‘Mon habit bleu’, ‘mon habit noir’: The Meaning of Colours in Clothing in *Histoire de la Vie de la Comtesse de Scheverin* (1731)

Nina Mönich

In the Middle Ages and the early modern period colours had “great significance in all areas of social life as a symbol, as an indicator of status, but also as an active force.”[1] As Michel Pastoureau underscores:

> “Any description, any notation of colour is cultural and ideological, even when it is a matter of the most insignificant inventory or the most stereotypical notarized document. The very fact of mentioning or not mentioning the colour of an object was quite a significant choice reflecting the economic, political, social, or symbolic stakes relevant to a specific context.”[2]

According to Pastoureau, colours are not only physical phenomena of perception, but also complex cultural constructions[3] that are shaped by society. “It is society that ‘makes’ the colour, that gives it its definitions and meanings, that constructs its codes and values, that organizes its customs and determines its stakes.”[4]

More than other objects of material culture, clothing has a “particularly close relationship with its wearers.”[5] It “is usually found directly on the person” and “is thus particularly well suited to being identified with the person.”[6] In the early modern period “wardrobes could become storehouses of fantasies and anxieties, as well as accomodations to expectations of what a person ought to look and be like.”[7] The symbolic function of dress had particular importance in court society in the 18th century. It was an important part of ceremonial self-representation and the depiction of the court.[8] In Martin Dinges’ view, it served to promote social distinc-

1 Marina Linares, *Alles Wissenswerte über Farben* (Essen: Verl. Die Blaue Eule, 2005), 184.

2 Michel Pastoureau, *Black. The History of a Colour* (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009), 15.

3 Michel Pastoureau, “Vers une histoire des couleurs: possibilités et limites,” http://www.academie-des-beaux-arts.fr/actualites/travaux/%20comm.%202005/04-pastoureau.pdf (accessed April 15, 2013).

4 Pastoureau, *Black*, 16.

5 Martin Dinges, “Von der ‘Lesbarkeit der Welt’ zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft,” *Saeculum* 44 (1993): 90–112, here 91.

6 Ibid.

7 Ulinka Rublack, *Dressing Up. Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10.

8 On court representation at the Berlin court around 1700, see: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, “Höfische Öffentlichkeit. Zur zeremoniellen Selbstdarstellung des brandenburgischen Ho-

tions and exclusion as well as to convey group membership. Clothing was a means of making the world "readable", but also enabled a "blurring of boundaries".[9]

In the scholarship, it has been accepted that there were different forms of visualization and presentation of clothing in the 18th century. Daniel Roche defines the fashionable court society in Paris as a "culture of appearance".[10]

To read the world of colours and decipher the culture of prestige, colours must be studied as historical phenomena and situated in their respective culture-specific meanings. This is the precise aim of this essay, specifically with regard to Berlin's court society around 1700.

The early 18th century is regarded as a kind of 'intermediate period' between the 'legible' early modern world resulting from dress codes and the less clearly recognizable world towards the end of the 18th century, which experienced a universal change.[11] A particular colour was often worn at court up until the Baroque period that was mostly determined by the ruler or was the traditional colour of royalty and thus symbolized membership to the exclusive group of the court. The role of clothing colour changed in the 18th century, however.[12] According to Friedrich Carl von Moser's *Teutsches Hof=Recht* (1754/55), it was generally possible to "choose the colours for one's clothing, as one liked". In regard to history, he stressed that there were

> "also instances of great lords who reserved wearing one thing or another for themselves alone, and of jealous lords who sometimes made the mistake, or the indeed clever decision, to resemble or imitate him in his favourite colours and type of clothing."[13]

He, accordingly, noted the following about Prussian King Friedrich I:

> "King Friedrich I of Prussia made the announcement to his court in January 1710 that no one, no matter what his character might be, would be allowed to wear violet or purple-red, as both of these colours were reserved for the King. All merchants in Berlin were also prohibited from selling fabrics and cloths of this colour to anyone besides His Majesty."[14]

---

fes vor dem europäischen Publikum," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte* N.F. 7 (1997): 145–176.

9 Dinges, "Von der 'Lesbarkeit der Welt'", 94.

10 Daniel Roche, *La Culture des Apparences* (Paris: Fayard, 1989).

11 Martin Dinges, "Der 'feine Unterschied'. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 19 (1992): 49–76. Criticism of Dinges' and Roches' thesis of a supposedly "stable" world of the "sartorial Ancièn Regime" is found in Ulinka Rublack, "Clothing and Cultural Exchange in Renaissance Germany," in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Robert Muchembled (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 258–288.

12 Claudia Schnitzer, *Höfische Maskeraden. Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999), 11.

13 Friedrich Carl von Moser, *Teutsches Hof=Recht*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt; Leipzig: Andreä, 1754/55), vol. 2: 420.

14 Ibid.

Moser thus points out the importance of colours for presenting distinctions at the Prussian court around 1700. Scholar of ceremonies Julius Bernhard von Rohr also emphasizes the significance of clothing colours in his *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschafft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin 1728). Unlike Moser, however, he stresses the role of the court society, rather than the king:

> "There also was much at stake with the selection of the colours of the clothing, and one had to weigh a variety of factors if one did not want to be subject to foreign *critiques* that might otherwise be avoided."[15]

Rohr goes on to say that the colour of dress had to be suited to the person, his or her age and appearance. One should not choose colourful clothing, but rather those that are "becoming".[16] The examples from the normative writings on ceremonies advise that clothing colours should be adapted according to the preferences of the ruler and the court society and moreover be selected with regard to ceremonial, aesthetic, moral and social issues. Normative sources were important references for the significance of colours. It is only in interpretations, however, which include personal testimonies that the practices and cultural techniques for dealing with colours truly become apparent.

