13 mk

the poor little girl, his own
chap, very worn out for...

9 mk

Probate of Peder Baggesen, customs officer and councillor, Ribe, 25 June. 1650 Probate

documents 1646-1655, probate no. 2.

Left behind a wife Maren Lauridsdatter and minor children not specified by name, however two daughters named Ingeborg and Johanne are mentioned later in the shift. The guardians of the children were their uncles Laurids, Bagge and Lambert Baggesen. The farm was valued at 1,600 rigsdaler.

Sallig Peder Baggesen's liff clothes: 1 black

finely dressed cloak with black flosses beredning and 1 wridtzet

velvet slag for 26 dr, is... 1 black old cloak with slagh

17 rdr 1 place 8 sk

and beredning for 10 dr, is... 1 borattis kioll vnder lined with
black cats for 15

6½ rows 16 sc

dr, is ... 1 boratte's dressing vdlacht saturated adtlasch for 6

10 rdr

dr,

is ...

4 rows

1 old fiffschafftis kioll for 2½ dr, is ... 1 old black fiffschafftes

1½ rows 16 sc

kledningh for 2½ dr, is ... 1 liff fodder aff blackte katte till 1 mans kioll

1½ rows 16 sc

for 4 dr ... 1 old reise kiorttel aff fillemort klede for 5 dr,

2½ rows 16 sc

is ...

3 row 1 space 8 sk 8

1 velvet saber hat for 12 dr, is ... 1 black hat

space

for 3 mk, is ... 1 pair of black strix

½ row 1

stockings for 7 mk, is ... 1 pair ditto for 5 mk, is ... 1 pair

space 16 space 3

of old ditto for 2 mk, is ... 2 paar

space 8 space

stöffle hoße for ... 1 paar kardeuansche stoffle

1 space 8

for ... 1 paar leder haandsche

space ½

for ... 1 paar old kardeuansche schoe ... 1

space

paar chupfell for ... 1 paar spurer for ...

1 space

2 paar gammell schoe for 2 mk er ...

16 space ½ space

16 space 1

space

8 space 1 space 1 space 8 space

Reviews

BALLGOWNS – British Glamour Since 1950

Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 19 May 2012 – 6 January 2013

The exhibition was curated by museum inspector Oriol Cullen.

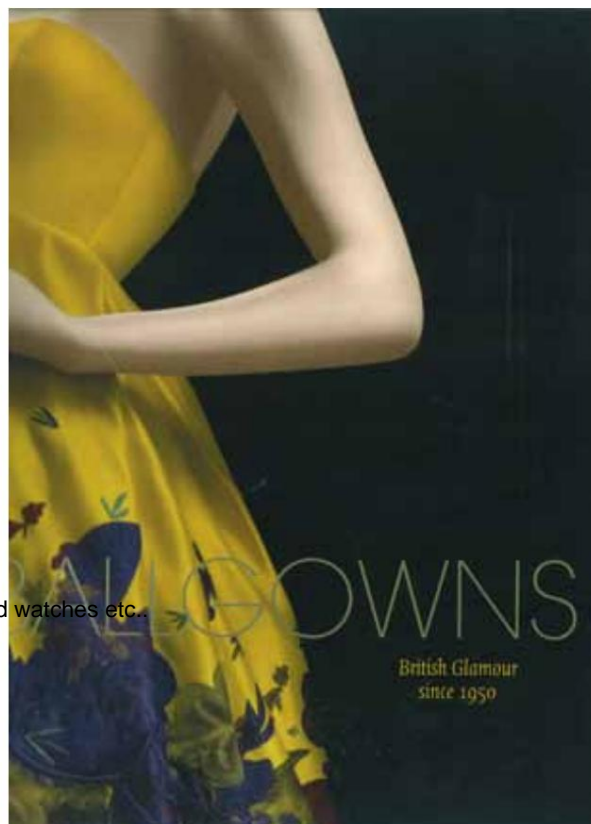
Despite the fact that the exhibition is no longer on display, it is still relevant to review *Ballgowns – British Glamour Since 1950*, as the exhibition touches on some fundamental issues which are also current in the Danish museum environment and raises questions in relation to fashion and costume exhibitions and about the communication at the exhibitions. In my opinion, it is interesting in the light of the current Danish debate about research and communication in museums, and the possible significance the result will have for future exhibitions and audience interest.

