Kleider machen Leute: Clothing as a Social Metaphor in Grimmelshausen's *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*

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ABSTRACT
This paper builds on insights and observations made by Lynne Tatlock and Peter Hess into gender and identity by further addressing the symbolic significance of Simplicissimus' choice of clothing (or lack of choice) on his moral development in Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus (1668)*. My paper investigates how the author uses everyday items like clothing to communicate social hierarchical roles and moral development. Simplicissimus' moral progression and regression (his moral quest) become visible through the various stages of his clothing, both those costumes he chooses and those chosen for him. In this text, attire is not only used as a metaphor for status, but also communicates moral development. When transgressing norms, Simplicissimus is at his lowest morally and, when not transgressing norms, he is at his highest. Only when he assumes the clothing choices given him from others, do his *Schein und Sein* (appearance and true being) match each other harmoniously. Reading Simplicissimus' moral development literally against the fabric of his clothing supports earlier interpretations, such as that by Jan Scholte, of the inverted dramatic structure of the novel, and opens important new avenues of research.

Keywords: Identity, clothing, transgressive dress, gender**.**

RESUMEN
El presente artículo desarrolla los enfoques y observaciones de Lynne Tatlock y Peter Hess sobre género e identidad, abordando la significación simbólica de la elección de vestimenta (o falta de elección) de Simplicissimus para su desarrollo moral en *Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus* (1668) de Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen. Mi estudio investiga cómo utiliza el autor los objetos cotidianos como las prendas de vestir para comunicar papeles con jerarquía social y desarrollo moral. La progresión moral y regresión de Simplicissimus (su búsqueda moral) se hace visible a través de las diversas etapas en la vestimenta, tanto por lo que respecta a los trajes que él elige como a los elegidos para él. En este texto el atuendo no es sólo una metáfora de estatus sino que comunica también desarrollo moral. Cuando se transgreden las normas Simplicissimus se encuentra en su nivel moral más bajo y cuando no se trangreden en el superior. Su *Schein und Sein* (apariencia y ser verdadero) encajan armónicamente sólo cuando él asume las elecciones de vestimenta que realizan otros para él. Leer el desarrollo moral de Simplicissimus en contra, literalmente, de la tela de su vestimenta permite respaldar interpretaciones previas, tales como la de Jan Scholte, sobre la estructura dramática invertida de la novela y abre importantes y nuevos caminos de investigación.

Palabras clave: Identidad, ropa, traje transgresor, género.

SUMMARY: 1. As young boy in Sessart – Simplicissimus' clothing choice and morality match. 2. "Falling morality": Simplicissimus at court in Hanau – end to innocence. 3. "*Höhepunkt*" of depravity – Simplicissimus' lowest point morally as Hunter of Soest and Beau Allman. 4. "Rising morality": Simplicissimus as mourner and pilgrim – adherence to sumptuary laws. 5. Simplicissimus' *Schein und Sein* match – after he chooses to become a hermit.

Clothing plays a significant role in defining identity throughout Grimmelshausen's picaresque novel *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*.[1] The author uses clothing both as a metaphor for status and as a way to communicate social hierarchical roles and moral development in his novel. By highlighting the symbolic significance of Simplicissimus's choice, or lack of choice, of clothing as it relates to his moral development, Grimmelshausen further develops his discussion of morality and social roles during the seventeenth century. The reader can see the progression and regression of Simplicissimus's lifelong moral quest through the various stages of his clothing – that is, by looking at those costumes he chooses and those chosen for him. In Simplicissimus's earliest years, his most naïve and pure ones, clothing is given to, or decided for, him. During his decadent years and time of personal discovery, he chooses his clothing himself. Finally in his later years, upon choosing a lifestyle of virtuous living as a hermit and, thus, assuming the hermit garb, a type of clothing determined by societal norms and thus chosen for him, his moral development, his *Sein*, finally resembles his clothing, his *Schein*. At this stage, Simplicissimus achieves virtuous conduct, a quality necessary to achieve gentility. An examination of the various stages of Simplicissimus' clothing provides insights into his behavior and, with these insights, indications of his moral qualities.

Grimmelshausen scholarship has already thoroughly examined clothing and identity as well as the narrative structure of his *Simplicissimus*. Previous scholarship, however, has not charted Simplicissimus's clothing across the grid of his moral development. This approach reveals new insights into the novel and further confirms aspects of earlier studies in important new ways. This study incorporates Lynne Tatlock's work on gender (Tatlock 2003), Peter Hess' research into transgressive dress (Hess 2003), and Jan Scholte's moral curve (Scholte 1950) to examine further Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* as a handbook for moral living in the seventeenth century. Early modern clothing regulations were developed to keep people from spending beyond their economic means as well as to ensure that dress corresponded to social rank, keeping the ambitious, growing middle class from dressing as aristocrats.[2] While

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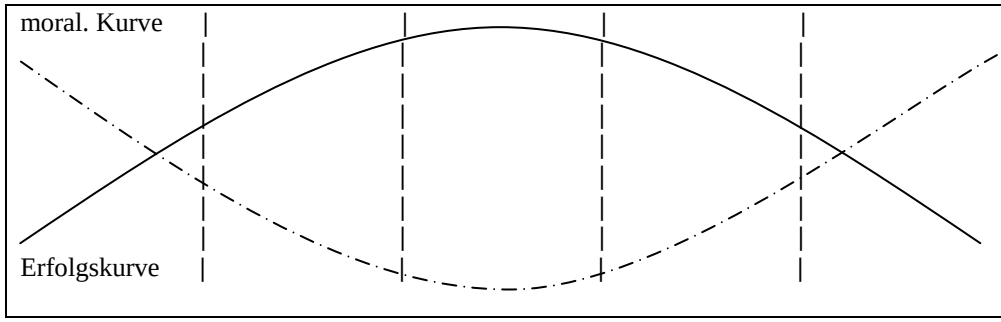
[1] Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen: *Der Abenteuerliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*. München: dtv 1975. For purposes of convenience, all quotations will be taken from this edition and hereafter made parenthetically in the text citing Book (Roman numeral), chapter (Arabic number), and page number.

