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Prehistory of the Term “Folk Costume”

The article discusses the term “folk costume” (“nošnja”), a neologism which was introduced to Croatian language in the course of the 19th century. In order to analyze its possible meanings, the article outlines the development of public approach to folk clothing through history, which paved the way to the Romanticist interpretation of this term.

Key words: folk costume, terminology, cultural history

A kind of prehistory of the term “folk costume”, which we could define as a correct presentation of ethnic clothing, could be followed from the earliest artistic presentations of human figures, showing to the domestic viewer, through distinctive clothing, a foreign (ethnic, tribal or regional) identity.¹ From pre-Christian times very interesting were the Roman monuments of military victories showing the images of the conquered people. R. Gergel analyzed in 1994 around six hundred ceremonial thoracic armors of the triumphant Roman commanders, which were preserved on the decorated statues. The first finding of the statue of the Emperor Augustus from 1863 was the most detailed, showing combinations of mythological creatures, symbolical figures and allegorical personifications, inciting lively interest and numerous interpretations. The presentation on the armor displayed the repossession of the lost Roman military insignia from the Partans², and hence it did not represent tire symbolic message was directed towards glorifying peace and prosperity in Ro military victory but pacification, and the en-man times. The Emperor, as well as other similar characters, was presented wearing

¹ This article is the edited introduction of the dissertation on the topic of folk costume and the history of clothing in Northern Dalmatia, under the mentorship of Aleksandra Muraj, to whom I offer warm gratitude for her advice and patience. The article was additionally improved by the editors of *Ethnological Researches*. Also I am obliged to thank the anonymous reviewer of *Ethnological Researches*.

² Those were the standards of three Roman legions won by the Partans in the battles of 53., 40., and 36.B.C.. Augustus himself described this diplomatic endeavor in his book “Res gestae”, par. ch. 5.29 (Gergel 1994:194).

military uniform. Ichnographically On iconographic level, the conquered characters (defeated barbarians or was prisoners) could be recognized on these relieves through parts of their clothing or hair style as the representatives of, for example, Germans, Dacians, Partans, Armenians or Jews. The common trait of those images was that they were allegorical presentations of a country and the presented character, for example the one on the above mentioned Augustus's armor, could be recognized neither as the Partan king, who in reality had returned the insignia of Roman legions, nor as the Partan archetypical enemy Mythridat. It was simply a "Partan", a personification of the whole country (Gergel 1994: 194, 195 and footnote 14).

A valuable archeological finding of the related artistic genre was uncovered in our regions in 1886. It was *tropaeum* from Gardun stored in the Archeological Museum in the city of Split. The preserved remains of the triumphant monument celebrating the glory of the Roman suppression of Baton's uprising from the end of the 1st century A.D., showed two captives representing the conquered Dalmatians and Pannonians. Realistic presentations of their different clothing and footwear enabled archeologists to interpret them as ethnic representatives of the two rebellious nations, primarily due to the fact that the image clearly showed two different types of fibulae, with one type commonly found in the coastal regions (Cambi 1984; Schönauer 2001:234-239). That was the first artistic presentation of native ethnic identity from Croatian regions.³

Characteristic presentations of ethnic identities from the Medieval period could be found on the examples of fine arts displaying topics from Christian iconography, such as the Prayer of St. John the Baptist in the Desert, The Baptism in the River of Jordan or Apostle prayers from missionary accounts (Ilg 2004:35), and, in a similar way, the most common art sources for rural social identity was the iconography of the Birth of Christ showing the images of shepherds. Those sources and the supplements on the margins of Medieval pieces of art, such as miniatures in manuscripts, served as basic templates for the formation of a new type of art presentations of people from different countries, regions and nations. Cartographic supplements of this kind continued the practice of letter (symbolic) marking of the distribution of certain peoples on a number of maps of the 13th century Western Europe, following the example of Ptolemy's "Geography", At the end of the period of drawing of the so-called T-O maps of the three known continents with Jerusalem in the centre, in the middle of the 15th century, the characters of Noah's three sons, Sam, Japheth and Ham, were also introduced to the maps on the respective continents. On the famous T-O map drawn in 1482 for King Edward IV, two figures of African men were drawn inside the lines of the African continent (Wallis and Robinson 1987:106).