There were several reasons for the *Victoria & Albert Museum* to show the exhibition *Ballgowns – British Glamour Since 1950*. Partly the museum participated in the celebration of Queen Elizabeth II's 60th coronation anniversary, and partly it was the first time the museum opened its doors to a special exhibition that is physically located in the middle of the museum's newly installed permanent costume exhibition. At the same time, the museum had succeeded in getting the exhibition marketed in a few display windows in the *Harrods* department store facing *Knightsbridge*. There was no material on whether the evening dresses on display at *Harrods* were museum pieces, and it should be added that they were not on display for the entire exhibition period, but only in the weeks leading up to and immediately following the anniversary.

Approx. 70 evening dresses from the six decades corresponding to the Queen's reign - from approx. 1950 to approx. 2010 – was exhibited. The evening dresses were designed by approx. 65 designers, including *Worth London*, *Norman Hartnell* (1901-79), *Hardy Amies* (1909-2003), *John Cavanagh* (1914-2003), *Belville Sassoon* (Belinda Bellville b. 1920'erne, David Sassoon b. 1932), *Murray Labor* (1935-2011), *Yuki Torimary*, *Zandra Rhodes* (b. 1940), *Vivienne Westwood* (f. 1941), *Ossie Clark* (1942-96), *Bill Gibb* (1943-88), *Victor Edelstein* (f. 1945), *Cathrine Walker* (1945-2010), *Caroline Charles*, *John Galliano* (f. 1960), *Alexander McQueen* (1969-2010), *Hussein Chalayan* (f. 1970), *Stella McCartney* (f. 1971), *Matthew Williamson* (b. 1971) and *Garteh Pugh* (b. 1981). In addition to the evening dresses, there were individual, smaller showcases with displayed accessories such as gloves, shoes and bags.

Structure of the exhibition

The evening dresses were displayed on two floors. Downstairs, all the dresses were displayed in twelve built-in showcases. On the upper floor, however, all the dresses were displayed on podiums outside display cases. In front of each individual podium on the upper floor, several large balls were set up, which had the practical function of preventing the audience from getting within touching distance of the clothes. To create atmosphere on the lower floor of the exhibition, the back walls of the display cases were decorated with black and white photostats of the furniture and lighting of the time, e.g. chairs, mirrors and chandeliers, in addition to photos of e.g. jewellery, shoes and watches etc. All dresses were displayed on modern, white, smooth (fiberglass?) mannequins with heads. It worked really well for the newer dresses, whereas the dolls didn't have measurements that matched clothes from previous decades, both in terms of height, bust, waist and hip measurements. As



apparently not enough had been done to compensate for the out-of-date measurements, some of the clothes did not sit well on the dolls. Behind the podiums on the upper floor, a series of semi-arches were set up, which were used for the exposure of photos photographed on live models of the exhibited dresses, which were lent for the occasion by the designers. In an area downstairs, short films were shown with clips from fashion shows from the earliest decades in particular.

Communication at the exhibition

In addition to an introductory text, the textual communication at the exhibition was divided into themes such as: *Designing for the Ball*, *Wears*, *The Occasion*, *Royalty* and *In the Spotlight*. Each of the six texts had a length of approx. 150 words, the introductory text maybe a bit longer. In addition to the theme texts, there was a label text for each dress. The last texts were limited to the basic information – designer, year, material, ownership and, in a single case, who had worn the dress and on what occasion. The theme texts put 'ballet' as a social event into a chronological, temporal framework, from 'debut ball', over 'charity ball' to 'red carpet event', where the concept of 'product placement' has taken on new meaning.