[2] For example, the city council of Strassburg on April 2, 1660 passed an ordinance devoted to clothing, explaining what would be tolerated and what would be an offense. "When men whose rank does not permit it go about the streets either without mantles, or wear mantles which are insufficient for their proper use. When persons who own no horse or seldom mount another's constantly jingle about in boots and spurs" (VINCENT 1935: 69). In the 1637 ordinance in Basel, "Common citizens,

many aspects of attire were regulated by sumptuary laws, or *Kleiderordnungen*, during this time, there was nevertheless, room for choice within these regulations. By providing clothing norms, these sumptuary laws also allowed for a measurement of transgression. Where Hess explores Simplicissimus's clothing choices as transgressive, I expand this argument further, showing how Simplicissimus's clothing choices indicate, or parallel, his moral progression and regression. Thus, an examination of clothes in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, particularly when read against the backdrop of Simplicissimus's choices, provides an excellent framework for a fresh investigation of the protagonist.

The typical five-act structure of a drama with rising action, peaking with the climax, downward through falling action, finally reaching a resolution can also be applied to this novel, but in an inverted form (figure 1). [3]

FIGURE 1



Exposition: Geburt Jugend Herkunft des Namens	steigende Handlung: erste Berührung mit der Welt	Höhepunkt: Jäger von Soest	Peripetie: Paris, Armut, Krankheit, Merodebruder	Katastrophe: Weltentsagung Einsiedler
Buch I	**Buch II**	**Buch III**	**Buch IV**	**Buch V**

Figure 1: Table of plot structure according to Scholte (in Weydt's *Nachahmung und Schöpfung im Barock. Studien um Grimmelshausen*, S.15-16). The Sketch was developed by Weydt and others as a means for clarification.

small shopkeepers, artisans, and others of this class, with their wives and children, were to dress themselves in clothing not over three gulden an ell" (VINCENT 1935: 60).

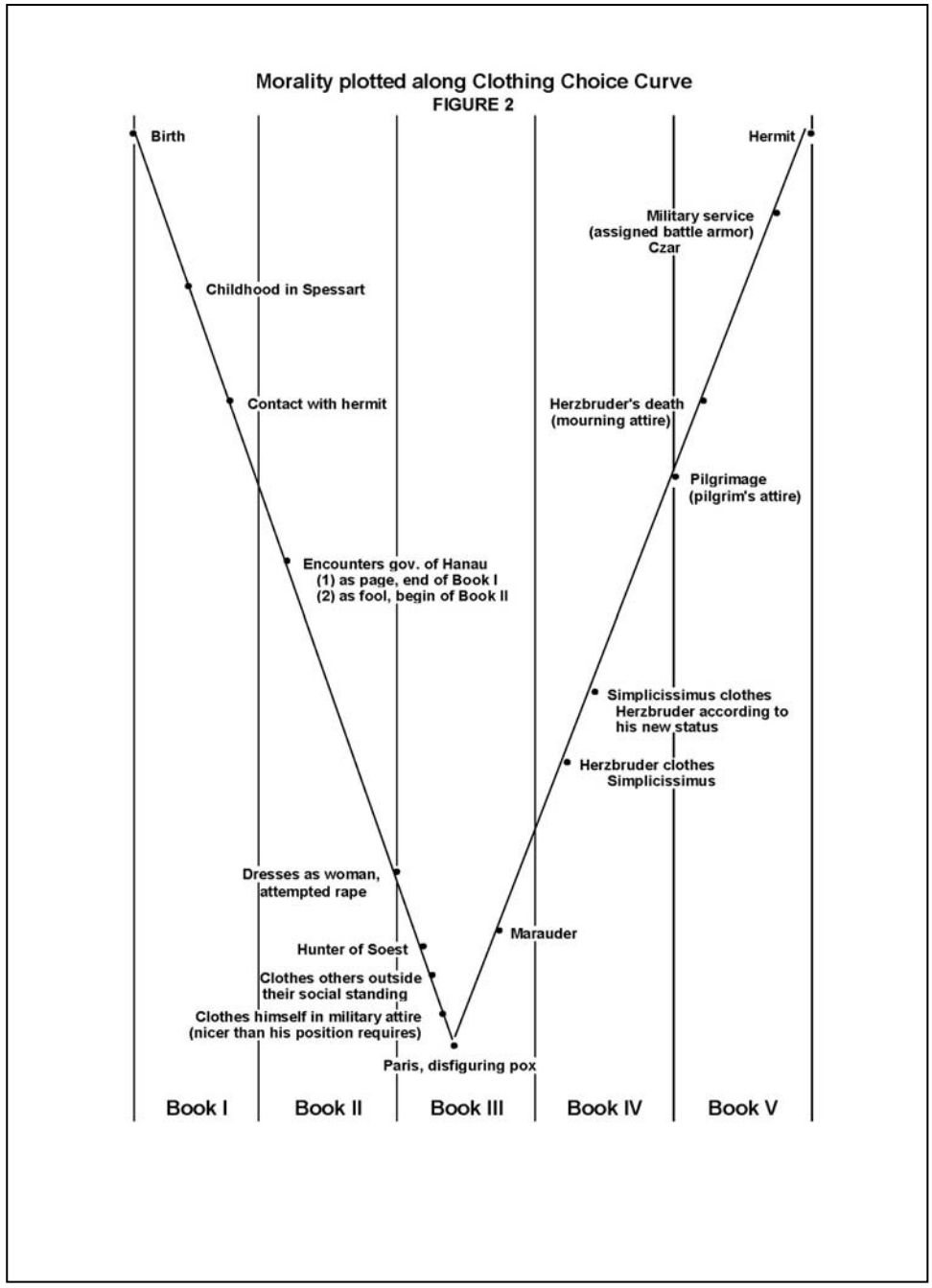
[3] My ideas originate from J. H. Scholte who posits that the five-act structure of the classical drama can be applied to Grimmelshausen's ordering of his novel *Simplicissimus* into five books, just as the psychologist Jung felt this five-act structure could be applied to analyzing one's dreams (SCHOLTE 1950: 12).