³ From the remaining 32 monuments from the holdings of the Archeological Museum in Split containing the presentations of clothes which were analyzed by Srdana Schönauer the only other example of ethnic identity was the presentation of the people of Israel crossing the Red Sea found on the imported sarcophagus from a Roman manufacture (op. cit., 324).

Renaissance books of folk costumes

The era of great geographical discoveries of the Europeans added cartographic presentations a new shape. The cartographers illustrated their works by drawings the representatives of different nations. The so-called "Miller's Atlas" from around 1519 and "Book of Idrography" from 1542 contained the detailed artistic presentations and images of exotic natives, in the latter case of Tupinámbe people from Brazil. The cartographic practice of Iberian cartographers spread through Europe and the rest of the world (ibid.). During the new era, Renaissance, when the interest for the new world horizons was renewed and prompted by the opening up of new trade routes, many books, starting from 1562, were published containing exclusively the images of the characteristically dressed representatives of different world populations. In the first thirty years not less than ten such books were published, which clearly displayed their specific subject matter already in their titles. Collections of those lithographies appeared as early as in 1520 and it was estimated that their number (together with the related books) rose to over 200 by the year of 1610 (see prologue in: Vecellio 1977 [1590]). This new literary genre was going hand in hand with the changed perception of the world. The positioning of one's own society and people received a new place in a wider image of the world, which was opening up for better understanding due to the maturation of encyclopedic spirit consisting of small stones of a scattered mosaic. The analogies became crucial for cultural discussions, while the publicist form of the history of respective states common in the past, had suddenly evolved into a wider, global history. It clearly marked the civilizational borderline between clothed Europeans and naked natives. The beginning of this new publicist genre was interesting for us because of the inclusion of the image of "Dalmatian or Slavic woman" in one of the most famous book of this type from the 16th century, and that was "De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo" by Titian's nephew Cesare Vecellio from 1590.

One of the most direct usages of the books similar to Vecellio's was in the theatre (Hollander 1988:247). His contemporary, Shakespeare, could alone find in Vecellio's book models for four individual characters and two different groups of characters for his "Othello" (Vecellio 1977 [1590]). A Venetian manual for the production of theatre plays from 1554 suggested using costumes (*costume*) of people from faraway countries because "novelty incited the viewers" admiration and hence their attention" (Jowers 1997:971). Among the first buyers of the books on folk costumes of the world, from the first editions, were the actors, costume designers and theater owners with their checkroom attendants (Hollander 1988:258, 271), since not only the actors, but also the musicians which appeared on the stage had to be costumed. Specially important was the costumed appearance of the court, which was, at the beginning of the opera, an active participant in the performance (Hollander 1988:248,272). A Baroque master from 1682 suggested that during entertaining interplays the dancers should be similarly dressed, but without appearing twice in

the same costume⁴. He also suggested using costumes that were supposed to evoke American Indians, Persians or Moors (Jowers 1997:972). The books obviously had a significant influence on costume designing of the time: in one Hungarian opera production from 1784, not less than sixty actors appeared on the stage wearing, among others, Moorish costumes (Jowers 1997:980). In this way, the standards were set for dressing up actors on stage as Orientals (Hollander 1988:286) or, generally, the stereotypes of costume designing for different historical periods were formed at that time (Hollander 1988:264).

The role of cartouches in atlases

The period of the first publication of the books with images of folk costumes from different parts of the world corresponded with the time of publication of the first atlases of the whole world. The first one was Ortelius's from 1570, while the first one which was actually titled "atlas" was Mercator's from 1595. In the introduction to the book of costumes from 1581 "Habitus variarum orbis gentium", the publisher clearly emphasized that its publication would be as valuable as the publication of other useful books containing maps, images of landscapes, cities, seas, mountains, forests and animals, because it "showed human clothing as worn by different nations and therefore (...) could easily reveal not only the differences between various regions, but also between peoples and nations (Ilg 2004:38). In the atlases of that period the presentations of characteristically dressed local people were frequently found in the richly decorated map frames, the so-called marginal information or cartouches, containing allegorical images, title, the name of the author, publisher, inscription, scale, legend, orientation and sign. Some practical information could also be found there, such as crests, characteristic products, animals and typically dressed people. A generally interested reader could in this way satisfy his/her curiosity on world differences.

