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FASHION IN THE FOUR PARTS OF THE WORLD

Time, space and early modern global change¹

Giorgio Riello

Fashion and social competition

In all probability [fashion] started in the families of the gentry, where the maidservants copied it, after which [it was] increasingly borrowed by their relatives until it made its way into the quarters of the neighbourhood. The wealthy and powerful began by considering innovation to be something wonderful and went on to think surpassing their predecessors to be admirable. Those who managed to do so believed it not to be going to excess but prestigious; while those who failed to achieve this did not think it a cause for being at peace with themselves but for shame ... Thus it has become an all but irreversible trend.²

Specialists in eighteenth-century British history will easily recognize in this quotation several of the elements that Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and Jack Plumb used in their *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982) in explaining the rise of 'modern' British consumerism and fashion in the age of Enlightenment.³ Fashion was seen as key as to why people in eighteenth-century Britain started to consume a wider range of commodities – well beyond what we might call 'necessities' – and why they privileged new things that were changed increasingly frequently. Their idea of a 'consumer revolution' saw emulation and fashion as key mechanisms in changing consumption patterns and choices. The most memorable example of emulation or 'aping' was that of servants who had the proximity to observe – and very often the means to imitate – the consuming habits of their employers. The maidservant wished to copy the rich outfit of her mistress and sometimes could do so by accepting a discarded petticoat or a bodice that she would proudly parade in the neighbourhood, very much as

the opening quotation reports. This allowed a mere servant to acquire prestige: it was not excess per se, but excess aimed at bettering oneself and climbing the social ladder. And as the quotation suggests this was a continuative process (an 'irreversible trend') that excluded those who failed to embrace it.⁴

This quotation is appropriate not just for McKendrick's work, but also for another of the great names of Western fashion theory: Thorstein Veblen. At the end of the nineteenth century it was Veblen who conceptualized fashion as a game of social competition defined by conspicuous consumption and characterized by a shifting process by which those who are emulated move their preferences to something different, something new.⁵ His viewpoint was neither Europe, nor the eighteenth century, but the wealthy society of the American *nouveau riche* of the turn of the century. What both Veblen and McKendrick posited was that social competition characterized fashion in 'modern' societies. And by 'modern' they meant essentially Western.

This chapter thus enters into an analysis of fashion from a rather classic starting point (Western Europe and America) and by using a specific definition of fashion: fashion as a form of emulation. I take one of the key designations of fashion as defined in a European (perhaps Eurocentric) context to establish whether it can be applied to other contexts. The same procedure will be applied to other possible ways of interpreting fashion, always starting with definitions adopted for Europe in order to evaluate in what ways, under what circumstances, and in which forms during the so-called early modern period (c.1500–1800), fashion manifested itself in places as different as China, Japan and Latin America.⁶ For reasons of space most of my examples refer mostly to China and Japan, though occasional references are made to other parts of the world.

To this end, it is revealing to note that the opening quotation – a paraphrase of McKendrick and Veblen – is a description of Shanghai by Meng-chu and dated to the mid-seventeenth century. This is not an exceptional quotation, though it is a particularly helpful one. The Shangdon gazetteer in the late Ming period reported that even in small provincial towns and cities, people were 'competing in extravagance'. It added that 'The masses wear the clothing of the gentry, the gentry wear the headgear of the high officials' and all were 'competing with the rich in grandeur and opulence to the extent that they think nothing of emptying their purses'.⁷ One could cite several similar sources not just for Ming China and Edo Japan, but also for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin America and the Ottoman Empire and to a lesser extent also for India and the Middle East. The scholarship of Sarah Dauncey, Antonia Finnane, Craig Clunas and Timothy Brook for China; Eiko Ikegami and Timon Screech for Japan; Suraiya Faroqhi, Christopher Neumann and Donald Quataert for the Ottoman Empire; Rebecca Earle and Regina Root for Latin America; and Robert Ross' global analysis – just to cite a few – provide a sufficiently vast body of quotable material, which suggests that both fashion and emulation were present in each of their geographic areas of specialization.⁸

Carlo Marco Belfanti concludes his 2008 article ‘Was Fashion a European Invention?’ by explaining that it was definitively not in the period here considered, though his assessment still remains equivocal when he adds that fashion ‘only fully developed as a social institution in Europe, while in India, China, and Japan it only evolved partially, without being able to obtain full social recognition’.⁹ This chapter challenges this statement, first by asking why in the first instance all other places apart from Europe were deemed by default not to have fashion; second, by reflecting as to whether if it is simply a matter of including new world areas into the accepted notion of fashion or if the definition, chronologies and nature of fashion in the early modern period must be questioned and revised if applied globally.

Fashion’s Eurocentrism

What appears to be a reclamation of fashion by present-day extra-European historians is in stark contrast with more classic views inherited from a previous generation of historians. The great French historian Fernand Braudel, though attributing great significance to fashion as a motor of historical change, categorically refuted the idea that fashion might have existed in non-European societies before colonialism and imperialism. He conceded that ‘political upheavals’ might have induced a change of clothing – as for instance with the arrival of the Manchus in China and the beginning of the new Qing dynasty in 1644 – but he was adamant that this could not be considered as fashion.¹⁰ Similarly Gilles Lipovetzky and most sociologists of fashion leave no doubt that fashion has become a global phenomenon – that is to say a homogenous European-inspired and dominated trend – only in recent years.¹¹

The appropriation of fashion by Europeans was not invented by historians: most of the primary sources used by European historians deny the existence of fashion outside the borders of Europe. Costume books such as Cesare Vecellio’s *Habiti Antichi et Moderni* (1590 and 1598), for instance, provided a vast array of visual material on both European and extra-European dress but also statically pigeonholed the costumes of what we might call ‘others’.¹² Antonia Finnane suggests that one of the issues at stake was the inability of Europeans to read meaning into what was distinctively different, and sometimes the opposite of European clothing, like the use of white for mourning.¹³ Europeans, in the words of Finnane, were ‘inclined to describe Chinese clothes in terms of how they resembled their own’, rather than in their own right.¹⁴ And they were keen to criticize other people’s attire because they were – in the words of Cesare Vecellio – ‘quite contrarie to ours’.¹⁵ In some parts of the world, this led to a campaign on the part of missionaries to clothe Indigenous populations ‘decently concealing the nudity of the past’ as Braudel puts it.¹⁶ In other places, Europeans saw stability in contrast to ever-changing European fashion. This was the case even in places where it was patently false as in Japan: the Portuguese writer Luís Fróis at the end of the sixteenth century, commented that: ‘We

invent nearly every year a new type of garment and a new way to dress; in Japan, the shape [of clothing] is always the same and it does hardly change'.¹⁷ European visitors and merchants struggled to make sense of Asian vestimentary systems. Some forms of distinction labelled as barbarous by Europeans, for example the spread of the use of the bow shoe for a bound foot in the closing years of the Ming period, which was symbolic, especially in the wealthy lower Yang-zu delta, of a socially competitive society. Designed to visually set apart the 'humble country folk' from ladies of elevated status, it was not perceived by Europeans to be in any way connected to forms of fashionability.¹⁸