Simplicissimus's clothing choices follow Jan Scholte's moral curve in the shape of the letter "V." As an optical inversion of the dramatic pyramid, the V-shape depicts the nadir of Simplicissimus's development, reading the five books of the novel as an inverted dramatic structure. Mapping Simplicissimus' moral development and clothing choices across Scholte's *Handlungsaufbau*, the novel begins with Simplicissimus as a boy at home with his parents followed by his living with the hermit (stage 1: *Exposition*). Then his life follows the "V" structure (stage 2: *steigende Handlung*, here falling action instead of the typical rising action of a drama) down to its nadir (anti-climax), which is the period when Simplicissimus is morally despicable (stage 3: *Höhepunkt*, as the Jäger of Soest). Then in the fourth stage, he, although still enmeshed in secular matters, begins to question his choices in life (stage 4: *fallende Handlung or Peripetie*). At this point the novel assumes a rising action towards the resolution – his decision to become a hermit and live as moral a life as possible (stage 5: *Katastrophe*).

At each stage, Simplicissimus's clothing reflects his morality. Although Grimmelshausen added a *Continuatio* in 1669 one year after *Simplicissimus* was first printed, this study analyzes through Book five, where the original story and character development reaches its resolution. Book V marks Simplicissimus' decision to leave societal constraints and live the eremitic life. Only when he is forced out of his solitude and utopia in the *Continuatio* by intruding soldiers does he resume a moral quest (Aylett 1989: 170). The following analysis plots the various stages to illustrate how Grimmelshausen uses his work as an instructive book for morality in the seventeenth century (figure 2). It is important to note that Volker Meid includes a section in his *Grimmelshausen Epoche-Werk-Wirkung* to show the correlation between Grimmelshausen's life and novel (1984; 76-77).[4] *Simplicissimus* must be understood as much more than a work revealing the atrocities of combat during the Thirty Years' War, as many Grimmelshausen scholars propose. The author's use of clothing in this work, against the backdrop of the topsy-turvy world of war, provides a social critique for those who disregard laws pertaining to status. The following interpretation demonstrates how, on many levels, the novel confirms contemporary social norms, advocating a return to the pre-war social hierarchy.

[4] After the death of his father, Johann Christoph, young Grimmelshausen was taken in by his grandfather, Melchior Christoph, who no longer used the noble "von Grimmelshausen" in his name, as his profession of baker did not fit with the title of nobility. Perhaps his grandfather's attention to *Schein und Sein* influenced Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*.

FIGURE 2: Morality plotted along Clothing Choice Curve



1. As young boy in Sessart – Simplicissimus' clothing choice and morality match

The novel opens with Simplicissimus as a boy, pure and naïve, who cannot even read or write. Because of this naiveté, while soldiers plunder his farm, he does not grasp what evils surround him, and he even thinks his father is laughing while he is actually being tortured: "Allein mein Knan war meinem damaligen Bedünken nach der glückseligste, weil er mit lachendem Mund bekennete, was andere mit Schmerzen und jämmerlicher Weheklag sagen mußten" (I, 4: 17). And only at the advice of the abused maid does Simplicissimus even leave before the troops torture or kill him, when she says: "O Bub, lauf weg, sonst werden dich die Reuter mitnehmen, guck daß du davonkommst, du siehest wohl, wie es so übel" (I, 4: 18). Escaping the soldiers by running into the woods, Simplicissimus then encounters the hermit, whom he believes to be the wolf of his father's stories, as he had never seen someone in such outlandish attire or, for that matter, any people outside of his immediate family.

