

Feet, Armies and International Politics

Notes on the Globalisation of Patterns of Behaviour

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I. Introduction

What is globalisation?¹ Answers to this question are usually sought for in economics and politics, rarely in cultural affairs and hardly at all in educational matters. Instead, education is often thought to be the property of culture and, in this capacity, resilient towards global impacts. Education seems to follow established patterns and, when changing, appears to receive its transformation from the impact of indigenous institutions, such as family, neighbourhood, society or state. In turn education is an important means of imposing standards of appropriateness of bodily behaviour but, despite the orthodoxy about the tying of education to society, the question remains where these standards have been taken from. The hypothesis underlying this paper is that these standards can result from or be shaped through external impacts and may thus exhibit features that are global in kind. Conversely speaking, the patterns of bodily behaviour current in a society or in a state may not only be derived from the impact of indigenous institutions but may also be exogenous. The paper will review a particular standing habit as a pattern of bodily behaviour and trace its origin.

In publicly controlled mandatory schooling systems, an important venue of transmitting patterns of bodily behaviour is physical education. Physical education is often instrumentalised for the purpose of disciplining young boys and girls and training them in what is considered appropriate bodily bearing. Ever since the early nineteenth century, the universal standard of appropriateness of bodily behaviour has in the European nations been an upright comportment which displays the body in profile in a straight vertical line from which deviations are not to be tolerated. It has long been recognised that this standard appears rarely in human behaviour except as the result of purposeful training, most notably in gymnastics.² Gymnastics have been used as the instrument to encourage (to say the least) young boys and girls to avoid bodily buckles and dents and, instead, bear their bodies upright. Nowadays, this standing habit appears to be spread world wide across the cultures. How do we account for this surprising phenomenon? Is globalisation a factor impacting on our standing habit?

The most common arguments in support of this standing habit are medical in kind: buckling bodies, bendy legs, stomachs sticking out to the front and hips gravitating to the soil are seen as symptoms of physical illness or indicators of some mental disorder.³ I am not a medical specialist and do not want to challenge the wisdom behind these views. As an historian, I am simply skeptical that the rationale of this medical reasoning provides the sole sufficient and exclusively valid explanation. To start with, the history of educational theory shows that

¹ For the recent debate on this question see, among others, Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, *Rise and Demise. Comparing World Systems* (Boulder, CO, 1997). *Globalization, Democratization and Multilateralism*, edited by Stephen Gill (Tokyo, New York and Paris, 1997). *The Global Transformation Reader*, edited by David Held and Anthony McGrew, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2003) [first published, *ibid.*, 2000]. *Globalization in Question*, edited by Paul Quentin Hirst and Grahame Thompson, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1999) [first published, *ibid.*, 1996]. *Globalization and History*, edited by K. H. O'Rourke and Jeffrey G. Williamson (Cambridge, MA, 1999). Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels P. Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung* (Munich, 2003).

² Karl Gaulhofer, *Die Fushaltung. Ein Beitrag zur Stilgeschichte der menschlichen Bewegung* (Kassel, 1930), p. 8 (Buchreihe der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Körperliche Erziehung. 1.)

³ For a representative treatment of the established theory of gymnastics of the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries see Johannes Müller, *Die Leibesübungen*, 3rd edn (Leipzig, 1924).

the equation of upright bodily bearing with appropriate bodily behaviour is secondary, relatively recent and not peculiar to the education of humans at that. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example, the German word *Erziehung* (possibly a loan translation from Latin *educātio*, whence Modern English *education*) was used primarily in the context of gardening and therein applied to the nursing of trees to develop a straight vertical stem, rather than a multiplicity of collateral branches.⁴ The ‘education’ of trees was seen as a precondition for the harvesting of good crops and the achievement of aesthetic satisfaction among leisure-seeking humans strolling in parks and gardens among the straight trees. Conversely, the German word *Zucht* was used for both, the breeding of plants and animals as well as for education of children and the drilling of soldiers.⁵ So far the words. In terms of the subject matter, the story is more complex. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the great educationalist Jan Amos Comenius applied the botanical analogy to the education of children, insisting that the education of humans is like the shaping of trees. As a wild tree cannot yield sweet fruits, Comenius argued, uneducated children could not acquire the moral status of human beings.⁶ At the turn of the nineteenth century, another great educationalist, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, insisted that children should sit still and in an upright position while attending school.⁷ It is interesting to observe that the use of a botanical analogy in discourses on child-rearing and the education of children did not begin in the seventeenth century but had a longer tradition. Already in the fifteenth century, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the learned humanist who became Pope Pius II, used tree-nursing as a model for the training of children – although, characteristically, to the opposite end. Piccolomini demanded that children should be allowed to grow up like trees with the implication that trees were allowed to grow as they liked or nature dictated them to do. According to Piccolomini, children could develop their own individuality if they remained as unrestrained as trees appeared to be in Piccolomini’s perception of the world.⁸ Whereas the fifteenth-century botanical analogy carried with it the connotation of freedom and individualism, the seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century botanical analogy suggested behavioural constraints and the control of the bearing and movements of the body. Education towards patterns of bodily behaviour is thus the property of culture and, by consequence, changes in accordance with the transformation of culture. Therefore again my question, rephrased in terms of cultural history: What are the origins of the standing habit that required the upright comportment as the core element of appropriate bodily behaviour and how did this standing habit disseminate? I shall first discuss the emergence of this pattern in Europe and then describe its dissemination.

II. Review of research literature

Cultural aspects of bodily bearing have been investigated from a variety of perspectives, among them dancing, sports, art and social history. Early in the twentieth century, the Finnish art historian Johan Jakob Tikkanen produced a survey of the position of the feet in European paintings, graphic art and sculptures from Antiquity to the nineteenth century. The study contains a broad and comprehensive survey of the various depictions of feet positions with

⁴ See Gerhardt Petrat, *Schulerziehung. Ihre Sozialgeschichte in Deutschland bis 1945* (Munich, 1987), pp. 20-21.

⁵ Susanne Barth, *Jungfrauenzucht. Literaturwissenschaftliche und pädagogische Studien zur Mädchenerziehungsliteratur zwischen 1200 und 1600* (Stuttgart, 1994).

⁶ Johann Amos Comenius, *Große Didaktik*, cap. 7, edited by Andreas Flitner (Stuttgart, 1992), p. 45 [originally published (Amsterdam, 1657), reprint of the original (Leipzig, 1894)]. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975), 172-196, pl. 30, drew attention to a print showing a bent tree that is tied to a straight stick. The picture was used as an illustration for the proper education of children. See N. Andry, *L’orthopédie ou l’art de prévenir et de corriger dans les enfants les difficultés du corps* (Paris, 1749). However, Foucault erroneously dated the origin of this educational style into the eighteenth century.

⁷ Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, ‘Brief an einen Freund’, in Pestalozzi, *Kleine Schriften zur Volkserziehung und Menschenbildung*, fifth edn (Bad Heilbrunn, 1983), p. 28.

⁸ Enea Silvio Piccolomini, *Der Briefwechsel*, no 40, II. Abt., edited by Rudolph Wolkau (Vienna, 1912), pp. 103-158 (Fontes rerum Austriacarum II/67.)

an emphasis on straddling but does not link the evidence from pictorial art with sources on patterns of behaviour.⁹ A few art historians have done work on the one or the other image, such as on William Hogarth's well-known print of a dancing master that he prefixed to his *The Analysis of Beauty* published in 1753.¹⁰ The print juxtaposes the painter's views of appropriate dancing movements against his vision of inappropriate hopping and does so by displaying various dancing scenes. The picture was used as a plate visualising the painter's perception of various standards of behaviour, appropriate and inappropriate as well. To that end, Hogarth displayed what he considered to be properly behaving dancing couples together with couples showing inappropriate behaviour and placed them into a virtual ballroom. In reality, however, a couple performing an aristocratic dance would never meet with peasant dancers in one and the same room. Whereas Hogarth made clear his intention to associate inappropriate movement with the behaviour of peasant farmers and appropriate behaviour with aristocrats, he remained equivocal in his attitude toward the posture of the dancing master whom he depicted in another picture of the same work in a stiffly upright bearing and ridiculed this standing habit as slightly exaggerated. William Hogarth was a bourgeois Londoner with a *faible* for urban genre scenes. His classification of aristocratic habits of standing and moving as appropriate patterns of bodily behaviour reveals a more general attitude as it demonstrates the extent to which aristocratic patterns of bodily behaviour had penetrated into the urban world around the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1930, the Austrian educational reformer Karl Gaulhofer subject feet positions to a closer scrutiny and linked art historical evidence with sources on sports and dancing to provide a preparatory to a history of patterns of bodily behaviour.¹¹ Gaulhofer intended to show that the then predominant focus on the straight upright bearing in gymnastics was not to be taken as the sole appropriate pattern of bodily behaviour and that it was far from evident that it had a distinct educational value. Indeed Gaulhofer, who served in the Austrian government as a superintendent of physical education in the 1920s, used his historical inquiries for the practical purposes of stimulating the reform of physical education.¹² The material in Gaulhofer's wide-ranging and learned study suggests that the upright standing habit together

⁹ Johan Jakob Tikkanen, *Die Beinstellungen in der Kunstgeschichte* (Helsinki, 1912) (Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae. 42.) Tikkanen drew on the previous study by Julius Lange, 'Die Geschichte eines Motivs', in Lange, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, edited by Georg Brandes and Peter Köbke (Strasbourg, 1912), pp. 85-99 [first published as the author's doctoral dissertation s.t.: *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung* (1888)].

