

Aris Kafantogias

Between the Visible and the Invisible, the Practical and the Ornamental: The Body Linen of the Viennese, 1760–1823

Abstract: Vienna in the period 1760–1823 was part of an abundant and expansive European world of goods. This article examines a specific cluster of goods, namely body linen, which encompassed underclothes and accessories that people wore in public and served both aesthetic and practical functions. Using a quantitative analysis of the Viennese probate inventories, this essay examines the trends of ownership of these goods in the Viennese middle and lower social strata. It focuses on the differences in number and material, and associates these trends with European-wide patterns of ownership and consumption. Moreover, it shows how variations in the ownership of body linen affect certain aspects of its social role: its influence on clothing luxury and respectable appearance, and its role in new ideals of cleanliness and hygiene.

Key Words: underclothes, Vienna, material culture, consumption, eighteenth century

Introduction

The history of material culture and consumption in eighteenth-century Europe has constructed an image of an expansive and multifaceted material universe.¹ A progressively abundant and diverse world of goods with a new, significantly broader range of consumer opportunities, which included, among others, colonial products, clothing, furniture and furnishings has been described in many studies.² The move towards the emergence of a consumer society defined by industrial production presupposed the existence of such an abundance of consumer articles made possi-

Accepted for publication after external peer review (double blind)

Aris Kafantogias, Institut für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte der Universität Wien, Universitätsring 1, 1010 Wien; aris.kafantogias@univie.ac.at

ble through proto-industrial production as well as international and colonial trade.³ This image of a widely dispersed material abundance is further reinforced by the spirited debates on luxury in the eighteenth century. The participants in these debates described an affluent consumer society, where even the lower social strata had the opportunity to consume a wide range of articles.⁴

This description of a changing and expanding material world can also be applied to Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century. Vienna was a centre of proto-industrial production in the Austrian Empire. A wide range of articles was produced in the city, including not only luxury items for the imperial court like porcelain or expensive silk fabrics, but also goods which were accessible to broader strata of the population.⁵ Novelties were produced by foreigners, who were incentivized to establish businesses in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century. Characteristic examples were the Swiss manufactures of pocket watches, the *Genfer Kolonie*, or the English producers of metal buttons.⁶ As the residence of the imperial court, Vienna could function as a cultural amplifier of the consumption patterns of the aristocracy. The role of the city and its location in central Europe induced a diverse population structure, which differentiated Vienna from the north-western European capitals because it brought in influences from every part of the Empire. Moreover, political measures such as the abolition of the sumptuary legislation, a more liberal economic policy regarding industry and trade within the Monarchy and the structural transformation of the commercial sector of the city contributed to the expansion of consumption opportunities for broader strata of the population.⁷

However, in the description of this world of goods certain goods that are not considered novel, significant, or perhaps even exotic enough are often omitted. Body linen constitutes one such type of article. The term 'body linen' is used in order to describe underclothes, such as shirts or shifts that were usually made of linen mainly as part of a household's own production or as part of the dowry, and to differentiate them from household linen, which included items like table covers, sheets or napkins.⁸ In the present study body linen is defined as pieces of clothing that were worn next to the body, but were by no means invisible, were not necessarily worn under the outer garments, and served both aesthetic and practical functions. This definition is broadened in order to include items like neckerchiefs, handkerchiefs and caps that could also be considered accessories. It does not include domestic clothing though, which was confined to the private sphere.

Underclothes are to a great extent goods of an old material world. While they change across time and are also influenced by fashion, they are not novelties. However, they certainly belong in the material world of the second half of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century and can better illustrate certain aspects of

the material culture of that period. Material culture in a society does not represent just changing and evolving stocks of goods, it also encompasses people's interaction with them, the meanings they ascribe to them and how goods influence people's social and cultural relations.⁹ Nevertheless, the study of certain clusters of goods can also provide hints about their broader social and cultural significance. As in other European regions, body linen is not only an essential part of dress in Vienna, but it also performs crucial social functions. The present essay will examine the body linen of the middle and lower strata of the Viennese population in the period 1760–1823 through a quantitative analysis of their probate inventories. It will focus on the differences in number and material and it will attempt to associate the trends that appear in Vienna with European-wide patterns of ownership and consumption. Moreover, it will show how variations in the ownership of body linen affect certain aspects of its social role: its influence on clothing luxury and respectable appearance, and its role in new ideals of cleanliness and hygiene.

The probate inventories of the Viennese and the population sample

The sources of this study are the probate inventories of the Viennese in the period 1760–1823. Probate inventories constitute the most significant source for the study of material culture from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and can yield direct, quantifiable evidence on the ownership of goods.¹⁰ In the archive of the city of Vienna probate inventories are available in various forms since 1600. However, the inventorying process became more systematic in the 1760s, when the two-step process of the sealing of the estate (*gerichtliche Sperre*) and the court inventory (*gerichtliche Inventarisierung*) was widely implemented. In the 1780s the number of probate inventories in Vienna rose significantly because the inventory process was further regulated and an inventory was then compiled after every death, except if the deceased was very poor.¹¹

As with every historical source, the inventories pose significant problems that cannot be easily overcome. Inventories measure stocks of goods, not flows. They depict the estate at the time of death, so the objects in the inventory may not be reflective of the material culture of the time. This is true even for semi-durable, fashion sensitive goods like clothing, which should be viewed with a certain time lag that depends on different variables, like the wealth or the age of the deceased. Nor can the gradual replenishment of these articles be accurately measured. Moreover, the replacement rate for goods such as underclothes was higher than that of outer gar-

ments. There is evidence to suggest that shirts, shifts and stockings were replaced once or twice a year.¹² Hans Medick also alerts us not only to problems of decrease in the value and number of clothing items with age, but also to issues involving inheritance and the handing down of clothing to children.¹³ Furthermore, items like underwear are sometimes lumped together and inadequately described.¹⁴ Finally, a very important issue with the use of inventories is the fact that the probate population is not the same as the general population; older people, for whom clothing and appearance might not have been as important, are overrepresented in the inventories.¹⁵ Thus, when studying the material culture of a general population, the specification of the population under research, which is defined by the inventory sample, is crucial in order to better understand the results.¹⁶

The inventory sample of the present essay consists of 252 inventories taken in twenty-year intervals for the period 1760–1823.¹⁷ In relation to the population of Vienna in this period, the size of the sample seems negligible. Vienna's population rose continuously from 175,403 residents in 1754 to 304,382 in 1827.¹⁸ However, a much smaller percentage of the population was actually inventoried.¹⁹ Furthermore, a large part of the inventoried population did not possess even a very small fortune.²⁰

It is difficult to conclude the social stratification in the city solely based on the inventory sample. Some researchers have defined the population under research through a combination of the information in the inventories, such as wealth and occupation.²¹ The sample of the present study is formulated based on wealth at the time of death, occupation and marital status.²² Wealth is also the main variable in the analysis. Wealth in the sample consists of money found in the house, the estimated value of material possessions, the value of property, and any money owed to the deceased. The wealth range of the study is 10–10.000 gulden as fortune at the time of death. This wealth range captures the middle and lower strata of the population, but not those who had no fortune at all, nor the very rich. In its lower limit there are journeymen and lower servants, while its upper limit is a wealthy middle class, people who could own a house or a workshop.²³ According to inventory data from the years 1815, 1830 and 1840, compliance with which can be assumed, the sample each year constitutes 5% of the inventoried population.²⁴

