

Ornament and Identity: Forming a Tradition on the Example of the Folk Costume *Hrvatica*

- The text shows the way of creating and shaping identity in the area of Hrvatska Posavina and Dubrovčak Lijevi and Topolje on the example of the folk costume *Hrvatica*. This type of formal women's folk costume for girls and younger women was formed in the second half of the 19th century. Between the two world wars, it came out of everyday use and, under the influence of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity), continued to exist as a representative costume for national, regional and church occasions. Around the Second World War, it began to be decorated with a motif, which was taken from the cover of the women's magazine "Hrvatica" from 1940, as well as the name. Although the motif was transferred from Brezovica folk costume, where its current name or the role, apart from an aesthetic one, was not recorded. By recontextualization into folk costume from Posavina, it gains identity meaning which was associated with current socio-political context over time. The attitude towards the folk costume *Hrvatica* in Hrvatska Posavina and Dubrovčak Lijevi and Topolje is very emotional and associated with a strong sense of identity.

Keywords: folk costume *Hrvatica*, Peasant Unity (*Seljačka sloga*), magazine "Hrvatica", ornament, identity

HRVATICA AND INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

At the invitation of MSc Zoran Čiča, senior expert advisor in the Conservation Department for the Protection of Ethnological Heritage of the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, I went to Dubrovčak Lijevi in the spring of 2021 to get acquainted with the national folk costume called *Hrvatica* and help in

its valorization in order to compile a proposal for the inclusion of this folk costume in the Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia. The request for help was sent by Marko Klak,¹ technician at the Ivanić Grad Museum, and at the same time secretary, leader and choreographer of the Cultural and Artistic Society “Posavec” Dubrovčak Lijevo-Topolje. His wish was to protect the motif / pattern after which the folk costume is named. According to the explanation, the costume was named *Hrvatica* because of the ornament motif, which is reminiscent of the Croatian coat of arms.

According to the established ethnological characteristics of Posavina folk costume (Gušić 1955; Radauš-Ribarić 1975), *Hrvatica* is a type of formal women's folk costume for girls and young women from the end of the 19th century. It consists of several basic parts: skirt *rubača*, apron (*zaslen*, *zastor*, *fertun*), shirt (*joplečje*, *opleče*) and underskirt *podrubaček*. The cloth for making the costume on the loom *razboj* is woven with linen thread, while the geometric decoration with a rhombus and triangle motif is made by the weaving technique of *prebor* (so called inverted *prebor*) or picking out patterning technique with needle using red cotton thread. A vest (*lajbek*) is worn over the shirt, and red ribbons (*pantleki*) around the waist and on the chest. *Sekanci* (a type of mother of pearl jewelry) and red corals fit the costume around the neck. Married women in that area covered their heads with a kerchief called *halbica* or *albica*.² (Facebook page of the folklore society “Posavec” from Dubrovčak Lijevo). Judging by the photos of Cultural and Artistic Society “Posavec”, today *Hrvatica* is the folk costume in which its members appear during most performances, and according to Marko Klak, the most popular among other folk costumes worn over time for different occasions in that part of Croatia (Fig. 1). From the name Cultural and Artistic Society “Posavec” it is obvious that it represents belonging to that regional identity.³

In the conversation, Marko Klak mentioned that there are older and, perhaps, more beautiful folk costumes, but that he considers *Hrvatica* worthy of protection because of the name for the ornament motif, which in his opinion best emphasizes the identity of the community. In addition, to his knowledge, this folk costume appears only in the area of the parish of Martinska Ves, which geographically belongs to Sisak's Gornja Posavina. According to photos from the family album of Janica Vuga, b. Šubek and Milka Klak b. Mladenović, dressed in *Hrvatica*, he concluded that the folk costume under that name was known in the 1940s. (Fig. 2, Fig. 2a).

After the First World War, there were sudden changes in the way of dressing in rural communities. At that time, industrial production materials were already being used to make clothes. Men abandoned their folk costumes as early as the beginning of the 20th century. The appearance of an older type of folk costume in this area in the time

1 I thank Marko Klak for his cooperation and help in making this research possible. Special thanks for the photos provided.

2 This kerchief was used to cover women heads in the villages around Dubrovčak Lijevo, Posavski Bregi, Oborovo and in Moslavina around Kloštar Ivanić. Local differences were visible in the way the kerchief was decorated and the bow tied. Posavina is characterized by a kerchief called *poculica*.

3 Administratively, Dubrovčak Lijevo is part of Ivanić Grad, which belongs to Zagreb County.

before the Second World War immediately suggested a connection with the efforts of Seljačka sloga (Peasant Unity) to use this type of clothing for folklore performances. While the way of making and the form of this folk costume was in accordance with the known patterns of dressing at the turn of the 19th and 20th century, the motif and the name *Hrvatica* had to be further explored.

Cultural and Artistic Society “Posavec” has a very valuable and large collection of women's folk costumes dating from the late 19th century to the present day, however, it was found that the motif *Hrvatica* does not appear on older material, which of course does not mean that it was not used, but that it is not preserved on the collected material. It is a known fact, which is confirmed by the material from field research stored in the Ethnographic Museum's documentation, that the folk costume at the time of everyday use, was named after the technique of making ornaments or materials with which the ornament was made. It could be assumed that the costume with this decorative motif in earlier times was simply known by the name for the weaving technique - *prebirana* or the type of material used for ornament - *pisanina*. That is why it was important to determine when the name *Hrvatica* was used and why.

A partial answer to this question was quickly imposed when Marko Klak showed us the magazine “Hrvatica”, on the cover of which was exactly that pattern. We immediately agreed that the name of the ornament was probably taken from the name of the magazine. “Hrvatica: magazine for woman and home” was published in Zagreb from 1939 to 1941 (Fig. 3). It was initiated and edited by the first Croatian professional journalist - Marija Jurić Zagorka. Unfortunately, in the magazine, we could not find where the motif taken for the cover came from, so that opened additional questions. Does the pattern originate from Posavina at all, and if not Posavina, whose could it be? My research went in that direction.