¹⁰ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty* (London, 1753), plates I and II [reprint (Hildesheim, 1974); new edn by Joseph Terence Anthony Burke (Oxford, 1955); another edn by Ronald Paulson (New Haven, CT, 1997)]. For an interpretation see: David Bindman, *Hogarth* (London, 1981), pp. 151-155.

¹¹ Gaulhofer, *Die Fusshaltung* (note 2). Gaulhofer used a method of studying human behaviour in the historical dimension that sociologist Norbert Elias followed a few years later and popularised in the 1960s. However, whereas Elias assumed some metaphysical psychological drive towards increasing affect control and, within this perspective, misread many sources, Gaulhofer focused on careful descriptions of bodily movements and made a useful contribution to the analysis of the factors behind changing standards of bodily behaviour. See Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, 2 vols (Bern, 1969) [reissue (Frankfurt, 1976); first published (Basle, 1936); English version (Oxford, 1982). On Elias see: Hans Peter Duerr, *Nacktheit und Scham = Duerr, Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1988) [repr. (Frankfurt, 1994.) Duerr, *Intimität = Duerr, Der Mythos vom Zivilisationsprozess*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt, 1990). Richard van Dülmen, 'Norbert Elias und der Prozess der Zivilisation', in Dülmen, ed., *Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt, 1993), pp. 361-371. Jerome Duindam, *Myths of Power. Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam, 1995). Wolfgang Jäger, "'Menschenwissenschaft' und historische Sozialwissenschaft. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Rezeption von Norbert Elias in der Gesichtswissenschaft", in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 77 (1995), pp. 85-116. Hermann Korte, Peter Gleichmann and Johan Goudsblom, eds, *Macht und Zivilisation* (Frankfurt, 1984) (Materialien zu Norbert Elias's Zivilisationstheorie. 2.) Korte, *Über Norbert Elias. Das Werden eines Menschenwissenschaftlers* (Frankfurt, 1988) [second edn (Opladen, 1997)]. Michael Maurer, 'Der Prozeß der Zivilisation. Bemerkungen eines Historikers zur Kritik des Ethnologen Hans Peter Duerr an der Theorie des Soziologen Norbert Elias', in *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 40 (1989), pp. 225-238. Stephen Mennell, *Norbert Elias. An Introduction* (Oxford, 1992). August Nitschke, *Historische Verhaltensforschung* (Stuttgart, 1981). Claudia Opitz, ed., *Höfische Gesellschaft und Zivilisationsprozess. Norbert Elias' Werk in kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2004). Rüdiger Schnell, ed., *Zivilisationsprozesse. Zu Erziehungsschriften der Vormoderne* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2004).

¹² Karl Gaulhofer, *Erbe und Auftrag. Aufsätze zur Sportpädagogik*, edited by Hermann Andrecs (Vienna, 1985).

with the straddling position with the toes pointing towards opposite directions emerged as part and parcel of a Europe-wide pattern of bodily behaviour during the early Modern period. Gaulhofer argued that this standing habit was ‘unnatural’ and tried to replace it in physical education by a standing habit with the toes pointing straight ahead.

Only long after the end of World War II did the Stuttgart school of social and behavioural historians produce several studies of bodily behaviour in sports, the military and dancing. August Nitschke, the founder of the school, traced the changing patterns of European bodily behaviour in dancing and fencing from the early Middle Ages to the Renaissance and briefly surveyed East Asian martial arts.¹³ Henning Eichberg analysed the transformation of gymnastics and related sports at the turn of the nineteenth century and studied ball games in Sumatra.¹⁴ I myself worked on the history of military behaviour in the European armies from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century, focusing on rules of military drill and placing the European evidence in a comparative perspective.¹⁵ Lastly, Volker Saftien added a detailed account of Renaissance and Baroque dancing rules.¹⁶ Beyond the work of the Stuttgart school, the recently established Yale series on martial art includes a magisterially comprehensive survey of Renaissance fencing and wrestling by Sydney Anglo, superceding previous studies on the topic¹⁷ and a less penetrating sketchy review of select *budô* sports by George Cameron Hurst III.¹⁸

To sum up, there is some, though far from exhaustive, historical research work on patterns of bodily behaviour devoted to intra-cultural matters, while the cross-cultural dissemination of these patterns has hardly been touched upon yet.

III. The making of universalisable of patterns of bodily behaviour, especially standing habits

In this section, I intend to show that a pattern of bodily behaviour became considered universalisable in Europe at the turn of the nineteenth century, that is, in the aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, patterns of bodily behaviour tended to define membership in specific types of group, such as an army, the aristocracy, a religious community, a local community or a professional association. There were explicit, rigidly regulated and ruthlessly enforced dress codes, each applied to a certain

¹³ August Nitschke and Hans Wieland, eds, *Die Faszination und Wirkung außereuropäischer Tanz- und Sportformen* (Ahrensburg, 1981) (Sportwissenschaft und Sportpraxis. 39.) Nitschke, *Bewegungen in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Düsseldorf, 1987) (Historisches Seminar. 2.) Nitschke, ‘Die Bewegung als Zugang zu einer Kultur’, in *Taijiquan*, edited by Christa Prokosch (Darmstadt and Neuwied, 1987), pp. 107-125. Nitschke, *Körper in Bewegung* (Stuttgart, 1989). For a review see Maren Lorenz, *Leibhaftige Geschichte* (Tübingen, 2000), pp. 64-70, 81-85.

¹⁴ Henning Eichberg, *Leistung, Spannung, Geschwindigkeit* (Stuttgart, 1978) (Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik. 12.) Eichberg, *Sozialverhalten und Regionalentwicklungsplanung. Modernisierung in der indonesischen Relationsgesellschaft (West Sumatra)* (Berlin, 1981) (Sozialwissenschaftliche Schriften. 3.) Eichberg, *Die Veränderung des Sports ist gesellschaftlich* (Munster and Hamburg, 1986).

¹⁵ Harald Kleinschmidt, *Tyrociniium militare* (Stuttgart, 1989).

¹⁶ Volker Saftien, *Ars saltandi. Der europäische Gesellschaftstanz im Zeitalter der Renaissance und des Barock* (Hildesheim, 1994).

¹⁷ Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven and London, 2000). For further studies see Egerton Castle, *L'escrime et les escrimeurs depuis le Moyen Age jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1888) [also (London, 1888)]. Henri Daressy, ed., *Archives des maîtres d'armes de Paris* (Paris, 1888). Georges Dubois, *Essai sur le traité d'escrime de Saint-Didier, publié en 1573* (Chartres, 1918). Gustav Hergsell, *Die Fechtkunst im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Prague, 1896). Heino Maedelbach, ed., *Die Fechtkunst. 1500 – 1900. Grafik und Waffen. Katalog* (Coburg, 1968). Alfred Schaer, *Die altdeutschen Fechter und Spielleute* (Strasbourg, 1901). Karl Wassmannsdorff, ‘Aufschlüsse über Fechthandschriften und gedruckte Fechtbücher des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts’, in *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* (1888), pp. 121-145. Hans-Peter Hils, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des langen Schwerts* (Frankfurt and Bern, 1985) (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Series III, vol. 257.) Hils, ‘Gladiatoria’, in: *Codices Manuscripti* 13 (1987), pp. 1-54. Martin Wierschin, *Meister Johann Liechtenauers Kunst des Fechtens* (Munich, 1965) (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. 13.)

¹⁸ George Cameron Hurst III, *Armed Martial Arts of Japan. Swordsmanship and Archery* (New Haven and London, 1998).

group or type of group.¹⁹ There were also less widely applied but equally detailed regulations concerning bodily bearing and movements, most notably for dancers, fencers, wrestlers and professional warriors.

I shall start by describing a picture from an early fifteenth-century fencing manual. The picture shows two armoured fencers in close dual combat with pikes. Both fencers stretch their legs far apart, with each fencer stretching his right leg to the back. The upper parts of their bodies with the legs stretched backwards form an almost straight line. The upper parts of the bodies of both fencers are inclined to the front. In their hands, they hold pikes which they thrust against each other. The force that they use to thrust against each other, keeps them in balance in their essentially unstable position. In other words, would one of the fencers suddenly move away to the right or the left, the other fencer would fall down.²⁰

Fig. 1:

Hans Talhoffer's Fencing Manual, c. 1430. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Waffensammlung

The straddling positions displayed in this manual were perfunctory to a certain type of combat, through which fencers were testing which of them had a higher thrusting capability. There were strict rules to this combat form. Pike fencing and, to some extent, even sword fencing of late medieval Europe, were tests of the capability of resisting opposing thrusts or blows. Therefore,