A tension emerged from the separation between a Western world of fashion and a non-Western world characterized by a rather vague notion of stability under the label of 'costume'. Historians of fashion are correct in observing that the idea of fashion has been used to characterize the industrial and consumer-driven economies of Europe and later North America.¹⁹ However, the case of Europe shows how the notion of fashion has been extended backwards in time to reach the Middle Ages and linked to processes of capitalist development.²⁰ While this has served to support the lineage of 'modern' industrial societies to the exclusion of all others, there is also a less positive idea of fashion as ephemeral rather than innovative, wasteful rather than economically productive, immoral rather than ethical. In this sense, fashion is seen more as the 'cancer' of modern societies, rather than as a benign force. And this in part explains why the concept and practice of fashion – although embraced in many societies outside the borders of Europe – was sometimes seen by such societies as foreign to their customs. Again scholarship has been faithful to such a preconception with the idea of costume being upheld in the histories of many extra-European countries and empires as a symbol of identity, tradition and the refusal of what was seen as the exogenous force of fashion.

One should not conclude that it was the 'European gaze' alone that established categories of fashion and costumes. Non-European societies were keen observers of European dress. An example is a 1787 Japanese text entitled *Komo zatsuwa* (紅毛雜話; 'A miscellany on the red-hairs'). The title derives from the designation (red hair) of Dutchmen in Japan. *Komo zatsuwa* is divided into five illustrated volumes that discuss a series of topics related to the Dutch, ranging from the microscope to insects, flowers and seeds. The final part of volume 5 includes a discussion of the Dutchmen's attire and the author claims to have sketched the illustrations of a hat, scarf, overcoat, breeches, socks, two types of shoes, belts, etc. from real garments provided by Dutchmen. The book proceeds with a description of the Dutchmen's attire (Figure 2.1): '[T]he upper part is called rok, and the underwear camisole. The overcoat is long and under shorter. There are parts to put things in (pockets) in the lower part. They are made of wool, or plant fibre, upon the wearer's taste'. The images show a fascination for the attire of these red-haired Europeans, though the accompanying text betrays also surprise, noting that such attire 'if ceremonial (official), all of them including the breeches should be made of same cloth ... (there are few lines on



FIGURE 2.1 'Attire of a Dutchman', from *Komo zatsuwa* (紅毛雜話; 'A miscellany on the red-hairs'), 1787.

Source: © Trustees of the British Museum, 1979,0305,0.140.5.

buttons) ... The dress system looks as if there are no distinction between the noble and non-nobles'.²¹ Japan more than any other country in Asia became a keen observer of European sartorial choices.²²

Fashion as change

I have so far avoided defining fashion as simple 'change over time'. Braudel cites the observations of a number of early modern European travellers and writers, among them Jean Baptiste Say, who in 1828 wrote that 'the unchanging fashions of the Turks and the other Eastern people do not attract me. It seems that their fashions tend to preserve their stupid despotism'.²³ Two centuries earlier the Englishman Henry Blout (1602–1682), who travelled to Constantinople in 1634, reported that the Ottomans 'to this day vary but little from that long, and loose manner of garment reported to have been ever used in the *East*'.²⁴ Sartorial stability was considered as characterizing a non-precise group of 'Eastern people' and was deemed to be backward, a form of prevention of the democratic and 'modern' values of fashion.

One could counter these observations and cite the many sources that show instead that dress changed on a regular basis in Asia. The Chinese writer Gu

Qiyuan lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and commented that fashion in Nanjing changed every three to four years instead of every ten years as it had in earlier decades.²⁵ Others were even more daring and claimed that in the early seventeenth century, in places such as Nanking ‘in recent years, strange shapes and outlandish styles are altered with every day, changed with every month’.²⁶ However the rapid changes of what was purposely defined as ‘contemporary style’ or ‘the look of the moment’ in seventeenth-century China,²⁷ or Japan or Latin America for that matter, should not be matched to a European time frame. Fashion is never static, but should not be forced into a rectilinear chronology. The influence of religious ideas that see time as circular in many Asian cultures presents a notion of time different from that of the West.²⁸ Similarly, the invocation of antiquity, as was the case in Ming China, was an equally powerful tool of fashion based on what today we would call ‘retro’. This was achieved through the use of Han-dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE) caps or Song-dynasty (960–1279 CE) brocades in the fashion of five centuries earlier or the use of antiquities to display taste as pointed out by Craig Clunas.²⁹

Timon Screech is even more categorical in warning us against using a Western chronological measure of the impact of fashion. While chartering a complex and multilayered world of fashion in Edo Japan, he is adamant that ‘despite the prominence of fashion in Edo urban life, even fairly casual garments altered relatively little in shape over time’.³⁰ He highlights an historically specific notion of fashion in the early modern world – and one might dare to generalize across most of the globe – that unlike today was about changing shapes, applied rather to cloth, than the cut of clothing.

Fashion as interaction

Clothing, shapes and the cut of a dress change over time, but textiles (their design, colours and patterns) are less about the ‘new in time’, than the ‘new in space’: how one gets something new, something different from somewhere else. In the early modern period novelty was not about creativity as such, or the creations of designers; it was about getting one’s hands on something that came from somewhere else and was therefore new and different.

Fashion is often described as a self-sustaining force: once unleashed, it becomes a perpetual motor of change, first material (in the form of kaleidoscopic variations in colours and shapes) and second sociocultural (in the changing meaning expressed and created by fashion). It is not by chance that even a century ago Georg Simmel underlined how fashion could not be simply explained by observing the internal dynamics of what later came to be called a ‘fashion system’. He explained how in many societies it was the ‘foreign’ and the ‘exotic’ – what was not local and part of the system – that provided new and powerful fuel to the bonfire of vanities.³¹

The appeal of the exotic was not just an early modern phenomenon: archaeologist Andrew Sherratt demonstrated that it was already present in prehistoric societies.³² By the tenth century CE, the geographer al-Muqadassi reported that fashion consciousness was one of the characteristics of the people of Iraq.³³ And fashion was defined not just as any personal attention to what one consumed or wore, but the careful combination of commodities often imported through the extensive long-distance commercial routes dominated by Armenian, Jewish and Indian merchants. They provided linen from Egypt, Chinese silks and cotton cloth from India. The cut of clothes was influenced instead by Persia, especially under the Abbasid rule. China appreciated the appeal of Persian textiles with Greek and Roman design influences as shown by the beautiful double-weave woollen textiles bearing representations of oxen, sheep and naked men adorning a mummy of the Jin Period (206 BCE–420 CE).³⁴ Ladies of the Chinese court depicted in a tenth-century painting display with grace their elaborate coiffures with hairpins (influenced by foreign metalwork) and silk gowns that are clearly very Chinese products, but with a Persian design not dissimilar to those that we encounter in the dresses of fashionable European ladies a few centuries later.³⁵