Table 1: Wealth distribution in the inventory sample²⁵

Year	Gender	Number of cases	Mean wealth in Fl (CM)	Mean wealth in Fl (CM) (both sexes)	Mean material wealth in Fl (CM)	Mean material wealth in Fl (CM) (both sexes)
1760s	female	30	1,499.6	1,250.3	163.7	138.7
	male	30	1,001.0		113.7	
1783	female	32	1,666.3	1,673.1	301.8	487.7
	male	32	1,679.9		673.5	
1803	female	32	1,659.9	1,650.6	461.0	384.0
	male	32	1,641.4		306.9	
1823	female	32	1,373.7	1,385.1	186.3	165.2
	male	32	1,396.5		144.1	
Total		252	1,493.6	1,493.6	296.3	296.3

Source: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (WstLA), Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

The wealth curve of both sexes follows the same pattern – it peaks in the second and third period and then falls around its previous level in 1823. The mean wealth of men and women almost converges for the period 1783–1823, and the only notable difference is men’s lower mean wealth in the 1760s. Women’s material wealth, which represents movable goods, is generally higher than that of men’s.²⁶ Material wealth constitutes 11–12% of total wealth in the first and the last period, and 23–29% in 1783 and 1803, when the sample encompasses a wealthier overall part of the population. The population is also divided in wealth tiers. This stratification allows for a more elaborate analysis of the sample.²⁷

Table 2: Wealth tiers in the inventory sample

Wealth tiers in Fl (CM)	Female	Male	Total
10–100	36	39	75
101–500	27	31	58
501–1.500	25	21	46
1,501–5,000	22	20	42
5,001–10,000	16	15	31
Total	126	126	252

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

It is evident in the previous tables that the sample is skewed towards the lower end of the wealth spectrum. According to inventory data from 1815 and 1830, 33–37% of the inventoried population fall in the wealth tier 10–100 gulden, in contrast to the 5–7% that fall in the wealth tier 5,001–10,000 gulden.²⁸ Therefore, the sample is to a great degree in line with the wealth distribution of the inventoried population in other years, and follows the wealth distribution of the general population.

The body linen of the Viennese

Underclothes constituted not only an essential part of the dress of both sexes, but also a great number of items in inventories on the whole. The articles that comprise body linen make up between 52% and 60% of the total number of clothes and accessories in the different years. The percentages for men range between 49% and 62%, and for women between 55% and 60%. It is interesting that 1803 is the year with the lowest percentage for both sexes. It probably signifies a period of greater emphasis on the accumulation of outer garments or domestic clothing, because the absolute number of items is also greater than in most other periods.

Table 3: The percentage of body linen in the total number of clothes and accessories in wealth tiers

Wealth tiers in Fl (CM)	1760s %		1783 %		1803 %		1823 %	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
10–100	65.1	61	57.8	55.5	42.7	57.8	54.6	54.8
101–500	50	56.7	53.9	56	51.8	60.6	59.5	60.8
501–1.500	54.3	57.2	66.4	52.2	49.4	50.3	57.6	58.4
1.501–5.000	64.7	55.3	69	59.8	48	50.5	52.1	64.4
5.001–10.000	73	66.1	65.8	55.4	48.1	51.2	58	60.8

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

The percentage of body linen in total clothing remains above 50% almost throughout the period and in all wealth tiers. The constant high percentage of these articles in total clothing indicates that all social strata in Vienna had accumulated and maintained a great amount of linen. It shows the emphasis that was placed on the possession of multiple changes of these garments across the social scale. Both the poorer and the wealthier parts of the population devoted a similarly large percentage

of their dress to underclothes, a fact which denotes a conformity in ownership and consumption patterns regarding dress in this period.

The most important items that formed the basis of underwear were shirts and shifts, which covered the upper part of the body, and stockings, which covered the legs. Other items are important, but secondary to these articles. Even though changes in these garments are not considerable, the slight differences over time hint at greater differences in dress and appearance. Furthermore, the continuity or fluctuation of their mean number reveals people's attitude towards cleanliness and personal hygiene in this period.

Table 4: Men's underclothes: Total number and mean number²⁹

	1760s Total	1760s Mean	1783 Total	1783 Mean	1803 Total	1803 Mean	1823 Total	1823 Mean	Total
shirt	168	5.6	285	8.9	240	7.5	195	6.1	888
short shirt							28	0.9	28
day shirt	7	0.2	31	1	7	0.2			45
under waistcoat	40	1.3	43	1.3	5	0.2	3	0.1	91
cuffs (pair)	14	0.5	54	1.7	4	0.1			72
sleeves (pair)	8	0.3	2	0.1					10
long underpants			10	0.3	24	0.8	78	2.4	112
stockings (pair)	161	5.4	334	10.4	361	11.3	97	3	953
socks (pair)	6	0.2	1	0.03	8	0.3	110	3.4	125
Total	404		760		649		511		2.324

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

Shirts and shifts were ubiquitous in Vienna, as was the norm in this period. Shirts were shorter than shifts, which reached almost to the ankles, but there is no difference in their description in the inventories. Their form was similar throughout Europe.³⁰ Shirts and shifts had primarily a practical rather than an aesthetic function. They constituted the border between dress and nudity. They protected the body from the cold through their layering, and they established the mark of cleanliness through their regular change. However, even though they served mainly a practical purpose, they did not remain unaffected by fashion trends. In the eighteenth century fashion dictated the use of accessories attached to the visible parts of shirts and shifts, such as cuffs, which were trimmed with lace and served as a display of fine linen and as an indication that the wearer did not perform harsh manual labour.³¹

Table 5: Women's underclothes: Total number and mean number³²

	1760s Total	1760s Mean	1783 Total	1783 Mean	1803 Total	1803 Mean	1823 Total	1823 Mean	Total
shift	192	6,4	299	9,3	299	9,3	238	7,4	1.028
short shirt					1	0.03	17	0.5	18
day shirt	37	1.2	6	0.9					43
long shirt	6	0.2							6
cuffs (pair)	20	0.7	34	1.1					54
stays	34	1.1	35	1.1	39	1.2	17	0.5	125
jumps	1	0.03	7	0.2	11	0.3	1	0.03	20
corset	3	0.1	18	0.6	58	1.8	45	1.4	124
pannier			7	0.2					7
long under- pants							6	0.9	6
trousers			3	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.1	7
stockings (pair)	79	2.6	299	9.3	326	10.2	328	10.3	1.032
Total	372		708		736		654		2.470