¹⁹ On dress codes see Ferdinando Bertelli, ed., *Omnium fere gentium nostrae aetatis habitus nunquam ante hac aetatis* (Venice, 1563) [repr. (Unterscheidheim, 1969)]. Hans Weigel, ed., *Habitus praecipuorum populo- rum tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti. Trachtenbuch. Darin fast allerley vnd der furnehmsten Nationen / die heutigen tags bekandt sein / Kleidungen / beyde wie es bey Manns vnd Weibspersonen gebreuchlich / mit allem vleiss abgerissen sein* (Nuremberg, 1577) [repr. Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke. XVII (Zwickau, 1913)]. Cesare Vecellio, *De gli habitus antichi et moderni di diversi arti del mondo* (Venice, 1590). [repr. (Bologna, 1982)]. Jean de Glen, ed., *Des habits, moeurs, façons de faire anciennes & modernes du monde* (Liège, 1601). Abraham a Sancta Clara, *Neu-eröffnete Welt-Galleria worinnen sehr curios & begnügt unter die Augen kommen allerley Aufzug und Kleidungen unterschiedlicher Stände und Nationen* (Nuremberg, 1703) [repr. (Hildesheim, 1969)]. Martin Dinges, 'Der „feine Unterschied“. Die soziale Funktion der Kleidung in der höfischen Gesellschaft', in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 19 (1992), pp. 49-76. Liselotte Constanze Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700* (Göttingen, 1962). Jürgen Ellermeyer, 'Sozialgruppen, Selbstverständnis, Vermögen und städtische Verordnungen', in *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 113 (1977), pp. 243-275. Gerd Schwerhoff, '„... Die groisse oeverwenckliche costlicheyt zo messigen“. Bürgerliche Einheit und ständische Differenzierung in Kölner Aufwandsordnungen (14. – 17. Jahrhundert)', in *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 54 (1990), pp. 95-122. Cf. the so-called peoples' tables, popular in the early eighteenth century: Franz Karl Stanzel, 'Schemata und Klischees der Völkerbeschreibung in David Humes Essay „Of National Characters“', in *Studien zur englischen und amerikanischen Literatur. Festschrift für Helmut Papajewski*, edited by Paul Gerhard Buchloh, Inge Leimberg and Herbert Rauter (Neumünster, 1974), pp. 368-383. Stanzel, *Europäer. Ein imagologischer Essay* (Heidelberg, 1998) [first published (ibid., 1997)]. Stanzel, ed., *Europäischer Völkertafel. Imagologisch-ethnographische Studien zu den Völkertafeln des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1999).

²⁰ Hans Talhoffer, *Talhoffers Fechtbuch (Ambraser Codex) vom Jahre 1459*, edited by Gustav Hergsell (Prague, 1889), pl. 86. The manuscript is now dated early in the fifteenth century. For older versions of fencing manuals see Francesco Novati, ed., [Fiore de' Liberi], *Flos duellatorum in armis, sine armis, equester, pedester* (Bergamo, 1902). For subsequent versions see Petrus de Montis, *Exercitiorum* (Milan, 1509), and the fencing manual first printed by Christian Egenolff, *Der alten Fechter anfangliche Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1531) [microfiche edition in Flugschriften-Sammlung Gustav Freytag, No X/1422].

the thrusts had to be conducted in a straight line against the opponent, with no deviations from the straight lines being permitted. Fencing manuals were written instructions for professional fencers, usually of urban origin, performing in judicial trials or for public shows before an urban audience. The postures and movements prescribed in these sources were specific movements of the professionals for whom fencing masters prepared the manuals but they were of little use for non-professionals or the audiences watching the shows. The guards and others positions, described in the manuals, had the task of providing the fencers with decent chances to survive the matches without serious or even fatal injuries. Even though it remained contested during the fifteenth century whether professional fencers constituted a guild thereby forming an honourable profession, a code of honour existed regulating the fencers' combat behaviour. Staying within this code was a necessity in combats of which their practitioners knew that they could lead to a lethal end. As professional fencers did not fight duels at night but competed in front of a public audience, the probability was high that each contestant would try to adhere to the code, even if it was not enforceable. Put differently: a fencer breaking the code for a short-term tactical advantage and risking the life of his opponent, might win a match but would lose his status as a professional fencer. The fifteenth-century fencing manuals thus recorded a code of honour in words and pictures. This code was useful for fencers but it was not merely unintelligible but also utterly useless for outsiders and the public audience watching the matches.²¹ In this respect the fencing manuals prescribed a particularistic patterns of bodily behaviour characteristic of the professional group of fencers. Specifically straddling was a mandatory standing habit for professional fencers if they wanted to fulfill their duties and avoid defeat and injury.

Late in the fifteenth century, postures and movements practiced by professional fencers spread beyond the confines of urban culture and became part of fighting behaviour of the professional warrior bands of the Swiss.²² Moreover, the straddling position was not only used in combat, as becomes clear from many pictures of standing warriors from the time around AD 1500,²³ specifically Dürer's etching of Hercules of c. 1498. In this etching Dürer depicted the hero in a fighting position, even though the hero was not engaged in fighting. The position could thus serve to depict the status of warriors. Among the most visible early cases displaying standing positions are the statues that Emperor Maximilian I had cast early in the sixteenth century, to accompany his cenotaph in the Innsbruck Hofkirche.²⁴

Similar manuals for broad straddling postures existed at the time for other group of professionals, namely wrestlers,²⁵ and for dancers when they chose to adopt the specific

²¹ The same applied, even under different circumstances, for the Elizabethan fencing manuals written for the use of fencing on the stage. See George Silver, *Paradoxes of Defence* (London, 1599) [new edn by John Dover Wilson (London, 1933)]. Like their medieval predecessors, these Elizabethan fencing manuals were made out for groups of professionals, no longer professional fencers but actors fencing on the stage.

²² Diebold Schilling, the Elder, *Berner Chronik*, facsimile edn by Hans Bloesch and Paul Hilber, 4 vols (Bern, 1943-1945). And in Maximilian, *Der Weiß Kunig* (Vienna, 1775) [repr., edited by Christa-Maria Dreissiger (Weinheim, 1985)].

²³ For example, see the representation of a hellebardier by Jörg Breu the Elder on the occasion of the entry of Emperor Charles V to Augsburg. (Herzog-Anton-Ulrich Museum Brunswick). Printed in *Kaiser Karl V.*, edited by Petra Kruse (Bonn, 2000), p. 174. Cf. The Flemish tapestry on the battle of Pavia 1525 featuring the flight of civilians from the French camp and the dissolution of the Swiss infantry (1528-1531; Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples), printed in *ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁴ Albrecht Dürer, *Das druckgraphische Werk*, vol. 1: Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelbilder, edited by Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende and Anna Scheibam (Munich, London and New York, 2001), pp. 76-77.

²⁵ Fabian von Auerswald, *Ringer Kunst* (Wittenberg, 1539), edited by Karl Wassmannsdorff (Leipzig, 1869) [repr. of the original, edited by Günter Witt, Günther Wonneberger and Wolfgang Schade (Leipzig, 1987 and Weinheim, 1988)]. Karl Wassmannsdorff, *Die Ringkunst des deutschen Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1870). Hanns Wurm, *Hye in disem büchlin findt man die recht kunst vnd art des Ringens*. (s.l. et a.) Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inc. s.a.1142. Facsimile, edited by Helmut Minkowski, *Das Ringen im Grüblein* (Schorndorf, 1963), pp. 49-73. Further sources were partly edited by Karl Wassmannsdorff, *Das um das Jahr 1500 gedruckte erste deutsche Turnbuch* (Heidelberg, 1871). On the statues see David Ritter von Schöönherr, 'Geschichte des Grabmals Kaiser Maximilians I. und der Hofkirche zu Innsbruck', in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten*

standard of bodily behaviour mandatory for court festivals. The best known wrestling manual comes from the workshop of Albrecht Dürer and was completed in 1512.²⁶ The following picture shows two wrestlers in straddling positions. The wrestler on the right side grabs the left knee of the wrestler on the left side so as to throw him over to the back. The wrestler on the left side seeks to gain stability of his position by grabbing the neck of the wrestler on the right side. In this case, it is not the goal of the match to test the wrestlers' capability of resisting opposing thrusts. Instead both wrestlers are seeking to destabilise their positions and test their relative capability to resist these destabilising efforts. The common point of the straddling positions used in fifteenth-century pike fencing and in early sixteenth-century wrestling is that, in both types of martial arts, the practicing professionals seek to remain in an upright position as long as possible.

Fig. 2:

Albrecht Dürer, Wrestling Manual. 1512. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

Dancing manuals displaying similar postures are on record from the early fifteenth century.²⁷ Dancers also straddled their legs when they wanted to take a firm stand. More than warriors, wrestlers and fencers, dancers took care to keep the upper part of their bodies in an upright vertical position. They would stretch one foot, usually the right one, to the right, sometimes also doing the same with their left feet. Specifically, the Burgundian shoe fashion emphasised this habit, it even forced dancers to stretch their feet towards the right and left sides,

Kaiserhauses 11 (1890), pp. 140-268 [reprinted in Schönherr, *Gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Michael Mayr, vol. 1 (Innsbruck, 1900), pp. 149-364].

²⁶ Albrecht Dürer, *Hoplodidaskalia*. 1512, repr., edited by Friedrich Dörnhöffer, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 27 (1907/09), pp. XXVIII-LXXXI, 70 plates [partly printed in Wassmannsdorff, *Ringkunst* (note 25)].