After the first visit to Dubrovčak Lijevi and consultation with some members of the Commission for Intangible Cultural Heritage, we received the opinion that the pattern / motif / ornament cannot be protected and that the technique of making *Hrvatica* is not so special as to be individually protected. Submitting an application form for the protection of weaving skills in the wider area of Posavina and Moslavina was proposed, so that all holders are listed, i.e. all persons who are still engaged in weaving.⁴ It was

4 UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage as follows: “Intangible cultural heritage is: Traditional, contemporary and liveli: intangible cultural heritage represents not only the traditions of the past but also contemporary rural and urban practices in which different cultural groups participate. Inclusive: we can share practices of intangible cultural heritage that are similar to those practiced by others. Whether they are representations of intangible cultural heritage from a neighboring village, from a city on the opposite side of the world, or adopted by people who migrated and settled in another region, they are all expressions of intangible cultural heritage; passed down from one generation to another, have evolved under the influence of their environment and contribute to our sense of identity and continuity, giving us a link that connects our past, present and future. Intangible cultural heritage does not question whether or not certain practices are specific to a culture. It contributes to social cohesion, fostering a sense of identity and responsibility that helps individuals feel part of one or more communities as well as society as a whole. Representative: Intangible cultural heritage is not only valuable as a cultural good, compared to others, because of its exclusivity and exceptional value. It is maintained on its basis in communities and depends on those whose knowledge of traditions, skills and customs is passed on to others in it, from generation to generation, or to other communities. Rooted in the community: intangible cultural heritage can only be heritage if it is recognized as such by communities, groups or individuals who create, maintain and transmit it- without

also suggested that the collection should be listed and a request for a decision on its protection be submitted. Although the original plan failed, I was still interested in where the pattern from *Hrvatica* folk costume came from?

HRVATICA IN ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCES

I first heard about *Hrvatica* folk costume during a field research in the villages of Martinska Ves parish in the late 1980s, when I was collecting clothing data in that area for the purpose of writing a master's thesis entitled "Functions of the Croatian Posavina folk costume". On that occasion, I wrote: "Folk costume decorated with geometric motifs in the shape of triangles, which are placed so as to enclose square spaces, was named *Hrvatica*. I have never come across this information in earlier material. Perhaps the name *Hrvatica* was used for this motif before, because in the opinion of the narrator it resembles a chessboard, but in 1971 this decoration was especially popular and prominent" (Brenko 1996: 81).

To research the way of dressing and decorating, I had chosen the parish of Martinska Ves for several reasons that proved to be significant for this research as well, so I will highlight them. One of them is certainly that this area is part of a wider Pannonian area whose ethnographic characteristics I explore while working as a textile curator of central Croatia at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, which allows me a comparative insight into this type of material.

Secondly, Kata Jajnčerova (1876 – 1953) wrote a monograph on Trebarjevo on the instructions of her brother Antun Radić. One part of her manuscript was published in the "Journal for Folk Life and Customs of South Slavs", Vol. III and IV, and the rest is stored in the archives of the Ethnological Institute of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.⁵ This valuable material from the turn of the century provides data for monitoring the continuity, discontinuity and changes in the folk costume functions of the area.

Towards the end of the 19th century, the folk costume became a national symbol. Thanks to his interest in folk art objects, Salamon Berger (1858 – 1924), collector, merchant, industrialist and first director of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, launched a project for making fabrics with traditional weaving techniques within the home industry, especially in Hrvatska Posavina. This activity extended the duration of this folk skill at a time when the traditional way of making fabric began to be abandoned.

The Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was founded in 1919. From the very beginning, the folk costume has been the subject of numerous researches and collection actions carried out by various museum experts, so that in the holdings and Ethnographic

their recognition no one else can decide for them whether a particular cultural expression or practice is their heritage". See: <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

5 "Journal for Folk Life and Customs of South Slavs" has been published regularly since 1896, and Antun Radić became its editor in 1897 and published "The Basis for Collecting and Studying Materials on Folk Life".

Museum Zagreb's documentation there are relevant contributions related to the topic, which can help shed light on issues related to *Hrvatica*.

Another moment from recent history has played an important role in reviving the already almost extinct weaving skill and closely related to it, the creation of identity. On the occasion of the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stjepan Radić in 1971 in Trebarjevo and the surrounding villages, the production of folk costumes was renewed. On that occasion, 85 sets were made, including *Hrvatica* folk costumes.

In addition, a folklore society, a branch of Seljačka sloga (Peasant Unity), was founded in Trebarjevo in 1921. Through the work of the society, an image of the uniqueness of the cultural identity of the area was created and shaped. Since 1986, in the village of Martinska Ves, there is a folklore society that is a guest and performs at numerous festivals in the country and the world, and for whose needs folk costumes are also made. Cultural and Artistic Society "Posavec" Topolje was founded in 1972⁶ and today has a very valuable collection of folk costumes of its region.

My own field research helped me to further monitor changes in the functions of this folk costume, especially those related to folklore performances and representation. We can also assume that the transformations of dressing recorded in the villages of the parish of Martinska Ves also took place in the area of Dubrovčak Lijevi and Topolje. There were probably local peculiarities, but these are tendencies.

Traditionally made textiles and clothing in Posavina have different meanings that vary according to the occasions in which they were used in the past and how they are used today. Modern production and use of such textiles is closely linked to national values, it reveals political and religious beliefs, social class, as well as ethnic and cultural affiliation. Throughout Croatian history, folk costumes have often been instrumentalized for political purposes, especially through the activities of Seljačka sloga (Peasant Unity), which was directed by the Croatian Peasant Party (Sremac 1987; Brenko 1994; Bonifačić 1995/1996: 161-179; Leček and Petrović Leš 2010), but similar phenomena were recorded during the socialist period, and are still present today. The art of weaving is strongly associated with traditional culture, so the clothing made in this way expresses the continuity between the past and the present and has a prominent role in creating a contemporary national identity.

One of the most significant external features of belonging, as well as the expression of the unity and togetherness of a community or social class, is certainly clothing that has fixed shapes and ways of wearing. Folk costume is an appropriate social symbol that emphasizes the uniqueness of one community to others and, at the same time, indicates the characteristics of that community. Clothing cannot be understood outside the context of the overall structure of life, because its specific forms arise within social and economic circumstances as well as in relation to aesthetic, moral, national and religious understandings (Bogatyrev 1971: 94), and thus clothing becomes one of

6 First, a youth folklore section operated in the village, which was registered in 1972 as cultural art society "Posavec" Topolje, and later the Cultural Art Society "Posavec" Dubrovčak Lijevi - Topolje, since these are two neighboring villages. <http://selo.hr/kud-posavec/> (visited on 17th September 2021).

the possible intermediaries through which the community expresses its value system. Clothing, as a communication phenomenon, reflects some of the fundamental principles on which the community in question rests.