For instance, in her *Histoire de la Vie* Countess Luise Charlotte von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden, dramatically illustrates looking out the window of her home to the opposing Charlottenburg Palace to watch her husband. She could easily recognize him when he was dressed in red.[17] The red colour of her husband's overcoat may be understood as communicating the complex information that first emerges from the analysis of this personal testimony. The form of dress of a red overcoat initially indicates her husband's prominent position and close proximity to the royal family. Court officials often wore red – although not purple or violet – clothing to signify their membership to the court.[18] A red overcoat was even part of the dress of the Order of the Prussian Black Eagle, to which

---

15 Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin: Rüdiger, 1728), 566.

16 Ibid., p. 567.

17 "Je restay souvent jusqu'a 4 heures de suitte a regarder par la fenêtre, les fenetres du chateaux ou je sçavois que le C. de S. etoit, quand il avoit un habit rouge, j'etois charmée parce que alors je pouvois voir s'il etoit dans cet endroit dangereux Des ce que je ly voyois, je croyois qu'on m'arachoit les cheveux de la tête et je versay des larmes dans une quantité inexprimable, Souvent je restois la immobile jusqu'au soir que j'avois les yeux si eblouïs de regarder si fixement et de pleurer que je ne pouvois voir devant moy." The text is cited from the two-volume manuscript of the library Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, Ms. 1190–1191: *Histoire de La Vie de Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin écrite par elle-même à ses enfants* (abbreviated as *Histoire* in following), 1731; here, volume 1, fol. 275. For further information on the text and the author, see the published edition. *Une conversion au XVIII^e siècle. Mémoires de la comtesse de Schwerin*, ed. Maurice Daumas and Claudia Ulbrich, with the assistance of Sebastian Kühn, Nina Mönich and Ines Peper (Presses universitaires de Bourdeaux 2013).

18 Heide Nixdorff and Heidi Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben. Von den Farbordnungen des Mittelalters zum individuellen Farbgeschmack* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde und Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, 1983) 114.

her husband Count Friedrich Wilhelm Graf von Schwerin had been admitted in 1701 by the new Prussian King Friedrich I.[19] Red also served as a signalling colour on different levels: first, it allowed her to recognize her husband; second, it symbolized the 'danger' of his location; finally, it may be classified among the widespread criticism of the court in the 18th century.[20] Still further, the red colour can be read as a covert allusion to her husband's marital infidelity, as he possessed a lover among the ladies of the court that was initially permitted by the court. While Luise Charlotte observed Berlin's "colourful court society" from her window,[21] she recognized her husband due to his striking red overcoat.

The example demonstrates the interpretative possibilities that emerge by including personal testimonies in the analysis of the complex representationality of clothing colour. We can also ask what normative discourses and values could be associated with colour choice and the possibilities that exist for self-presentation, representation and visualization when the person selects his or her clothing colour. What affiliations could be indicated by the colour of clothing? What liberties and constraints were present and what discourses were organized around the choice of colours? What meanings and what representational and symbolic functions did the respective clothing colours possess?

I would like to discuss these issues by focusing on the *Histoire* and paying particular attention to the colours black and blue, which, like red, had special significance. Before analyzing the importance of the clothing colours black and blue in the following, I will first discuss the author's relevant biographical details along with *Histoire*'s literary-historical context.

Luise Charlotte von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden (1684–1732), was born in 1684 in Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves, where she was Reformed bap-

---

19 Cf. Rudolf Scharmann, "Krönungsgewand, Campagne Kleid und Ritter-Ordenstracht. Herrscherkleidung Friedrichs. I.," in *Preußen 1701. Eine europäische Geschichte*, ed. Deutsches Historisches Museum/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, 2 vols. (Berlin: Henschel, 2001), 68–72.

20 On elements of court criticism in the Histoire, see: Claudia Ulbrich, "*Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin:* Une approche biographique," *Thèmes et figures du for privé. Communications réunies et présentées par Maurice Daumas* (Presses universitaires de Pau, 2012), 173–185; idem, "Tränenspektakel. Die Lebensgeschichte der Luise Charlotte von Schwerin (1731) zwischen Frömmigkeitspraxis und Selbstinszenierung." In: *L'Homme. Z.f.G.* 23,1 (2012), 27–42.

21 In the course of the efforts that were made around 1700 in regard to the coronation, the court of Friedrich I. was described as a particularly colourful and extravagant court: see, for example, Peter-Michael Hahn, "Die Hofhaltung der Hohenzollern. Der Kampf um Anerkennung," in *Preußische Stile. Ein Staat als Kunststück*, ed. Patrick Bahners (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001), 73–89, 485–486, here 85. On the Berlin court society around 1700, see also: Peter Bahl, "Die Berlin-Potsdamer Hofgesellschaft unter dem Großen Kurfürsten und König Friedrich I. Mit einem prosopographischen Anhang für die Jahre 1688–1713," in *Im Schatten der Krone. Die Mark Brandenburg um 1700*, ed. Frank Göse (Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2002), 31–98; Wolfgang Neugebauer, "Hof und politisches System in Brandenburg-Preußen. Das 18. Jahrhundert," in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Zeitschrift für vergleichende und preußische Landesgeschichte* 46 (2000), 139–169.

tized. After her marriage, Luise Charlotte resided at various family estates at the courts in Hanover, Berlin and Vienna as well as Königsberg with her husband Friedrich Wilhelm von Schwerin, a diplomatic envoy, steward of the Prussian Queen Sophie Luise and privy counsellor. In 1719, she secretly converted in Vienna from the Reformed to the Catholic faith. As word of her conversion spread in Berlin, Luise Charlotte was subject to antagonism from her husband, the Berlin court society and King Friedrich Wilhelm I and was consequently forced to leave Prussia. She never accepted, however, the separation and subsequent divorce from her husband and fought afterwards for financial support from the von Schwerin family. She later received a pension through Emperor Charles VI and support from the Vatican. Luise Charlotte was familiar with numerous courts, which she could compare in her personal history. In writing her biography, she adopted a critical and distant stance in relation to the Berlin court.