²⁷ On dancing manuals and dancing styles see Wolfgang Brunner, 'Städtisches Tanzen und das Tanzhaus', in *Alltag im 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu Lebensformen in mitteleuropäischen Städten*, edited by Alfred Kohler and Heinrich Lutz (Vienna, 1987), pp. 45-65 (Wiener Beiträge zur Neueren Geschichte. 14.) Ingrid Brainard, *Die Choreographie der Hoftänze in Burgund, Frankreich und Italien im 15. Jahrhundert*, Ph.D. Diss., typescript (University of Göttingen, 1956). Brainard, 'Der Hofische Tanz. Darstellende Kunst und Höfische Repräsentation', in: *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, edited by August Buck (Hamburg, 1979), pp. 379-394. Brainard, 'The Role of the Dancing Master in 15th Century Courtly Society', in *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 2 (1979), pp. 21-44. Brainard, 'Der Höfische Tanz. Darstellende Kunst und Höfische Repräsentation', in *Europäische Hofkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. 2 (Hamburg, 1981), pp. 379-394. Brainard, *The Art of Courtly Dancing in the Early Renaissance* (West Newton, MA, 1981). Brainard, 'The Art of Courtly Dancing in Transition. Nürnberg, Germ. Nat. Mus. MS 8842, a Hitherto Unknown German Source', in *La danza italiana* 3 (1985), pp. 77-89. Rudolf Braun and David Guggerli, *Macht des Tanzes – Tanz der Mächtigen. Hoffeste und Herrschaftszeremoniell. 1550 – 1914* (Munich, 1993). Wolfgang Brunner, *Höfischer Tanz um 1500* (Berlin, 1983) (Tanzhistorische Studien. 3.) Gabriele Busch, *Ikongraphische Studien zum Solotanz im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, 1982) (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. 7.) Claudia Jeschke, *Tanzschriften. Ihre Geschichte und Methode* (Bad Reichenhall, 1983). Vera Jung, "'Wilde Tänze' – „Gelehrte Tanzkunst“. Wie man im 16. Jahrhundert versuchte, die Körper zu zähmen', in *Körper-Geschichten*, edited by Richard van Dülmen (Frankfurt, 1997), pp. 43-70. Jung, *Körperlust und Disziplin. Studien zur Fest- und Tanzkultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2001), pp. 292-336. Peter Großkreutz, 'Tanz und Politik am Renaissance- und Barockhof. Die höfische Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer Tänze', in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 71 (1989), pp. 55-70. Gabriele Klein, *FrauenKörperTanz* (Berlin, 1992). Saftien, *Ars* (note 16). Walter Salmen, ed., *Musik und Tanz zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Innsbruck, 1992) (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft. 15.) Salmen, *Der Tanzmeister* (Hildesheim, 1997) (Terpsichore. 1.) Salmen, *Tanz und Tanzen vom Mittelalter bis zur Renaissance* (Hildesheim, 1999) (Terpsichore. 3.)

as standing as well as moving would have been difficult without straddling.²⁸ Moderate straddling with an upright upper body was therefore part of etiquette. Nevertheless, there was a social divide between practitioners of martial arts and dancers in late medieval Europe. Whereas the martial arts were usually in cities, the dances recorded in dancing manuals were commonly performed in aristocratic courts. Contrary to the mostly bourgeois fencers and wrestlers, aristocratic dancers appear to want to use their physical energies to the end of controlling their bodily positions and movements. Dancing masters were employed as instructors for proper dancing and as choreographers for complex dancing events at the courts. Some of the dancing masters, like Antonio Cornazzano, had a career as military strategists before joining the world of the courts and composing dances as ritualised battle action. Thus Cornazzano devised a choreography for a dance called *scaramuccio*, the skirmish. The *scaramuccio* consisted of movements whereby the dancing couples would weave in and out along straight lines on the ground of a ballroom, as if they were performing a tournament.²⁹ In doing so they employed a standing position that rulers had used since Antiquity, as sculptures,³⁰ seals³¹ and book illuminations³² show. Thus, the upright and straight bodily bearing, combined with a moderate straddling position of the legs, was characteristic of the patterns of aristocratic behaviour, juxtaposed against the often unruly reasoning common among the farming population.³³

At the turn of the sixteenth century, Emperor Maximilian I began to transplant the particularistic professional standards of the bodily behaviour of wrestlers into the different context of aristocratic tournaments and practiced them himself. The tournaments had previously been instruments to train young aristocrats to acquire physical strength and moving skills to be applied in combat mainly on horseback and demonstrations of the same skills by experienced knights. Maximilian was broadening the array of postures and movements considered to be permissible in tournaments to include movements on foot and with short weapons like daggers or without any weapon.³⁴ Thus he enlarged the number of permitted movements in the tournaments beyond what had been permitted in the tournaments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At that time, it had been a matter of honour not to move to the right or left or bend forwards or backwards when engaged in a tournament race. However, Maximilian allowed twists and turns, bows and bents, thus promoting the concern for the flexibility of the body rather than abidance by a strict behavioural code. He had no scruples pulling the leg of his opponent thereby forcing

²⁸ On Burgundian court culture see Willem Peter Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1985). Blokman and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands. The Low Countries under Burgundian Rule. 1369 - 1530* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 103-173 [first published (Houten, 1988)].

²⁹ Antonio Cornazzano, 'Libro dell' arte del danzare' [1455], edited by C. Mazzi, in *Bibliofilia* 17 (1916), pp. 1-30 [English version s.t.: *The Book of the Art of Dancing* (London, 1981)]. Cornazzano, *Opera bellissima del arte militar* (Venice, 1493) [another version (Pesaro 1507)].

³⁰ Statue of Zeus or Poseidon of Cape Artemision, c. 460 BCE. Emperor Trajanus, shown in his entry to Benevent on the front side, right side, upper scene of the Triumphal Arch at Benevent, c. 114-120. Bronze statue of Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, c. 251 – 253, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Printed in Philippe Bruneau, Mario Torelli and Xavier Barral i Allet, *Skulptur. Antike. 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis 5. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Cologne, Lisbon, London, New York, Paris and Tokyo, 1996), pp. 62, 151, 158, 187.

³¹ Seal of Emperor Otto III, in *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation. Von Otto dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Katalog*, edited by Matthias Puhle and Claus-Peter Hasse Nr II/23 (Dresden, 2006), p. 74.

³² Coronation picture in the pontifical of Schaffhausen, middle or second half of the eleventh century, Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek, Min. 94, fol. 29r. Printed in *ibid.*, Nr III/23, p. 149.

³³ The habit of reasoning has been aptly described by Peter Blickle, *Landschaften im Alten Reich. Die Staatliche Funktion des gemeinen Mannes in Oberdeutschland* (Munich, 1973). Blickle, ed., *Aufbruch und Empörung? Studien zum bäuerlichen Widerstand im Alten Reich* (Munich, 1980). Blickle and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner, eds, *Theorien kommunaler Ordnung in Europa* (Munich, 1996) (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien. 30.) Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation and Community* (Oxford, 1997). Blickle, ed., *Gemeinde und Staat im Alten Europa* (Munich, 1998) (Historische Zeitschrift Beihefte 25.) Blickle, *Kommunalismus*, vol. 2 (Munich, 2000), pp. 132-153.

³⁴ Maximilian, *Freydal des Kaisers Maximilian I., Turniere und Mummerien*, edited by Quirin von Leitner, 3 vols (Vienna, 1880-1882) fols. 139, 159, 202. Maximilian, *Weißkunig* (note 22), pl. 33, 34.

him to fall over backwards in full armour causing tremendous noise. Maximilian also took great pride for receiving appreciation as a dancer of distinction.³⁵

Fig. 3:
Emperor Maximilian I fights a foot tournament. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Waffensammlung. Early sixteenth century.

At the same time, fencers were encouraged to practice a wider variety of guards and movements,³⁶ and so were warriors. Whereas the Swiss warrior bands of the fifteenth century had staged their battles by confronting their opponents in large battalions and moving straight ahead to clash with their opponents in frontal attacks, Maximilian trained his lansquenets to enact circlewise movements so as to be able to strike at their opponents from the side or even the back if necessary. Sixteenth-century fencers as well as Maximilian's lansquenets had to become capable of moving their bodies into many directions while they preserved the straddling position of their feet.³⁷ Many of Maximilian's lansquenets were of humble rural origins and continued to adhere to the practice of reasoning even when they were employed for battle.³⁸ Maximilian, who often succumbed to military defeat because of the unruly behaviour of his warriors, repeatedly chastised them,³⁹ yet nevertheless supported their novel fighting habits. In doing so Maximilian launched a lengthy process, which eventually, up until the eighteenth century, would entail the gradual acceptance of the aristocratic positions and movements beyond the world of the courts. Among the early indications for this process are Albrecht Altdorfer's sketches of standing lansquenets⁴⁰ and Dürer's depictions of farmers engaged in trade on urban markets.⁴¹ These

³⁵ On Maximilian as a dancer see Wolfgang Brunner, 'Geschlechtertanz im Augsburger Tanzhaus um 1500', in *Tanzen* 3 (1985), pp. 4-6. Walter Salmen, 'Das Freiburger „Tanzhus oder Kornhus“ und das Tanzen bei Reichstagen um 1500', in *Der Kaiser in seiner Stadt. Maximilian I. und der Reichstag zu Freiburg 1498* (Freiburg, 1998), pp. 186-197 (Schau-ins-Land. Zeitschrift des Breisgau-Geschichtsvereins. 117.) Gerrit Jasper Schenk, *Zeremoniell und Politik* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2003), p. 626 (Forschungen zur Kaiser- und Papstgeschichte. 21.)

³⁶ For example, see Pietro Monte [Petrus de Montis], *Exercitiorus. De singulari certamine siue dissensione* (Milan, 1509).

³⁷ Kleinschmidt, *Tyrocinium* (note 15), pp. 43-95. Kleinschmidt, 'Die Schneckenformation und die Entwicklung der Feuerwaffentaktik von Maximilian I bis zu Elisabeth I' in *Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes* 26 (1986), pp. 105-112.