Apparently, the value of having your design photographed from all angles on a famous and feted actress on the red carpet at, say, the BAFTA (British Academy of Film and Television Arts) awards cannot be overstated.

Problems at the exhibition

As mentioned, all the dresses that were shown on podiums on the upper floor were displayed outside display cases. The dresses were mainly the latest, from the 2000s, most of them lent by the designers for the exhibition. Now one could imagine that they had chosen to exhibit all the museum's dresses, where there were display requirements for the protection of the often very vulnerable materials, on the lower floor in display cases and all the loaned dresses on the upper floor, as designers usually do not display the same requirements in an exhibition context as the museums. But that wasn't quite the case - it turned out that some of the museum's dresses were also exhibited outside display cases on the upper floor, and some were deposited in display cases on the lower floor. Obviously, this relationship is probably not something that audiences would normally wonder about, let alone notice. But for the curator, who is responsible for preserving the cultural heritage, it is a consideration and a potential risk that should be considered very carefully.

As a curator, you often work with two classic methods of arrangement - either chronologically or thematically, it can be subject-wise or material-wise. From the very beginning of the exhibition it was clear that the chronological arrangement had not been chosen and unfortunately I did not manage to find or understand a theme in the arrangement - on top of that after having seen the exhibition several times. There was clearly a fine aesthetic in the way the dresses were put together, they matched each other, especially in terms of color. For example, there was a showcase where the dresses were either green or black or both. In fact, the dresses were assembled and displayed as one imagines they would be presented in a showcase of a finer fashion store. In addition to the introductory text, one of the theme texts was written from the designer's point of view, another from the customer's, two of the texts told about the development in the social significance of ballet and finally the last theme text told about etiquette and functions of the royal gala clothing. The physical location of the texts did not seem to belong with certain parts of the exhibition, they seemed rather like informative texts distributed randomly over the exhibition area. Therefore, it quickly ended with guests going from one beautiful evening dress to the next and admiring the materials, colors and techniques. That way it became 'which-dress-do-I-want-to-wear?' – a kind of shopping experience with the eyes, perhaps not exactly the museum's most important task.

The exhibition included a publication: Oriole Cullen and Sonnet Stanfill, *Ballgowns – British Glamour since 1950*, V & A Publishing, London, 2012. It would not be correct to call the publication a catalogue, as not all approx. 70 evening dresses from the exhibition are documented in the book. In contrast, a selection of 32 dresses are photographed on dolls in dramatic poses. In addition to a foreword by Magdalene Keaney, the publication contains two excellent and informative articles written by Oriole Cullen: 'Designing the Ballgown' and Sonnet Stanfill: 'Ballgowns: The Rituals of Dressing Up' respectively. Oriole Cullen's article takes as its point of departure the designers, their business and the conceptual importance of evening dresses for the social events that many of the designers were capable of delivering. Sonnet Stanfill's article is about the often many years of mutual confidentiality between selected customers and their fashion designers, and about the meaning that the individual dress had for the customer and for the significant event where it was worn.

The curator's work in relation to the guests is to put the exhibited objects into a context – preferably with several layers, so that you as a guest leave an exhibition not only enriched by