Source: *WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen*

The mean number of shirts and shifts is very important. It shows that each man had between six and ten shirts on average (including day shirts and short shirts), and each woman between seven and eleven shifts (including day shirts, long and short shirts). These surely sufficed for regular change according to hygiene principles, popular in Europe at the time and by the middle of the eighteenth century also accessible to the middle, and even the lower strata of the population, when fairly frequent change of body linen had already supplemented the clean hands and face as the mark of everyday cleanliness. This social form of cleanliness, which clung to the items of dress, was also a very important measure for character and morality in the period, and clean body linen was proof of respectable appearance.³³

The provision and regular change of shirts and shifts for those who could not afford it became a point of emphasis in the regulations and practices of hospitals. It is also mentioned in medicinal topographies, which documented the sanitary practices in different European regions. These works were popular in the period and contributed to the new, increased contemporary sensitivity for cleanliness and public hygiene. A medicinal topography of Vienna in 1810, which also describes simi-

lar practices regarding undergarments in hospitals, echoes these evolving views on the subject across Europe as it is stated that it was compiled in order to better public health and that it was influenced by similar works for Hamburg, Berlin and Würzburg.³⁴

The numbers of shirts and shifts in Vienna are comparable to those of the Parisian middle and lower strata, who at the end of the eighteenth century owned between six and fifteen shirts or shifts on average. In rural areas both in France and the German territories these numbers were exceeded perhaps as a result of home production or, in the case of Laichingen, local manufacture.³⁵ Cleanliness, as represented in regular change of underclothes, was not only possible through the greater accumulation of linen by a greater portion of the population, but also through its maintenance. Underclothes were prone to theft because they were washed more regularly and left to dry. Moreover, a small part of the population under research could also employ servants for the upkeep of these articles, as demonstrated through the servants' beds recorded in their inventories.³⁶

The condition of shirts and shifts is often mentioned in the inventories. These descriptions, even with the aforementioned limitations of the source, can provide hints regarding the replacement rate of underclothes.

Table 6: The condition of shirts and shifts in the period³⁷

	1760s %	1783 %	1803 %	1823 %
Shirts				
bad and coarse	19.4			
old	32.6	7	4.1	4.5
ordinary			1.6	6.3
worn-out	12.6	1.3		
Shifts				
bad and coarse	32.8	1.3		
old	38.7	6.9		9.8
ordinary		7.9		7.8
worn-out				

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

In the 1760s a much larger percentage of shirts and shifts are described as old or worn-out than in subsequent periods.³⁸ These descriptions of condition are used in

the inventories mainly in order to denote a diminishing value, and are linked to the appraisal of items.³⁹ The presence of old and worn-out shirts indicates that they did not possess the same value as other similar items due to their condition. Therefore, it would be safe to assume that not only the mean number of shirts and shifts, but also their replacement rate increased in the period. The absence of terms like bad or coarse in the last three periods also implies an increase in the quality of these garments. Finally, the term ordinary, which appears mainly in the last period, denotes a progressively increased standardization of underclothes.

A stratified sample of inventories enables the examination of the ownership of shirts and shifts in different wealth tiers. It can demonstrate the social depth, which the possession of multiple changes of underclothes reached.

Table 7: Shirts and shifts in wealth tiers: Mean number and percentage of old and worn-out clothing in total number

Wealth tiers in FL (CM)	1760s Mean	1760s %	1783 Mean	1783 %	1803 Mean	1803 %	1823 Mean	1823 %
Shirts								
10–100	5.6	27.9	6.1	13.1	2.6	28.6	4.6	13
101–500	3.9	65.7	6.3	21.1	8.1		9.3	
501–1,500	7.5	90	12.8		12.9		10.2	6.6
1,501–5,000	6	66.7	20.3		7.2	9.3	4.7	
5,001–10,000	10.3		13.2	9.1	9		9	
Shifts								
10–100	6.1	21.3	7		4.6		4.6	15.2
101–500	4.2	42.9	7.6	23	11.3		8.9	29
501–1,500	10.7	18.8	13		8.1		8	
1,501–5,000	9.8	59.2	14.5	12.1	12.7		10	
5,001–10,000	10	70	7.8		12.8		12.3	

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

These numbers clearly show that most people even in the lower wealth tiers could change their underclothes at least twice a week. The biggest differences in mean number, even with some notable exceptions, can be observed in the first two periods at the limit of 500 gulden, and in the following periods at the limit of 100 gulden. Therefore, it could be postulated that gradually, even poorer people wanted

and could more frequently, even daily, change their underclothes. Apart from the 1760s, old and worn-out clothes were mostly confined in the lower wealth tiers, a fact which indicates that wealthier people could replace their underclothes or better maintain them.

The structure of the underwear of both sexes changes in this period. As regards men, the under waistcoat was a type of close-fitting waistcoat without sleeves that covered the chest and reached up to the hips, which was worn either on the skin in the winter or above the shirt, but always under the jacket. It was mostly worn in rural areas in German territories up to the 1820s, though there is evidence to suggest that it had found its way into the wardrobe of the urban population in the second half of the eighteenth century. In Vienna it is found in small numbers, about one per person. It was a functional rather than ornamental part of the dress. It was durable and hidden so it was not susceptible to fashion change and replacement. It was shorter than the waistcoat in the period, and its disappearance at the turn of the century coincided with the adoption of the shorter waistcoat.⁴⁰ Changes in the form of the shirt are not detectable in the inventories, though another structural change of men's undergarments is the adoption of the short shirt, which is present only in 1823 and could be a response to the shortening of the waistcoat and the slimmer male silhouette.⁴¹

The fashion of undress and the adoption of the one-piece dress with the higher waist and the lower neckline, the chemise, at the start of the nineteenth century, influenced the structure of female underwear. This dress became popular in Europe at the time and, at least as regards the upper part of the population under research, was ubiquitous in Vienna as well. Shifts did not disappear, but they were influenced by this new form of dress. They became thinner, close-fitting and with a higher waistline.⁴² The short shirt (*Schmißl/Chemisette*) was introduced to Viennese clothing through servants, whose dress included elements of both urban dress and the traditional costume. This item not only moved up the social scale, but it also marked an intrusion of the traditional costume into contemporary fashion.⁴³

Stays, jumps and corsets were all essential to female dress as a means of forming to the female silhouette with varied degrees of tightness. It is difficult to differentiate between the types of corsets through the description in the inventories, and it is also difficult to know whether they were worn as outer or undergarments, because the fabric of the corset is rarely mentioned.⁴⁴ Stays were boned and very tight, whereas jumps were not supported through whalebone. Corsets were looser and were gradually adopted in place of stays at the end of the eighteenth century, as is evident in the last two periods (table 5). They came from England and were considered a better alternative to boned stays, which were criticized by doctors for their damaging effects on the body. However, in the 1810s, a stricter silhouette was gradually re-

established. Looser corsets were replaced once again by boned stays, which were slightly different in form and were always worn underneath the dress.⁴⁵ Stays are not found in great numbers in the inventories. Women owned only between one and three on average (including all types) throughout this period. Evidently, the corset was an expensive item that could not always be changed and matched with the outer garments. Nevertheless, it was present in female wardrobes because of its practical purpose of supporting the body and forming the silhouette.