His conversations with the hermit reveal Simplicissimus to be completely uneducated and inexperienced. Not only has he never been out of the Spessart or even away from his own farm, but Simplicissimus also does not even know his own name or those of his parents. He has no concept of "people," "village," or "folk," when talking with the hermit. Simplicissimus relates this to the reader:

> Ich fragte ihn, 'Was sind das für Dinger, Leuten und Dorf?' Er [der Einsiedler] sagte: 'Bist du denn niemalen in keinem Dorf gewesen, und weißt auch nicht, wie Leut oder Menschen sind?' 'Nein", sagte ich, 'nirgends als hier bin ich gewesen, aber sag mir doch, was sind Leut, Menschen und Dorf?' (I, 7: 24)

Simplicissimus' comments expose his abject inexperience and complete lack of socialization.

Under the hermit's tutelage, Simplicissimus learns to read and to write and is also instructed about Christianity. Simplicissimus is also taught how to endure hunger, thirst, heat, and hard work, to recite daily prayers, and, above all, to serve God – all essential aspects of a hermit's existence. After two years of living this strictly regimented life, the boy is again alone. The hermit has died, leaving Simplicissimus his hermit's shirt and chain. By donning the hermit's attire, Simplicissimus literally assumes his pious role. Careful readers must acknowledge here that clothes make the boy. By remaining outside of society and dressing in simple linen material, the young hermit, or self-appointed monk, shows his submission to sacrifice and servant-hood and his willingness to experience pain and isolation in an attempt to be more like Christ, who suffered for human sin. Monks set themselves apart from the secular world by living in monasteries (just as the hermit sets himself apart from the world by living alone in the forest), hoping to be free of worldly influences and sin, thereby devoting themselves to learning, prayer, and obedience. The monk's desire for service and humility mirrors that of the hermit in the novel. By wearing the

chain, the hermit is constantly reminded of both Christ's ultimate sacrifice and human bondage of sin.

Both as a young boy in the Spessart and as an older child living with the hermit, Simplicissimus has had no choice in clothing, as his clothes are given or bequeathed to him, and furthermore, in both of these periods of his life, he is pure of mind. His moral as well as social status is apparent in his appearance, something that Martin Luther set out as important one century earlier:

> im eusserlichen, weltlichen leben da soll die ungleicheyt bleyben, Wie denn die Stende ungleych sein. Ein Baur füret ein ander leben und Stand denn ein Burger. Ein Fürst ein andern Stand denn ein Edelmann. Da ists alles ungleych und soll ungleich bleiben […] Das will Gott also haben, der hat die Stend also geordnet unnd geschaffen." (Luther 1915: 136)[5]

Although Simplicissimus has in the meantime had religious instruction and has developed a conscience after living with the hermit, his judgment is completely without nuance – everything is black and white. He has never been confronted with temptations to sin and has never had to decide between right and wrong. Thus, he is free from experiencing the consequences of sin and is still ignorant of human evil nature. Wearing the chain around his neck, Simplicissimus, like the hermit before him, devotes himself to being a slave to Christ. The chain around the neck symbolizes the hermit's choice to be a prisoner for the faith, as the apostle Paul often wrote about to the first-century Christians.[6] Simplicissimus's rough clothing and the chain confirm his moral quality at this stage.

2. "Falling morality": Simplicissimus at court in Hanau – end to innocence

With no companion or father-figure in the woods and after having had his winter rations plundered by enemy soldiers, Simplicissimus ultimately leaves the forest and re-enters society, a request the hermit had made of him before his death. Shortly after his departure, Simplicissimus is captured by soldiers and, owing to his extremely unusual appearance, brought before the governor of Hanau as a human oddity. After a series of questions by the governor, it becomes apparent to all that Simplicissimus is not as simple as his clothes indicate, but rather that he is educated and can write. The governor takes Simplicissimus's birch-book and sees a handwritten leaf in a familiar handwriting – that of the hermit, who was known to him. After it is revealed that the governor knew the deceased hermit, Simplicissimus is taken from his prison quarters to be washed and dressed according to his new status, one given

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[5] For more on Ständeordnung in seventeenth-century Germany, see Volker MEID (1984: 30-32).

[6] *Holy Bible: The New King James Version.* Ephesians 3. Philemon. Colossians 4, 7. The apostle Paul speaks of himself as a prisoner and is spoken of by others as a prisoner in chains and in bonds to Christ throughout the New Testament epistles. Paul, who was literally imprisoned for his Christian activity, sees this not as a punishment, but rather as a result of his religious convictions and desire to serve.

to him by the governor. Before he is dressed in modern clothing, a portrait artist paints Simplicissimus in his hermit clothing, preserving the image of this strange, foreign-looking, wild child. This episode signals the end of the boy's hermit life and innocence. He becomes outwardly socialized with the dress appropriate to court. Inwardly, he is a blank page and must experience the entire spectrum of war before returning, profoundly different, to the hermit life.