³⁸ Dürer repeatedly represented reasoning warriors, for example in his drawing of three warriors of c. 1489 and his etching of six warriors of c. 1495/96. See *Dürer, Werk* (note 24), pp. 34-35.

³⁹ Maximilian, *Weiß Kunig*, lib. III, cap. 430: 'Wie ain andere weyße gesellschaft, ain ainem anderen ort ainen angriff teten, vnd durch Ir Verwarloßung geschlagen wurden' (note 22), p. 268.

⁴⁰ Printed in Matthias F. Müller, 'Die Zeichnungen der Historia Friderici et Maximiliani. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Zeichenstils Albrecht Altdorfers um 1515', Nr 21, in *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 51 (2004), p. 26.

artists represented farmers as they were politically active or engaged in battle. Up until the eighteenth century, standing with feet pointing towards the outside, straddled legs and an upright upper body remained as a signifier of group specific behaviour while it acquired an additional dimension in becoming the expression of moral decency. Dürer was thus consistent in displaying a fool on feet pointing to the inside even when he was wearing Burgundian shoe fashion.⁴²

A similar change took place in dancing at the same time. New dancing styles became popular in the courts demanding turns and even volts. It so seems that the volts were introduced from country dances into the world of the courts, as seemingly ecstatic dancing performances in cities and the open country has received much criticism already at the end of the fifteenth century.⁴³ Yet dancers continued to search for firmness so as to avoid unintended bumps and control their movements. The new standard of bodily behaviour is visualised dramatically in a broadsheet that came out from the workshop of Hendrik Goltzius in Amsterdam in 1587. Advertising the profession of a lansquenet warrior was the purpose of the broadsheet that may have been intended to serve as a recruitment poster. It was designed to represent the lansquenets as an attractive fighting force and, in doing so, displayed a captain marching forcefully from the right to the left across the picture. The captain bears his body in an upright straddling position. While the right leg with the foot is extended towards the ground before the captain the left leg, on which the weight of the captain's body rests, has its foot extended to the left. The captain is made to look to the left, that is, into the direction of the viewer of the picture.

Fig. 4:
Hendrik Goltzius, A Lansquenet Captain. 1587.

As the picture displays no combat scene, the captain appeared as a military leader in charge of maintaining order among his commissioned troops. That this is his charge becomes clear from the warrior band that is parading in the background of the picture, so to speak behind the captain's leg. The warriors perform a special type of military formation, called the formation of the snail. This formation was first recorded late in the fifteenth century as a characteristic feature of the lansquenets.⁴⁴ It was a didactical method of instructing the warriors in the principles of the movements that they were subsequently to perform in battle, even though the formation of the snail itself would not be performed on the battle field. It consisted of a circlewise movement of a single line of pikemen, drifting slowly to the outside while moving about in a circle. Upon command by the captain, the warriors would stop moving and charge their pikes all at the same time. Through the performance of the formation, the lansquenets displayed their willingness and readiness to maintain order and meticulously execute given commands.

⁴¹ Dürer, *Werk* (note 24), Nr 88, pp. 216-217.

⁴² Dürer, *Werk* (note 24), Nr 261/4, p. 95, Nr 266/6, p. 97. This is an illustration for Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*.

⁴³ Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff* [1494], no 61, edited by Friedrich Zarncke (Leipzig, 1854), pp. 60-61 [repr. (Hildesheim, 1961)]. For later explicit criticisms of irregular dances with excessive touching see Johann Boschenstain, *Wünscht allen Tanntzern und Tenzerin ain schnell umbwenden am Rayen*, second edn (Augsburg, 1537) [first published (Augsburg, 1533)]. Florian Daul, *Der Tanzteuffel* (Frankfurt, 1569), pp. 6-23 [reprint, edited by Kurt Petermann (Leipzig, 1978)]. Johann Münster, *Ein gotseliger Tractat von dem ungotseligen Tanz* (Frankfurt, 1594), p. 81.

⁴⁴ Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, s.a. 1488, edited by Jean-Alexandre Buchon, vol. 2 (Paris, 1828), pp. 207-208; critical edn by Georges Doutrepoint, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1935), pp. 587-588.

They also showed their capability to move orderly in a circle and change their positions by turning into various directions. Throughout the sixteenth century, the lansquenets retained their reputation for being a disciplined and well-ordered fighting force,⁴⁵ even if they could at times defy given orders and act with excessive brutality according to their own discretion,⁴⁶ and the formation of the snail accompanied them throughout the century and was copied elsewhere in Europe.⁴⁷ As the formation of the snail was not a combat formation, its impact on and correlation with bodily movements in battle was indirect and consisted in exercising the skills of individual warriors, which they were then expected to employ at their own discretion and responsibility in battle. The particularistic educational purpose of these drills is evident.

The same principle applied to the posture of the captain. He posed as a model warrior, dominating the scene in the picture with his massive body, the display of his determination to move forward forcefully and, simultaneously, his success in maintaining a firm position and controlling his body. The picture does not reveal any particularly aristocratic features in relation to the captain, who may therefore not have been viewed as a person of aristocratic descent. In fact, however, many lansquenet leaders were lesser aristocrats.⁴⁸ The arena for the rules that the lansquenets followed down to the end of the sixteenth century were thus limited to a group of professionals, even though they were drawn on older rules that had a distinctly aristocratic touch. Yet the rules remained particularistic even in their new social context. Disseminating rules among groups did not entail their universalisability.

At the end of the sixteenth century, a trend to increase the rigidity of rules for postures and movements emerged, simultaneously in regular warfare, the martial arts and dancing. The trend is well documented in a flurry of often printed manuals specifying or exemplifying these rules at a varying degree of detail.⁴⁹ As far as armies were concerned, the beginning of the enforcement of stricter and more detailed rules for postures and movements has often been connected with the emergence of regularised militia forces early in the seventeenth century, most conspicuously in the northern Netherlands and their Calvinist allies in the Holy Roman Empire.⁵⁰ Arguments in favour of this connection have been based on the observation that the

⁴⁵ Paolo Giovio, *Eine warhafftige Beschreybung aller namnhafftigen Geschichten*, German edn, vol. 1 (Basle, 1560), p. 152.

⁴⁶ Willibald Pirckheimer, *Bellum Suitense sive Helveticum* (Zurich, 1737), pp. 16-19.

⁴⁷ For example, see Thomas Audley, *A Treatise of Martiall Discipline*, Ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Rawlinson D 363.

⁴⁸ Fritz Redlich, *The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force* (Wiesbaden, 1964) (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte. Beiheft 47.)

⁴⁹ For bibliographical reference see Max Jähns, *Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften, vornehmlich in Deutschland*, esp. vol. 2 (Munich and Leipzig, 1890) (Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland. 21.) [repr. (Hildesheim and New York, 1966)]. Kleinschmidt, *Tyrocinium* (note 15), pp. 358-413. Henry Jameson Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science. The Books and the Practice* (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1965). Castle, *L'escrime* (note 17). Kurt Petermann, *Tanzbibliographie* (Leipzig, 1966).

⁵⁰ See Werner Hahlweg, *Die Heeresreform der Oranier und die Antike* (Berlin, 1941) (Schriften der Kriegsgeschichtlichen Abteilung im Historischen Seminar der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin, 31.) Hahlweg, 'Griechisches, römisches und byzantinisches Erbe in den hinterlassenen Schriften des Markgrafen Georg Friedrich von Baden', in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 98 (1950), pp. 38-114. Hahlweg, ed., *Die Heeresreform der Oranier. Das Kriegsbuch des Grafen Johann von Nassau-Siegen* (Wiesbaden, 1973) (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Nassau. 20.) Kleinschmidt, *Tyrocinium* (note 15), pp. 96-149. Kleinschmidt, "'Tragt die Spiess auff Englisch'. Quellen zu den Heeresreformen der Oranier mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Mannsexerzierens", in *Nassauische Annalen* 102 (1991), pp. 67-85. Kleinschmidt, 'Disziplinierung zum Kampf. Neue Forschungen zum Wandel militärischer Verhaltensweisen im 15., 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte* 131 (1995), pp. 173-200. Kleinschmidt, 'Mechanismus und Biologismus im Militärwesen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts. Bewegungen – Ordnungen – Wahrnehmungen', in *Die Kriegskunst im Lichte der Vernunft*, edited by Daniel Hohnrath and Klaus Gerteis (Hamburg, 1999), S. 51-73 (Aufklärung. Vol. 11, Nr 2.) Kleinschmidt, 'Using the Gun. Manual Drill and the Proliferation of Portable Firearms', in *Journal of Military History* 63 (1999), pp. 601-33. Bernhard R. Kroener, "'Das Schwungrad an der Staatsmaschine'?: Die Bedeutung der bewaffneten Macht in der europäischen Geschichte der Frühen Neuzeit", in *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Pröve (Paderborn, 1996), pp. 1-23. Rolf Naumann, *Das kursächsische Defensionswerk* (Leipzig, 1916) (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Universalgeschichte. 37.) Rainer Wohlfaß, 'Das Heerwesen im Übergang vom Ritter- zum Söldnerheer', in *Staatsverfassung und Heeresverfassung in der europäischen Geschichte der frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Johannes Kunisch (Berlin, 1986), pp. 107-127 (Historische Forschungen. 28.)