In the flowing and continuously evolving structure of dress, the disappearance of an article leads to the gradual emergence of another. Undergarments can exemplify this relation. The adoption of socks and long underpants in place of stockings constitutes such an example. The long underpants (*Gattiehosen*) are trousers made of linen according to Hungarian design.⁴⁶ They are present in 1783 and in 1803, but their number increases greatly in 1823 following the adoption of long trousers (Table 4). Therefore, even though the prevailing narrative suggests that Vienna, especially after 1815, was the main source of fashion and that its influence radiated across the Empire, the process was also reciprocal to a degree.⁴⁷ Even though in Vienna they were relatively common, in German territories long underpants were rare at the start of the nineteenth century, even among the urban population. They were adopted gradually in the second half of the century, largely under the influence of military clothing, which also played a significant role in the adoption of trousers in Vienna.⁴⁸ Apart from these long underpants though, no other type of drawers is mentioned. Short drawers or linings of washable material that could be detached from the breeches existed throughout the period. However, men in Vienna apparently did not wear them at all. Their absence from the inventories could also be attributed to their low value that made them not worth mentioning, or it could have been a sensitive subject not suitable for mention in official documents. The situation was similar for all but the nobility in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century as well as in England and the German territories. Daniel Roche states that men and women in Paris wore no underwear under breeches and petticoats, and that was the norm.⁴⁹ Women's drawers were absent in Vienna as well. Underpants and trousers worn under petticoats are rarely mentioned. These garments were advocated by doctors and moralists, but were adopted by women only hesitantly and caused some social tension at the time due to the association of trousers with masculinity and male dominance.⁵⁰

Stockings comprised the second fundamental part of underwear for both sexes. They were an integral part of dress until 1823, when, as mentioned above, long underpants and socks largely replaced men's stockings. Including socks, each man had between five and eleven pairs on average and each woman between three and ten pairs. As with shifts and shirts, these numbers are to a great degree in line with

those of the Parisian middle and lower strata at the end of the eighteenth century. Parisian women owned between six and twelve pairs of stockings and men between six and fifteen pairs.⁵¹ The production of stockings became increasingly mechanized in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The use of knitting frames in production enabled the fabrication of finer products in greater number, and, as a result, fashion trends accelerated rapidly. At the end of the eighteenth century stockings remained in fashion for only six months. The higher social strata decorated their stockings with elaborate designs, a prominent example of which is the zebra stripes that became popular in France in the reign of Louis XVI. Stockings were also colourful, and, as with patterns, different colours also moved in and out of fashion.⁵² Viennese inventories do not provide such detail in the descriptions. The stockings of both sexes did not have decoration, and only in a few cases is their colour mentioned. They were either black or white.

Stockings, and especially male stockings, are described in the inventories as stockings and under-stockings (*Strümpfe/Unterstrümpfe*). This description reaffirms the practical role of stockings as underclothes, a role which in the last period was taken on by the long underpants. It confirms the assumption that stockings were layered, especially in the winter as protection from the cold. In contrast to shirts and shifts, the materials of which might have been obvious to the appraisers at the time (mostly linen) and they did not bother to mention them, the fabrics of stockings are often mentioned in the inventories, perhaps as a means of differentiating between stockings, which were made from more expensive fabrics and were valued higher on average, and under-stockings, which were made from less expensive, less valuable materials.⁵³

Wool and cotton have a place in the fabrics of women's stockings in the eighteenth century together with yarn, which is also found in the following periods. Yarn (*Zwirn*) could represent a number of different fabrics, like cotton, linen or wool. It describes a thread made of two or more interlocked fibres, usually cotton and linen. Yarn stockings might have also been products of the knitting frame and the increased mechanization of production, products that were accessible by the population under research in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Wool and silk are the most important fabrics for men's stockings in the eighteenth century, when presumably silk stockings were worn over woolen under-stockings. The presence of cotton is even smaller in male than in female stockings, in contrast to English lower strata, where there was a marked trend towards cotton stockings from the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ While silk retains its relatively high presence at the start of the nineteenth century, it disappears with the adoption of trousers. Silk stockings were a symbol for a refined appearance and surely a coveted commodity. There was no point for them to be hidden under trousers. They were an expensive article, val-

ued in 1783 at one gulden per pair.⁵⁶ Their diffusion in the Viennese population constitutes an indicator for their importance and the willingness of the lower strata to invest in their purchase.

Table 8: Fabrics of stockings (pair) and their percentage in total number

	1760s Total	1760s %	1783 Total	1783 %	1803 Total	1803 %	1823 Total	1823 %
Female								
cotton	9	11.4	23	7.7				
silk	2	2.5			3	0.9	7	2.1
wool	20	25.3						
yarn	10	12.7	41	13.7	12	3.7	40	12.2
Male								
cotton	19	11.8						
leather	2	1.2						
silk	29	18	94	28.1	78	21.6	2	2.1
wool	40	24.8	25	7.5				
yarn	11	6.8	3	0.9				

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

Table 9: Men's stockings (pair) in wealth tiers: Mean number and the percentage of silk stockings in total number

Wealth tiers in Fl (CM)	1760s Mean	1760s %	1783 Mean	1783 %	1803 Mean	1803 %	1823 Mean	1823 %
10–100	5	12.7	8.3	19.3	4.1	12.1	1.9	
101–500	4	16.7	7.1	17.2	11.3	20.3	2.5	
501–1,500	5.5	18.2	14.5	36.2	18.7	20.6	4.5	7.4
1,501–5,000	9.3	35.7	13.8	32.7	8.5	13.7	3	
5,001–10,000	6.7	10	14.8	37.8	16.8	35.8	5	

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

Men in every wealth tier possessed silk stockings until the 1820s. In the period, 12–20% of men's stockings in the two lower tiers were made of silk. In 1783 more

than one third of the stockings of wealthier men, presumably most of their outer-stockings, were made of silk. However, the differences are not as stark, and, even though in the 1760s silk stockings were scarce in the poorer part of the population, there are signs that they tried to achieve a respectable appearance. On average, men in the two lower tiers owned between four and eleven pairs of stockings and between one and two pairs of silk stockings in the period 1760–1803, a number that progressively rose over time. Wealthier men owned on average between one and six pairs of silk stockings.

Body linen also includes certain accessories, which not only completed and enhanced the appearance, but also served practical functions. Neckerchiefs and handkerchiefs are an essential part of dress and constitute by far the most common item in the inventories. They are mostly mentioned together and could have been interchangeable in form and function.⁵⁷ They were made from a wide range of fabrics and they added colour to one's appearance.