Yet again, in his new role as a court page, he is provided with attire and has no choice in his clothing, and thus, over his new position in society. He is not breaking sumptuary laws by dressing as a page by choice, even though his familial background as the son of peasants in the Spessart does not afford such social status. He is given a new coat, a new hair cut, new shoes, and even a new face, as his face is made-up: "Kaum war er [der Feldscherer] fertig, da bracht man mir ein weißes Hemd, Schuhe und Strümpf, samt einen Überschlag oder Kragen, auch Hut und Feder…Da saß mein Herr Simplicissimus wie ein junger Graf…" (I, 21: 62). Thus, Simplicissimus, assuming the appropriate attire for his new position, becomes a court page and tries to fulfill all the expectations of this social rank. Unfortunately, his actions reveal his true status, a simpleton, as he acts out of his ignorance and simplicity and naiveté. "Old" Simplicissimus later reflects on this:

> Ich wünschte, daß jedermann bei meinem Einsiedel auferzogen worden wäre, der Meinung, es würde alsdann auch männiglich der Welt Wesen mit Simplici Augen ansehen, wie ichs damals beschauet'. Ich war nicht so witzig, wenn lauter Simplici in der Welt wären, daß man alsdann auch nicht so viel Laster sehen werde. (I, 25: 77)

In this remark, "the mature" Simplicissimus reflects on the advantages of innocence when he was naïve as a child and had such a positive view of humankind before he knew sin, regret, and hatred – all things he experienced after leaving the forest upon the hermit's death. He feels that if others knew the peace he experienced at this time of his life as a child, the world would be a better place. Interestingly, old Simplicissimus, dressed in his plain hermit garment, has this reflection later in the novel at the stage of his highest moral development.

At this point of the novel (end of Book I), Simplicissimus is still free of sin and unfamiliar with all the evil in the world and the atrocities humans are capable of committing. In Book I, Chapter 26, in his conversation with the parson at Hanau, Simplicissimus questions the behaviors of proclaimed Christians. The parson only replies that they are Christians and that one should not say otherwise to them. Simplicissimus replies: "Mein Gott!" sagte ich, "wie kanns sein? Denn wenn ich einem oder dem andern seinen Fehler, den er wider Gott begehet, verweise, so werde ich verspottet und ausgelachet" (I, 26: 78). Later in chapter 34, while watching men and women at the court moving quickly, as he calls dancing, he naively believes his fellow page's explanation that these people are trying to break down the floor. Because of Simplicissimus's overly simplistic interpretations of the court behaviors he has seen, such as sex and dancing, the governor thinks it better for him to be a jester and thus gives him new attire – the fool's costume. This is, of course, thanks to the

parson's entertaining account of Simplicissimus's recent naïve behaviors at court. Those present were highly entertained:

> Solches verursachte einen allgemeinen Schluß zu meinem Untergang, welcher war, daß man mich tapfer agieren sollte, so würde ich mit der Zeit einen raren Tischrat abgeben, mit dem man auch größten Potentaten von der Welt verehren, und die Sterbenden zu lachen machen könnte. (II, 3: 100)

Simplicissimus continues at court as a fool and lives a moral, though extremely naïve, life. Abhorring his fool's garb, he decides to change it at any cost and takes the first outfit available from a clothesline – a woman's dress. As Lynne Tatlock argues, Simplicissimus, as a woman, has a sexual awakening and finds his manhood. Responding to this feminization and the threat of gang rape while being dressed as a woman, he turns into the "hyper-male" (Tatlock 2003: 275-276). Linda Feldmann explains that men use rape to enforce societal norms and to punish those who break them (1991: 63-64). Rape is about power and not about uncontrollable passion or sexual desire. In the male-female gendered relationship, rape is about power and not about uncontrollable passion or sexual desire. Susan Brownmiller identifies the male as a "natural predator" and the female as a "natural prey" because of their anatomy. Because of this predator-prey relationship between the sexes, the woman found herself in need of a male to defend her from other possible male predators, who were threatening rape. This need for male protection forced the woman to become subordinate under the male and thus established the beginnings of patriarchy (Brownmiller: 16-17). During the Thirty Years' War, women were subjugated to many such abuses and displays of power, and thus, while attired as a woman, Simplicissimus encounters this male dominance in the attempted rape episode. By appearing in female dress, Simplicissimus becomes the object of gendered power relations.

By cross-dressing, Simplicissimus steps out of his gendered societal position, and the attempted rape by men indicates the masculine need for "socio-sexual control" (Feldmann 1991: 75). The spurned soldier, who feels foolish after believing Simplicissimus's masquerade, gives the boy to the men to be gang raped as a punishment for crossing the gender lines. In reaction to the male power Simplicissimus personally witnessed in his attempted rape, he then tries to prove his manhood as the Hunter of Soest and in this new role begins his descent into moral debasement (the nadir in the inverted "V" structure) (Tatlock 2003: 276). It is as if he never wants to be vulnerable again to men, and therefore, tries always to seem stronger or better than his position. The dichotomization in marriage of male-high, female-low positioning proposed by Peter Stallybrass and Alon White illustrates this hierarchical binary with the male as the enforcer of social norms and moral behavior (Stallybrass and White 1986). Simplicissimus's transgressive behavior of cross-dressing is an "act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values and norms […]" (Babcock 1978: 14). By stepping outside his gender sphere and violating values and norms, he begins his moral regression.

3. "*Höhepunkt*" of depravity – Simplicissimus' lowest point morally as Hunter of Soest and Beau Allman

As the Hunter of Soest, Simplicissimus fights, steals, is idle, and is the epitome of trickery. Even worse, he does not exhibit control of his sexual impulses, which is the antithesis of the successful male of the period who marries, produces legitimate offspring, performs his duty whether at home as a farmer or as a military commander, and who does not dress outside his social status or gender.[7] By first being assigned the fool's clothes and then choosing the woman's dress to escape his status as the fool, Simplicissimus illustrates that clothing has deep social meaning and real consequences.