That fashion acted as a way of connecting sometimes distant places was not new to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: for instance, historians of dress and fashion have long underlined the fact that European fashion employed a variety of foreign idioms constructed through the importation of commodities, such as porcelain and lacquer, or the reinterpretation and often ‘invention’ of otherness as in the case of *Chinoiserie* and *Japonaiserie*. Beverly Lemire and I have commented on how Middle and Far Eastern silks first, and later Indian cottons, became integral components in the structuring of new forms and notions of fashionability in Europe between 1200 and 1800.³⁶ This work, while relativizing and questioning the ‘exceptionalism’ of European fashion opens the doors to the investigation of similar phenomena across the globe. One might cite for instance the popularization of the *Kosode* – a short-sleeve kimono – in the Heian period Japan (794–1184 CE). It developed as a popularization of elite fashion but was also a reaction – an act against rather than in favour – of foreign customs, in this case the pre-existing reliance on Chinese forms of garments.³⁷

The *Kosode* – or Kimono, literally ‘thing to wear’ (garment) – became the national costume of Japan and as such something that historians of dress see as rather distant from fashion.³⁸ But later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the kimono became a fashionable item influenced by designs and aesthetics introduced by Indian cottons, which were also influencing fashion in Europe and elsewhere. The pervasiveness of Indian cottons across Asia was such that – as Kayoko Fujita observes – the available varieties of cotton cloth in Edo Japan were ‘*bengara(-jima* or *-gōshi*)’ (the striped or checked cloth from Bengal), ‘*santome(-jima)*’ (striped cloth from São Thomé) and ‘*matafū(-jima)*’ (striped cloth from Madras).³⁹

The Iberian *nanban*, the savages from the West, represented in sixteenth-century Japanese screens might have been indeed uncivilized, but the wearing of

outlandish striped clothes, which they had probably acquired in India on their way to Japan, made them the ‘coolest guys’ of the early modern period (Figure 2.2).⁴⁰ Their fashionability was not sensed by the Japanese in terms of change over time but in terms of difference from themselves. This explains why *nanban* fashion became something to be imitated by the locals. Foreign products were so important in Edo fashionability that Japanese legislators thought it wise to ban ‘Holland goods’ in their 1688 sumptuary law.⁴¹

The Iberian incursion into Asia did not just proceed eastwards from Europe to the Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea. The Spaniards arrived in the Philippines in the 1560s from across the Pacific Ocean and their colonies in the Americas, where they founded a new trading port at Manila. From the 1570s this was the key node of exchange between China (and more generally East Asia) and the Americas. The Manila to Acapulco route brought to Mexico – and from there to Peru, Panama, China, Ecuador and Nicaragua – all sorts of Asian commodities, silks and cottons among the most important.⁴² These elaborate textiles were fashionable among



FIGURE 2.2 ‘Portuguese Merchants Waiting the Arrival of Japanese Officials Aboard Their Ship’, detail from ‘Namban’ screen attributed to Kano Domi, c.1593–1600. Wooden lattice covered with paper, gold leaf, polychrome tempera painting, silk, lacquer, copper gilt, 172.8 × 380.8 × 2 cm.

Source: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. Granger Historical Picture Archive/Alamy Stock Photo.

consumers of all social classes as depicted in beautiful *casta* paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴³ While the silks were within the reach of the more affluent, the blue cotton *cambayas* (made in China) or the *mantas* cotton coverings produced in the Philippines, were purchased in large quantities by American consumers in exchange for precious metal.⁴⁴ Cottons also came in large quantities from Bengal and Madras in India.⁴⁵ This trade influenced design in Latin America. Both in silks and cottons it is possible to observe the mixing of Chinese and Indian motifs, with pre-Hispanic elements or the adoption of ikat-dyed style



FIGURE 2.3 Detail of a folding screen with Indian wedding and flying pole (*Biombo con desposorio indígena y palo volador*), Mexico, c.1690. Oil on canvas, 167.64 × 295.28 × 5.08 cm.

Source: Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Purchased with funds provided by the Bernard and Edith Lewin Collection of Mexican Art Deaccession Fund, M.2005.54. © LACMA.

from south-eastern Asian textiles and garments. Second, Asian textiles gave momentum to Latin American fashion.⁴⁶ Travellers and visitors to Mexico were impressed not only by the variety of dress worn by the various ethnic groups, but also by the riches commonly displayed by the wider strata of society.⁴⁷ The Spaniard Artemio de Valle-Arizpe reported that in eighteenth-century Mexico City 'ordinary worn is a silk skirt or printed calico decorated with bands of gold and silver, with brightly coloured ribboned belts with their fringe of gold that tumble down behind and in front to border the skirt' (Figure 2.3).⁴⁸ Quito in Ecuador used both locally produced cottons and the more expensive *ruán* cottons, this time imported not from Asia, but from the city of Rouen in France.⁴⁹

Cities as islands of fashion

Fashion cannot be defined simply by identifying its mechanisms of generation, be they imitation and social competition, change over time, or interaction with other material cultures. Fashion is always characterized by specific spaces and social dynamics in which it articulates itself.

In terms of sartorial expenditure, the court was surely one of such key spaces of early modern fashion. The court had a catalytic effect on the urban fashion industry. This is true of the French court of Louis XIV as well as of Edo Japan. Both had an extensive but ineffective sumptuary system that included the nobility. And in both countries the sovereign had discovered the importance of keeping friends close and enemies even closer: thus the idle semi-coerced existence of the French nobility at Versailles and the imposition of the alternate years of residence for the Japanese *daimyos* (lords) and their families. In both cases the result was the construction of a court life based on substantial financial investment on the part of the nobility to please the ruling monarch and conform to etiquette and the rules of ceremonial occasions. This was not simple luxury but the necessity of a life of conspicuous consumption centred around the monarch.⁵⁰ The relationship between court and capital city was also important. The demand for luxury and fashionable goods from the court gave work to thousands of artisans, seamstresses, weavers and tailors. It created what we could see as a proto-fashion industry: the gathering together of an unprecedented amount of skills, knowledge, human capital and resources (in terms of materials and credit).⁵¹

The story constantly repeated to students and the general public sees the present-day position of Paris as the 'capital of fashion' as emerging from the court culture of the Sun King in the second half of the seventeenth century. Some historians of fashion have recognized in this a line of evolution and a sort of 'royal pedigree' for the primacy of Paris in the world of fashion.⁵² The case of Japan – and one might expect other important court centres in Asia – show that this was not the prerogative of Paris alone and that similar concentrations of fashion production and consumption linked to court life existed in other parts of pre-modern Eurasia.