Table 10: Neckerchiefs and handkerchiefs in wealth tiers: Total number and mean number⁵⁸

Wealth tiers in FI (CM)	1760s Total	1760s Mean	1783 Total	1783 Mean	1803 Total	1803 Mean	1823 Total	1823 Mean	Total
Female									
10–100	45	4.5	88	11	54	6.8	99	9.9	286
101–500	20	4	72	9	199	28.4	171	24.4	462
501–1,500	25	4.2	157	22.4	73	10.4	56	11.2	311
1,501–5,000	44	8.8	67	16.8	79	13.2	107	15.3	297
5,001–10,000	31	7.8	59	11.8	55	13.8	67	22.3	212
Total	165		443		460		500		1,568
Male									
10–100	87	7.9	129	12.9	39	4.9	90	9	345
101–500	61	6.8	112	12.4	116	16.6	82	13.7	371
501–1,500	42	10.5	102	25.5	112	16	148	24.7	404
1,501–5,000	63	21	159	39.8	56	9.3	52	7.4	330
5,001–10,000	22	7.3	117	23.4	58	14.5	37	12.3	234
Total	275		619		381		409		1,684

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

Handkerchiefs and neckerchiefs were ubiquitous in Vienna, the same as in England and the German territories in the second half of the eighteenth century, but not in Paris, where these articles were distinctly rarer in the wardrobes of middle and lower strata.⁵⁹ Even people in the lower wealth tiers had at least four on average, while

wealthier men in 1783 possessed between twenty-three and almost forty on average. In the eighteenth century, men typically owned more neckerchiefs and handkerchiefs than women, but in the nineteenth century this trend is reversed. Women also possessed articles such as scarves or purses that could replace these items to a degree. The sheer number of these articles indicates that they not only served as a display of expensive fabrics and refined embroidery, or cleanliness (the blowing of the nose or the wiping of sweat). They were also used as purses, where money and other essentials, such as tobacco were carried. Their mean numbers reaffirm their multiple uses, as they show that everyone, especially men in every wealth tier, could carry more than two or even three daily. The description of some handkerchiefs also reveals their specific function as snuff handkerchiefs (*Schnupftüchel*). Snuff handkerchiefs are found in the inventories of both men and women in the eighteenth century, and reveal the widespread adoption by all social strata of snuffing tobacco, which was the most popular method of tobacco consumption in Europe at the time. The snuff handkerchief served either as a small purse for the tobacco powder, or as part of the snuffing ritual, which involved wiping the nose after the sneeze induced by snuffing.⁶⁰

Table 11: Fabrics of handkerchiefs and neckerchiefs and their percentage in total number

	1760s Total	1760s %	1783 Total	1783 %	1803 Total	1803 %
Female						
cotton	55	33.3	22	5	1	0.2
canvas	15	9.1				
linen	23	13.9	55	12.4	2	0.4
silk	10	6.1	23	5.2	3	0.7
wool	5	3				
Male						
cotton	49	17.8	12	2	5	1.3
canvas	38	13.8	19	3.1		
linen	14	5.1			2	0.5
silk			4	0.7	4	1.1
wool					1	0.3

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

As part of the outer appearance neckerchiefs covered the chest and the neck, parts of the body that were left uncovered by shirts or dresses.⁶¹ They were situated in a very prominent part of the body, had a highly symbolic value and, as with stockings, offered themselves as indicators of respectable appearance. Even lower social strata could afford such items made of expensive fabrics, which John Styles describes as “petty clothing luxuries”.⁶² Information on their fabrics is available only for the period 1760–1803.

Cotton and canvas are the most common fabrics for men’s neckerchiefs, and cotton, linen and silk for women’s. Canvas is a strong, durable fabric, and its presence in men’s handkerchiefs denotes their practical use. It disappears in female neckerchiefs in 1783, an indicator that these items perhaps gradually played a more ornamental role for women. The most common type of cotton fabric was muslin, a valuable, fine, semi-transparent cotton fabric with plain weave.⁶³ Muslin neckerchiefs were common among all strata in the period. Even poorer men and women in the 1760s owned at least one muslin neckerchief. These items were colourful for both sexes, especially for women. The colours of male neckerchiefs are white, blue and black, though they are seldom mentioned. The colours of female neckerchief are often mentioned and include black, brown, red and white. The assumption concerning the ornamental character of female neckerchiefs is reinforced by the descriptions of decoration. Lace, embroidery and in a few cases even gold thread adorned female neckerchiefs, though most of these decorations were confined in the wealthier part of the sample.

Finally, another important female accessory that constituted part of body linen was the linen cap. Caps were part of everyday dress in the period, and, just like in other European countries, they were common among Viennese women.⁶⁴

Table 12: Women’s caps in wealth tiers: Total number and mean number⁶⁵

Wealth tiers in FI (CM)	1760s Total	1760s Mean	1783 Total	1783 Mean	1803 Total	1803 Mean	1823 Total	1823 Mean	Total
10–100	27	2.7	28	3.5	25	3.1	20	2	100
101–500	13	2.6	20	2.5	37	5.3	16	2.3	86
501–1.500	29	4.8	39	5.6	26	3.7	13	2.6	107
1.501–5.000	25	5	16	4	22	3.7	23	3.3	86
5.001–10.000	23	5.8	12	2.4	22	5.5	19	6.3	76
Total	117		115		132		91		455

Source: WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2 – Faszikel 2 – Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen

In this period, each woman possessed at least two caps. They were initially part of the dowry, but they gradually entered the domain of fashion, as not only the wide range of styles, but also the engravings of the *Wiener Modenzeitung*, the first Viennese fashion magazine, attest.⁶⁶ Wealthier women owned in most cases five to six caps, which they could change according to style, like bun caps or tail caps, or decoration. The overwhelming majority of caps do not register any fabric, as they were most likely made of linen.⁶⁷ Even though they did not differ in material, their decorations varied greatly. Caps were adorned with embroidery, trimmings and different kinds of lace, like Netherlands lace, Brussels lace, blond lace and even gold lace. Unlike with neckerchiefs, gold lace and gold thread are also found in the inventories of poorer women. The fashion of the gold-adorned caps was widespread in Vienna at the end of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century, not only among the bourgeoisie, but also in wider strata of the population. Caps constituted a part of the appearance, on which even poorer women could invest. However, the gold-adorned cap was a very expensive item that was likely bought only once in a lifetime and was passed on to one's daughter.⁶⁸

Conclusions

This study has shown that body linen constituted a fundamental part of the material world of the Viennese. Underclothes and accessories were present in every wardrobe and in great number in the second half of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century. Their presence in the Viennese inventories is also to a great degree in line with European norms of ownership in the period. The possession of body linen was important for all social strata in the eighteenth century, as new sensitivities about public hygiene and personal cleanliness developed in Vienna, as across Western Europe. Clean, white linen was the standard by which character and morality were judged. Cleanliness and respectable appearance presupposed clean underclothes, which in turn hinged on the capability of their upkeep and regular change. This ideal of cleanliness, which was in part brought about by an earlier European-wide process of linen accumulation that had started a century before 1760, also applied to the middle and lower strata in Vienna, who could not disguise their appearance with strong perfumes.⁶⁹

The importance that was laid on body linen is exemplified by the fact that it constituted the majority of the clothing of the Viennese throughout the period. The number of underclothes and accessories increased in the second half of the eighteenth century, but overall it followed the wealth curve of the population sample. Already in the 1760s, even a relatively poor part of the Viennese population pos-

sessed sufficient changes of shirts and shifts that would have enabled them to maintain a level of cleanliness and respectable appearance, and progressively they could also preserve them better or replace them at a higher rate. Wealthier people could even change their underclothes daily at the end of the century. Neckerchiefs and handkerchiefs were ubiquitous, they had multiple uses and most people could carry more than two at all times. The mean number of stockings, as well as their description, suggest that they were worn in multiple layers.