The *Histoire de la Vie de Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin écrite par elle-même à ses enfants* is a two-volume, 1400-page folio copy of this comprehensive biography in French from the year 1731. The composition of the original text probably occurred between 1723 and 1726. Now about forty years of age, the countess in the *Histoire* looks back on her life until the time when she had to leave Prussia in 1721. She tells of her upbringing, various journeys, her reading, life in Geldern and disputes in her family, her relationship with her husband, parties and receptions at the courts in Vienna, Berlin, Hanover and Königsberg, religion and rites, fashion and clothing, illness, death and mourning, intrigue and friendship, her relationship to the royal and imperial family and, finally, also of the reasons for her conversion. The colours black and blue are frequently mentioned in her detailed descriptions. The meanings of these colours are only revealed in a larger context.

The Colour Black

In the history of clothing, black has most often been associated with different kinds of threshold experiences.[22] In the 17th century, black became 'the' colour of mourning in Christian Europe.[23] The state of mourning though was not only represented by the colour of clothing, but also by extreme concealment. For example, the images of Queen Sophie Charlotte's funeral procession show men clad in black and women heavily veiled in white.[24] The women wore gowns and linen

22 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 157.

23 Pastoureau, *Black*, 135; on mourning attire, see also: Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress. A Costume and Social History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1983).

24 Johann Georg Wolfgang, *Leichen-Procession, der Allerdurchlauchtigsten Großmächtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Sophien Charlotten, Königin in Preussen [...] wie solche den 28. Junii 1705 in der Königl. Residentz-Stadt Cölln an der Spree in hochansehnlicher Königl. Auch anderer Hohen Standes Personen und in vieler andern Volckreicher Versammlung gehalten und vollbracht worden* (Berlin: Liebpert 1705). Etchings, 82 sheets. Nonetheless, in the mourning guidelines regarding

sheets that covered the whole face.[25] Luise Charlotte also describes different types of court mourning and often writes about mourning in connection with issues involving her clothing. She did not have appropriate mourning attire on the occasion of Sophie Charlotte's death in 1705, which she learned about shortly after her wedding while in transit through Hanover. For this reason, she was supposed to appear in another woman's dress. In Vienna, she was not familiar with the mourning ceremonial and was therefore not aware of the occasion that would require her to wear mourning clothes.[26] She also discusses mourning clothes in connection with economic considerations.[27] While Luise Charlotte describes mourning clothes as part of a ceremony, she also describes them as signifying a status and a state of mind, the pain felt and the 'actual' or 'internal' sadness for the deceased.[28]

Luise Charlotte wore black clothing for three years. She does not describe this specifically as mourning clothing, but rather indicates economic motives. According to her account, she continuously wore a black dress for three years from 1713–1716. She maintains that this was due to a promise she had given her husband. In order to save costs and reduce debt, she proposed to her husband that she would only wear black from that moment on. She indicates that this was connected to an obvious estrangement to the other ladies of the court.

Around 1700, black clothing could assume different meanings.[29] It demonstrated "the departure from sensual colour, from the worldly and earthly".[30] Black clothing was also in fact cheaper than colour clothing.[31] It could thus be viewed as a sign of frugality, modesty and humility. Moser, for example, reflected that

> "it is possible to wear black anywhere at court, although not on gala days, and if a foreign ruler always comes in a black dress for a longer period, it can be a little too debasing."[32]

Rohr's discussion of the reasons to put on black clothing before the high holy days is ambivalent. While the black colour was indeed "venerable", wearing black clothing on high holidays could be perceived as "something chaste and indiffer-

---

Sophie Charlotte's death the women's clothing is, to the contrary, described as black: "The ladies of the court will wear: 1. A dress of black cloth. 2. A covering for the head of dense black crêpe. 3. Underneath it, a long cape. 4. And over the dress a large voile or gown. 5. A so-called 'Schnepgen' on the forehead." *Theatrum Europaeum*, ed. Johann Philipp Abelinus et. al., 21 vols., vol. 17 (Frankfurt am Main: 1718), 126f.

25 See also Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 158.

26 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 488ff.

27 Ibid., fol. 167.

28 Ibid., vol. 1, fol. 572.

29 On the colour black, see: Pastoureau, *Black*; Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion or fancy. Dress and meaning in Rembrandt's paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006); Harald Haarmann, *Schwarz. Eine kleine Kulturgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main; Berlin: Lang, 2005); Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 157–170; John Harvey, *Men in Black* (London: Reaktion Books, 1995).

30 Linares, *Alles Wissenswerte über Farben*, 184.

31 Cf. Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 165.

32 Moser, *Hof=Recht*, 420.

ent". At "most courts, however, this *fashion* is ridiculed and considered to be something vulgar and bourgeois".[33] For Rohr and Moser, black clothing is associated with humility, which, nonetheless, is not always evaluated positively. On the contrary, the practice of dressing in black is also characterized as absurd and reflecting overly modest behaviour.

Scholars frequently recognize that black clothing has a dual character. Black is seen, especially by the clergy, as a sign of lower standing and a representation of 'simplicity'. Still, it was also emblematic of the valuable clothing of royalty and nobility in the Spanish-Burgundian tradition,[34] which even influenced imperial Vienna. The real heyday of the Spanish-Burgundian court dress was between 1550 and 1600.[35] Muted colours and frequently black were also worn in the Dutch tradition.[36] According to Luise Charlotte's account, the ladies at the Viennese court around 1700 still dressed in black, which she considered to be a sign of a great economy.[37]

Along with the aspect of fashion, black clothing symbolized religious tendencies. Religious dress in black reflected

> "an attitude of renunciation regarding personal displays of luxury and self-abandonment into a 'female world'. However, it cannot be solely attributed to the gesture of mourning or of mourning one's sins. Rather, dark clothing should be understood as a representation of a self-chosen 'retreat', as a shield against unwanted sensations."[38]

In addition to being a renunciation of luxury and a symbol of (not just religious) retreat, black clothing also came to symbolize confessional differences after the Reformation.[39] Michel Pastoureau thus highlights the related confessional quality of black clothing. He observes that Protestantism at the beginning of the 16th century led to a change in way the colours were viewed:

---

33 Rohr, *Privat-Personen*, 559.

34 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 163. See also Pastoureau, *Black*, 132f.: "But black dominated and it had a dual nature. On the one hand, there was the black of kings and princes, luxurious blacks, originating in the Burgundy court in the period of Philip the Good and transmitted to Spanish with the rest of the Burgundian heritage; on the other, the black of monks and clerics, of humility and temperance, the black of all those movements as well that claimed, in one way or another, to rediscover the purity and simplicity of the primitive church."