Cultural phenomena contain two different properties, expressive and instrumental. Determining the expressive level of a cultural phenomenon allows us to discover its function as well. For example, clothing made of a certain material and decorated with a certain technique can tell us about the economic opportunities of the owner and have the function of marking belonging to a particular social class, thus visibly confirming and maintaining the social differentiation of the community. Therefore, in expressiveness itself, its functionality is also contained (Prošić-Dvornić 2010: 261). The meaning and function of individual elements of clothing change over time and have different meanings for individual social classes (Brenko 1996: 78-83; Bušić 2016: 116-120).

In my search for the origin of *Hrvatica* folk costume, I once again reviewed the relevant data at my disposal. In the monograph on Trebarjevo, written by Kata Jajnčerova at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there is no mention of *Hrvatica*, and it is not even in the published photographs in the Collection of Folk Life and Customs of the South Slavs. The Monograph mentions the basic parts of women's folk costumes: *jopleče*, *rubača*, *podoblaček*, *švabica* and *zaslen*, as well as the techniques of decoration and materials *prebirano* and *pisano*. So, exactly as the parts of *Hrvatica* are listed in the description on the website of Cultural and Artistic Society Posavec.

The difference between everyday and formal clothes in the parish of Martinska Ves from the end of the 19th century in the form itself does not really exist. Worn-out formal clothing is later worn daily. Differences exist with respect to age, social and property status, weather conditions, and occasion. Sometimes the difference in material indicates the festive character of the clothing. Formal clothing is a slightly better variant of everyday one, and the festive character is given to it by additional elements such as jewelry, footwear, etc. Here we will not go into a deeper analysis of the clothing mentioned in the Monograph. For research, it is important to establish that woven clothing, decorated with a red thread worn by girls and young women, was in everyday use in the late 19th century (Fig. 4).

“During work days young women wear everyday clothes. Young women that belong to higher and richer social class, and are hardworking will decorate such clothes better using *prebor* technique so they wear clothes decorated with red cotton thread on working days as well.” (Jajnčerova 1898: 131)

“On Sundays when they attend mass they wear a simple skirt or skirt decorated with red cotton thread, apron with woolen ornament; some do not wear head kerchief, others do and assemble it with coral necklace (the woman who does not have the necklace, she borrows it). Young women who are about to get married do not attend the mass without the necklace.” (Ibid.: 135).

Ivan Cvetković-Cevak and Ivan Radić-Tomin tried to write a continuation of the monograph on Trebarjevo, following the example of Kata Jajnčerova. Their records were published in the 1995 book “Radićevo Trebarjevo, history / life/ customs”. The

records of Ivan Radić-Tomin refer to the period up to 1941 and mostly describe the Radić family itself. The ethnographic material presented by Ivan Cvetković-Cevak refers to the period from 1900 to 1980. In their records, clothing and dressing are not a separate topic. Where they tackle the clothing, the depictions are very general and speak only of the tendency of particular styles of dressing. We learn more about the clothes themselves through descriptions of events important for Trebarjevo, such as the erection of a monument to the Radić brothers or the celebration of the centenary of birth of Stjepan Radić. Both authors write with nostalgia about the times when the folk costume was worn every day, thus Ivan Radić-Tomin lamenting the folk costume from the 19th century, which has not yet been damaged by “factory cloths” (Radić-Tomin 1995: 3), and Ivan Cvetković-Cevak on the other hand, thinks that this folk costume became more and more beautiful over time and that it became the most beautiful in the middle of the 20th century, just before it came out of everyday use (Cvetković-Cevak 1995: 108). However, none of them mentions *Hrvatica*. Their descriptions are significant because they show how the folk costume has changed over time. Unlike their texts, nowhere in Kata Jajnčerova's Monograph do we encounter nostalgia for the old or condemnation of the new styles she describes. Although, at the time of which Jajnčerova writes, the effects of modernization are not yet so pronounced.

In the first period of the Museum's existence, field work took place in three ways: 1. field work exclusively for the purpose of purchasing ethnographic material; 2. field work to collect data on a topic; 3. team field work in which individual settlements are covered in a monograph. The exploration of Martinska Ves in August 1931 was primarily organized with the aim of purchase. Nevertheless, the report on the stay of the curator of the Museum was published in the magazine “Narodna starina” no. 10. from 1931. The text was published under the title “Martinska Ves” (with 26 pictures), and it was signed by Božidar Širola. Along with Širola, Vladimir Tkalčić was also on the field and on that occasion he photographed moments from everyday life. These photographs represent very valuable material for determining the formal changes that have taken place with the clothes since the time recorded by Kata Jajnčerova, but neither the costume nor the motif of *Hrvatica* are mentioned there.

“Folk costumes, especially women's, have been beautifully preserved in Martinska Ves. And even in women's folk costumes, a setback is already beginning to be noticed. On the one hand, the peasants began to sew suits from the purchased fabric, and the village merchants and merchants in the surrounding towns offered them cheaper colored fabrics, which strangely contrast the lively colourfulness of embroidered dress, which still preserved the old cut, but the ornamentation was already changing. The patterns of flowers are getting bigger and are made using purchased silk and wool. She is a special illustrator, skilful and agile, who draws ornaments on canvas for girls and women, which they later embroider. They call her Rominka” (Širola 1931: 126).

Museum experts were staying in Martinska Ves just at the time when hemp was getting wet. The photographs show a middle-aged woman pressing hemp with her feet (EMZ N-1965). Her work clothes consist of a white *švabica* or blouse, sewn from the purchased material, and a skirt covered with an apron also made of the purchased fabric. He has a head kerchief tied under her chin. The following photo shows an elderly

woman. Below the photograph is written “Mara Dinčerova wraps the bobbin from a winch” (EMZ N-1966). The note says that no part of her clothing is made of home-made linen. From these photographs it can be concluded that linen clothes decorated with weaving techniques were no longer worn on a daily basis at that time and that work clothes, although made of purchased material, still retained some traditional characteristics, i.e. cut or shape.