Body linen was not a rigid set of clothing. Clothes and accessories moved in and out of it, both for practical and ornamental reasons. The structure of underclothes changed subtly for both men and women in the period, always in accordance with broader fashion changes that transformed dress and appearance. Certain articles like cuffs hid under coats and dresses, others, like male stockings, were replaced by long underpants and socks. Some items like stays changed in form, and others like female underpants made a timid appearance. Fashion also transformed certain underclothes and accessories, often at a rapid pace. Even though it is not mentioned in the inventories, linen, in various qualities, must have been omnipresent. By all accounts, it constituted the main fabric of underclothes. Furthermore, the fabric of certain items often defined their use. Wool was used in stockings and neckerchiefs as protection from the cold, in contrast to cotton or silk that served aesthetic purposes.

Specific clothes and accessories also functioned as indicators of refined appearance. Men across the social scale wore silk stockings and muslin neckerchiefs. Women wore gold-adorned caps with elaborate decoration. These items constituted clothing luxuries that the broader strata of the Viennese population could and wanted to invest in. They show that body linen was not just a traditional, mundane cluster of goods, but it constituted the measure for social judgment. For the middle and lower strata in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Vienna, it was a matter of great social significance that was worth a sizeable investment. It was a field of constant struggle for social respectability and acceptance, in which everyone had to partake.

Notes

- 1 This essay is part of the author's ongoing dissertation (Material Culture and Consumption in Vienna, 1760–1830: Appearance, Clothing, Textiles) at the University of Vienna.
- 2 John Styles, *The Dress of the People. Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven 2007, 1–2; Kim Siebenhüner, *Things that Matter. Zur Geschichte der materiellen Kultur in der Frühneuzeitforschung*, in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 42/3 (2015), 396–397; Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present*, Cambridge 2008, 125–149; Neil McKendrick/John Brewer/J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, London 1982, 25–29. As Joan Thirsk points

- out, changes in the early modern world of goods were not only quantitative, but also qualitative. See Joan Thirsk, *Economic Policy and Projects. The Development of a Consumer Society in Early Modern England*, Oxford 1978, 106–107.
- 3 Siebenhüner, *Things*, (2015), 397. Two principle concepts that formed our understanding of the move towards a consumer society are the “consumer revolution,” and the “industrious revolution.” On the former, see McKendrick, *Birth*, 1982. On the latter, De Vries, *Industrious*, 2008. However, as Sheilagh Ogilvie has noted, the applicability of these concepts has not been tested outside of the North-Atlantic World. See Sheilagh Ogilvie, *Consumption, Social Capital, and the ‘Industrious Revolution’ in Early Modern Germany*, in: *The Journal of Economic History* 70 (2010), 287–89.
 - 4 The debates on luxury in the eighteenth century tend to overestimate consumption capability in presenting a rich and diverse material culture. For a brief history of the luxury debates, see Maxine Berg/Elisabeth Eger, *The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates*, in: Maxine Berg/Elisabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century. Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, Basingstoke 2007, 9–13; Joyce Appleby, *Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought*, in: John Brewer/Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London 1993, 162–173.
 - 5 The number of businesses for every sector of production in Vienna in 1780 in: Günther Chaloupek/Peter Eigner/Michael Wagner, *Wien Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1740–1938. Teil 1: Industrie*, Vienna 1991, 91–94. Roman Sandgruber, *Österreich 1650–1850*, in: Ilja Miecek (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, Vol. 4, Stuttgart 1993, 670–674.
 - 6 Chaloupek, *Wien*, 1991, 77–83.
 - 7 Roman Sandgruber, *Die Anfänge der Konsumgesellschaft. Konsumverbrauch, Lebensstandard und Alltagskultur in Österreich im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1982, 294–299; Chaloupek, *Wien*, 1991, 32, 43–45, 53–56.
 - 8 Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing. Dress and Fashion in the “Ancien Régime”*, trans. Jean Birrell, Cambridge 1994, 152–155.
 - 9 Christopher Tilley, Introduction, in: Christopher Tilley et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Material Culture*, London 2006, 4; Mary Douglas/Brandon Isherwood, *The World of Goods. Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*, London 1996, 49; Hans Peter Hahn, *Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung*, Berlin 2005, 18–20; Peter J. Bräunlein, *Material Turn*, in: Georg-August-Universität Göttingen (ed.), *Dinge des Wissens: Die Sammlungen Museen und Gärten der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen 2012, 37.
 - 10 Burkhard Pöttler, „I tuzet täller...“ Qualität und Quantität in der rechnergestützten Analyse von Verlassenschaftinventaren, in: Gernot Peter Obersteiner/Peter Wiesflecker (eds.), *Festschrift Gerhard Pferschy zum 70. Geburtstag*, Graz 2000, 265; Ruth-Elisabeth Mohrmann, *Archivalische Quellen zur Sachkultur*, in: Günter Wiegelmann (ed.), *Geschichte der Alltagskultur: Aufgaben und neue Ansätze*, Munster 1980, 71.
 - 11 WStLA, Patente, A1/3: 3/1760; WStLA, Patente, A1/3: 24/1760; Karl Fajkmajer, *Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Wien (1526–1740)*, in: Anton Mayer (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Wien: Vom Ausgange des Mittelalters bis zum Regierungsantritt der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, 1740 (II. Teil)*, vol. 5, Vienna 1914, 125; Michael Pammer, *Testamente und Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen (18. Jahrhundert)*, in: Josef Pauser/Martin Scheutz/Thomas Winkelbauer (eds.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, Vienna 2004, 496–498. The probate inventories in the archive of the city of Vienna concern all citizens except nobles, military personnel, ottoman subjects and higher clergy.
 - 12 Jan de Vries, *Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods. Understanding the Household Economy in Early Modern Europe*, in: John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods*, London 1993, 102–103; Marc Overton et al., *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600–1750*, London 2004, 87–88; Pöttler, „I tuzet täller...“, 2000, 268; Mohrmann, *Quellen*, 1980, 74; Sandgruber, *Anfänge*, 1982, 317–318; Styles, *Dress*, 2007, 72–73.
 - 13 Medick postulates the use of marriage inventories instead of probates for the study of clothing, but, due to the different legal frameworks, marriage contracts in Viennese inventories do not record material possessions being brought into the marriage, only aggregate money sums. See: Hans Medick, *Weben und Überleben in Laichingen 1650–1900. Lokalgeschichte als Allgemeine Geschichte*, Göttingen 1996, 398.
 - 14 Overton et al., *Production*, 2004, 14–16.