militia forces were drafted from the rural farming population and from the craftspeople in the towns and cities and had to be trained in the use of weapons and the meticulous execution of commands ‘without reasoning’. These arguments have been on the tactical observation that, for militia forces, the training in the use of weapons and the performance of movements in accordance with given commands was vital for success in battle, whereas professional fighting forces would acquire the necessary skills through experience. As part of the formation of militia forces military academies were established at Metz in 1610 and at Siegen in 1613 for the purpose of training military organisers and drill masters who would then be able to train the common militiamen.⁵¹ Some drill masters and even territorial rulers produced drill manuals demonstrating the political significance of this literary genre.⁵²

However, linking the quest for more rigid rules for postures and movements to the establishment of militia forces does not explain the full scope of the trend. First and foremost, with regard to the military, drilling became a standard aspect of the making of warriors in European armies during or soon after the Thirty Years’ War even where the armies were made up of professional warriors and not of militiamen. Hence, professional soldiers had to subject themselves to the same rigorous degree of regulation of their behaviour as the militiamen, at the latest from the middle of the seventeenth century. Second, the same trend to the introduction of meticulous rules for postures and movements can be traced in the martial arts, specifically in fencing, where manuals became frequent at the turn of the seventeenth century and the established profession of fencing masters rose in social status. Thus fencing masters were active in universities and trained play actors to perform fencing scenes on the stage.⁵³ Fencing was part of the curriculum of the military academies and institutions offering higher education for young aristocrats.⁵⁴ Third, stricter regulations for postures and movements for dancers appeared at the same time. Dancing masters began to produce bulky manuals regulating dancing behaviour comprehensively and defending against Puritans their activity as a kind of moral education provided to the young.⁵⁵

The behavioural codes for warriors, fencers and dancers resulted from an innovation of ethics that took place at the turn of the seventeenth century. The Dutch philologist and philosopher Julius Lipsius, well read in classical moral philosophy, for which he compiled critical editions, set out to devise an ethics that argued the moral duty of self-control and self-constraint. Lipsius encouraged persons to make their own efforts to control not only their emotions but also their postures and movements.⁵⁶ He also advised rulers to organise the military so as to allow warriors to exercise self-constraint.⁵⁷ He thus demanded that warriors should be placed

⁵¹ On the military academy at Siegen see Norbert Conrads, *Die Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit* (Göttingen, 1982) (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 21.) Karl Wolf, *Aufbau eines Volksheeres in den Gebieten der Wetterauer Grafenkorrespondenz zur Zeit der Grafen Johann des Ältern und Johann des Mittlern von Nassau-Dillenburg* (Wiesbaden, 1937). The curriculum for the military academy at Siegen is extant in Johann Jaobi von Wallhausen, *Programma scholae militaris* (s.l., 1616). For Metz see Louys de Montgomery, Sieur de Courbuson, *La milice françoise* (Paris, 1610) [further printing (Rouen, 1613); (Paris, 1617)].

⁵² Best known are the works by Johann Jakobi von Wallhausen, *Künstliche Picquen-Handlung* (Hanau, 1613). Wallhausen, *Alphabetum pro tyrone pedestri* (Frankfurt, 1615). Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß* (Oppenheim, 1615). Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Pferd* (Frankfurt, 1616) [repr. (Frankfurt, 1971)]. Wallhausen, *Manuale militare* (Frankfurt, 1616). *Ritterkunst* (Frankfurt, 1616) [repr. (Graz, 1969)]. Wallhausen, *Romanische Kriegskunst* (Frankfurt, 1616). Wallhausen, *Corpus militare* (Hanau, 1617). Wallhausen, *Camera militaris* (Frankfurt, 1621). Wallhausen, *Defensio patriae oder Landtrettung* (Frankfurt, 1621). Wallhausen was director of the military academy at Siegen from 1613 to 1618.

⁵³ Maedelbach, *Fechtkunst* (note 17). Silver, *Paradoxes* (note 21).

⁵⁴ Wallhausen, *Programma* (note 41). Conrads, *Ritterakademien* (note 51).

⁵⁵ For example, see Johann Pasch, *Beschreibung wahrer Tanz-Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1707) [repr., edited by Kurt Petermann (Leipzig, 1978) (Documenta choreologica. 16.)]. Gottfried Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1717) [repr., edited by Kurt Petermann (Leipzig, 1976) (Documenta choreologica. 32.)].

⁵⁶ Justus Lipsius, *Politicorum sive de doctrina civilis libri sex* (Leiden, 1589). Newly edited by Jan Waszink (Assen, 2004), p. 540.

⁵⁷ Justus Lipsius, *De constancia libri duo* (Antwerp, 1584) [English version, *Two Bookes of Constancie*, transl. by John Stradling (London, 1595), p. 98; new edn of the English version, edited by Rudolf Kirk and Clayton Morris Hall (New Brunswick, 1939)].

under the double control by themselves and their superior officers. Yet Lipsius also insisted that rulers of sovereign polities should be first and foremost in their efforts to control and constrain themselves because there was no legitimate institution that could impose control over sovereigns.⁵⁸ As other commanders serving under the Oranians, the Siegen drillmaster Johann Jakobi von Wallhausen implemented Lipsius' s theoretical proposals and included some rules for movements into his drill books for infantry and cavalry forces. Like the Dutch military leaders and his own sovereign, Earl Johann of Nassau-Siegen, Wallhausen distinguished between movements of individual warriors under arms and coordinated movements of warrior bands in rank and file. Like the authors of the Dutch drill manuals, Wallhausen went at great length to prescribe rules for postures and movements, joining summary verbal prescriptions of rules together with pictures for the illustration of detail.

Fig. 5:

Johann Jakobi von Wallhausen, Kriegskunst zu Fuß (Oppenheim, 1615).

Suffice it to add that similarly rigid principles of control and supervision together with the enforcement of detailed rules of conduct were characteristic of the organisation of Protestant churches, specifically of the Calvinist confession.⁵⁹ The accomplishment of well-ordered self-controlled and self-constrained behaviour was the paramount goal of the seventeenth-century educational reforms.

The reforms had their impact on daily behaviour, as the newly explicit rules could affect postures, specifically standing habits. The machine metaphor came in use for well-ordered armed forces seemingly operating in meticulous coordination and reducing the individual warrior to

Lipsius, *De militia Romana libri quinque* (Antwerp, 1595) [repr. of the edns of 1602 and 1605, edited by Wolfgang Weber (Hildesheim, 2002). Francesco Patrizi, *La militia Romana* (Ferrara, 1583).

⁵⁸ Lipsius, *Politics* (note 56), pp. 130-133.

⁵⁹ See Heinz Antholz, *Die politische Wirksamkeit des Johannes Althusius in Emden* (Aurich, 1955), pp. 69-98 (Abhandlungen und Vorträge zur Geschichte Ostfrieslands. 32.) Robert von Friedeburg, 'Sozialdisziplinierung in England. Soziale Beziehungen auf dem Lande zwischen Reformation und „Great Rebellion“. 1550 – 1642', in *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 17 (1990), pp. 385-418. Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation. Central Europe 1550 – 1750* (London, 1989). Heinz Schilling, 'Sündenzucht und frühneuzeitliche Sozialdisziplinierung. Die calvinistische presbyteriale Kirchenzucht in Emden vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert', in *Stände und Gesellschaft im alten Reich*, edited by Georg Schmidt (Stuttgart, 1989), pp. 265-302 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte. Beiheft 29.) Richard-Heinrich Schmidt: 'Pazifizierung des Dorfes. Struktur und Wandel von Nachbarschaftskonflikten vor Berner Sittengerichten 1570 – 1800', in *Kirchenzucht und Sozialdisziplinierung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, edited by Heinz Schilling (Berlin, 1994), pp. 91-128.

a small unit in a big and complex system.⁶⁰ Contrary to the late sixteenth-century images of lansquenets warriors, the drill manuals of the seventeenth century showed infantrymen with no display of physical strength and no willingness to move ahead swiftly. Instead, the new image of the warrior reflected the willingness and capability to minutely observe the order of postures and movements. Thus warriors were trained to place their feet less wide apart than the lansquenets of the sixteenth century, to keep their bodies always in an upright position even while executing the commanded movements, and to stand still and motionless on all other conditions with the right foot extended to the right asymmetrically at an angle different from that of the left. In most pictures warriors were shown with their left foot pointing straight ahead whereas the right foot would point to the right.⁶¹ Warriors were only permitted to straddle their legs in firing postures where the infantrymen had to keep a firm stand in order to cope with the backlash of their guns or withstand the thrust of opposing pikemen.

Arguably, many of the rules for postures and movements had practical purposes, among them the endeavour to avoid disorder, injuries or even death with the ranks of the same combat force. The firearms of the period were tricky instruments in need of great care, circumspection and cautious handling. Therefore, even unintended touches could have lethal consequences. Yet the range of these rules did not exhaust itself in these practical matters. This can be judged from the similarity of rules for the military on the one side and for fencers and dancers on the other. Since the end of the sixteenth century, fencing converted into a sporting match with ever more delicate weapons and rules that focused on touch-avoidance. In the context of fencing, the goal of touch-avoidance was totally disaggregated from the weapons technology and concerns for the avoidance of injuries or the loss of life. Instead, in fencing, touch-avoidance emerged as the centrepiece of a game. Likewise, dancing rules developed into an elaborate system of touch-avoidance. The medieval legacy of courtesy evolved into an aristocratic ethics that elevated the skills of avoiding unintended touches to the hallmark of decent behaviour.⁶² In the course of the seventeenth century, this aristocratic ethics began to be disseminated in urban ballrooms and stimulated the performance of thoroughly regulated dancing movements.⁶³ Just as fencing matches took place in indoor halls, well-ordered and elaborately choreographed dances were performed behind the walls of court ballrooms, and soldiers were drilled behind the walls of garrisons.