A large number of photographs taken during a field trip in 1931 do not provide a true picture of the clothing of the time. The comments next to the photographs explain that most of the pictures were taken after the experts persuaded the villagers to wear a certain item of clothing or folk costume, because young men and women did not want to be photographed in traditional clothes! (Fig. 5).

There have also been changes in formal attire. On the back of the photograph, on which there are four younger women, it is written that they barely agreed to take off their head kerchiefs, because in recent times, married women have been covering traditional lace caps (*poculica*) with bought head kerchiefs, and not with old fashioned ones (*peča*).

Between the First and Second World Wars, the growing influence of modernization and related urban values became increasingly apparent in the clothing of rural communities. At that time, we can see a relative weakening of the influence of tradition in women's folk costumes, visible in the acceptance of certain parts of clothing characteristic of the urban, Western European type of clothing. A blouse instead of a *joplečje* and *švabica*, a modern head kerchief instead of a traditional one (*peča*), modern shoes instead of old fashioned ones (*opanak*). In economic terms, there is a big difference in the village between the poorer and richer members of the community. In the domain of making folk costumes, the emphasis is on increasing specialization (village seamstresses, *spisalje* - those who make patterns for embroidered ornaments), the purchase of finished materials and products, the use of a sewing machine for decoration in white embroidery techniques. Woven ornaments are replaced by embroidered ones, and plant ornament suppressed geometrical (Brenko 1996: 75-76). In addition, the women's press at that time regularly published articles with drawings for making handicrafts using embroidery techniques, which certainly had an impact on the artistic taste of peasant women.

Parallel to these changes, there is a need to improve and enhance the way of life, while at the same time maintaining the old values. Here, it is important to emphasize the role that the activities of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) had on the folk costume. Its activities in the villages in the period between the two world wars are researched in various ways in the Croatian ethnological literature. I will briefly present the already known facts, which seem important to me for further consideration of changes in the clothing culture of Hrvatska Posavina, because, in my opinion, they influenced the emergence of *Hrvatica*.

FOLK COSTUME AND SELJAČKA SLOGA (PEASANT UNITY)

“The ideas promoted by the Croatian Peasant Party and *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) had both modernization and traditional significance. ... Wide range of activities of

Seljačka sloga (Peasant Unity) confirms this thesis. Namely, its activities can be divided into educational, which aimed to help the peasant to acquire modern knowledge (literacy, founding libraries and reading rooms, professional lectures, etc.), and cultural, which was to guarantee the preservation of national identity (festivals of original folk art, peasant literature)” (Leček 2009: 565).

In the first decades of the 20th century, *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) initiated a series of activities to preserve folk culture in its pure form. Foreign and fashion influences were considered at that time a major social, moral and economic problem. In strengthening and creating cultural identity, it was very important to participate in festivals of peasant creativity, which included primarily the presentation of folk costumes, songs and dances, customs, etc. For the festival held in 1929, it was prescribed that all choirs sing in ceremonial folk costumes of their area, and if such folk costume could no longer be found, it had to be reconstructed according to the memory of the oldest people in the village. Since then, two types of “juries” have been sitting at the festivals. One that evaluates the artistic reach of an individual choir and a special “folklore jury”, which decides on the purity of folk costumes and the old-fashioned way of singing, with a greater emphasis on folk costumes than songs. After the 1935 festival, a special “jury” met, which included ethnologists Milovan Gavazzi and Branimir Bratanić, among others. It was then decided that only authentic forms of folklore would be presented at the festivals (Sremac 1978: 101-102).

In the edition “Small Library of Peasant Unity”, whose founder, publisher and editor is Rudolf Herceg, in the article “Ideological purgatory of Croatian and melting pot of the world peasant movement” Herceg explains the difference between the terms “peasant culture” and “village culture”.

“Peasant culture” is a collection of everything that peasants have done and still do for thousands of years, to make their lives easier and more beautiful, and the “village culture” includes everything that experts have done and do for the cultural progress of the village. Also, the folk costume - whether beautiful or simple - worn by the peasants, and made in the factory, does not belong to the peasant culture, but only the one, which was made from the first thread to the last ornament by the peasant's hands according to taste, which we inherited from ancestors.” (Herceg 1940: 10-11).

Cvetković-Cevak writes about the branch of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) in Trebarjevo, which has existed since 1921, so he says:

“I have been a member of that society since 1935. After the election, the society seemed strong, it was active. Theatre plays were held, folk costumes were renewed. The benefactor of the society, the son of this village, Dr. Dragutin Klepac, bought us new tambourines (*Farkašov štim*). We were able to show *Posavska svadba* (wedding ceremony from Posavina) and folk traditions in Zagreb at the Music Institute on February 10, 1937 and after that, for the second time, in a small theater. There was no radio or TV, but our performances were always well attended. We also had singing societies. We also went to festivals of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity), municipal, district and in Zagreb, even before the war, and after the war, two or three times, we performed at the Croatian National Theater. We didn't have a home, but those events were held

in houses, sheds, barns and outside in the yard. Prof. Vinko Žganec also attended such a play, and when we performed the play *Matija Gubec* based on the novel by A. Šenoa, the actor Freudenreich came to see it and was surprised how beautiful it was” (Cvetković-Cevak 1995: 105).

Awareness of the uniqueness of the folklore of the parish of Martinska Ves in a broader context grew within the rural community with the certificates they received for their performances from the “outside” world. The performances at the festivals sought to gain recognition of the uniqueness and value of the rural community in the eyes of others. Those who were the organizers also imposed their value judgments on the manner of presentation. That is why Cvetković-Cevak proudly point out that Žganec and Freudenreich admired their songs and theater performances. The fact that their identity was positively valued also had an impact on the intensification of the sense of belonging to the community and traditional peasant life from the pre-industrial era.