Yet for most cities this was a temporary condition that did not lead to the maintenance of a prime position in fashion over more than four centuries as in the case of Paris. One of the explanations put forward for this is that in most cases, court fashion did not have an impact outside the walls of the royal palace. In Paris, and to a certain extent London, urban fashion developed and sometimes reacted against court fashion. Before the 'fossilization' of court fashion in the nineteenth century, the world of the nobility and the sovereign was a point of reference for elite fashion in general and, if we believe imitation theories, for the wider population too. Yet the same was true of Edo Japan, where the *Kindai Sejidan* ('Book of common talk') reports that kimonos decorated with *kanoko* and *surihaku* were first worn by the ladies of the emperor's court, but that, after the mid-seventeenth century, they were worn in the households of *daimyos*. Imitation diffused rapidly and copies were soon worn by wives of the rich bourgeoisie and then the middle ranks.⁵³ The materials of these kimonos might have been poorer in quality, but it was the visual effect that was important. Even in the case of the more regulated Chinese court where it was the badge of rank to be at the core of a hierarchical system, cases of the inappropriate use of rank symbols, a kind of sartorial symbolic inflation, were already in evidence in the sixteenth century.⁵⁴

The importance of urban life in the history of Western fashion can hardly be overstated: the department store and the *flâneur* in the nineteenth century; the cosmopolitan metropolis of the twentieth century and, to a lesser extent, the formation of a bourgeois sphere in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cities such as London and Paris are key topics in the history of Western fashion.⁵⁵ But was the experience of London or Paris as capitals of fashion before the modern age unique at a global level? Sinologist Antonia Finnane disagrees and observes that 'by the late sixteenth century the lower Yangzi city of Suzhou was performing something of the role played in Europe by Paris'.⁵⁶ Like Paris fashion, there was a distinct 'Suzhou style' and like the rivalry between Paris and London, Suzhou style had its alter ego in the Yangzhou style, the other major centre of the Lower Yangzi Delta.⁵⁷ The extravagance of Suzhou, Yangzhou and Nanjing are in stark contrast with traditional narratives that assert the Ming and Qing empires as bastions of tradition.⁵⁸ These and other cities in Asia were not simply producers of new styles. Seventeenth-century Kyoto was famous both as a place of production (perfecting tie-dye techniques that produced unique forms of shading) and a place of lavish spending, with courtesans and ladies making 'a daily display of beautiful clothes towards earning a living' as represented in *Ukiyo-e*, the 'pictures of the floating world' (Figure 2.4).⁵⁹

It is however incorrect to say that fashion characterized Japan, China or the Ottoman Empire in the same way in which it is incorrect to say that fashion existed in Italy, France or England. Fashion manifested itself within specific urban spaces: it was especially visible in metropolises and ports where consumer goods were easily available, where shops allured customers and where wealthy merchants and shopkeepers acted as 'brokers of fashion'.⁶⁰ This explains why

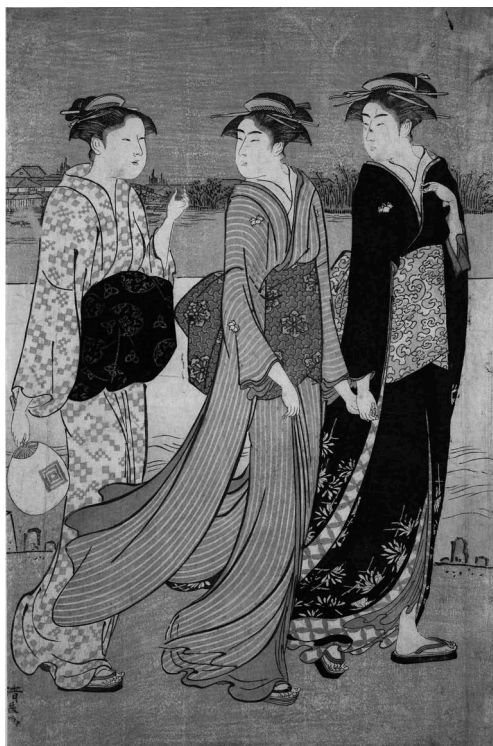


FIGURE 2.4 ‘Women and Girls Cooling off on the Waterfront at Evening’, woodblock diptych print, Japan, mid-1780s. Inscribed Torii Kiyonaga.

Source: © Trustees of British Museum, Asia Department 1909,0618,0.31.

conservative intellectuals both in China and Japan condemned merchants not just for the increased circulation of luxury and superfluous goods, but also for actively participating in conspicuous consumption with their social superiors.⁶¹ In Chinese cities such as Suzhou and Hangzhou the weavers, the boatmen and the dancing girls were not only part of the world of fashion but also profited from it. The urban environment of these cities – as observed by Clunas – antedates by more than a century Mandeville’s view that private vice could generate public benefit.⁶²

Cultures of fashion

Towns and cities were not just places where fashionable commodities were bought and sold. They were also perfect settings in which fashionable behaviour could be enacted. Today we are well aware that fashion is not just the wearing of something unanimously considered fashionable, but also the act – I would say – of being as good as what you wear. Bourdieu talked about ‘fields’ not just

as social groups with similar ambitions, aims and social standing, but also as social formations based on voluntary participation.⁶³ If fashion undermined simple birth status as a category of social worth, it strengthened instead the capacity to form new alliances through artefacts, akin to today's youth subcultures sharing similar visual appearances.

Sinologist Tim Brook states that one of the criteria of fashion is that it operates on the principle of constant disappointment and failure.⁶⁴ And it was the role of the urban arena to provide the kind of cultural and social interaction that makes possible the production of rules by which some people are in and others are out of fashion. Juan de Viera commented in 1778 that, 'It is marvellous to see [ladies] in [the] church and promenades [of Mexico City] in such a fashion that one cannot tell which is the wife of a count, and which the wife of a tailor'.⁶⁵ The city, in this case a populous one in colonial America, provides the very context in which one person's fashion is someone else's vulgarity.