- 15 Carole Shammas, *The Pre-industrial Consumer in England and America*, Oxford 1990, 19; Reinhold Reith (ed.), *Das Verlassenschaftsinventar des Salzburger Tuch- und Seidenhändlers Franz Anton Spängler von 1784*, Salzburg 2015, 29.
- 16 Overton et al., *Production*, 2004, 29.
- 17 Sixty inventories are collected from the period 1760–1769 (30 male and 30 female) and sixty-four from each of the three years 1783, 1803 and 1823 (32 male and 32 female). The first sixty inventories are collected throughout the decade due to their limited availability.
- 18 A detailed description of the fluctuation of Vienna's population from the middle of the eighteenth century can be found in: Andreas Weigl, *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien*, Vienna 2000, 55.
- 19 In the period 1783–1823 only 3,000 to 5,000 people were inventoried each year, including the cases, where no list was drawn because the deceased had no fortune at the time of death.
- 20 In 1840 sixty percent of Vienna's inventoried population did not have assets amounting to even one gulden. Erika Silber, *Beiträge zur Sozialkultur Wiens im Vormärz. Eine sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Arbeit aufgrund der magistratischen Verlassenschaftsakten des Jahres 1840*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, Vienna 1977, 158.
- 21 Wealth is associated with occupation because the wealth recorded in an inventory cannot be taken as an accurate reflection of an individual's income. In addition, occupation can greatly influence the structure of the aggregate or net wealth in an inventory, as is the case with the estates of merchants, compared to other professionals, such as craftsmen. Overton et al., *Production*, 2004, 88; Herbert Knittler, *Zu Fragen der Zentralität. Nachlassinventare als Quelle frühneuzeitlicher Kleinstadtforschung*, in: Franz X. Eder/Peter Feldbauer/Erich Landsteiner (eds.), *Wiener Wege der Sozialgeschichte: Themen – Perspektiven – Vermittlungen*, Vienna 1997, 86–87; Shammas, *Pre-industrial*, 1990, 304–305. Peter Earl used this method in order to define the English middle class through the inventories in: Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class. Business, Society and Family Life in London, 1660–1730*, Berkeley 1989, 32, 36.
- 22 The most important occupational categories are artisans, merchants, servants, public employees and people providing services, like coachmen, musicians or innkeepers. Their marital status is: married, single, or widowed.
- 23 Concerning the changing social structure of the city in the period, see: Ingrid Mittenzwei, *Zwischen Gestern und Morgen. Wiens frühe Bourgeoisie an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1998.
- 24 Birgit Friebe, *Die Sozialkultur Wiens am Anfang des Vormärz*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, Vienna 1966, 69; Erika Silber, *Beiträge*, 1977, 396; Winfried Bammer, *Beiträge zur Sozialkultur der Bevölkerung Wiens aufgrund der Verlassenschaftsakten des Jahres 1830*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, Vienna 1968, 100–101, 129.
- 25 All the money values in gulden (fl) mentioned in the tables and the text are in Conventionsmünze (CM), even though values of clothing in the inventories of the year 1823 are mostly in Wiener Währung (WW), which was introduced after the state bankruptcy in 1811. At the time, the Wiener Währung had an exchange rate to the Conventionsmünze of 2.5:1. Helmut Rumpler, *Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa. Bürgerliche Emanzipation und Staatsverfall in der Habsburgermonarchie*, Vienna 2005, 123–24.
- 26 Material wealth represents items such as clothing, furniture, jewellery, or even artisans' production goods and merchants' stocks, but not landed property. Production goods are not always clearly distinguished in the inventories although some items might have had such function, for example they could be used as a display of a craftsman's work. Margaret Ponsonby, *Towards an Interpretation of Textiles in the Provincial Domestic Interior. Three Homes in the West Midlands, 1780–1848*, in: *Textile History* 38 (2007), 170–171.
- 27 On the need for a stratified sample of inventories, see: Pöttler, „1 tuzet täller...“, 2000, 267.
- 28 Bammer, *Beiträge*, 1968, 129; Friebe, *Sozialkultur*, 1966, 69.
- 29 The German terms for men's underclothes: cuffs (*pr. Tatzeln*); day shirt (*Taghemd*); under waistcoat (*Brustfleck, Leibl*); long underpants (*Gattiehose, Unterhose*); shirt (*Hemd, Oberhemd*); short shirt (*Schmißl*); sleeves (*Ärmel*); socks (*Socken*); stockings (*Strümpfe, Unterstrümpfe, Oberstrümpfe*).
- 30 The problem of the differentiation in the description of shirts and shifts is not encountered only in the Viennese inventories, but in other sources as well. Regina Flury-von Bülzingslöwen, *Das Hemd*,

- in: Ciba Rundschau 131 (1957), 13; Roche, Culture, 1994, 159; Almut Junker/Eva Stille, Geschichte der Unterwäsche, 1700–1960, Frankfurt 1988, 16, 22.
- 31 Roche, Culture, 1994, 153; Flury-von Bültzingslöwen, Hemd, (1957), 19–20; Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 19; Edith ter Meer, Die Frauenkleidung im Rokoko, in: Zeitschrift für historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde 12 (1927), 296; Willet C. Cunnington/Phillis Cunnington, The History of Underclothes, London 1981, 52.
- 32 The German terms for women's underclothes: corset (*Korsett, Pelzkorsett*); cuffs (*pr. Tatzeln, pr. Manschetten*); day shirt (*Taghemd*); jumps (*Leibl, Brustfleck*); long shirt (*Unterkittel*); long underpants (*Gattiehose*); pannier (*Strickrock*); shift (*Hemd*); short shirt (*Schmißl*); stays (*Leibl, Leibstück, Mieder, Miederleibl, Schnürmieder*); stockings (*Strümpfe, Unterstrümpfe*); trousers (*Hose, Beinkleid*).
- 33 Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 24–25; Styles, Dress, 2007, 78–79; Georges Vigarello, Wasser und Seife, Puder und Parfüm. Geschichte der Körperhygiene seit dem Mittelalter, trans. Linda Gränz, Frankfurt/New York/Paris 1988, 78–81.
- 34 Vigarello, Wasser, 1988, 173, 180–182; Zacharias Wertheim, Versuch einer medicinischen Topographie von Wien, Vienna 1810, I–III, 381, 387, 401–406.
- 35 Roche, Culture, 1994, 168–171, 174–177; Dominique Margairaz, City and Country. Home, Possessions, and Diet, Western Europe 1600–1800, in: Frank Trentmann (ed.), The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption, Oxford 2012, 205–206; Medick, Weben, 1996, 404. In the period in Laiding, men and women owned between nine and fourteen shirts/shirts on average. In the case of marriage inventories the number of undergarments could have also been influenced by the source, as the linen that was brought into the marriage constituted probably the peak in ownership during one's lifetime.
- 36 Styles, Dress, 2007, 40; Roche, Culture, 1994, 157–158, 169.
- 37 The numbers in tables 6 and 7 include day shirts, long shirts and short shirts.
- 38 The terms old and worn out are similar but not synonymous. "Old" could have had various meanings, such as used, patched up, inherited, or purchased in the secondary market. A great number of tailors in Vienna patched up clothing in order to resell it in the secondary market. See Hubert Kaut, Modeblätter aus Wien. Mode und Tracht von 1770 bis 1914, Vienna 1970, 64–66. On Vienna's secondary market in the period, see Georg Stöger, Sekundäre Märkte? Zum Wiener und Salzburger Gebrauchtwarenhandel im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Vienna 2011.
- 39 Overton et al., Production, 2004, 115; Mary C. Beardy, Words for Things. Linguistic Analysis of Probate Inventories, in: Mary C. Beardy (ed.), Documentary Archaeology in the New World, Cambridge 2003, 44–46.
- 40 Barbara Knüttel, Manns- und Weibskleidung in Unterfranken. Nachlassinventare aus den Gerichtsbezirken Dettelbach, Kitzingen, Ochsenfurt und Sommerhausen als Quelle zur Bekleidungs-forschung, Würzburg 1983, 72–74; Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 26–28.
- 41 A detailed description of the changes of men's shirts in the period in: Cunnington, History, 1981, 51–53, 65–67.
- 42 Aileen Ribeiro, Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715–1789, 2nd ed., New Haven 2002, 227; Flury-von Bültzingslöwen, Hemd, (1957), 20–22.
- 43 Leopoldine Springschitz, Wiener Mode im Wandel der Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Alt-Wiens, Vienna 1949, 18.
- 44 On the difficulty of differentiating between the different types of stays, see: Bernward Deneke, Zu zwei Schnürmieder des 18. Jahrhunderts, in: Waffen- und Kostümkunde 24/1 (1965), 17–18.
- 45 Valerie Steele, Corset. A Cultural History, New Haven 2011, 27, 29–33, 39; Regina Karner, Zylinder, Frack und Kreuzbandschuhe. Mode der Zeitwende, in: Thomas Just/Wolfgang Maderthaler/Helene Maimann (eds.), Der Wiener Kongress. Die Erfindung Europas, Vienna 2014, 211; Cunnington, History, 1981, 73–74; Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 38–43, 61–64; Ingrid Loschek, Reclams Mode- und Kostümllexikon, Stuttgart 1999, 317.
- 46 Karl M. Klier, Die Bekleidung unbekannter Toter in Wien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. I. Männer, in: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 4/1–2 (1950), 8; Burkhard Pöttler, Clothing and Cloths in Styrian Probate Inventories of the Late 17th and 18th Centuries, in: Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl (eds.), Inventories of Textiles – Textiles in Inventories. Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture, Vienna 2017, 216.