35 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 163.

36 Susanna Stolz, *Die Handwerke des Körpers. Bader, Barbier, Perückenmacher, Friseur. Folge und Ausdruck historischen Körperverständnisses* (Marburg: Jonas, 1992), 167.

37 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 491f.: "les autres on n'a que des habits noirs a la Cour sutout les femmes mariées. Economie admirable puisque quand on ne prétend pas de primer ils peuvent paroître souvent."

38 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 160.

39 On the different confessional garments in regard to Catholics and Protestants in Augsburg, see: Étienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg (1648–1806)* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), 188ff.

> "In all areas of religious and social life (worship, dress, art, domestic life, business) it recommended or established practices and codes almost entirely constructed around a black-gray-white-axis. War was declared against colours that were to vivid or too showy."[40]

In Pastoureau's opinion, the Protestants' rejection of colour was especially apparent in the area of clothing:[41]

> "For the Reformation clothing was always a sign of shame and sin. It was linked to the Fall, and one of its principal functions was to remind man of his depravity. That was why it had to be a sign of humility and contrition, to be made dark, simple, subdued, and to be adapted to nature and activities. All Protestant moral codes had the deepest aversion to luxury in dress, makeup and finery, disguises, changing or eccentric fashions. [...] A consequence of these commandments was an extreme austerity in clothing and appearance: simplicity of forms, sobriety of colours, suppression of accessories and artifices that could mask the truth."[42]

Pastoureau, however, insists that black did not remain a strictly Protestant colour, but was also used in the Catholic Counter-Reformation: "As with the Protestants, the good Catholic had to be dressed in black, and within his home and his daily life, he had to avoid vivid colours, makeup and finery."[43] The fashion of wearing black at court according to the Burgundian-Spanish tradition was primarily in evidence at Catholic courts. This use of black clothing by different confessions shows the great mutability of the representational and symbolic function of colours.

Luise Charlotte explicitly depicts her wearing of black clothing as an act of humility and frugality. It is not possible to directly attribute black clothing to a particular confession. She wore black clothing from 1713–1716 at the Reformed, 'colourful' Berlin court and then set them aside when she went to Catholic Vienna, which was influenced by Spanish court fashion. There she seems to have been pleased with the black clothing worn by the ladies of the court. Luise Charlotte's account indicates that continuing to wear black clothing in Berlin was difficult over an extended period. Even the Brandenburg-Prussian Queen Sophie Dorothea had asked her to set aside her black dress.[44] She did not do so until shortly before she went to Vienna with her husband. It was at the request by the Hapsburg ambassador on the occasion of a gala reception for the birth of the Hapsburg heir Archduke Leopold (1716–1716) that she reluctantly consented. On the third day after the birth, she decided to appear in a coloured, if understated, dress.[45] Apparently, it would have been inappropriate on this gala day to

---

40 Pastoureau, *Black*, 124.
41 Cf. ibid., 130.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid., 134f. emphasizes the pervasiveness of black clothing: "Thus estate inventories all showed a predominance of dark clothes and fabrics from the late 16th century to the first decades of the 18th century. In Paris, for example, about 1700, 33 percent of noble clothing – men's and women's alike – was black, 27 percent brown, 5 percent gray."
44 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 410f.
45 Ibid., vol. 1, fol. 446ff.

be presented in a black dress as the wife of the second ambassador extraordinary to go to the Hapsburg court in Vienna. Luise Charlotte reports on various negotiations with her father, her husband and other senior courtiers over her choice to now wear a coloured dress for this occasion. Her simple single-colour dress stands out from her husband's ornate clothing and moreover provides conversation fodder for the entire city of Berlin.[46] This account can be classified with others, in which she describes herself as a fashion trendsetter in Berlin who could create a sensation with a plain-coloured ribbon or a simple dress.[47]

Luise Charlotte emphasizes the frugal clothing practices at the Catholic Viennese court in contrast to the Reform-influenced Berlin court. Just the same, when it comes to her own clothing in Vienna, she pays less attention to the black colour of her clothing articles than their appropriateness.[48] Her description here demonstrates the situational aspect of her statements. While the imperial court, which required ornate dress, is shown positively, the court of Friedrich I is depicted as being wasteful. The description of her black dress can be read as a critique of Berlin court life and the typical court behaviour of her husband. It can further be classified as reflecting the usual criticism of the young royal Prussian court. It also serves as a means of setting herself apart from the Berlin society that had made her an outcast and of presenting herself as a virtuous outsider. By contrast, she praises the clothing practices in Vienna, whose courtly circles she entered after her conversion and to which she felt she belonged. The reference to having worn black clothing in Berlin can be read as a sign that she had actually belonged to Viennese court society long before her stay in Vienna. Clothing made social relations conspicuous and indicated affiliations. Her depiction, however, can also be said to have religious implications. With her description of her clothing colours a few years before the conversion, Luise Charlotte already turns away from the ornate, courtly and secular life of the Reformed Berlin court. The conversion, accordingly, is the culmination of a development that had long been on the horizon.[49] Independent of confession, the colour black is presented here as a sign of humility.

---

46 Ibid.

47 Cf. ibid., vol. 1, fol. 252f.: "je ne puis m'empecher de mettre icy sans que je scache [253] si c'etoit un defaut ou un don naturel, tout ce que je mettoit me séoit bien et quand même je n'avois qu'un simple habit ou un ruban uny, soit autre ajustement mis sans art et sans etudes chacun le louoit et les autres femmes etoient obligée de suivre mes modes tellement que des garcons de boutique se sont enrichis dans ce tems la a B. vendant plus cher le double des pieces don't j'avois prise."