The parallelism of rules for military drill, fencing and dancing continued in the course of the eighteenth century, when postures and movements were enforced ever more rigidly and in greater detail. While dancers and fencers accepted these rules as part of their leisure activity, they needed to be imposed on common soldiers in the armies. Some soldiers tried to escape the rigidity of military drill and deserted.⁶⁴ Yet most of them, including some of whom had been forced into the armed forces accepted the drill as part of their daily routine and practiced it even when they were not commanded to do so.⁶⁵ As a consequence, the common men learned to take on the 'air' of soldiers, controlling their postures and movements, keeping their bodies

⁶⁰ Johannes Kunisch, 'Das Puppenwerk der stehenden Heere', in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 17 (1990), pp. 49-84 [reprinted in Kunisch, *Fürst – Gesellschaft – Krieg. Studien zur bellizistischen Disposition des absoluten Fürstentums* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1992), pp. 161-201]. On the notion of the system in the seventeenth century see Bartholomäus Keckermann, *Systema systematum* (Hanau, 1613).

⁶¹ Wallhausen, *Kriegskunst zu Fuß* (note 52), pp. 34-35, fig. 1-25.

⁶² Harald Kleinschmidt, *Perception and Action in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 57-92.

⁶³ Johann Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Theater, Feste und Feiern zur Zeit Maria Theresias. 1741 – 1776*, edited by Elisabeth Grossegger (Vienna, 1987), pp. 62-63, 156-157 (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-Hist. Kl. 476.)

⁶⁴ Michael Sikora, *Disziplin und Desertion* (Berlin, 1996) (Historische Forschungen. 57.) Sikora, 'Verzweigung oder „Leichtsinn“? Militärstand und Desertion im 18. Jahrhundert', in *Krieg und Frieden. Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Bernhard R. Kroener and Ralf Prove (Paderborn, 1996), pp. 237-264.

⁶⁵ Ulrich Bräker, *Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Ebentheuer des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg* [written in 1769, first published in the edition by Hans Heinrich Füllli (Zurich, 1789)], edited by Claudia Holliger-Wiesmann, Andreas Bürgi, Alfred Messerli and Heinz Graber (Munich, 2000), p. 443 (Bräker. Sämtliche Schriften. 4.) [also edited by Samuel Viellmy (Basle, 1945) (Bräker. Leben und Schriften. 1.)]

in a straight vertical line and constraining their actions. While the firearms became lighter, easier to handle and less dangerous for their bearers, most of the seventeenth-century rules for the handling of the gun continued to be enforced, with two exceptions: First, the introduction of the flintlock reduced the number of loading movements, shortening the interval between two successive volleys and enhancing the speed of the loading procedure. Second, rulers and their commissioned officers increased the number and precision of commands for postures without weapons. Thus eighteenth-century drill manuals habitually contained explicit command for standing without the gun. In detail, soldiers were instructed to straddle their legs slightly, pointing their feet into opposite directions and follow this habit in all other standing postures when handling the gun. Soldiers became recognisable not merely through their uniforms but also through their habits of standing and marching. As long as they were garrisoned they ceased to be farmers under the authority of local aristocrats and, instead, converted into the ruler's men.⁶⁶ The buckling postures characteristic of the farming population gave way to upright bodily bearings, and the traditional habit of farmers to 'reason' about their conditions of life was replaced by the unequivocal willingness to execute given commands quickly and straightforwardly. Along similar lines, manuals for fencing and dancing regulated postures and movements more minutely. Thus the minuet, the most popular eighteenth-century ballroom dance, bore the motion of well-orderedness even in its name.⁶⁷

Fig. 6:

Rezanov's men in Japan. Tokyo: University of Tokyo, Historiographical Office. End of the eighteenth century.

Rules for fencing and dancing found application among the court aristocracy and the upper echelons of the inhabitants of towns and cities. But they were applied only on specific occasions and in specific locations and thereby constituted a distinct patterns of behaviour far removed from everyday life. While dissatisfaction continued with the discrimination by which the farming population and the lower ranks of the urban population were affected,⁶⁸ there is no evidence that the distinctiveness of these social groups, their educational principles and standards of appropriate behaviour raised any popular concern during then first two thirds

⁶⁶ Hans Bleckwenn, 'Bauernfreiheit durch Wehrpflicht – ein neues Bild der altpreußischen Armee', in *Die Bewaffnung und Ausrüstung der Armee Friedrichs des Großen* (Rastatt, 1986), pp. 1-14 [also in *Friedrich der Große und das Militärwesen seiner Zeit* (Herford and Bonn, 1987), pp. 55-72 (Vorträge zur Militärgeschichte. 8.)].

⁶⁷ *Reglement für die Königlich Preußische Infanterie* (Berlin, 1743), § II/2,7 [repr. (Osnabrück, 1976)]. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, s. v. Zierlichkeit.

⁶⁸ See Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit* (Göttingen, 1994) (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft. 103.) Andreas Würzler, *Unruhen und Öffentlichkeit. Städtische und ländliche Protestbewegungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1995) (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen. 1.)

of the eighteenth century, even though switching membership was innately difficult. However, from the 1770s, an increasing number of signs appeared signalling protest against the lack of penetrability of the social order separating the groups. One of the earliest indications to this effect was the readiness of young and aspiring members of urban elites to practice in their pastimes what then appeared as disordered and unruly countryside dance in lieu of the stiffly ritualised minuet. The quickly rising popularity of this dance, the waltz, became indicative of the deeper and more widely ranging contempt for the conventions of well-ordered behaviour that Johann Wolfgang von Goethe made explicit in his early writings.⁶⁹ The reform movement soon turned political demanding the waving of traditional privileges that had defined a specific rank as an inalterable property acquired by birth. The movement sought to establish merit and achievement as the sole criteria for the legitimisation of wealth and power. This political wing promoted the formation of the 'nation' as a comprehensive type of group that could overarch the various segregated social groups defined by access to traditional privileges.⁷⁰ Military reformers demanded that the rigid rules for military drill should be replaced by measures apt to train soldiers for battle. Moreover, armies were to be transformed from specialised units, doing their peacetime work behind the walls of barracks and serving far away out in the field during war. The new demand was, in a nutshell, that soldiers should be citizens in uniform. Through the French Revolution of 1789 the movement succeeded in enforcing the principle that there could only be one single institution setting rules legitimately that were valid and enforceable upon the nation at large. The nation was conceived as a group of armed citizens, and the French draft constitution of 1793 requested that every male citizen (as a national) should serve in the armed forces and practice military drill.⁷¹

Whilst the constitution of 1793 was not enforced and remained without successor in France or elsewhere, the French Revolution gave stimulus to the promotion of the demand that rules governing bodily behaviour should be valid throughout the entire nation and not specific to educational principles and segregated groups. Accordingly, the gymnastics movement that became popular at the turn of the nineteenth century, took over some of the rules of military drill, most notably the principle that sportspeople should stand with their bodies kept in a straight vertical line and with their feet straddled slightly pointing to the left and right sides. In the German-speaking area the gymnastics movement had a distinct political touch as the then usually male sportspeople were expected to promote the establishment of a nation-state in Germany through the creation of a nation of similarly minded and uniformly moving people. Ideologues of the gymnastics movement insisted that sports should be performed outdoors in the open nature, visibly for everyone.⁷² Likewise, military drill performances began to be held in central squares of towns and cities outside the garrisons, so that the citizens-in-uniform could be watched while at work. Thus military rules for postures and movements were redefined as universal principles, valid for the nation as a whole. Lastly, dancers of the waltz joined in and adopted the straight and vertical line as the principle informing their standing habit and, whenever possible, placed their feet with the toes pointing neatly to the right and the left, even though they continued to perform their dances behind the walls of ballrooms which became dancing houses for everyone. Indeed, the waltz differed from the minuet with regards to movement style but it followed the general trend towards the general acceptance of the

⁶⁹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Die Leiden des jungen Werther*, Erstes Buch, 16. Juni 1771, in *Goethes Werke*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt, 1965), p. 23.

⁷⁰ David Dundas, *Principles of Military Movements* (London, 1788), p. 41 [another edn (London, 1795)]. On the emergence of nationalism as a political ideology see K. J. Brehony and M. Rassool, *Nationalisms Old and New* (Basingstoke, 1999). *Nationalismus in vorindustrieller Zeit*, edited by Otto Dann (Munich, 1988). *Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution*, edited by Otto Dann and John Dinwiddy (London, 1988). *Modern Roots. Studies of National Identity*, edited by Alain Dieckhoff and Natividad Gutiérrez (Aldershot, 2001). *Nationale und kulturelle Identität*, edited by Bernhard Giesen (Frankfurt, 1991). Eric John Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁷¹ *Les constitutions de la France*, edited by Jacques Léon Godechot (Paris, 1970), p. 90.