In "Atlas Maior" by Willem Joan Blaeu from 1665, each of the four continents was presented separately and framed with nine maps of the largest cities and ten human couples which were, through legends, presented as inhabitants of different countries, cities or members of different nations from that continent. The map also included the figurations of characteristic animals. Those illustrations were based on an earlier work (1606-1607) by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenburg titled "Civitates orbis terrarum" (Wallis and Robinson 1987:106). The practical applicability of Blaeu's atlas was enormous at the time. The interested tradesman could, carrying the appropriate volume of that atlas (for example, of German countries) in his luggage, quite confidently travel even to the less familiar, far away countries, since the atlas enabled him to recognize the crests of the rulers of the regions he traveled through, the varieties of the terrain, flora and fauna, typical local trade products and even "characteristi-

⁴ On illustrating the atmosphere of the scene play through special interplays called *intermezzo*, a kind of continuation of the street *tableaux vivants*, see Hollander 1988:268.

cally" dressed people whose geographical affiliation he could also use as orientation in his itinerary⁵. The book "Civitates orbis terrarum" (published in six volumes from 1572-1617), greatly influenced later editions. It contained topographic presentations of many European cities, and almost each of them contained an image of the inhabitants. Their characters were sometimes drawn as part of the landscape and sometimes in a separate segment of the map, but in all the cases they were presenting differently clothed characters for which it could be established that they presented a quotation from the contemporary books of costumes (Ilg 2004:38).

New types of allegoric characters

Those images of different nations and regions were a kind of model for the romanticist perception of the "folk costume". The books of folk costumes and atlases had, in accordance with intellectual and practical needs of that time and by using the images of people in folk costumes, firstly supplemented and then completely replaced the symbols of the continents and mythologically inspired allegoric characters on the map frames – the successors of the handwritten miniatures and marginalia. The images of Noah's sons on the continents and of the sea monsters appearing from the seas surrounding those continents, were replaced, under the new trade circumstances and even relating to the farthest regions and countries, by the couples of local inhabitants recognizable through clothes, tools or objects carrying in their hands, artistically captured in a gesture or a pose. The skillfulness with which the mythological allegories were presented depended on the classical education of the author. The authors of the new manuals were facing new challenges.

The authors of those presentations of people in folk costumes did not want to capture only the clothing, but also the distinctive spiritual character of the nation. Those were exactly the words from some of the prologues to the books on world folk costumes: those "were not only the presentations of people in domestic clothing, but also of their customs and social norms" (1577); "the clothing presented in those books also gave an impression of the character and customs of the respective nations" (1581, quoted from Ilg 2004:47). Following the concepts of influential semiological analyses, Ulrike Ilg concluded that clothing thus became the system of signs which could show specific abstract characteristics of the person wearing them (comp. Bonifačić 1997). Those characteristics were primarily moral and they were explicated in the legends accompanying the illustrations. Without identification of the person wearing specific clothes, the illustrations themselves would be useless; those identifications were simple and straightforward and therefore comprehensible to a broad and varied reader-

⁵ The 1665 edition of this atlas included 600 maps. It was a Danish edition of the atlas published in 300 copies, which according to the calculations of all the printings (together with Latin, French and Spanish editions), meant that the printing shop was continually busy by printing the sheets. The total circulation of the four editions of this atlas was 1550 copies. The above cited data were quoted from Taschen's reprint from 2005.

ship. The straightforwardness was achieved by using the common illustrative tools. The folk costumes were presented in a line, from those from the nearest regions to those from the farthest regions. Alongside geographic distribution, gender differences were also presented. This type of structuring made those books similar to dictionaries, because the images were presented in the defining order: nation or region – coma (or new line) – gender – coma – social status (Ilg 2004:42). It also revealed the history of thought of a century during which the lexicographic and encyclopedic disciplines were formed and improved. Social and cultural reality was rarefied and simplified through such activities. All the varieties of the practiced reality of a society and its culture found itself in the funnel of ideal social conditions. Such editions have found their place as the manuals for coping with the complex world, the borders of which were significantly expanded. Folk costumes had an important role in those processes, and were listed under the terms “*costumi*” and “*habiti*”.