Additionally, as the Hunter, Simplicissimus chooses for himself attire fit for nobility. His transgressive clothing violates the sumptuary laws which were a response to fear of the "breakdown of economic order or morality and thus serve as a social control mechanism for the lower classes" (Hess 2003: 304).[8] According to Peter Hess, the primary role of sumptuary laws was to "maintain the correlation between rank and wealth on one hand and clothing and general appearance on the other. Such laws preserve the readability of clothes" (Hess 2003: 304). Hess further asserts that by wearing transgressive clothing Simplicissimus is "marked… as a deceptive and untrustworthy character, with subversive potential" (Hess 2003: 305-306). Seventeenth-century publisher, Johann Heinrich Zedler in his *Universallexikon* devotes over eight pages to the discussion of "*Kleid*," providing insight into seventeenth century attitudes towards clothing (Zedler 1732-51: 889-896). Status and gender should be recognizable from one's appearance. This readability is paramount to upholding the distinctions between social classes, as Zedler confirms: "In der Kleidung kann man sich durch Mißbrauch versündigen, nehmlich durch Kostbarkeit, wenn man mehr darauf wendet, als der Wohlstand und Nothwendigkeit erfordert; durch Ubermuth, wenn sich jemand über seinen Stand kleidet" (Zedler 1732-51: 895). By dressing in clothes reserved for the nobility, Simplicissimus provides for the first time an outward manifestation of his inward sin of pride. As Aylett writes of Simplicissimus: "His new clothes are an unmistakable manifestation of his narcissistic, overweening self-esteem at this stage in his life: they disguise nothing" (Aylett 1989: 162). As the Hunter, Simplicissimus concerns himself with the world and its impression of him rather than with how God sees him, thereby disregarding the hermit's warning:

> […] folge anstatt deines unnützen Geschreis meinen letzten Worten, welche sind, daß du dich je länger je mehr selbst erkennen sollest [...] Weiters riet er mir getreulich, ich

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[7] My argument here derives from Tatlock's usage of the term successful male. The role of the male is "to guide women, who were seen as morally weak. Men had an obligation to keep their wives, daughters, and female servants under control in the house… Successful men had of course the additional obligation to keep other men under control…" The male who does not exhibit control becomes a "wandering rogue" and represents a social order in crisis. See TATLOCK (2003: 272-273).

[8] See also Joanne ENTWISTLE and John SEKORA.

> sollte mich jederzeit vor böser Gesellschaft hüten […] vor allen Dingen bleibe standhaftig". (I, 12: 36)

Instead of honest repentance and changing his ways, Simplicissimus continues his life of sin.

At this stage in his moral development, the nadir in this "V"-shape, Simplicissimus transgresses even more seriously against his social station when he additionally provides and chooses clothing for his servants (figure 2). A nobleman is expected to clothe his page, but here Simplicissimus, who is not yet aware of his noble birth, clothes his page, even though he is on the opposite rung on the social ladder, thereby showing truly subversive behavior (III, 2: 212). By appropriating the nobleman's duty to clothe his servants, Simplicissimus further transgresses social norms.

After Simplicissimus ends his career as the Hunter of Soest, he again chooses clothing for himself which is beyond his social status, that of a private in the military. He uses the spoils gained from his exploits as the Hunter and dresses himself in finer attire than that of the officers. Here his sins of pride and lust, two of the seven deadly sins, are apparent. By dressing himself better than the officers of higher rank, he demonstrates his inability to exercise self control, and instead allows his vanity to get the best of him. His lust for an impressive image wins out against the virtue of humility. Again, he does not confess his sins of vanity, but rather, he continues in his immoral and transgressive behavior.

Simplicissimus's continued moral regression is demonstrated by his choice of elegant attire during his sojourn in Paris. As an actor, his job is to appear on stage as people of different social status than he actually is. Additionally, in his new Parisian life as "Beau Allman," he dresses as a member of the French aristocracy and circulates in that social sphere as well. After he assumes French clothing and transforms himself with new make-up and a wig in the French manner, he embarks on a decadent lifestyle of sex and orgies (IV, 3-4: 310-316). His transgressive attire and behavior illustrate his lack of control over his own sexuality and his failure to become a successful male. His behavior is not appropriate to his status. Additionally, as a male prostitute, he has sexual liaisons with women above his hierarchical position. Just as sumptuary laws regulated social appearance, sexual relations were also strictly controlled and meant to be carried out among those of equal social standing. As Beau Allman, Simplicissimus is morally at his lowest.

While in Paris, he contracts the pox, hinting that it results from his sexual escapades and is a punishment from God for his sinful nature. *Schein und Sein*, a twentieth-century phrase coined by German cultural historians for the tensions between appearance and reality in Baroque literature, applies appropriately to Simplicissimus's Parisian experience (Skrine 1978: 35-36). Outwardly, it seems that Simplicissimus lives the good life. He entertains some of the most important people in Paris, all in a social circle beyond his own. However, his many sexual encounters with ladies from the upper social circles leave him with the pox and "looking more truly like what he really was during his period of Parisian glory" (Skrine 1978: 36). From this episode, the "pleasure-seeking extravagance of contemporary France"

provides an insight into the "deceptiveness of appearances" (Skrine 1978: 36). Simplicissimus's *Schein und Sein* are now physically the same, and with his new disfigured, outward appearance, he loses opportunities for obtaining the money necessary to maintain his dress as an aristocrat.