the visual experience, but a little smarter on the subject. There can be no doubt about the quality of the evening dresses on display, in terms of design as in the choice of materials, embroidery, floral motifs, beadwork, lace, bows and ribbons. Once again, one must bow to the Victoria & Albert Museum's rich and valuable collections. But both the exhibition and the associated publication lacked a fashion historical context that was reflected in the evening wear, and which could have been told through the very talented designers whose dresses were shown at the exhibition. It is surprising that such a well-recognized museum with so many skilled employees fails to include the dissemination layer of fashion and costume history in such an important special exhibition as *Ballgowns – British Glamor since 1950*, but chooses almost exclusively in the exhibition to convey the 'celebrity' -culture, of which the evening dresses are a part. An extra layer of fashion and costume history communication does not have to be a necessity for the guest's enjoyment of the exhibition, but can be the extra that might make the guest return to see the exhibition several times. Or it can be the layer that makes even the knowledgeable guest feel like they're going home with extra knowledge. Now I don't have the exact visitor numbers from the Victoria & Albert Museum, but during the visits I made to the exhibition and from my colleagues at the museum, I have been informed that the exhibition has been exceptionally well visited and that the associated publication was torn away. You can be happy about that on behalf of the museum. But, on the other hand, it is also thought-provoking that the demands we as curators place on an exhibition may not necessarily be the same as those that make the public flock to an exhibition. Next, you can consider whether fashion and costume exhibitions have gone on to become such great public successes that it has become too easy for museums to skip over where the fence is lowest and at the same time be sure that the number of visitors is high. After many years when fashion and costume exhibitions have not been popular with museum directors and inspectors, the subject has finally been accepted. Wouldn't it be a shame to relax the standard, so that arguments about the superficiality of the subject and commercial connection can once again gain renewed strength? At the same time, one can ask how the museums are supposed to comply with key requirements for research-based exhibitions, if the museums themselves do not hold the dissemination tab high.

Museum inspector Kirsten Toftegaard, Design Museum Denmark, February 2013

Danish in fashion!

Marie Riegel's Melchior: *Danish in fashion! Stories about design, identity and history in and around the Danish fashion industry*, Museum Tusulanums Forlag, University of Copenhagen 2013. ISBN 978 87 635 3044 6. 286 pages.

Danish in fashion! Stories about design, identity and history in and around the Danish fashion industry

is based on Marie Rigel Melchior's PhD thesis from 2008. The book deals with the phenomenon of "Danish fashion", which experienced a flourishing at the beginning of the 2000s.

The book sheds light on the phenomenon of Danish fashion by describing it from different angles. It is divided into six chapters. The six chapters include - in addition to the introduction and concluding section - four sections, each of which illuminates four variations, or sub-studies, of the phenomenon. The findings from the four sub-studies are brought together in the final discussion section.

In the introduction, fashion is explained in relation to the national and the international, respectively. Danish fashion is increasingly becoming global, at the same time the particularly Danish aspect of Danish fashion is emphasized both from the industry side and from the political side. It is the author's purpose to investigate what is actually meant by Danish fashion and how the phenomenon has been created, changed and used.

The first of the four sub-studies illuminates the phenomenon historically. It is an interesting and well-functioning section that starts in the 1950s and is brought up to the situation in the zeroes.

Particularly important is the part of the section that shows how "Danish fashion" gained an independent identity in the 1960s. The book makes a perspective-rich connection between a number of significant, young designers and the fashion industry. The industry had become able to produce everyday fashion clothes, but was pressured by imports from abroad. At the same time, fashion design as a profession was established, and the newly trained designers knew something that the industry itself was not capable of.

In the subsequent sub-study, we delve into the concrete processes in which a collection at a fashion company comes into being. It is, in my opinion, the book's strongest and most thought-provoking section. The section has been created on the basis of the author's participant observations at the fashion company Mads Nørgaard-Copenhagen. It brings us both into the design studio at Strøget, to meet with the foreign sellers and to the fair in Paris. All to show,

how fashion is shaped in processes that draw on a number of very diverse factors.

It is exciting and surprising reading, which makes the creation of a collection a very tangible process. It is an important analysis in a field that has otherwise tended to focus on design as a matter of the work of the genius.

In the third part of the study, the author looks at the political interest in the phenomenon of Danish fashion. In light of Denmark's change from a manufacturing country to a knowledge society, the fashion industry was for a period highlighted as a particularly successful example. The crisis of the 1990s was turned into a success story at the start of the new millennium. Through analysis of a number of institutions, business policy reports and other actors, the author examines how Danish fashion became a political project. It was both about branding Denmark internationally and about creating a common brand for Danish fashion.