48 *Histoire*, fol. 488ff.: "Tout le monde se preparoit pour la fête de st Charles Boromée Le C. de S. avoit une livrée eclatante et un habit pour luy d'une magnificence [489] extraordinaire, Il pensa aussi a m'en choisir un, et il etoit magnifique et de bon gout, La C. de Str. l'aprouva, et je me rejouissois pour cette feste."

49 Cf. Ulbrich, *Tränenspektakel*, 38.

In the same text, the colour black thus appears as a sign of modesty, mourning and a certain court fashion. The author is clearly fully aware of the symbolic function of language, and uses it to portray herself as a virtuous, thrifty and humble woman. She also employs it to express her membership to the Viennese court society and the world of the faithful.

The Colour Blue

In 1713, Luise Charlotte has her portrait painted in luminous colours by the Prussian court painter Antoine Pesne.[50] The blue ribbons that she wears in her hair and fall over her shoulders from behind are especially striking. According to Peter Burke, the "accessories represented together with the sitters generally reinforce their self-representations."[51] At this time, ribbons were a popular fashion accessory, and the wearing styles and colours were invested with different meanings that are difficult to reconstruct today.[52] Luise Charlotte mentions ribbons in different places in her *Histoire* and draws attention to her special ability to emphasize her best features with nothing more than a single-colour ribbon.[53]

The colour blue was a valuable colour until the 18th century, in terms of production and use in paintings and when it came to clothing and other uses in textiles. From the 13th century onward blue was considered a royal colour and a colour of the aristocracy. Until the end of the 18th century, it was the chosen colour for French coronation regalia.[54] Royal blue, which was worn as a sign of power at French court in the Baroque, became especially fashionable in the second half of the 17th century under Louis XIV.[55] Another use of the blue colour starting at the end of the 17th century was in the uniforms of the Brandenburg-Prussian army, which had an eye-catching radiance. Over the course of the 18th

50 Antoine Pesne, *Charlotte Luise, Countess von Schwerin, née Baroness von Heyden*, oil on canvas 80 × 65 cm, half-figure on oval canvas, Dresden Museum, inventory number p. 664, ca. 1713.

51 Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 26.

52 On the importance of ribbons, artificial flowers and accessories at the beginning of the 18th century, see Erika Thiel, *Geschichte des Kostüms. Die europäische Mode von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1985), 252f. On the meaning of ribbons and accessories, see also: Katharina Simon-Muscheid, "Standesgemäße Kleidung. Repräsentation und Abgrenzung durch Kleiderordnungen (12.–16. Jahrhundert)," in *Zweite Haut. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Kleidung*, ed. André Holenstein (Berne: Haupt Verlag, 2010), 91–115, esp. 97; Michel Pastoureau, "Pratiques et symboles vestimentaires," *Médiévales* 29 (1995) 5–8.

53 *Histoire*, vol. 1, p. 253.

54 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141; Michel Pastoureau, *Bleu. Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 2000), 60–63, here 63: "[...] à la fin du Moyen Âge, même en Allemagne et en Italie, le bleu est devenu la couleur des rois, des princes, des nobles et des patriciens." This wearing of the colour blue went back to the imitation of Mary's blue gown: ibid., 52, 60.

55 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 144.

century, the colour's perception changed and was no longer limited to the court.[56] As early as the mid-18th century, blue was not associated with nobility, but the middle class. Anton Balthasar König noted that, at the time of Friedrich Wilhelm I, "the colour blue was the most common, and attire was redolent of the military."[57] In the *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen* from the years 1713–1716 edited by Ernst Friedlaender, the royal dress of Friedrich Wilhelm I is described as blue – and probably inspired by the uniforms of the Prussian army.[58] Beginning in the 18th century, the further spread of the colour blue was encouraged, on the one hand, by scientific discoveries and, on the other, by an expanded trade connected to the 'New World' and slave labour. The growing popularity of blue colours in clothing was accommodated by the efforts of dyers who, with the help of new scientific knowledge, were able to achieve particular desired shades of blue.[59]

In the 17th and 18th century, the blue fashion trend especially took off as a result of the use of indigo in dyeing. The importation of indigo from the colonies, however, was strictly regulated or prohibited in most European countries until the 18th century.[60] Dye from indigo was already known in Europe for some time and was mostly imported from India. This changed at the beginning of the 16th century with the colonization of the 'New World' and the discovery there of an indigo plant that had much stronger colouring properties. Trade and the dyeing of fabrics were built on a culture of slavery, which allowed production to be much less expensive than in Europe. This led to numerous edicts in France and the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, which banned the importation of indigo. It was then subsequently legalized in 1737.[61]

Not only did the textile dyeing techniques experience considerable change in the 17th and 18th century. The use of blue as a paint also changed dramatically in the 18th century. The creation of the first artificial colour pigment of Prussian blue resulted in its proliferation, especially as a paint colour.[62] The pigment called 'Prussian blue', and later 'Berlin blue', was synthesized for the first time

56 Hans Medick examined the collection and acceptance of the colour blue in Württemberg's Laichingen as "evidence of the transformation processes that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century in the 'culture of prestige.'" Medick understands "the triumph of the colour blue in the years between 1750 and 1770 in men's clothing […] as a contemporary fashion trend." Hans Medick, "Eine Kultur des Ansehens. Kleidung und Kleiderfarben in Laichingen 1750–1820," in *Historische Anthropologie* (1994), 193–214, here 204f.

57 Anton Balthasar König, *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung der Hauptveränderungen, der Religion, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Künste, Wissenschaften u. der Residenzstadt Berlin seit den ältesten Zeiten, bis zum Jahre 1786*, 5 vols. (Berlin: 1792–1799), pt. 4, vol. 2, 261.

58 See Ernst Friedlaender (ed.), *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen aus den Jahren 1713 bis 1717 und 1735. Ein Beitrag zur Preußischen Geschichte unter König Friedrich Wilhelm I.* (Berlin: Mittler, 1902), 6, 48, 110.

59 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141.