The new manuals were useful not only to the merchants in their travels. Since costumes were simultaneously the presentation of morals (values associated with cleanliness or dirt, tidiness or rags, unclothed body parts, nakedness, jewelry and decorations, excessiveness or modesty, symbols of authority or submissiveness), such manuals always included more or less direct value judgments which could also affect the reader’s opinion (Ilg 2004:43). Many descriptive characterizations which surpassed the sheer identification of a person, as emphasized by Urlike Ilg, revealed an attitude towards clothing seen as the symbol of social regulation. A legend presented next to the image of an Englishwoman in folk costume from the book of folk costumes by Jost Amman “*Das Frauentrachtenbuch*” from 1586, stated: “...she is dressed in accordance with her social position. Dressed in the way presented in this picture, she presents herself correctly and excellently pleases her husband. If she would wore different clothing, her husband would drive her away from home” (Ilg 2004:45).

The key to understanding this idea of a correct way of dressing, which ceased to be simply clothing or costume, lied in the historically determined dress codes. The members of common folk from specific countries were most probably quite correctly presented, since it was prescribed what they were prohibited to wear. Even at the end of the old regime (*Ancien Régime*), Paris police used to pay informants among the re-sellers of clothes at the market on Pont Neuf in order to find those sellers offering pieces of clothing which were of wrong size or inappropriate for their class or status, such as handkerchiefs, fine materials or in colors of different class groups, in order to discover thieves and robbers (Roche 1996:336). The clothes really did make a man, as the old saying from the pre-industrial times went. The proper dressing, i.e. the specific prohibitions together with the specific dress regulations such as those related to monks and priests, created the social basis for the dressing moral lesson. In the inscription of the book by François Deserpz “*Recueil de la diversité des habits (...)*” from 1564 (dedicated to the king), this lesson was presented as very useful “since it could help us reject any excessive dressing which would lead a man into display of vanity: as a priest could be recognized by his robe, an entertainer by his hat and soldier by his gun, so a wise man should be recognized by his modest clothing” (Ilg 2004:45).

Regina Bendix emphasized the moral criteria applied during the creation of territorial allegoric characters in the ceremonial of the Bavarian court for the wedding of the King Ludwig I. In 1810 his counselor Lipowski organized for the wedding couple to be escorted by eight children couples dressed in newly cut out folk costumes which symbolized eight Bavarian counties. Children couples in folk costumes were combined with the allegoric presentations of angels and served as an integrative message of unity of all regions (not all social classes) of the Bavarian kingdom. The understanding of this symbolic expression was possible only through understanding of the earlier usage of costumes, for example, dressing of the Bavarian Grand Duke in folk costume in 1765 (Bendix 1998:135). Similarly to the famous romanticist printing endeavor in Scotland⁶, Lipowski acted as a patron and, by 1830, enabled the completion of printing of the "Collection of Bavarian Folk Costumes with Historical Text", which included 48 colored lithographs. At that period, Bavaria tried to establish its strength and position between Prussia and Austria. When Bavarian prince Maximilian was marrying Prussian princess Maria in 1842, the Home Secretary issued a pamphlet which invited couples who were getting married from each of the different Bavarian counties for the purpose of organizing the Royal protocol. Detailed documentation of this protocolar endeavor was, for the German ethnologists, an excellent material for the research of the creation of "folk costume". Hence on October 14, of the same year in the town of Munich, 11 Protestant and 24 Catholic couples were married in folk costumes from all the regions of Bavaria, but the path to this "unseen splendor" as the newspapers called it, was not without problems. During the preparations, the organizers received many answers stating that in the specific region there did not exist anymore any form of folk costume, that the young people were wearing the urban style of clothing with very few local differences, that the local traditions of that kind were disappearing after the decline of organized manufacture and leveling out of once prominent differences between various estates, or that the folk costumes of the local aristocracy had completely disappeared and had been replaced by a combination of clothing originating from the wider county context. Among other guidelines for the incoming couples, the demand for the distinctive recognizable features inspired some local authorities to invent such clothing items, such as the bride's head ornament done on the basis of Bamberg female head cap worn over a completely white dress. The political agenda of the protocol focused on the need for expressing unity in religiously heterogeneous regions and hence resulted in choosing the Protestant newlyweds as the local representatives, while all the couples had to be the