The next few chapters (IV, 7-9: 323-332) detail Simplicissimus's life as a pox infected, lice-stricken, destitute man. The novel continues with Simplicissimus again regaining his fortune through ill means, characteristic of the rogue figure. He still lives a morally empty lifestyle characterized by plundering and trickery. However, his experience with the pox causes him to begin considering where his lifestyle is leading him. His chance encounter with his old friend, Herzbruder, who gives Simplicissimus "nicer" clothing than his station as a marauder affords, continues this period of reflection. After receiving clothing, he has a moment of moral realization, thus, giving credence to the idea that when he is given clothing, he is morally better. At this point Simplicissimus begins the fourth stage, moving up the inverted "V" shape of his own drama towards the final resolution of moral and successful living as determined by seventeenth century society (figure 2; Book III).

4. "Rising morality": Simplicissimus as mourner and pilgrim – adherence to sumptuary laws

In Book IV, fortune looks differently on the previously successful Herzbruder. Here, Simplicissimus, recently wealthy from the spoils of his dead acquaintance Oliver, encounters Herzbruder, who is now poor and stricken with lice, living a lowly life of shame as the result of his troops having lost the siege at Wittenweir and Breisach, highlighting his failure as a commander (IV, 26: 382-383). Simplicissimus sends for a tailor to dress Herzbruder in a garment of plain gray cloth. Unlike the flashy green color of Simplicissimus's earlier clothing choices as the Hunter and those for his servants, this time he shows adherence to sumptuary laws. The garment he chooses for his friend is appropriate to Herzbruder's status, showing Simplicissimus's moral growth. At this stage in the novel, Simplicissimus shows an understanding of the consequences that arise from assuming an identity outside of one's social position. After masquerading as the hunter of Soest, as an actor, and as other characters outside his status, Simplicissimus begins to discover the truth about himself. According to Skrine, masquerading and going "unknown" in this time period leads to "discovering…the truth about your fellow man through deliberate concealment of your identity" (Skrine 1978: 25). At the end of this stage, it seems Simplicissimus understands more about how a successful male should live and also about his own identity. This argument can be pressed even further and the case can be made that, by assuming a variety of masquerades, Simplicissimus slowly comes to realize his own identity.

At the beginning of book 5, as the book and its protagonist move toward moral resolution, Simplicissimus and Herzbruder embark on a pilgrimage. This pilgrimage provides a clear example of his morally upward movement along the "V" structure, including some backsliding along the way, proving he has not yet reached the end of

his quest (end of Book V, as the hermit). For the journey, Simplicissimus dresses in the garb of a pilgrim, attire assigned by societal norms and not chosen by him. Although somewhat reluctantly, Simplicissimus makes the pilgrimage, a good sign that he is no longer participating in the earlier types of debased activities. However, instead of walking on hard, dried peas as required of a sincere pilgrim, Simplicissimus puts cooked peas into his shoes. This small deceit shows his lack of deep commitment to the purposes of the pilgrimage. Simplicissimus exhibits an outward rather than a truly inward conformity to what is required. Herzbruder reacts to Simplicissimus's attitude in a way that awakens Simplicissimus to his own behavior, and says that he no longer wants to be friends with such a low person, who can not tell the truth or take things seriously. Simplicissimus takes this admonishment to heart and reflects on his behavior – another step towards his achievement of moral living. During this pilgrimage, Simplicissimus even converts to Catholicism and completes the rest of the pilgrimage as a pilgrim should, with true suffering, although many of his actions here are done out of fear rather than from a true change of attitude.

Later in Book V, after Herzbruder's death (V, 7-8: 410-418), Simplicissimus assumes mourning clothes. Unlike present times when money determines choice of clothing, sumptuary laws and class maintained the distinctions between upper, middle, and lower classes in the seventeenth century. Public ceremonies such as weddings and funerals were occasions that required strict regulation and adherence to clearly defined styles, fabrics, etc. based on status. People adhered to such rules out of fear that they would be fined (Taylor 1983). There is no mention by Grimmelshausen that Simplicissimus does not follow societal rules for his mourning attire, further suggesting Simplicissimus's move up the moral curve as seen in his behavior. In this period of mourning, Simplicissimus's moral growth is evidenced in the episode with the peasant girl at the spa. While he previously seduced and abandoned women at will, leaving illegitimate children and unwed mothers to fend for themselves, he decides to marry this girl before sleeping with her. For the first time in the novel, Simplicissimus, dressed as a mourner, assumes the assigned role of the male in the social hierarchy and controls his sexuality, following the behavior pattern of the successful male. This change in behavior occurs after he is given or assigned clothes to wear based on his status as a mourner.

Not only does he assume a successful male role by marriage, but he also assumes a further successful male role by serving with the military. He earns a living legitimately, and not by plundering, and determines to provide financial security for his family. His service in the military and his search for monetary gain lead him to Russia, demonstrating that he is still on his physical journey to a moral life and so he still has greedy desires. While in Russia, he holds steadfast to his Catholic faith even after first being asked, and then threatened, to convert. Conversely, his religious steadfastness shows that he has changed from his earlier years, because in this episode he sacrifices monetary gain for his religion. Additionally, he also holds steady to his allegiance to the Imperial crown – truly noble and moral behavior indicative of progression in his moral quest.