“Another significant event was the making and the unveiling of Monument of brothers Radić in Trebarjevo in memory of the village where they were born. The Croatian Peasant Party did it right in front of their birth house ... The local choir of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) branch sang. The monument was unveiled by Dr. Vladimir Maček, saying 'I am unveiling this monument to the two greatest men that the Croatian mother gave birth to stay here forever ...' Croatian societies and people sang *Lijepa naša domovino* (Croatian national anthem). In Miković's yard a reception was held for invited men who did not behave very nicely. And we performed on this reception in folk costumes ... Later, groups and individuals came to the Monument and brought wreaths and flowers, especially from the Zagreb school. A couple of years later, on Radić's birthday, there was a celebration. In front of the monument, there was a mass and local fair and after that a party that lasted all night until the morning. There are still living women and people who recited songs about Radić, about the homeland, about viceroy Jelačić and other... This lasted until the war.” (Cvetković-Cevak 1995: 105-106)

The fact that Radić brothers were born in their parish contributed to the strengthening of the sense of local and national identity. Regular celebrations of Radić's birthday, which were attended by politicians, representatives of the branches of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) from different regions, celebrities from the then cultural public, schools, contributed to their reputation in the “outside” world. These celebrations also encouraged the maintenance, and perhaps the revival, of dead elements. The mobilization of local, regional and national emotions related to the folk costume can be traced to the development of semiotic functions of folklore⁷. While tradition is changing slowly and only with some delay follows economic and socio-political changes in rural communities, the functions of folklore equal to ideological-political tendencies of the period in the development of society (cf. Beneš 1982: 136; Povržanović 1998).⁸

7 In the 1960s, German ethnologists Moser and Bausinger introduced the terms “folklore” and “folklorism” and pointed out their various functions and interactions. With the transition of objects from everyday use to “other existence”, they become a means of expressing the community's attitude towards global society. Many local communities prove their uniqueness by creating their own identity, which is often based on the reevaluation of values from pre-industrial times.

8 The parallel existence of folklore and folklorism was already pointed out in 1988 by the Croatian ethnologist

Under the influence of modernization processes, the folk costume which was worn daily in the period between the First and Second World Wars is undergoing a series of transformations and is increasingly being abandoned. On the other hand, under the influence of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity), an older type of folk costume is maintained and restored, which is used for performances and formal occasions of national, regional, local and religious character. This folk costume has retained its traditional form, while the structure of its functions corresponds ideologically to the political moment. In clothing worn on a daily basis with a practical and protective function, the functions of expressing property status, social, status, age, gender, aesthetic, etc. are dominant. In folk costumes that have passed into “second existence”, functions such as regional, local and national, and there are some new, say representative, function of emphasizing the value of tradition, the function of creating cohesion at the local community level, entertainment, etc., are growing strong.

The parallel existence of two ways of dressing speaks of processes that lead to an increasing discrepancy between the reality of life and the accepted conceptions of the traditional peasant way of life. In his legendary work “The Functions of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia” Bogatyrev believes that the general function of clothing in a particular area or community can be described as “our folk costume”. This term is close to the meaning of the regional function, but its content is broader, because it also expresses a strong emotionality. “Our folk costume” is close to individual members of the community in the same way that the community itself is close to them. The emotional relationship closely associated with the term “our folk costume” will be different in different historical periods and in different society classes. “Only those parts of clothing that show a tendency to remain unchanged, at least in some of their details ... feel like an inseparable element of community” (Bogatyrev 1971: 97). Clothing that has undergone rapid changes in fashion, precisely because of the speed of these changes, the community cannot feel close to itself.

What we can determine so far is that the folk costume *Hrvatica* belongs to this other, representative type of folk costume, but we still do not know whether it is decorated with antique ornament characteristic of that part of Posavina as requested by *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity) or is an ornament together with the name *Hrvatica* taken from the cover of the magazine of the same name, without knowing its origin?

“HRVATICA: MAGAZINE FOR WOMAN AND HOME”

The magazine “Hrvatica” was started by Marija Jurić Zagorka in 1939, as she says in order:

“... To be a mediator among all Croatian women in the family, in vocation, in work, in public and at home, to bring them all closer so that they can exchange thoughts,

Maja Povrzanović, describing the carnival customs in Turčičće (Povrzanović 1998). Naila Ceribašić also deals with this issue by researching the history and ethnography of public practices of folk music in Croatia, while critically re-examining the notions of originality (Ceribašić 2003).

get to know their great abilities, gather all their strength and knowledge for their own benefit and to our people, I did everything to make it work for me, so I gave up any material temptation by providing a paper with a price, which covers only the costs of publishing” (Jurić Zagorka 1939: 5).

Through various columns in the magazine, she pointed out the contribution and importance of women in national struggles throughout history, advocated for their education and the struggle for equality. In each issue, the magazine also published articles on the work of various women's associations, such as those founded by Marija Radić, Stjepan Radić's wife. These are the Women's Organization of the Croatian Peasant Party, founded in 1927, and the Croatian Heart association, which began operating in 1936.

In addition to the above topics in “Hrvatica”, we can find novels and autobiographies entitled “Who are you?”. The magazine was very interactive, letters from readers were published regularly, and Zagorka used giveaways and surveys as a tool to achieve her goals. “Hrvatica” also abounds in advice for housekeeping, upbringing, body care, etc. Great attention was paid to folk art, especially textiles:

“The peasant woman is a champion in preserving the folk peasant culture... All the folk poetry is reflected in the colors and patterns she takes. In the patterns and colors, which we find on the embroidery of a peasant woman, we can read even the most intimate corners of the soul of the people. Everything can be lost, but what she has perpetuated with her needle remains imperishable for centuries... When a man comes to an ethnographic museum, these works of our peasant woman dominate everywhere; which are stronger than fortresses. These can be destroyed by cannons while the whole people's life continues to live in the embroidery” (Jurić Zagorka 1939: 4 (21)).

The magazine had about 8,000 women subscribers, and came out with a red and blue cover. In cases where readers were not interested in fashion, the price was slightly lower. “Hrvatica” with fashion features was blue and the one which caught my attention. The fashion feature contained, among other things: “the most beautiful ornaments from the rich treasury of our domestic folk art, which is beautifully applied to the most modern devices in the house, as well as to the clothing” (Jurić Zagorka 1940: 1).

The fashion features were edited by the academic painter Zdenka Sertić,⁹ who was employed at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb at that time. Her features were supposed to inspire readers to decorate modern clothes and home textiles with folklore motifs, which were taken from the museum material, which can be seen in the signatures below the paintings and drawings. In several articles published in the magazine, Zdenka Sertić looks at the importance of women in spreading the national spirit through handicrafts and criticizes the non-recognition of embroidery as artistic expression (Sertić 1940: 2 (6-7)).