The fourth and last of the four sub-studies tries to get closer to what is particularly Danish about Danish fashion. This is done on the basis of interviews with key actors from the Danish fashion industry. There are many different ideas about what Danish fashion is. The author also ends up concluding that it is a field where there is no consensus and that the concept is up for negotiation.

In the final section, the fashion industry and its relationship to the national and the international are discussed. The author concludes that this is a cosmopolitan form of nationalism, where the national is used to create awareness and distinctiveness in a global context. On the way to this point, the relationship - or perhaps rather the mismatch - between, on the one hand, talking about a particularly Danish fashion and, on the other, Danish fashion history, is looked at critically. The fashion industry is news-oriented and forgets to relate to its own, local design tradition.

According to the author, fashion designers, the fashion industry, educational institutions and museums share a responsibility to create a greater awareness of and reflection on Danish fashion history and design tradition.

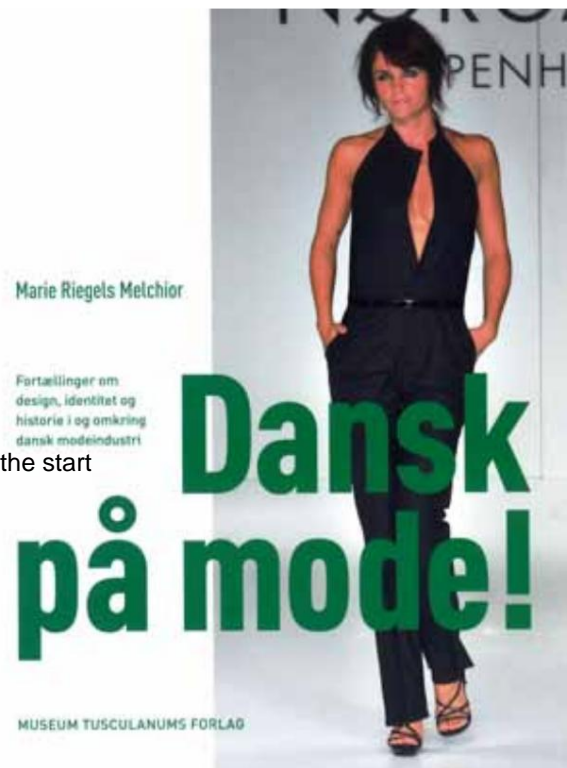
The final call for the museums to undertake to a greater extent the dissemination of fashion in Denmark has been heard and taken note of. We really want that, and we also want to collaborate with the industry and educational institutions.

Overall, *Danish is in fashion!* a positive experience that has brought me as a reader to new ones realizations and a better understanding of the fashion industry. The historical analysis is based on material that I have not seen put together in this way before. The section that brings us close to the design processes of Mads Nørgaard-Copenhagen is brilliant. It gives a clear feeling and understanding of the concrete negotiations that lie behind the final design of the clothes. The book's clear advantage is also linking fashion and politics. It is well seen and thought.

After reading the book, I'm a bit in doubt as to who the book actually has as its primary target audience. In its language and structure, it is addressed to other fashion researchers, in the conclusions it is particularly for the industry, and the illustrations seem intended for a wider, fashion-oriented crowd. It could be interesting to see the book more purely addressed to one target group.

I am excited about the book's appendix. They provide an overview of important topics such as Danish fashion design awards, educational institutions, organizations and fairs. Here we finally and at long last get a concise and well-worked overview. I am sure that I will use the appendix material extensively in the future.

It has been thought-provoking to read *Danish is in fashion!* in light of the current political situation. The book is almost a manifesto about what can be described as "the wild zeroes". Everyone talked about Denmark as a knowledge society that had to live solely on entrepreneurship and creativity. In 2013, politicians and pundits can hardly open their mouths without mentioning the lack of unskilled industrial jobs as one of the causes of all our problems. Just



as fashion changes quickly, the political situation also tends to be an unpredictable quantity.