- 47 Kaut, Modeblätter, 1970, 55–57; Sandgruber, Anfänge, 1982, 302; Ribeiro, Dress, 2002, 97–98.
- 48 Manfred Vasold, Die Ausbreitung der Unterhose im 19. Jahrhundert, vor allem in Bayern, in: Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte 52/2 (2001), 277, 280, 291–292; Springschitz, Mode, 1949, 57–58. On the process of the substitution of trousers for breeches, see: Beverly Lemire, A Question of Trousers. Seafarers, Masculinity and Empire in the Shaping of British Male Dress, c. 1600–1800, in: Cultural and Social History 13 (2016), 17–18; Karner, Zylinder, 2014, 207–8; Roche, Culture, 1994, 139–40.
- 49 Vasold, Ausbreitung, (2001), 277; Roche, Culture, 1994, 182–183; Styles, Dress, 2007, 32, 41–42, 338–340; Cunningham, History, 1981, 53–54, 67.
- 50 Karl M. Klier, Die Bekleidung unbekannter Toter in Wien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. II. Frauen, in: Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde 4/3–4 (1950), 118; Cunningham, History, 1981, 73; Karner, Zylinder, 2014, 213.
- 51 Roche, Culture, 1994, 168–173, 177.
- 52 Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 67–73; Styles, Dress, 2007, 40; Ribeiro, Dress, 2002, 208; A. Latour, Der Strumpf, in: Ciba Rundschau 115 (1954), 4242–4244, 4247–4249.
- 53 Klier, Bekleidung. I., (1950), 6.
- 54 Johann Georg Krünitz, Zwirn, Oekonomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-Stadt- Haus- und Landwirthschaft, <http://www.kruenitz1.uni-trier.de/> (22 February 2018); Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 67–68; Latour, Strumpf, (1954), 4231–4232.
- 55 Styles, Dress, 2007, 91–93.
- 56 A testament to the importance of the appearance of men's legs in the period is the use of artificial calves in order to accentuate the lines of the leg. See: Cunningham, History, 1981, 54–55. WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2: 71-1783/84; WStLA, Zivilgericht, A2: 113-783/84. In comparison, day wages at the time amounted to 15 kreuzer or 1/4 gulden. Sandgruber, Anfänge, 1982, 115.
- 57 Klier, Bekleidung. I., (1950), 31–32.
- 58 The terms in the inventories: handkerchief (*Sacktüchel, Schnupftüchel, Tüchel*); neckerchief (*Binde, Halsbinde, Halstüchel, Putztüchel, Tüchel*).
- 59 Styles, Dress, 2007, 35–36, 337–342; Roche, Culture, 1994, 166–167. In the German territories there is a notable increase in the ownership of these goods from the second half of the eighteenth century to 1820. See Medick, Weben, 1996, 403–404.
- 60 Roche, Culture, 1994, 177–178. In the eighteenth century tobacco snuffing was adopted by all social strata. In Vienna this form of tobacco consumption reached its peak at the end of the century. Roman Sandgruber, Bittersüße Genüsse. Kulturgeschichte der Genußmittel, Vienna 1986, 103–104; Annerose Menninger, Genuss im kulturellen Wandel. Tabak, Kaffee, Tee und Schokolade in Europa (16.–19. Jahrhundert), Stuttgart 2008, 304; Jordan Goodman, Tobacco in History. The Cultures of Dependence, London 2003, 70–75.
- 61 Klier, Bekleidung. II., (1950), 119; Ter Meer, Frauenkleidung, (1927), 295–296.
- 62 Medick, Weben, 1996, 405–406; Styles, Dress, 2007, 40.
- 63 Max Heiden, Handwörterbuch der Textilkunde aller Zeiten und Völker. Stuttgart 1904, 357.
- 64 Styles, Dress, 2007, 35–36, 338–340; Roche, Culture, 1994, 166.
- 65 The terms in the inventories: cap (*Bindehaube, Blondhaube, Haube, Nebelhaube, Putzhaube, Schlepphaube, Schopphaube, Vorhaube, Wickelhaube, Zughaube*).
- 66 Wiener Modenzeitung, 2, (11 January 1816), <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wzz&datum=18160111&seite=9&zoom=33> (25 February 2018); Wiener Modenzeitung, 7, (15.02.1816), <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wzz&datum=18160215&seite=9&zoom=33> (25 February 2018).
- 67 There are only very few mentions of silk caps.
- 68 Springschitz, Mode, 1949, 19; Kaut, Modeblätter, 1970, 21–22.
- 69 De Vries, Industrious, 2008, 134–136; Roche, Culture, 1994, 155; Junker, Geschichte, 1988, 24–25. In the second half of the eighteenth century the practice of perfuming and powdering came under criticism by doctors as unhygienic. Vigarello, Wasser, 1988, 162–163.