60 Cf. Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 124

61 Cf. ibid., 124–132.

62 Michel Pastoureau, article "bleu," in *Dictionnaire des couleurs de notre temps: symbolique et société*, ed. idem. (Paris: Bonneton, 2007), 24–32, above all 24–29.

around 1706 by Johann Jakob Diesbach in Berlin. For some time, however, earlier research assumed that the dye did not become pervasive until the mid-18th century. This has been contradicted by recent findings.[63] It has hence been determined that Prussian blue was used in paintings for the first time in 1709 by Pieter van der Werff. Around 1710, the pigment was used by painters such as Pesne within the Berlin court and the Royal Academy of Arts in an amount previously unsuspected.[64]

Luise Charlotte's blue ribbons in the portrait from 1713 allow for a variety of interpretations. On the one hand, a blue court-fashion trend developed in the late 17th century, emanating from the court of Louis XIV, which also would have likely reached Berlin. Due to the import bans on still-rare indigo and limited dyeing options, blue remained an exclusive colour at the beginning of the 18th century. On the other hand, because of the blue colour of Prussian uniforms, there were increasing allusions to military fashion. Clothing also made it possible to emphasize the significance of the military in society. The use of the colour blue in the portrait, however, could also be attributed to technical developments in the medium of illustration and the pigment Prussian blue, increasingly applied by Pesne around 1710. A confluence of these two exclusive 'new' developments is also conceivable. In connection with the discovery of the first artificial pigment, it is at least possible that blue was already at this early stage a fashionable colour at the Berlin court both as a paint colour and for clothing.

In the portrait, Luise Charlotte's blue ribbons appear to be a fashion accessory that stands out from other portraits Pesne had made at this time of ladies of the court. They typically wore jewellery or feathers in their hair, but no ribbons.[65] An additional meaning of the blue band might lie in the von Heyden coat of arms, which consisted of white and blue squares.[66] The preference for the colour

63 Jens Bartoll, "The Early Use of Prussian Blue in Paintings," 9th International Conference on NDT of Art 2008 Jerusalem, Israel, May 2008, http://www.ndt.net/article/art2008/papers/029bartoll.pdf (accessed December 8, 2010).

64 Bartoll, *The Early Use of Prussian Blue in Paintings*, 7.

65 See the listed works of Antoine Pesne in Eckart Berckenhagen (ed.), *Antoine Pesne* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958), 93–222, and his portraits of ladies of the court in Berlin around 1710.

66 Leopold von Zedlitz-Neukirch, *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten von den in der preussischen Monarchie ansässigen oder zu derselben in Beziehung stehenden fürstlichen, gräflichen, freiherrlichen und adeligen Häusern*, 4 vols., 2 addenda (Leipzig: Reichenbach, 1836–1843), here vol. 2, 388: "The Barons von der H. have a quadratic escutcheon. The first and fourth squares have six white and blue stripes, the second and three have red squares covered with a golden pruning saw. A small heart shield shows the imperial double eagle in a golden field. The helmets contain blue and white striped eagle wings, and in some reproductions we see a third helmet which is bedecked with gold and red feathers, between which is affixed the pruning saw mentioned in the shield." On the importance of coats of arms, see: Hans Belting, "Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Medien des Körpers," in *Bild-Anthropologie*, ed. idem (Munich: Fink, 2001), 115–142.

blue could be seen as a way to align herself with her family of origin.[67] Luise Charlotte, however, not only stylized the use of blue ribbons in her *Histoire* as a fashion accessory or as the colour of the von Heyden coat of arms, but also transformed their meanings. At the time of writing following her conversion, she interpreted in hindsight the outfitting of twelve children of an orphanage in 1706 as a sign of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Luise Charlotte recognizes in her lifelong preference for the colour blue a sign from the Virgin Mary of her life's later bliss, the conversion. She indicates that her conversion is initiated by a dream of the Virgin Mary. On the day of her conversion, she already dressed herself entirely in white and blue – the coulours of Virgin Mary: "J'avois mis des habits tout blancs et des rubans bleux Je prétendois porter par la les couleurs de la Vierge."[68] She reflects that she had decided from this point on to wear the colours of Mary. She reinforces this promise just a few pages later.[69]

In her depiction, the white and blue clothing became a visible sign of her conversion for all to see. Consequently, she promised the Holy Virgin that she would only wear blue for a period of one year and six weeks after the announcement of her conversion, that is, she would adopt the "livrée" of Mary. In this way, the clothing is a sign of conversion and membership in the community of devout Catholics and worshipers of Mary. Even the coffin of her son, who was born after the conversion only to pass away shortly thereafter, is adorned with blue ribbons as a sign of the "livrée" of Mary – this despite his Reformed baptism.[70] When she left her house in Königsberg after this event for the first time to go to church, she says that she was dressed in blue according to her promise. Her appearance was thus very simple,[71] in contrast to a later visit to the church. At the request of her father confessor, she put on her "parures mondaines" for Easter. His sermon, she reflects, subsequently turned out to be single allusion to her situation.[72] Clothing is also described in religious contexts and used as a statement and means of communication both by Luise Charlotte as well as her preacher. Wearing the colour blue also belongs to the context of the history of Marian devotion.

It was not until the 12th century that the Virgin Mary became one of the first people to appear in images attired in a blue gown or dress.[73] Before this, Mary could be seen adorned in pictures in various, primarily dark and muted colours. The blue colour symbolism (usually a blue gown) then pushed out the other col-

67 In the *Histoire*, vol. 1., fol. 403 she reports on a dispute between her and her husband, in which she feels slighted because her husband insisted on putting up only the von Schwerin coat of arms in their newly renovated house and not that of von Heyden.
68 *Histoire*, vol. 1, fol. 692ff.
69 Ibid., vol. 2, fol. 2ff.
70 Ibid., fol. 553ff.
71 Ibid., fol. 583.
72 Ibid., fol. 590.
73 Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 50.