Kristine Holm-Jensen, Textilforum, Museum Midtjylland

Markings and masking

To show or hide one's body

Roger Qvarsell and Birgitta Svensson (ed.): *Markings and masking. To show or hide your body*. Nordic Museum Publishers 2012. 198 pages. ISBN 978-91-7108-552-8

The Nordic Museum in Stockholm has published an anthology based on its rich costume collection. The anthology illuminates and discusses the relationship between body and clothing, how man at different times in history and in different situations has either covered or uncovered his body as part of making his identity visible. The book is built around several case studies based on either the Nordic Museum's collections or special exhibitions.

Although the book does not bring new insights to the table, it is interesting and worth reading. The book is well presented.

The introduction is good to read, because here the historian of ideas *Roger Qvarsell* explains convincingly about the central theme: the relationship between body and clothing. According to Qvarsell, this relationship must be understood through fashion. Qvarsell writes the foreword: "*The fixed Archimedean point is neither the body nor the clothes. That's the fashion. And fashion – the way of dressing – includes not only clothes but also the way you walk and stand, bring a cup to your lips, shake hands, smile, cry, love and hate.*" (Qvarsell 2012:12).

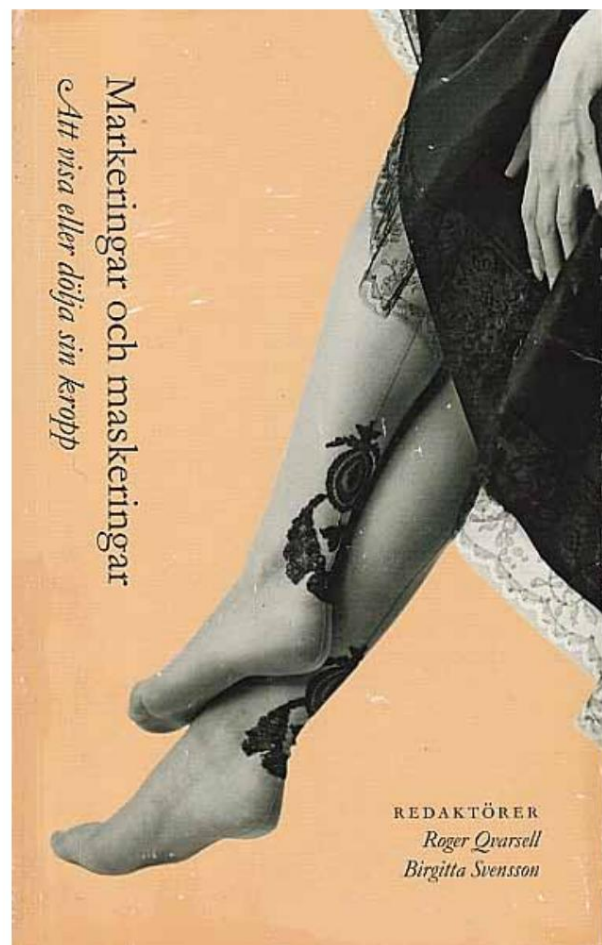
The study of clothing and fashion is thus seen as a gateway to the study of the body, to understand the changing meanings it is given and the changing aesthetic appearances it is required to keep up with the times.

Ulrika Torell's article with the catchy title, "Draperad i desserten", is also interesting to read. It is about something as, basically, absurd as when food is draped, on a body that was the clothes. The starting point for the article is a short-term special exhibition in the lobby of the Nordic Museum, where four chocolate confectioners had made wedding dresses out of sugar and chocolate.

In addition to displaying exceptional craftsmanship, Torell points out that these chocolate wedding dresses create a desire to taste and touch. They work just like the intention of an advertisement. They create desire and in a double sense, as both the chocolate and the beautiful dresses, created for idealized bodies, invoke a desire to consume, which is a central practice of modern man.