The development of fashion as a way of presenting and representing society was not the prerogative of Europe. Printed texts, even more than printed images, acted as a way to convey not just the concerns over the nature and negative effects of fashion as seen in earlier passages, but also on how to be fashionable. This was done in China through novels, plays and handbooks with detailed descriptions of female clothing, some of which were written by women.⁶⁶ In Japan we observe the appearance of 'pattern books' (*hinagata bon*) in the late seventeenth century what were called 'patterns' or 'models' (*On-hiinakata*) the first printed book on *kosode* designs published in 1666–1667. More than 200 of these books were published in the following 150 years, providing a large sample of ready-made patterns that served to guide the consumer choices of customers and the production options of artisans.⁶⁷

Fashion spread also through the display of textiles, clothing and modes of behaviour of a small but important 'fashion elite' that in Europe was defined as the *beau monde* or 'fashion leaders'.⁶⁸ To see them as the incarnation of capitalism would be incorrect: they might have been wealthy consumers, rich merchants and wealthy shopkeepers, but they were also courtesans, writers, bureaucrats, as well as servants and professionals in the world of fashion. Rose Bertin, Marie Antoinette's seamstress, or Léonard, the queen's hairdresser are often cited in European fashion history.⁶⁹ But similar positions as arbiters of taste and fashion were to be found for instance in Japan where Ogata Kōrin (1658–1716) advised women on matters of fashion. Famously he is credited with having dressed the ladies that he advised in black; this made all other ladies – dressed instead in bright colours – look garish.⁷⁰

Some equated fashion to culture: the late sixteenth-century Ming intellectual Zhang Han, reporting on fashion in Suzhou, said that clothes were 'splendid, as if to be otherwise were to be without culture'.⁷¹ The existence of Breward's notion of a 'culture of fashion' in different cultures – rather than how fashion contributed to culture – should be assessed.⁷² Such cultures were urban and commercial in nature and were not limited to the extravagant luxury of courts.

Japanese garments show an influence from the *Nō* costume (the theatrical costume) but reveal the use of cheaper appliqué techniques when the complex design of the *katami-gawari* and the *dan-wagari* were translated into the *kosode*. This was cheaper and ready-made materials could be used, rather than spending considerable amounts of money especially for the purpose.⁷³ Similarly both literary and material sources show the use of fake layering. Edo female garments were constructed upon the layering of materials, making the overall attire not just heavy and cumbersome, but also expensive. An alternative was to create garments that showed only the rim of layers that were not actually underneath, a bit like present-day sweaters with a faux T-shirt underneath.

A final issue to be considered in the debates about fashion is technological innovation. European historiography has paid great attention to product innovation as well as process innovation. Maxine Berg, Helen Clifford, John Styles and Evelyn Welch, for instance, see product innovation as key to explaining some of the most important changes in early modern British and Continental European patterns of consumption.⁷⁴ Yet, there is substantial evidence to show that in the early modern period, and in particular in the eighteenth century, product innovation in textile production was not limited to Europe. In Japan, for instance, new techniques for stencilling textiles, a process named *Yuzen-zome*, is said to have made, according to one historian, 'a lively contribution to the costumes of the Edo period'.⁷⁵ Brands, like the 'Made by the Zhang Family' to be found on Chinese ceramic pillows, were not just a reassurance of quality, but implied a degree of consumer recognition for a product that was not simply another among the many. In a similar way the Yuzen fans, painted by Miyazaki Yuzen in early eighteenth-century Kyoto, were seen as the latest fashion.⁷⁶

The world of fashion and sumptuary laws

So far this chapter has raised two methodological issues. The first is the risk of creating a world of unexplained similarities: the early modern world was not uniform, it was not seamlessly connected and there was no single definition of fashion. Second, histories of fashion tend to be positivistic in nature, chartering the increasing success of fashion and its eventual triumph in structuring modern societies. However, it is noticeable that at a global level the voices of opposition to fashion by its detractors are as strong as those of support by its practitioners. In the Middle Ages and the early modern period sumptuary laws were tools of opposition to fashion. Sumptuary regulations were enacted not just in Europe, but also in many other parts of the world in an attempt to limit conspicuous consumption and to maintain a clear delineation of rank by matching it to precise sartorial categories.⁷⁷

These measures attempted to avoid social climbing and competition through the medium of the most visible of all forms of consumption: clothing. If fashion was fluctuation, the laws could only remedy this situation by stating precise rules and by categorizing people according to their social status. The Ming 'clothing

and headwear' law of 1587, for instance, set rules for the styles and materials of clothing in minute detail from the Ming emperor to the courtier, down to the common men and women.⁷⁸ This late Ming law illustrates the fact that the legislators' concern was not limited to social climbing, but included the fear of 'social falling'. This law followed previous regulations, the so-called Jiajing's Reforms of 1528 whose rationale claimed that, 'Recently clothing styles have been outlandish, with no distinction between superior and inferior, so that the people's proclivities are without restraints'. Hence, the law stated that:

We have consulted the regulations on the ancient *xuanduan*, and changed its name to the 'Loyal and Tranquil', alluding to 'Thinking of utmost loyalty when entering, thinking of amending one's faults when retiring'. We have made pictures to instruct on the styles and construction. Officials in the capital above the seventh rank, members of the Hanlin Academy, the Imperial Academy, officials in the Messenger's Office above the eighth rank ... are to wear it. Military officials of the rank of commissioner-in-chief or above may wear it. The others are prohibited from exceeding the regulations.⁷⁹

And the problem was not just the fact that commoners wore the 'habits' of the rich, powerful and noble; there was also a general concern about the slippage that luxury was creating among the ruling classes. In Edo Japan, for instance, one could hear the complaint that 'not only the great warlords of today but warriors of every class are concerned with beauty, wearing colourfully woven and embroidered fine silks'.⁸⁰

It has been argued that the existence of similar sumptuary measures in different parts of the world was due to a general change in consumer behaviour characterized by a disrespect of conventional rules or rank and the dismissal of rigid regulations over consumption. Arjun Appadurai observes how 'sumptuary laws constitute an intermediary consumption-regulation device, suited to societies devoted to stable status display in exploding commodity contexts, such as India, China and Europe in the pre-modern period'.⁸¹ By suggesting that an 'exploding commodity context' did not just characterize early modern Europe, Appadurai puts forward the idea of a global framework for consumption in the period 1500 to 1800. Most historians would be critical of such a position, underlining instead the different socio-economic contexts of China, India and Europe.⁸² Yet there are important shared features for sumptuary laws across areas as distant as Ming China, the Ottoman Empire, Edo Japan and early modern Europe.⁸³ Craig Clunas, for instance, observes that Ming sumptuary laws were 'structurally very similar to mechanisms operating in early modern Europe'.⁸⁴ Only rarely did the sumptuary laws of a state or empire inform similar legislation in other parts of the world. This is the case in colonial contexts such as Batavia and the Cape (both regulated by the Dutch East India Company's laws) or in North and Latin America where laws drawn from their respective empires were applied.⁸⁵

Shared features should not lead us to think that sumptuary laws belonged to a similar category of legal acts and that such legal acts responded to similar sartorial and consumer issues across the early modern world. There are, as one might expect, substantial differences in sumptuary laws. From a formal point of view, for instance, the European laws were rather moral (influenced by the Church) while the Chinese ones were more attentive to gestures and ceremonies (Figure 2.5). Japanese laws of the Edo period were rather minimal, when compared with the long, precise texts of European laws.⁸⁶ In contrast Chinese laws were even more detailed than the European ones.⁸⁷ Beyond their formal structure there were at least three major areas of difference: first, the remit of the law (who and what it included); second, the frequency with which they were reissued or repeated over time; and finally the specific period in time when such measures were first enacted in different parts of the world. One can see patterns of similarity and difference that are valid not just for transcontinental comparisons but also for comparisons between cities in geographical proximity as in the case of the Italian city states.