Only after being forced into the Czar's service does Simplicissimus participate in military conflict, and this only for defense purposes. When surrounded by Tartars, he retreats to the Czar's armory for protection and is dressed in the finest armor for battle. He is outfitted in a quilted silk breastplate, boots, and a princely headdress. He is dressed far above his station, but he does not choose this battle display for reasons of pride or vanity. Here it is thrust upon him. After his capture, instead of conning or lying his way out as he had done so many times in his earlier years, he remains loyal to the Czar and accepts capture, and with that, years of slavery. This episode in Russia illustrates Simplicissimus's moral growth. He receives military attire from the Czar, indicating that when he receives clothing appropriate to his status, he acts in ways appropriate to, and accepted by, society. As this episode occurs shortly before Simplicissimus attains his moral goal in stage five, the Czar's armor here serves as a symbol of this future retreat into a protective "shell." Moreover, the Czar's protective armor prefigures the final phase of the novel and Simplicissimus's attainment of the moral life. The body armor suggests the moral, protective shell of the hermit's life. This protective armor is a precursor to his ultimate protection against the immoral world when he decides to go into the "hermit shell," living separately from society and, thus, guarding his salvation through self-imposed isolation from temptation and sin.

On his way back to Germany after having been in slavery in Turkey, Korea, and Arabia for many years, he visits religious sites in Rome and elsewhere in Italy, reflecting on his sinful life, a true pilgrimage chosen this time by himself. During his time as a slave he has remained a believer: "[…] mußten viel türkische Kaufleut ihre christlichen Sklaven, jedoch um bare Bezahlung, hergeben, worunter ich mich denn als ein junger starker Kerl auch befand," (V, 22: 473-474) signifying that he was labeled as a Christian even to his captors. His steadfast Christian identity stands in stark contrast to that of the immoral Beau Allman.

5. Simplicissimus' *Schein und Sein* match – after he chooses to become a hermit

Upon his return to Germany, Simplicissimus reaches the end of his moral quest and retreats to the Spessart forests of his childhood where he decides to live out his life as a hermit. He willingly assumes the hermit's garb, a coarse material worn directly on the skin, exemplifying self-denial of all material pleasures. By choosing the hermit's life, he retreats from all temptation, from sins so easily committed among humans. His return to the eremitic lifestyle signifies his lack of ability to follow the behavioral guidelines outlined to him by his hermit father of how to succeed in the world and at the same time hold to spiritual matters. He finds it easier to retreat into solitude than to be tempted by worldly pleasures and fail.

At the end of the novel, Simplicissimus achieves virtuous conduct with his hermit lifestyle. Although he had discovered earlier in the novel that he was actually of noble birth, he had not yet reached the end of his moral quest. Only at the work's end when his moral conduct matches his station in society has he reached the final

resolution. His clothing has come full circle. Now Simplicissimus wears clothing chosen for his social position as a hermit that is simple and no longer reflective of his vanity, but rather of his morality. He has fulfilled his moral quest.

In the picaresque tradition of literature, the reader wants to believe in the good will of the main character, the rogue figure or *picaro*, and hopes that the *picaro* changes his life at the end of the story.[9] By the end of book V, Simplicissimus changes his ways and seeks out a moral life. That the *picaro* is usually an out-sider, only emphasizes this desired ending. A hermit, who lives away from society, is truly an outsider to social norms and codes. Throughout the novel, Simplicissimus tries to "fit in" and alters his clothing for this aim, often dressing outside his status. In the process, he alienates himself from society and only finds true acceptance in solitude as a hermit.

Recent scholars such as Lynne Tatlock and Peter Hess, together with the much earlier scholar Jan Scholte are crucial in providing a framework for examining Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus* in terms of clothing as a social metaphor and as an indicator of Simplicissimus's moral development. Tatlock's argument on gender, as well as Feldmann and Brownmiller's ideas on rape, provides a cause for Simplicissimus's descent into moral depravity. After his cross-dressing as a woman and the resulting attempted rape, he turns into the hyper-male as the Hunter of Soest. Here begin his depraved years, which can be read as a reaction to the male dominance he experiences during his attempted rape. Hess argues that Simplicissimus is transgressive in his clothing and therefore, suspicious. During his most depraved years, Simplicissimus dresses outside his status. However, at the end of the novel, when he reaches stage five, virtuous living, he conforms to societal norms and no longer disobeys sumptuary laws, dressing in the accepted hermit attire. By developing a framework to analyze Simplicissimus's transgressive behavior, Hess also provides a standard to determine which behaviors are non-transgressive, as seen in Books four and five.

While Tatlock and Hess provide insights into gender and identity in Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, the present study builds on these observations showing that attire in *Simplicissimus* is not only a metaphor for status, but also a reflection of moral development. Reading Simplicissimus's moral development literally against the fabric of his clothing choices confirms earlier interpretations, such as that by Scholte, of the inverted dramatic structure of the novel. In a period when clothing and status followed such elaborate prescriptions as in Grimmelshausen's time, Simplicissimus's morality must be read against his clothing choice or lack thereof. When transgressing norms for attire, Simplicissimus is at his lowest morally and, when not transgressing norms, he is at his highest. Only when he assumes the clothing choices given him by others, do his *Schein und Sein* match each other harmoniously. When he accepts assigned clothing and adheres to societal norms by not dressing outside of his status, he is most moral both inwardly and outwardly.

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[9] See AYLETT (1989: 168).

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