⁷² Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend*, 2nd edn (Schnepfental, 1804) [repr., edited by H. Groll (Frankfurt, 1970) (Studentexte zur Leibesübung. 7.)] Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and Ernst Eiselen, *Die deutsche Turnkunst* (Berlin, 1816) [repr., edited by Herbert Wiesner (Munich, 1979) (Kultur-Kuriosa. 16.)].

aristocratic standing habit and converted the ballroom into the place par excellence where the persons present were obliged to adopt appropriately patterned bodily behaviour. But the minuet continued to inform the rules for stage dance underlying theatre performances throughout the nineteenth century. No change occurred with regard to fencing that declined to an exotic pastime. The social and political history of the nineteenth century is the history of attempts to implement this male-dominated conception in the organisation of states and societies in Europe.

IV. Cross-cultural Dissemination of European Standing Habits in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The redefinition of standing habits and other patterns of bodily behaviour from particularistic to universalistic rules or from hallmarks of segregated groups or types of group to features characterising nations as a whole had a number of serious consequences. The first and foremost and most immediate of these consequences was that, if and where bodily behaviour ranked as a feature of national identity, individuals could be expected to ‘feel’ their nationality in or through their own bodies. Nationality could thus be regarded as impacting on the physique of the human body. The preservation of the nation and the care for the physical health of the body could be considered as part of the same activity. Indeed, a medical language began to creep into European political discourses in the course of the nineteenth century, with concerns for the ‘health’ of the nation beginning to loom large.⁷³ Vice versa, the maintenance of public health ceased to be an exclusively medical issue and developed into a political goal.⁷⁴

Secondly, the proliferation of such biologicistic creeds underlying policies and ideologies of nationalism stimulated the desire to juxtapose seemingly specific national patterns of bodily behaviour against what appeared to be different, if not incompatible patterns of bodily behaviour elsewhere in the world. Biologism thus quickly converted into racism.⁷⁵ Already in the 1830s, apparent differences in patterns of bodily behaviour were used to mark the boundary between insiders and outsiders not only with regard to the one or the other nation in Europe but more widely separating Europe as a whole against the rest of the world. Thus the renowned British liberal free trader Richard Cobden, who had a record of successful campaigning for global free trade regulations used the language of biologism and the rhetoric of racism to position the peoples under Ottoman Turkish rule as different from Europeans, seemingly by nature:

‘Turkey cannot enter into the political system of Europe; for the Turks are not Europeans. During the nearly four centuries that that people have been encamped upon the finest soil of the Continent, so far from becoming one of the families of Christendom, they have not adopted one European custom. Their habits are still oriental, as when they first crossed the Bosphorus. They scrupulously exclude their females from the society of the other sex; they wear the Asiatic dress; sit across-legged, or loll upon couches, using neither chair nor bed; they shave their heads, retaining their beards; and they used their fingers still, in the place of those civilized substitutes; knives and forks.’⁷⁶

⁷³ Ernst Moritz Arndt, ‘Germanien und Europa [1803]’, edited by Ernst Anrich, *Germanien und Europa* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1940), pp. 138, 196, 259 (Kulturpolitische Schriftenreihe. 1.) Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Reden an die Deutsche Nation* [1807/08], edited by Immanuel Hermann Fichte (Berlin, 1846), pp. 264-279 [reprint (Berlin and New York, 1971)]. Similarly Carl Friedrich von Gerber, ‘Der organische Völkerstaat’, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Staatsrecht und deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte* 1 (1865), p. 9.

⁷⁴ On the history of public hygiene as an element of politics see *Das deutsche Hygiene Museum Dresden. 1911 – 1990*, edited by Klaus Vogel (Dresden, 2003).

⁷⁵ See Harald Kleinschmidt, *People on the Move* (Westport, CT, and London, 2003).

⁷⁶ Richard Cobden, ‘The Balance of Power’, in Cobden, *Works*, vol. 1 (London, 1864), p. 268.

Concoctions of racism fomented orientalist myths⁷⁷ at the very time when expansionist European governments, such as the British, the French, the Austria-Hungarian and the Russian, sought to extend the reach of their control across the Balkans to the Bosphorus and, if possible, beyond. In the European mind, the ideologies of a free-market economy could merely thrive where European standards of bodily behaviour were acknowledged as acceptable educational principles.

The third consequence was more lasting. The acceptance of certain patterns of bodily behaviour as a universalistic standard proffered a sense of obligation not only to display and practice these patterns wherever European would travel elsewhere in the world but it also fed the demand that these patterns should be imposed worldwide as apparent 'standards of civilisation'. As European governments began to take the lead in colonial expansion in the second half of the nineteenth century they combined military conquest and religious conversion with the imposition of patterns of bodily behaviour. Thus military men, missionaries, colonial administrators and teachers worked hand in hand to the end of enforcing British, French, German and Russian patterns of bodily behaviour over whatever population group was subjected to their suppression. The habit of standing upright in a straddling position with the toes pointing to the left and the right was the case in point. In Africa, Askaris and other locally recruited armed forces were drilled according to the European fashion and soon adopted the habit of standing like soldiers in European armies.

In Japan, a Prussian drillmaster was allowed to suggest some reforms of the armed forces and introduced Prussian military drill.⁷⁸ Although similar postures had been customary in the Japanese military, the rigidity and uniformity of the application of the German military standing habit was a result of the partial acculturation that Japan engaged upon during the Meiji Period.

V. The Globalisation of a Standing Habit

In a paper first published in English in 1998, Henning Eichberg has argued that the preference for open-air performances of sports like gymnastics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries served as an experience of the political will to construct a collective identity on universalistic principles.⁷⁹ During this period political intentions boosted ideologies of nationalism drawn on the political instrumentalisation of patterns of bodily behaviour. In view of the sources that have been discussed in this paper Eichberg's theory can be confirmed and extended in its reach to cover dancing and military drill as well. The adoption by residents of towns and cities of aristocratic dancing style from the earlier eighteenth century and the subsequent introduction of countryside dances into urban communities helped nationalise the patterns of bodily behaviour that had previously been segregated socially and territorially. From the turn of the nineteenth century, politically active intellectuals and political organisers insisted that national identity should be the only feasible and politically significant collective identity, which they defined not merely in terms of legal and moral norms and political values but also in terms of patterns of bodily behaviour. Likewise, the acceptance of mandatory military service by the residents in towns and cities in many states during and after the French Revolution of 1789 prepared the grounds for the militarisation of the several emerging national collective identities and the conceptualisation of politically

⁷⁷ For the term see Edward Said, *Orientalism*, revised edn (New York, 1994) [first published (1978)]. On the reception of the Orientalist paradigm in China see Eun-Jeung Lee, "Anti-Europa". *Die Geschichte der Rezeption des Konfuzianismus und der konfuzianischen Gesellschaft seit der frühen Aufklärung* (Munster and Hamburg, 2003), pp. 397-402, 546-561 (Politica et Ars. 6.)

⁷⁸ Georg Kerst, *Jakob Meckel. Sein Leben, sein Wirken in Deutschland und Japan* (Göttingen, Frankfurt and Zurich, 1970).

⁷⁹ Henning Eichberg, "The Enclosure of the Body. The Historical Relativity of "Health", "Nature" and the Environment of Sport", in Eichberg, *Body Cultures. Essays on Sport, Space and Identity*, edited by John Bale and Chris Philo (London and New York, 1998), pp. 47-67 [reissue (ibid., 2000)].

active and legitimately acting groups as nations-in-arms.⁸⁰ Once this concept became acceptable Europe-wide early in the nineteenth century, the standards of bodily behaviour characteristic of the military converted into patterns of bodily behaviour valid for the nation at large. This was the process through which particularistic patterns of bodily behaviour, acceptable within segregated groups of types of group evolved into universalistically applied national patterns.

These patterns differed across the nations in Europe but displayed some common rules as well. One of these common rules was the demand that a properly behaving person should stand in an upright position, keeping the body in a straight vertical line and straddling the feet with the left toe pointing slightly to the left and the right toe pointing slightly to the right. This pattern was imposed upon population groups beyond the confines of Europe through colonial suppression in the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. Globalisation at the turn of the twentieth century thus became traceable in bodily behaviour.

The results of the globalisation of standards of bodily behaviour can easily be detected in standing postures at present. For one, the official ‘family photo’ of the Evian G8 Summit of 2 June 2003 presented eight heads of state of government together with the President of the European Commission.

Fig. 7:

Evian Summit ‘Family Photo’ , 2 June 2003

Of the nine males who gathered together for the photograph, one, President Putin, has his right shoulder hanging downwards, whereas another, President Chirac, the host, had his left shoulder hanging down. As a consequence, their bodies deviated from the straight vertical line by leaning to the right and the left. The other seven males posed with perfectly upright bodies kept in a straight vertical line. The picture is less homogeneous with regard to the position of the feet. Five males, President Prodi of the European Commission, Prime Minister Koizumi, Federal Chancellor Schröder, Prime Minister Chrétien and Prime Minister Berlusconi, placed their feet in accordance with the prescriptions of European military drill, whereas the four remaining males, President Putin, President Chirac, President Bush and Prime Minister Blair, allowed their toes to point straight ahead. The picture gives a mixed message and thus may induce political iconologists to ponder the question whether the glass is half full or half empty. Globalisation, far from complete, does nevertheless impact on bodily behaviour in various parts of the world.

It would be difficult to argue that patterns of bodily behaviour can be globalised through trans- or international political decision-making. Hence the only logic capable of explaining the physical dimension of globalisation is to be sought for in the long-term effects of physical and moral education.

⁸⁰ Carl von Clausewitz, *Vom Kriege*, Part I, Book 3, chapter 17 (Frankfurt and Berlin, 1980), p. 198.