Anders Nyblom's article must also be highlighted because it cleverly reflects on the personal history collection of clothes at the Nordic Museum. An immediately atypical collection in a cultural history museum, and as the article also confirms. It is the missing body that is central to understanding the clothes. "*The king is dead, long live his clothes*" writes Nyblom! But as Nyblom points out, it is a form of illusion that is created. Because the body is not there. The right person is absent. The clothes appear clearly in such contexts, as representations of bodies, rather than being something in themselves.

And representations such as brand and brand are so specifically linked to a person's life that it is difficult to use for the communication of the generalities of everyday life.



Head of research and professor *Birgitta Svensson*, ends the anthology with an article about the exact opposite situation when it comes to the role of the body. It is about the visible and present body. The body as canvas. The tattooed body. In relation to the relationship between the body and clothing, Svensson explains tattoos as a form of boundary kit between the body and its surroundings, which both distances and intimates the body at the same time.

A tattoo is thus a central element in marking one's identity and of a more lasting nature than clothes. One could be tempted to say that a tattoo is a stamp that confirms man as precisely a hybrid between being a creature of culture and a creature of nature. The article can be recommended, just like the rest of the book, as a well-presented introduction to learning more about the relationship between body and clothing and why it is precisely a central relationship in wanting to understand ourselves as human beings and our cultural history.

Marie Riegels Melchior, ethnologist, PhD. in fashion and design history, Copenhagen 2013

Mode

Cecilia Fredriksson: *Mode*, Malmö, Liber 2012. 123 pages. ISBN 978-91-47-09672-5.

The book *Mode* is small and significant. It is the text that is in focus, while the fashion's otherwise rich image universe is set in the background and only in a few places escaped through the editor's eye of the needle, toned down to black-and-white images. The fact that this is the case is connected to the fact that the book is published as part of a series about each humanities or social science concept. Already published titles in the book series are, for example, *Power*, *Culture* and *Ethnicity*. It is the interpretation and understanding of the concept that is at the center.

With the book *Mode*, Cecilia Fredriksson, professor of ethnology at Lund University, provides an introduction to how to understand the concept of fashion. It is refreshing that this is not yet another review of the most dominant theoretical explanations of the phenomenon. The introduction is far more independent and personal in that sense. Fredriksson places particular emphasis on explaining fashion in its context. Therefore, the foundation for the explanation of fashion is also laid with its location and relation to concepts such as "modern" and "modernity". With this, Fredriksson points out that "modern" is a concept and a figure of thought which is used in completely ordinary, everyday situations to organize the world around us. Something can be modern or unfashionable. The term "modernity", on the other hand, describes a state of society where the individual is considered to be far more independent and thereby able to ask questions of both faith and tradition. In modernity, the fashion phenomenon thrives. There is room for change, which is a driving force for fashion, and fashion is needed as a way to mark difference when a firmly rooted social hierarchy is no longer decisive. Furthermore, Fredriksson points out that fashion, as a form of aestheticizing everyday life, is a modern skill that should be valued because of the importance it has for the individual to stand out and create his own identity.

Fredriksson covers many aspects of fashion in the little book and points to several of the central discussions that are valid in the young, interdisciplinary field called fashion science, which over the past few years has become independent fields of study at Lund and Stockholm Universities. She thus tackles the Japanese-American sociologist Yuniya Kawamura's fashion ideology ("Fashionology"), which, through being translated into Swedish, has had a great influence on the growing Nordic field of fashion research. Fredriksson highlights the potential of the theory in understanding the organization of the fashion industry, but also points out its clear limitations in terms of the rigid definition of fashion as something abstract, symbolic and opposed to concrete clothing.