FIGURE 2.5 'A Winter Court Robe Worn by the Emperor', illustrated manuscript. Produced in Beijing, 1736–1795, ink and colour on silk.

Source: © Victorian and Albert Museum, 1818–1896.

What exactly fell under the remit of a sumptuary law is a problematic issue as they varied dramatically from place to place and time to time. Negley Harte, for instance, observed that English sumptuary laws always told people what they 'should not' wear and consume, rather than impose what they should (what technically might be called 'clothing laws'). They followed a model similar to that of Japan but not of many other places such as the Ottoman Empire and China.⁸⁸ In Latin America, for instance, sumptuary laws actively engaged with birth, rather than status as they targeted different ethnic groups. Rebecca Earle has shown how sumptuary laws, and similarly the visual representations of fashion and race of the *casta* paintings, became increasingly static and responded to what was seen as a social need as well as the curbing of conspicuous consumption.⁸⁹ In the Ottoman Empire sumptuary laws were enacted well into the nineteenth century but assumed a different function from previous laws as they were used by Mahmud II to reform dress by forcing civil servants to wear the *fez*. In this case the law was exercised not to stop, but to force change as part of a process that we call 'Westernization'.⁹⁰

A second problem is the profound differences in how laws were updated in different parts of the world. While it has been claimed that in Europe sumptuary laws could be read as a catalogue of what was fashionable and desirable, this is not the case in China where they remained unchanged.⁹¹ However, one should not see this as a feature of a society in which fashion did not exist. Craig Clunas argues instead that 'the Chinese empire under the late Ming appears more like the "modern" Netherlands than it does like the great land empire of the Spanish Habsburg'.⁹² Fossilization should therefore be interpreted as a defeat of any attempt to control fashion as was the case in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.⁹³ Japanese sumptuary laws followed instead a more pragmatic line. The 1688 law, for instance, observed how '[e]mbroidery has been prohibited in women's clothing. Its use has become common, however' and established that 'hereafter embroidered robes may be bought and sold if they are not especially sumptuous'. The target of prohibition was moved and the new law prohibited only 'magnificent embroidery'.⁹⁴ The Japanese case, similar to the European one, updated the law but instead of reinforcing bans and prohibitions, simply acknowledged the changed circumstances.⁹⁵

A final complication in the interpretation of sumptuary laws is the fact that they were issued at different times. Alan Hunt and Catherine Kovesi observe slight differences in the chronologies of different European states but admit that the phenomenon had a certain degree of unity between 1200 and 1700.⁹⁶ In Latin America, however, sumptuary regulations were first enacted in 1628 and became popular in the eighteenth century at a time in which they were on the wane in Iberia.⁹⁷ Sumptuary laws became common in Japan in the seventeenth century and in the Ottoman Empire they remained widely in use throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The meaning of these differences, as well as similarities is difficult to appreciate. Does it mean that fashion was present in different parts of the world, but at different times? Are we talking about similar processes and phenomena? And are we giving too much weight to specific concepts and historical interpretations taken from European history?

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that in the early modern period ‘instances’ of fashion were present in places as different as Japan, the rich cities of China and Latin America, as well as Europe. This is not surprising. Recent scholarship has unearthed sufficient evidence to argue that fashion was not just a ‘passing fad’ but integral to different world cultures as argued by Carlo Marco Belfanti.⁹⁸ Yet we are left with two open issues. First, why do we still think that fashion appeared only in medieval and early modern Europe, and ‘nowhere else’? And second, what were the processes, forces and dynamics that explain fashion across the globe?

A reply to the first question has been given by considering Eurocentric views in which fashion was equated with change. Fashion was in this case taken to be integral to a ‘modern’ process of development that characterized Europe and Europe alone. In this chapter I have repeatedly argued against taking such a narrow explanation of change as the yardstick through which to judge what we might call an ‘efflorescence’ of fashion in different parts of the world.⁹⁹ By adopting instead a multidimensional definition of fashion, this chapter highlights the dynamic forces that shaped fashion in different areas of the world. Rather than seeing fashion as one process, this chapter has adopted different definitions to show how the ‘fashion world’ in the period c.1500–1800 was formed in different areas, mostly urban, dominated by some shared features (for instance imitation; the role of merchants; the importance of courts), a certain degree of interaction (trade and encounters with other cultures), but also distinctive characteristics (specific socio-economic contexts, and hierarchical structures). The latter point is important because, as Karen Tranberg Hansen reminds us, we should appreciate the subjective and experiential experiences of dress, something still difficult to access in non-European contexts.¹⁰⁰

The comparative methodology is skewed towards Europe as the continent still provides the most extensive historical evidence and has long provided the research and conceptual toolbox for the analysis of fashion. The adoption of a reciprocal comparative method is not yet possible and entails a great deal of research for all the major extra-European empires and countries.¹⁰¹ One might conclude that there was no global process called fashion in the early modern world, but that fashion was present in all ‘four parts of the world’. Although instances of the conquering force of European fashion were already present in 1500, their consequences were not visible before the end of the early modern period. The worldwide adoption of Western attire as the result of colonial domination or as

the acceptance of the ‘modernity’ of European life became an integral feature of global fashion only from the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁰² And later in the twentieth century Western (this time American) leisurewear secured markets, imposed lifestyles and profited not just from global consumption, but also global production.¹⁰³