ours, becoming one of her main attributes.[74] From the 13th century onward, individual personalities began to wear blue clothing to show their closeness to the Virgin Mary.[75] Mary's blue gown led to an upgrading of the colour's status in general. The French kings contributed to the wider acceptance of the colour blue, wearing the blue gown "en hommage à la Vierge, protectrice du royaume de France et de la monarchie capétienne."[76] In reference to the worship of Mary, blue was also a sign of earthly power, although it retained its religious significance as the colour of heaven, as an "expression of the distance and grandeur of God" as well as a symbol of the "heavenly origin" and the "wisdom of God".[77] Especially in the Hapsburg Empire, the worship of the "blue Lord God" was apparent in a number of pilgrimage churches in and around Vienna.[78] Blue not only acquired significant meaning in the Catholic faith. In Calvin doctrine blue became the "plus belle couleur [...] naturellement [...] du ciel"[79] and "la couleur seule honnête, digne d'un bon chrétien."[80] Parallels to Luise Charlotte's blue dress can above all found in some Latin countries. There, "children were consecrated to Mary and, as a sign of this, often dressed in blue until the seventh year. Similar actions were taken in thanks for the healing of an illness."[81]

With regard to the significance of colours in the respective depictions offered by Luise Charlotte and Antoine Pesne, certain distinctions must be made. The blue ribbons in the painting by Pesne appear as a fashion accessory that can be traced back to different historical product developments. The ribbons in Pesnes' portrait act as a figurative sign that refers to the material culture of the court, which can no longer be clearly deciphered today in all of its encodings. The picture was created with contemporary viewers in mind who were familiar with the ribbons' complex symbolism and were in a position to interpret it. By contrast, Luise Charlotte's *Histoire* fondness for the colour blue becomes a long-standing sign of her devotion to Mary and a harbinger of her future conversion, which is symbolized by the blue colour of her dress.

Conclusion

In the *Histoire*, the description of colours in clothing is characterized by numerous references and associated with various secular and religious interests. After the separation from her husband and his death, Luise Charlotte fought for years

74 Ibid., 51.
75 Ibid., 53f.
76 Ibid., 60
77 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 141.
78 Ibid., 129.
79 Pastoureau, *Bleu*, 107.
80 Ibid., 112.
81 Nixdorff/Müller, *Weiße Westen – Rote Roben*, 136.

to secure financial and material resources from the marriage. She used clothing and the description of modest clothing practices to stylize herself as virtuous, unfairly wronged and worthy of support. In interpreting her life from the perspective of the conversion, she understands fashionable behaviour to be either pleasing or offensive to God. Just as in Claudia Ulbrich's examination of tears in the *Histoire,*[82] the colours of clothing can also be understood as a language that makes social relations visible. Luise Charlotte uses them in different ways for depicting herself, for visualizing changes, social and religious values and norms and for portraying social relationships.

She appears as a fashionably dressed woman who has the ability to present herself with the simplest of means such as a plain black dress or blue ribbons. The display of her own modesty serves to associate her with Viennese court society and the community of devout Catholics, and to distinguish her from her husband and the Berlin court society, which she describes as extravagant. In contrast to those at the luxurious court, she wore a black dress at times in order to present herself as a pious and frugal outsider. The Histoire demonstrates ambivalence between the depiction of modest and fashionable behaviour. Religious and secular interpretations and descriptions are interwoven in various ways. The black dress along with the blue ribbons and the blue gown are highlighted by Luise Charlotte as signs of her piety and conversion.

The clothing colours serve the depiction and visualization of a decisive turning point in her life, the conversion from the Reformed to the Catholic faith. Fashion-conscious behaviour and deliberate clothing changes are described as ways of presenting oneself. Clothing allows different values and moral concepts to be described and displayed. It establishes a network of religious and secular relationships and marks different secular and religious affiliations. In this way, a personal concept may be recognized that expresses a relationship to God, the Mother of God and other people and things.

Archival Materials

Histoire de La Vie de Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin écrite par elle-même à ses enfants, 1731, 2 vols., vol. 1, 698 p., vol. 2, 742 p., Bibliothèque Méjanes, Aix-en-Provence, Ms. 1190–1191 (662–663).

82 Claudia Ulbrich, "'Je fondis en larmes'. L'histoire de la comtesse de Scheverin, écrite par elle-même à ses enfants (1731): un document qui peut servir de source pour une histoire des émotions", in: *Amour divin, amour mondain dans les écrits du for privé de la fin du Moyen Age à 1914*, Colloque international de Pau, 3 et 4 juin 2010, ed. Maurice Daumas (Pau: Editions Cairn, 2011), 273–287, here 284.

References

Bahl, Peter: "Die Berlin-Potsdamer Hofgesellschaft unter dem Großen Kurfürsten und König Friedrich I. Mit einem prosopographischen Anhang für die Jahre 1688–1713." In *Im Schatten der Krone. Die Mark Brandenburg um 1700*, edited by Frank Göse. Potsdam: Verlag für Berlin-Brandenburg, 2002. 31–98.

Bartoll, Jens: "The Early Use of Prussian Blue in Paintings," 9th International Conference on NDT of Art 2008 Jerusalem, Israel, May 2008, http://www.ndt.net/article/art2008/papers/029bartoll.pdf (accessed December 8, 2010).

Belting, Hans: "Wappen und Porträt. Zwei Medien des Körpers," in *Bild-Anthropologie*, edited by Hans Belting. Munich: Fink, 2001. 115–142.

Berckenhagen, Eckart (ed.): *Antoine Pesne*. Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958.

Burke, Peter: *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books, 2001.

Daumas, Maurice: *Le mariage amoureux: Histoire du lien conjugal sous l'Ancien Régime*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2004.

Daumas, Maurice; Ulbrich, Claudia, (eds.), with the assistance of Sebastian Kühn, Nina Mönich and Ines Peper: *Une conversion au XVIII^e siècle. Mèmoires de la comtesse de Schwerin*. Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bourdeaux, 2013.

Dinges, Martin: "Der 'feine Unterschied'. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft." *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 19 (1992). 49–76.

Dinges, Martin, "Von der 'Lesbarkeit der Welt' zum universalisierten Wandel durch individuelle Strategien. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft," in *Saeculum* 44 (1993). 90–112.

François, Étienne: *Die unsichtbare Grenze. Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg (1648 – 1806)*. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991.