9 “We further report that we managed to win over the editor of the handicraft feature to an excellent expert in this field, Ms. prof. Zdenka Sertić, who gained recognition and reputation abroad. Large foreign papers use in their features and handmade templates artistic creations of prof. Z. Sertić. She seeks inspiration for her creations in our rich folk ornaments, and thus transmits it to the world. And these creations come to us in fashion magazines as the first fashion, and we have no idea that they are all our motives and works of art by our artist. We will give our subscribers ours- first hand” (Jurić Zagorka 1939: 7).

Zdenka Sertić's text about the Brezovica folk costume was published in the last issue of "Hrvatica" from 1939. In January 1940, "Hrvatica" appeared with a cover with the motif whose origin we are looking for. She says about the Brezovica folk costume that it is very beautiful and refined and that it has been unfairly neglected in comparison with the Posavina and Slavonian folk costumes (Sertić 1939: 2 (402)). This comment made me to shift the focus from textile from Posavina to the ones from Brezovica area and southern. I have previously searched the databases of the M++ program that we use to document museum material. The textile material from the Posavina area is also the most numerous in the Museum, and dates from the mid-19th to the beginning of the 21st century. However, nowhere in the search for material until the Second World War did the motif of *Hrvatica* appear. When I finally found this motif on the towel and folk costumes from Brezovica, as well as on the apron from Kupčina, I was delighted with the discovery, happy to have found the answer to the question of where this decoration comes from (Fig. 6, 7 and 8).

I was also pleased with the fact that the magazine, which was published for only two years and was edited by the first Croatian journalist, who fought against a number of prejudices in her life and whose work, although widely accepted, was criticized by of various "authorities", achieved such an unexpected success that even today there is a folk costume with its name.

ORNAMENT, IDENTITY AND TRADITION

The motif of *Hrvatica* is a geometric ornament in which the square is inclined and divided by the central axis into two triangles within which rhombuses are made. The square is surrounded on the outside by triangles. Rhomboid shapes and triangles are the most common elements of ornaments done in weaving techniques. What first catches the eye, when comparing woven fabrics from different cultures, is their similarity. Many experts believe that the technique itself imposes certain patterns, and that is the reason why woven ornaments in different parts of the world show similarities. While the motif or pattern consists of individual elements (rhombus, triangle, circle, etc.) that are arranged in a characteristic whole, the design includes the relation between filled and undecorated textile parts, the composition of all used ornaments that ultimately give a particular object its stylistic recognition. Of course, the color of the ornament also plays a significant role. The difference between a pattern and a design can be somewhat reduced to the relation between structure and content, and even though the same motifs are used on the objects, they do not have to be arranged in the same way. Therefore, textiles with the same elements will be recognized by some communities as their own, while others will be foreign to them.

When comparing the Brezovica, Kupinec and Posavina folk costumes decorated with the same motif, one immediately sees a different interpretation of that ornament (Fig. 9). On the folk costume from Brezovica and Kupinec, it appeared in black or red, sometimes decorated with yellow and green threads in accordance with the circumstances and age of the woman, while in the Posavina version it is always red, sometimes with the

addition of black.¹⁰ In addition, the motif itself is larger on the Posavina folk costume. As a rule, the old ornaments were smaller, so the size of the ornament suggests that it was later embroidered on the Posavina folk costume. In addition to *Hrvatica* motif, other, smaller geometric ornaments characteristic of Posavina sometimes appear on this folk costume (Fig. 10). Brezovica's folk costume is decorated with densely woven stripes, which is not typical for Posavina.

It is interesting that Anđelka Vidović, expert manager at the Donja Kupčina Homeland Museum, recognizes this motif as “ours”, while she does not know the name *Hrvatica*, nor the name for this ornament in their area. If there was a name for this motif in a folk costume from the area of Brezovica and Kupinec, I did not find it in the relevant literature and museum data. In the past, weavers and embroiderers gave names to their creations according to the type of embroidery, weaving, or motif that adorned the cloth. At the beginning of the 20th century, teacher Milka Štanfelj recorded different names for woven and embroidered patterns that she heard from peasant women from Posavina. These names testify the connection with the physical environment, such as: “the singer's flower”, “frog flower”, “the horse's hoof”, “tooth flower”, “spirals”, “humpback flower”, “bonfire”, “rose on scales”, “hooks”, “ribbons”, “cut rose”, “on snails”, etc. (Štanfelj 1919). According to the name for the ornament *Hrvatica* we see that it belongs to the second level, it refers to the social sphere, not the natural one.

Some women were more adept than others at creating patterns that they then sold or borrowed. Such motifs were seldom used unchanged, something was always left out or added according to personal taste, so it is difficult to find exactly the same kerchief, lace cap or folk costumes, although the same motifs were put on them. Therefore, we can determine with great certainty from which Brezovica folk costume the pattern for the cover was taken, because on museum specimens this motif is always integrated into the whole in a different way. (Fig. 11) Differences in quality are also visible in different Posavina *Hrvatica*, which can be attributed to the weaving skill and quality of the used material. The costume from the cover (EMZ 5148ab) originating from Brezovica was bought for the Museum in 1926 during the fair at Kaptol in Zagreb, which means that such clothes were probably out of everyday use before the First World War.¹¹

Inspiration for patterns was sought everywhere, motifs were copied from the clothing of the population of neighboring and more remote villages,¹² or ornaments made on other materials were used. Thus, it was recorded that women went to house paint-

10 While the clothes are in everyday use, the age and status functions are more pronounced, which in this case, speaks of the Brezovica folk costume with this ornament to be older. Red is a variant for younger women and festive occasions, while black is worn by the elderly or people in mourning. In Posavina's *Hrvatica*, this motif has primarily a national, regional and local meaning inherent in representative clothing that has passed into a “second existence” and is used for performances and events of national and religious character.

11 “In the villages across the Sava, in the area from Hrvatski Leskovac through Stupnik and Demerje to Odra and Brezovica, the modern way of dressing prevailed. Some antique specimens were obtained in time for this museum. Thirty years ago, these items were more or less out of use, and they date back to the time after the First World War, when the ancientold fashioned folk costumes in this area began to abruptly disappear” (Gušić 1955: 29).