Notes

- 1 This is a revised and updated version of Giorgio Riello, ‘Fashion and the Four Parts of the World: Time, Space and Change in the Early Modern Period’, in *Linking Cloth/Clothing Globally: The Transformations of Use and Value, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Miki Sugiura (Tokyo: Hosei University, 2018), 131–156.
- 2 Cited in Mark Elvin, ‘Blood and Statistics: Reconstructing the Population Dynamics of Late Imperial China from the Biographies of Virtuous Women in Local Gazetteers’, in *Chinese Women in the Imperial Past: New Perspectives*, ed. Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 152.
- 3 Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982).
- 4 This emulative paradigm has been heavily criticized by several historians of consumption and fashion. See in particular John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2007).
- 5 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1899] 2007).
- 6 Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures: The Material World Remade, c.1500–1820* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- 7 Cited in Sarah Dauncey, ‘Illusions of Grandeur: Perceptions of Status and Wealth in Late-Ming Female Clothing and Ornamentation’, *East Asian History* 25/26 (2003): 53–54.
- 8 Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1991); Donald Quataert, ‘Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29.3 (1997): 403–425; Timothy Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 218–238; Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Networks and Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Timon Screech, *Sex and the Floating World: Erotic Images in Japan, 1700–1820* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999); Rebecca Earle, “‘Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!’” Race, Clothing and Identity in the American (17th–19th Centuries), *History Workshop Journal* 52 (2001): 175–195; Rebecca Earle, ‘Luxury, Clothing and Race in Colonial Spanish America’, in *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke, UK: Routledge, 2003), 219–227; Dauncey, ‘Illusions of Grandeur’, 43–68; Suraiya Faroqi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds., *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Iren, 2004); Regina A. Root, ed., *The Latin American Fashion Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007); Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007). See also Ulinka Rublack’s excellent attempt at connecting European fashion to a global remit and Adam Geczy’s analysis of fashion and orientalism. Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Adam Geczy, *Fashion and Orientalism: Dress, Textiles and Culture from the 17th to the 21st Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

- 9 Carlo Marco Belfanti, 'Was Fashion a European Invention?', *Journal of Global History* 3.3 (2008): 443.
- 10 Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800* (London: Fontana, 1973), 227.
- 11 Giles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 15.
- 12 See Eugenia Paulicelli, 'Mapping the World: The Political Geography of Dress in Cesare Vecellio's Costume Books', *The Italianist* 28 (2003): 24–53; Eugenia Paulicelli, *Writing Fashion in Early Modern Italy: From Sprezzatura to Satire* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2014); Giorgio Riello, 'The World in a Book: The Creation of the Global in Sixteenth-Century European Costume Books', *Past & Present*, supplement 2019. See also Margaret F. Rosenthal and Ann Rosalind Jones, *The Clothing of the Renaissance World: Europe, Asia, Africa, the Americas* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), esp. introduction; and Traci Elizabeth Timmons, 'Habiti Antichi et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo and the "Myth of Venice"', *Athanon* 15 (1997): 28–33; Grazietta Butazzi, 'Tra mode occidentali e "costumi" medio orientali: confronti e riflessioni dai repertori cinquecenteschi alle trasformazioni vestimentarie tra XVII e XVIII secolo', in *Il Vestito dell'Altro: Semiotica, Arti, Costume*, ed. Giovanna Franci and Maria Giuseppina Muzzarelli (Milan: Lupetti, 2005), 251–270.
- 13 Antonia Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity": Fashion and Consumption in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Positions* 11.2 (2003): 402.
- 14 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 20.
- 15 Cited in Rosenthal and Jones, *Clothing of the Renaissance World*, 36.
- 16 Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 228. See also Anthony Reid, *South Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450–1680: Vol. 1. The Lands Bellow the Winds* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1984), 86–88. See also Chapter 11 by Cory Willmott in this volume.
- 17 *Européens & Japonais: Traité sur les contradictions & différences de moeurs écrit par le R.P. Luis Fróis au Japon, l'an 1585* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2003), 16. See also *The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-Language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois, S.J.*, ed. Richard K. Danford, Robin D. Gill and Daniel T. Reff (London and New York: Routledge, 2014).
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- 20 Karen Tranberg Hansen, 'The World in Dress: Anthropological Perspectives on Clothing, Fashion, and Culture', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 372.
- 21 I thank Miki Sugiura for providing translations of the text. See also Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer eds., *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500–1800* (London: V&A Publications, 2004), 216.
- 22 Giulia Calvi, 'Cultures of Space: Costume Books, Maps, and Clothing Between Europe and Japan (Sixteenth Through Nineteenth Centuries)', *I Tatti Studies in Italian Renaissance* 20.2 (2017): 331–363.
- 23 Cited in Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 229.
- 24 Cited in Sabine Schülting, 'Strategic Improvisation: Henry Blout in the Ottoman Empire', in *Early Modern Encounters with the Islamic East: Performing Cultures*, ed. Sabine Schülting, Sabine Lucia Müller and Ralf Hertel (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2012), 74.
- 25 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 44.
- 26 Ku Ch'î-yüan, *K'o tso chui yü* (Peking, [1618] 1987), cited in Craig Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption and the Institution of Correct Morality by the Ming State', in *Norms and the State in China*, ed. Chung-Chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 46.
- 27 Brook, *The Confusions of Pleasure*, 220.