Friedlaender, Ernst (ed.): *Berliner geschriebene Zeitungen aus den Jahren 1713 bis 1717 und 1735. Ein Beitrag zur Preußischen Geschichte unter König Friedrich Wilhelm I.* Berlin: Mittler, 1902.

Haarmann, Harald: *Schwarz. Eine kleine Kulturgeschichte*. Frankfurt am Main; Berlin: Lang, 2005.

Harvey, John: *Men in Black*. London: Reaktion Books, 1995.

Hahn, Peter-Michael: "Die Hofhaltung der Hohenzollern. Der Kampf um Anerkennung." In *Preußische Stile. Ein Staat als Kunststück*, edited by Patrick Bahners. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2001. 73–89, 485–486.

König, Anton Balthasar: *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung der Hauptveränderungen, der Religion, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Künste, Wissenschaften u. der Residenzstadt Berlin seit den ältesten Zeiten, bis zum Jahre 1786*. 5 vols., Berlin: 1792–1799.

Linares, Marina: *Alles Wissenswerte über Farben*. Essen: Verlag Die Blaue Eule, 2005.

Medick, Hans: "Eine Kultur des Ansehens. Kleidung und Kleiderfarben in Laichingen 1750–1820." *Historische Anthropologie* (1994). 193–214.

Moser, Friedrich Carl von: *Teutsches Hof=Recht*. 2 vols. Frankfurt; Leipzig: Andreä, 1754/55.

Neugebauer, Wolfgang: "Hof und politisches System in Brandenburg-Preußen. Das 18. Jahrhundert." In *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands. Zeitschrift für vergleichende und preußische Landesgeschichte* 46 (2000). 139–169.

Pastoureau, Michel: "Pratiques et symboles vestimentaires." *Médiévales* 29 (1995) 5–8.

Pastoureau, Michel: *Vers une histoire des couleurs: possibilités et limites*. http://www.academie-des-beaux-arts.fr/actualites/travaux/%20comm.%202005/04-pastoureau.pdf (accessed April 15, 2013).

Pastoureau, Michel: *Black. The History of a Colour*. Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Roche, Daniel: *La Culture des Apparences*. Paris: Fayard 1989.

Rohr, Julius Bernhard von: *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen*. Berlin: Rüdiger, 1728.

Rublack, Ulinka: *Dressing Up. Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Rublack, Ulinka "Clothing and Cultural Exchange in Renaissance Germany." In *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Robert Muchembled. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 258–288.

Scharmann, Rudolf: "Krönungsgewand, Campagne Kleid und Ritter-Ordenstracht. Herrscherkleidung Friedrichs I." In *Preußen 1701. Eine europäische Geschichte*, edited by Deutsches Historisches Museum/Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. 2 vols., Berlin: Henschel, 2001. 68–72.

Simon-Muscheid, Katharina: "Standesgemäße Kleidung. Repräsentation und Abgrenzung durch Kleiderordnungen (12.–16. Jahrhundert)." In *Zweite Haut. Zur Kulturgeschichte der Kleidung*, edited by André Holenstein. Berne: Haupt Verlag, 2010. 91–115.

Stolz, Susanna: *Die Handwerke des Körpers. Bader, Barbier, Perückenmacher, Friseur. Folge und Ausdruck historischen Körperverständnisses*. Marburg: Jonas, 1992.

Schnitzer, Claudia: *Höfische Maskeraden. Funktion und Ausstattung von Verkleidungsdivertissements an deutschen Höfen der Frühen Neuzeit*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1999.

Stollberg-Rilinger, Barbara: "Höfische Öffentlichkeit. Zur zeremoniellen Selbstdarstellung des brandenburgischen Hofes vor dem europäischen Publikum" *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte N.F. 7 (1997)*. 145–176.

Taylor, Lou: Mourning Dress. *A Costume and Social History*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1983.

Johann Philipp Abelinus et. al. (eds.), *Theatrum Europaeum*, 21 vols, vol. 17. Frankfurt am Main: 1718.

Thiel, Erika: *Geschichte des Kostüms. Die europäische Mode von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Wilhelmshaven et al: Heinrichshofen, 1985.

Ulbrich, Claudia: "Madame la Comtesse de Scheverin: Une approche biographique," In *Thèmes et figures du for privé: communications aux journées d'étude sur les Écrits du for privé, 2008–2010*. Réunies et présentées par Maurice Daumas. Presses universitaires de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour 2012, 173–185.

Ulbrich, Claudia: "Tränenspektakel. Die Lebensgeschichte der Luise Charlotte von Schwerin (1731) zwischen Frömmigkeitspraxis und Selbstinszenierung." In: *L'Homme. Z.f.G*. 23,1 (2012), 27–42.

Ulbrich, Claudia, "'Je fondis en larmes'. L'histoire de la comtesse de Scheverin, écrite par elle-même à ses enfants (1731): un document qui peut servir de source pour une histoire des émotions." in: *Amour divin, amour mondain dans les écrits du for privé de la fin du Moyen Age à 1914, Colloque international de Pau, 3 et 4 juin 2010*, edited by Maurice Daumas. Pau: Editions Cairn, 2011. 273–287.

Winkel, Marieke de: *Fashion or fancy. Dress and meaning in Rembrandt's paintings*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Wolfgang, Johann Georg: *Leichen-Procession, der Allerdurchlauchtigsten Großmächtigsten Fürstin und Frauen Sophien Charlotten, Königin in Preussen [...] wie solche den 28. Junii 1705 in der Königl. Residentz-Stadt Cölln an der Spree in hochansehnlicher Königl. Auch anderer Hohen Standes Personen und in vieler andern Volckreicher Versammlung gehalten und vollbracht worden*. Berlin: Liebpert, 1705.

Zedlitz-Neukirch, Leopold von: *Neues preussisches Adels-Lexicon oder genealogische und diplomatische Nachrichten von den in der preussischen Monarchie ansässigen oder zu derselben in Beziehung stehenden fürstlichen, gräflichen, freiherrlichen und adeligen Häusern*. 4 vols., 2 addenda. Leipzig: Reichenbach, 1836–1843.