12 Milka Štanfelj writes that Posavina women went to remote Moslavina villages for inspiration (Štanfelj 1919).

ers for samples, copied them in front of shops with curtains (Ibid.) but still the most traces in the decoration of folk textiles were left by samples of ornaments published in fashion features in magazines of domestic and foreign press. Taking from the magazine, the motif of *Hrvatica* is decontextualized from the Brezovica folk costume, to be recontextualized in Posavina, where it gained a completely new “political” meaning in accordance with the name and role of the folk costume in the then socio-political context. The connection between the folk costume and the name of the magazine was probably lost in the years after Second World War.

By the term tradition we usually mean actions and objects that are relatively unchanged inherited from previous generations. In ethnology / cultural anthropology, the word is used for customs, beliefs, different values, knowledge and skills, and patterns of behavior that are transmitted in a certain community through socialization processes, i.e. from one generation to another. However, it should be noted that tradition is not rigid and unchangeable, and that it also has the potential to change, partly because it is transmitted by individuals. The changes that take place can be on a conscious or unconscious level, take slowly and gradually paced with small changes, or take place abruptly by introducing entirely new elements and patterns into the existing order.

According to Erik Hobsbawm, there are two types of traditions:

“‘Traditions’ that are invented, constructed and formally grounded, as well as those that appear in a less noticeable way in a short period of time (for example, within a few years) and are established at high speed ... ‘Fictional tradition’ means a group of practices of a ritual or symbolic nature, which are in principle governed by publicly or tacitly accepted rules, and whose aim is to instill certain values and norms by repetition” (Hobsbawm 2006: 139).

Although “invented traditions” may seem problematic and be considered “inauthentic,” they serve us as a symbolic instrument in constructing and reconstructing contemporary culture. “Invented traditions” are often associated with national discourse and the need to emphasize regional and national identity. In the context of textile production, they ensure the continuity of production and use of traditionally made clothing. Tradition has changed over time on the principle of flexibility and selectivity, which means that the creation of items, other than antiques, is not entirely arbitrary, but in accordance with what is considered culturally acceptable. Therefore, a new “traditional” item must contain certain “desirable” and recognizable features, in order for the community to feel close to it, because otherwise it will be rejected as a foreign element that does not fit into the existing characteristic patterns of clothing.

The motif of *Hrvatica* could easily be accepted and considered from Posavina, because it was sufficiently reminiscent of the typical woven motifs in the area. Although the magazine was read throughout Croatia, the folk costume with such a pattern and name is known only in Posavina.

HRVATICA AND FOLKLORE

In the 1960s, there was an awakened interest in folklore that continues to this day. At that time, the activity that was reduced to local and regional frameworks was revived. Festivals are being renewed, new ones are being established, followed by reactivation and increased activity of rural groups, now under the name of cultural and artistic societies (Sremac 1978: 109).

The celebration of the 100th anniversary of Stjepan Radić's birth in 1971 in Trebarjevo was marked by the then political moment in Croatia. The democratic movement that originated and developed in Croatia between 1966 and 1971 is usually called the "Croatian Spring" (Tripalo 1991). His goal was to carry out radical political and economic reforms. Dissatisfaction with the existing system grew into resistance, so members of the ruling movement based their activities on the mood of the people and their opposition to the suppression of Croatian national feelings; dissatisfaction of the intelligentsia with restrictions on freedoms and human rights; workers' protests regarding economic and social status (Ibid.: 18).

I learned the most about the preparations for the celebration and the event itself from Stjepan Ščrbak.¹³ In the entire parish of Martinska Ves, 85 sets of folk costumes were made on that occasion. Over time, the folk costume was constantly changing, and the last shape it had was quite different from the one from the end of the 19th century. The idea was for all participants to be dressed in folk costumes at the celebration, but the question was what type of folk costume? Most women began to make costumes as they were worn in the 1950s and early 1960s. Ščrbak says that the flowers on these folk costumes seemed "real",¹⁴ but he was not the "authority" in the village. In their notion of beauty, they liked the new way of decorating much more than the old one. Professor Zagorec from Sisak, who was organizing the celebration at the time, determined that this way of decorating folk costumes was not "originally theirs", so they had to change everything. For that occasion, the folk costume was renewed according to the model of the older type of clothing in this area, which is described by Kata Jajničerova in the Monograph on Trebarjevo. Photographs from the Monograph showing younger women in the ceremonial costume of the time¹⁵ served as inspiration for making new sets.

13 Ščrbak was a member of the local community at the time. The celebration was scheduled to take place in June. The incentive for its realization came from some members of the then Croatian political leadership. As there were only two members of the League of Communist in the village, the league itself could not take over the organization. Ščrbak remembered that everyone was afraid of that celebration, but when the president of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia signed the request, preparations began. The celebration was funded by voluntary contributions. For that occasion, badges with pictures of the Radić brothers were made, as well as portraits of Savka Dabčević and Miko Tripalo. All pictures, photographs, badges and flags were confiscated and destroyed after the celebration, and the organizers removed from their positions.

14 This is clothing consisting of *švabica* or blouse, *rubača* (skirt) and apron (*zaslen*), which are decorated with flat embroidery, using multicolored silk threads. The motif of the ornament is large floral branches, which cover almost the entire surface of apron, a wide lower edge of *rubača* and sleeves and a part with a chest slit on *švabica*. Ornaments made on a sewing machine using the "stitching" technique were sewn along the edges of the garments. For younger women and girls, red predominates in the ornament, and in the folk costume for middle-aged women, tones of yellow, purple, blue, green, dark red, orange and white. Jewelry are ducats, and shoes on the feet. This type of folk costume is also associated with a sense of belonging, but for the older type Ščrbak says that it is "more original".

15 The ornament is made with *preborna* weaving technique, using cotton thread, wool or silk in red and black. On these folk costumes the ornament is geometrical or geometrized vegetative.