- 28 Sanjay Subramaniam, *Explorations in Connected History: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 21.
- 29 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, 46; Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 154.
- 30 Screech, *Sex and the Floating World*, 113.
- 31 Giorgio Riello, *Back in Fashion: A History of Western Fashion since the Middle Ages* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020), ch. 2.
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- 33 Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times*, ed. Norman A. Stillman (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 43.
- 34 Li Wenying, 'Textiles of the Second to Fifth Centuries Unearthed from Yingpan Cemetery', in *Central Asian Textiles and Their Contexts in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Regula Schorta (Riggisberg, Switzerland: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 246–251.
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- 38 See in particular Dale Carolyn Gluckman and Sharon Sadako Takeda, *When Art Became Fashion: Kosode in Edo-Period Japan* (Los Angeles, CA: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1992).
- 39 Kayoko Fujita, 'Japan Indianized: The Material Culture of Imported Textiles in Japan, 1550–1850', in *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Prasanna Parthasarathi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 181–203. See also Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 132–133; and Screech, *Sex and the Floating World*, 116.
- 40 Verity Wilson, 'Western Modes and Asian Clothing: Reflections on Borrowing Other People's Dress', *Costume* 36 (2002): 139. See also Ronald P. Toby, 'The "Indianess" of Iberia and Changing Japanese Iconographies of Other', in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. Stuart B. Schwartz (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 337.
- 41 Donald H. Shively, 'Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25 (1964–1965): 135.
- 42 Arturo Giráldez, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy* (Lanham, MA: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).
- 43 Ilona Katzev, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2004).
- 44 Araceli Tinajero, 'Far Eastern Influences in Latin American Fashions', in *The Latin America Fashion Reader*, ed. Regina A. Root (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2005), 67–68.
- 45 Bhaswati Bhattacharya, 'Making Money at the Blessed Place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras-Manila Trade in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of Global History* 3.3 (2008): 13 and 19.
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- Ronald Otsuka (Denver, CO: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 180; and Donna Pierce's contribution in *The Arts in Latin America, 1492–1820*, ed. Joseph J. Riesel and Susan Stratton-Pruitt (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006), 400. On Chinese silks in Mexico see José L. Gasch-Tomás, 'The Manila Galleon and the Reception of Chinese Silk in New Spain, c.1550–1650', in Schäfer et al., *Threads of Global Desire*, 251–264.
- 47 Rebecca Earle, 'Race, Clothing and Identity: Sumptuary Laws in Colonial Spanish America', in *The Right to Dress: Sumptuary Laws in a Global Perspective, 1200–1800*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 325–345.
- 48 Artemio de Valle-Arizpe, *Historia de la ciudad de México según los relatos de sus cronistas* (Mexico: Departamento del Distrito Federal, 1998), 173–174.
- 49 Ross W. Jamieson, 'Bolts of Cloth and Sherds of Pottery: Impressions of Caste in the Material Culture of the Seventeenth Century Audiencia of Quito', *The Americas* 60.3 (2004): 440. See also Riello, *Cotton*, 142.
- 50 Helen Benton Minnich and Shojiro Momura, *Japanese Costume and the Makers of its Elegant Tradition* (Rutland, VE: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1963), 198.
- 51 On European courts, see Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005); and Isabelle Paresys and Natacha Coquery, eds., *Se vêtir à la cour en Europe, 1400–1815* (Lille: Université Lille 3, 2011). On Japan, see Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility*; Katsuya Hirano, 'Regulating Excess: The Cultural Politics of Consumption in Tokugawa Japan', in Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress*, 435–460.
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- 53 Benton Minnich and Momura, *Japanese Costume*, 199.
- 54 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 50–51.
- 55 Christopher Breward and David Gilbert, eds., *Fashion's World Cities* (Oxford: Berg, 2006).
- 56 Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity"', 400.
- 57 Finnane, 'Yangshou's "Modernity"', 401.
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- 59 Helen C. Gunsaulus, *Japanese Textiles* (New York: Japan Society, 1941), 21–22; Shively, 'Regulation and Status', 125.
- 60 Alan Kennedy, *Japanese Costume: History and Tradition* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1990), 11.
- 61 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 44; Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 210–237.
- 62 Clunas, *Superfluous Things*, 146–147.
- 63 See in particular Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984).
- 64 Brook, *Confusions of Pleasure*, 218.
- 65 Earle, 'Two Pairs of Pink Satin Shoes!!', 177.
- 66 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 59; Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994), 29–67.
- 67 Amanda Mayer Stinchecum, *Kosode: 16th–19th Century Textiles from the Nomura Collection* (New York: Japan Society and Kodansha International, 1984), 51.
- 68 See for the case of London: Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- 69 Michelle Saporì, *Rose Bertin: ministre des modes de Marie-Antoinette* (Paris: Regard et Institut français de la mode, 2003).
- 70 Kennedy, *Japanese Costume*, 19. Korin, born into a Kimono merchant's family, was a famous painter and founder of the Rinpa School. He also painted kimonos on several occasions although his patterns only became popular after death. He advised a bureaucrats' lady to wear black with white backing all the time, and let her servant

- wear bright colours. This made a good contrast and also made competitors look garish. I thank Miki Sugiura for this information.
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 - 72 Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).
 - 73 Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 117.
 - 74 Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford, 'Commerce and the Commodity: Graphic Display and Selling New Consumer Goods in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, ed. Michael North and David Ommrod (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998), 187–200; John Styles, 'Product Innovation in Early Modern London', *Past & Present* 168 (2000): 124–169; Evelyn Welch, ed., *Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017),
 - 75 Noma, *Japanese Costume*, 155.
 - 76 Ishimura Hayao and Maruyama Nobuhiko, *Robes of Elegance: Japanese Kimonos of the 16th–20th Centuries* (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1988), 7–8. On painted fans see also Quitman E. Phillips, *The Practices of Painting in Japan, 1475–1500* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 44–45.
 - 77 The literature on sumptuary laws in Europe is vast. Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), provides an excellent theoretical and historical overview. For a more recent engagement at a global level see Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress*, esp. the introduction, 1–34.
 - 78 Dauncey, 'Illusions of Grandeur', 47.
 - 79 Cited in BuYun Chen, 'Wearing the Hat of Loyalty: Imperial Power and Dress Reform in Ming Dynasty China', in Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress*, 424–425.
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 - 81 Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25.
 - 82 See for instance Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *A History of Global Consumption, 1500–1800* (Abingdon, UK and New York: Routledge, 2015).
 - 83 Shively, 'Regulation and Status'; Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions*; Clunas, 'Regulation of Consumption'; Madeleine C. Zilfi, 'Whose Laws? Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Laws', in Faroqhi and Neumann, *Ottoman Costumes*, 125–142.
 - 84 Clunas, 'Art of Social Climbing', 370.
 - 85 Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress*, esp. the introduction, 1–34, discusses the methodological implications of a comparative framework of analysis. On Batavia and the Cape see Robert Ross, 'Sumptuary Laws in Europe, the Netherlands and the Dutch Colonies', in *Contingent Lives: Social Identity and Material Culture in the VOC World*, ed. Nigel Worden (Cape Town: Rondebosch, 2007), 382–390; Stan Du Plessis, "'Pearls Worth Rds4000 or Less": Reinterpreting Eighteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws at the Cape', *ERSA Working Paper 336* (2013); and Adam Clulow, "'Splendour and Magnificence": Diplomacy and Sumptuary Codes in Early Modern Batavia', in Riello and Rublack, *The Right to Dress*, 299–323.
 - 86 Cf. the European laws, as for instance in Kim M. Phillips, 'Masculinities and the Medieval English Sumptuary Laws', *Gender and History* 19.1 (2007): 22–42, with Shively, 'Regulation and Status'.
 - 87 Clunas, 'Art of Social Climbing'; Clunas, *Superfluous Things*.
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 - 89 Earle, 'Race, Clothing and Identity'.

- 90 This is why Quataert prefers to call them ‘clothing laws’. See Quataert, ‘Clothing laws’ and Chapter 7 by Sarah Fee in this volume.
- 91 Clunas, ‘Regulation of Consumption’, 43 and 45.
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- 99 On the concept of ‘efflorescence’ see Jack A. Goldstone, ‘Efflorescences and Economic Growth in World History: Rethinking the “Rise of the West” and the Industrial Revolution’, *Journal of World History* 13.2 (2002): 323–389.
- 100 Tranberg Henson, ‘World in Dress’, 372–373.
- 101 Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: Europe, China, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Roy Bin Wong, *China Transformed: Historical Change and the Limits of European Experience* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1997). This is an approach that I am currently developing for the analysis of silk in a joint project with Dagmar Schäfer.
- 102 Wilbur Zelinsky, ‘Globalization Reconsidered: The Historical Geography of Modern Western Male Attire’, *Journal of Cultural Geography* 22.1 (2004): 83–134; Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*.
- 103 Gregory Votolato, *American Design in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Regina Lee Blaszczyk, ed., *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); and Regina Lee Blaszczyk and Ben Wubs, eds., *The Fashion Forecasters: A Hidden History of Color and Trend Prediction* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018).