In summary, the book provides a nuanced insight into how the phenomenon of fashion is complex and has many different meanings and uses in modernity. Fashion is a figure of thought, a way of socially organizing the world. Fashion is an aesthetic phenomenon. Fashion is clothes. The many facets of fashion are highlighted, discussed and put into perspective in Fredriksson's book. For the fashion researcher, it is inspiring reading. For the newbie in the field, the book is somewhat comprehensible and difficult to access.

Marie Riegels Melchior, ethnologist, PhD. in fashion and design history, Copenhagen, 2013

The Fashion History Reader. Global Perspectives

Giorgio Riello og Peter McNeil (red.): *The Fashion History Reader. Global Perspectives*, Routledge 2010. 566 sider. ISBN: 0-415-49324-2 (pbk).

If you take a look at the international, fashion literary publications of recent years, you will notice how many encyclopedic reference works and introductory text collections, so-called "Readers", have been published. Joanne B. Eicher edited the mammoth *Berg Encyclopedia of World's Dress and Fashion* in 10 volumes (2010), Valerie Steele edited *the Encyclopedia of Clothing and Fashion* in 3 volumes (2005), Linda Welters and Abby Lillethun edited *The Fashion Reader* (2011) . And Giorgio Riello and Peter McNeil have edited *The Fashion History Reader. Global Perspectives*, which this review is about. Many writers are regulars in the highlighted works and with the professional knowledge present, it is clear that fashion research is established as an interdisciplinary field of research. "Fashion Studies" is a new university subject, and the mentioned books are aimed at the subject's students and their teachers.

As the other text collections and reference works are, *The Fashion History Reader. Global Perspectives*, impressive in its scope. Neither geography nor time set limits. From the 12th century to the end of the 20th century, and from accounts and analyzes of African, over Asian to European fashion history, with this collection of texts it is possible to gain an insight into the many facets and the complex nature that characterizes the fabric area. The book is divided into six parts, consisting of 23 chapters and below them more than 40 short texts, referred to as "snapshots".

It can be called an educational book, but the book also seems successful as a reference work for those working on research and dissemination of fashion to a wider audience. If you are looking for a theory book, the book is not the right one. It is the presentation and analysis of the historical material that is the core of the texts. That is, in the book you can read, among other things, about centuries of trade in textiles from Asia to Europe, and how it shaped the development of the western world's fashion clothes. You can read about luxury regulations and the regulation of the use of fashion clothes in a comparative study of China and Japan on the one hand and the spread of the regulations in 16th-18th century Europe on the other. You can read about fashion magazines and the fashion consumers of the Enlightenment. About Hollywood films and fashion, about masculinity in the 16th century and femininity in the 19th century, about postmodern identity practitioners and about the interaction between today's Italian and Chinese fashion markets.

The fashion world is often blamed for its lack of historical understanding. The fashion industry is in its eagerness to sell news, preoccupied with the present and the future. With this book, it is possible to read selected samples of the fact that fashion definitely has a history and that it is multifaceted and interesting. It tells not least about being human, but also about man as a cultural being who, through behaviour, dress and fashion, for centuries and across national borders, has made a point of, on the one hand, standing out and on the other to fit into what is also called society.

Marie Riegels Melchior, ethnologist, PhD. in fashion and design history, Copenhagen, 2013

Contributors to Dratjournalen no. 9

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Cand. mag. in medieval archeology at Aarhus University, specializing in komulus shoes and shoemaking in the Middle Ages. Has given lectures and published articles about Komule shoes, as well as held historical shoemaking workshops and workshops on shoemaking for volunteer historical mediators. Has made reconstructions of shoes from virtually all time periods from the Bronze Age to the Reformation, most recently at the Viborg Museum.

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Marie Riegel's Melchior

Cand. MA in European Ethnology, Ph.D. in fashion and design history. Riegels Melchior has published various articles on the concept of "Danish fashion", the history and identity of the Danish fashion industry, as well as more generally on dress and fashion in recent times. Riegels Melchior is currently employed at Designmuseum Denmark, where she is working on a research project with working title "Fashion in the museums".

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