From the conversation with Professor Zagorec, I learned what reasons led him to reconstruct of the older type of folk costume. He considered the older folk costume to be original, and the very idea of the celebration was for all program participants to be dressed in folk costumes from Radić's time. In the spring, when he set out to tour the houses to see how much had been done, it seemed to him that there would not be enough time to decorate the folk costume with embroidery techniques. As *prebor* is an older and faster decorating technique, he believed that they would renew the folk costume faster and closer to original if they adhered to the old patterns (Brenko 1994)

Some of the restored folk costumes were *Hrvatica*. The reconstruction of the costumes in 1971 is directly related to the political situation in Croatia that year. The dominant function of this folk costume is to mark the nationality, which is supported by the already mentioned motif by which the whole costume is named *Hrvatica*. At certain moments in Croatian history, the folk costume was a symbol that was emphasized by various classes of Croatian society, thus expressing their national feelings. At the time when the folk costume or some of its parts were worn or highlighted by all classes of Croatian society, it also had an integrative function (Illyrians, the role of the folk costume in the kingdom of SHS). In the events of 1971, the folk costume also played an integrative role. In addition to the national and integrative, there is also a function of emphasizing the value of tradition and a representative function.

In the early 1990s, dramatic changes took place in Croatia: the transition to a multi-party democracy, the exit from the Yugoslav federation, the Homeland War and the establishment of an independent state. The meanings that *Hrvatica* had in 1971 were also significant in 1991, and even today it expresses the identity in the villages of Marinska Ves and Trebarjevo, as well as Dubrovčak Lijevi and Topolje. Since the community is proposing *Hrvatica* for protection, it means that it has a strong emotional relationship with the folk costume. Its origin and restoration can be attributed to the weaving skills that have survived in this area to this day. Therefore, the suggestion that the weaving skill should be protected, and not the folk costume or motif, which we received from some members of the Commission for Intangible Cultural Heritage, seems justified. On the other hand, the motif and its name *Hrvatica* contribute the most to the popularity of this folk costume. According to modern understandings of intangible cultural heritage, it can be considered heritage only if it is recognized as such by the community, group or individuals who create, maintain and transmit it. In addition, intangible cultural heritage does not question whether certain practices are specific to a culture. It contributes to social cohesion, fostering a sense of identity and responsibility that helps individuals feel part of one or more communities as well as society as a whole. Therefore, the fact that the motif that adorns their favorite folk costume is not from Posavina is not a problem. The question can also be asked: Would the community consider this folk costume and pattern to be less of their own if they were made outside their area or in another technique?

The strength of this motif is also shown by the news that Jasminka Luketić Domitrović from Sisak, a native of Slavonia, made a Christmas ball and an Easter egg with the motif *Hrvatica*, which is now perceived as typically from Posavina, so these decorative

objects are very popular in Posavina.¹⁶ One also has to mention the face mask called “Hrvatica - Dubravčica”, which was submitted to the competition called “I wear a mask, I am proud of it” organized by “Department for Preservation, Reconstruction and Lending of Traditional Costumes” by Marica Klak from Dubrovčak Lijevi. The mask was one of the winners on that occasion (Fig. 12).

The perceptions of curators and other experts on folk textiles differ from the meanings attributed to them by its creators. The curators usually treat the ornaments as a repository for cultural heritage, an expression of the local style, or use them to determine the affiliation to cultural zones. In the conversation with the weavers, it becomes clear that tradition is only the starting point for them, and that in addition to inherited local practices, they also accepted various influences “from the outside”. By mutual exchange or other forms of transmission, the same patterns of decoration appear in different locations in the wider area. It was the most creative and skilled people who were most important for transmitting the tradition. While curators most often perceive stylistic innovations as something “inauthentic”, for their creators they have positive connotations associated with the desire to experiment, a high level of knowledge of technical skills and awareness of the value of such work. All this contributes to their respect and status in the community. They create and shape local understandings of heritage and identity by continuing familiar practices, creatively using materials, techniques, ornaments, and aesthetic values. For them, heritage is a dynamic cultural production that connects the past and the present (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995; Buchczyk 2014: 335).

CONCLUSION

This research shows that the older type of Posavina folk costume began to be decorated with a motif known as *Hrvatica* in the early 1940s. It is a representative folk costume that was formed under the influence of *Seljačka sloga* (Peasant Unity). It was also established that this sample was taken from the magazine “Hrvatica”, which was started by Marija Jurić Zagorka in 1939. Since 1940, it has been published with a cover on which this very motif appears. The cover was designed by Zdenka Sertić, who worked at Ethnographic Museum Zagreb as a painter. Since she edited a feature for handicrafts in the magazine “Hrvatica”, using museum material for inspiration, a folk costume was discovered from which a draft of the ornament was taken. Further search showed that this motif does not exist on older material from Posavina, but appears on textiles from the end of the 19th century in the area of Brezovica and Kupinec. We do not yet know whether he had it then, and if so, what his local name was and whether it was associated with any meaning other than aesthetic. By decontextualization from the

16 Christmas balls are marked with a copyrighted design and name. As the author stated, she got the idea while watching the folklore society from Martinska Ves. The folklorists explained to her that they called the folk costume *Hrvatica*, that it originated from the time of the Radić brothers, who were born in Trebarjevo, and they wanted people to come to their gatherings in folk costumes. According to her statement, she received confirmation of this claim from the City Museum in Sisak. <https://lokalni.vecernji.hr/gradovi/originalni-blagdanski-suvenir-svi-zele-imati-kuglicu-hrvaticu-6969-lokalni.vecernji.hr> (visited on 20th September 2021).

Brezovica and Kupinec folk costumes and recontextualization in the Posavina folk costume, the ornament and folk costume are named *Hrvatica*, and the ornament is adapted to the Posavina type of folk costume. Hence the name and the new context, the folk costume evokes strong feelings of identity thus gaining new symbolism. It was probably shown for the first time on the occasion of an event of a national or regional character associated with the Radić brothers. It has been confirmed with certainty that during the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Stjepan Radić in 1971, this folk costume was also made or reconstructed in the villages of the Martinska Ves parish. Due to its name and political moment, *Hrvatica* then became popular and favourite, and today it is perhaps even more so. Efforts to include it in the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia also support this. It is clear from the above that *Hrvatica* folk costume shaped the tradition of the parish of Martinska Ves in accordance with socio-political circumstances and current turmoil from the end of the 19th century and the time when Antun and Stjepan Radić began their work, between the two world wars, the Croatian spring until today.

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