⁶ After political restrictions and repressions caused by the conflicts and rebellion in Scotland during the 18th century, the king of Hanover dynasty visited Edinburgh for the first time in 1822. Preparing the visit, colonel D. Stuart, the official assistant for ceremonial and clothing, published the "Sketches of the Character, Manners and the Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland". In that book, he claimed without any evidence that the kilt with tartans was an old distinctive label of highland clans, not a documented manufacturing invention which was created around 1730 for increasing the safety of workers at lumber plants. Stuart's claim was later elaborated by Allen brothers in the forgery from 1842 *Vestiarium Scoticum* and in the de luxe edition "The Costume of the Clans" from 1844. The analysis of the cultural phenomenon of kilt was a dominant example used in the landmark collection of articles on invented traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

embodiments of chastity. Therefore the image of typical bride and groom did not include older people, people of less attractive physical features, those for whom unblemished moral behavior could not be established in their village or parish, a bride whose pregnancy was discovered during the selection process or wedding couples in old or haggard costumes. The measurement of social chastity was also the ability to pay for the costs of one's own costume. The selection process itself revealed a possessive relationship from the feudal domain, which judged from its own jurisdictional point of view the people's appearance and attractiveness as aesthetic contributions to the ceremony of the royal wedding. The representative of the local authorities from Eichstätt, after receiving the initial field reports on the disappearance of the specific folk costumes, employed a painter to make drawings for the tailors and craftsmen on the basis of the remaining items of traditional costumes. The first drawings had been lost at the Ministry, the new ones were ordered on the Ministry's budget and the costumes were finally made from them, while the whole trip and the participation in the royal wedding was turned into a demonstration of local political power with the Mayor's son as the usher and the Mayor and one member of the local council as the best men. Many critics who were against the whole ordeal later joined the ceremonial procession wearing tailor-made reconstructions instead of the propagated "regular" folk costumes (Bendix 1998:141).

The spectators could evaluate the whole ceremony on the basis of the previously published drawings, like the ones from Lipowski's map. Reputations different counties had were also very important, like the one which was famous for a published collection of folk stories and hence became a kind of template of variants for preferential or recommended types of costumes. Even though the Bavarian kingdom did not fight off Prussian political hegemony, cultural traces remained in the form of *Oktoberfest*, which is a kind of survival of the royal weddings, in the form of educational, social and ceremonial respect of *Lederhosen* and folk costume, and, generally, in the most recognizable regional identity in today's Germany (Bendix 1998:143).

Ways of identification with national history during the 19th century

During Romanticism, folk costume became one of the more important national markers. When he returned to Prague after studying in Jena in 1819 where he had, according to his own words, "tasted bitter and agonizing fruits from the nationality tree", Jan Kollár wrote in 1924 a poem titled "Slav's Daughter", in which he announced the days when the mighty Slavic current would spread its borders and when Slavic language would be heard in palaces, while their costumes, customs and songs would be as popular on the banks of the river Elbe as they were on the banks of the Seine (Zamoyski 2001:316). Emphasizing national values turned from respect to adoration. Michelet was giving lectures in 1846 covering the topics on nationality and provided

a list on what made national cults and Holy Scriptures (Zamoyski 2001:311). Among those who were willing to pay for the creation of their own "national" costume was Liszt (Zamoyski 2001:325). A contemporary wrote down on the Russian writer K.S. Aksakoff that his costume was so national that the peasants on the street thought he was a Persian (Zamoyski 2001:321).

In the same way in which the 16th century English dramas had set their plots among the, for example, Venetians, on the Island of Crete or on "Bohemian coast", the 19th century musicians, such as Rossini, Bizet and Donizetti were, with some other books in their hands, writing operas set in Scotland or England. Only a year after the publication of the ceremonial guide of tartan kilts of Scottish highland clans which was prepared for the Royal visit, one contemporary wrote that in London "a lot of effort was put into the preparation of a stage play, while the characters were dressed in tartans of different clans" (Jowers 1992:981). In the new world of national states, in which the remaining aristocrats still wore tuxedos, Romanticism celebrated national pasts. Due to the popularity of novels such as those written by W. Scott, the images of Medieval costumes were multiplying (Hollander 1988:287), and the technological innovations preceding the discovery of photography enabled documentation of far-away regions⁷. In the middle of the 19th century, the Royal Theater in London owned more than five thousand costumes and a large amount of material for sewing the new ones (ibid.)⁸. Different comments varying from "decent reconstructions" to "absolutely authentic historical re-creations" became an integral part of programs and repertoires and thus an expected presentational standard (Hollander 1988:290-291). Copying individual costume designer's preferences of famous actors and actresses also had an important role (Hollander 1988:304 and 310). One of the authors who carefully supervised and directly influenced the costumes used in his works was Wagner. By changing the stage frames and proscenium, he enabled the viewers to identify with the characters and envisage historical events as their immediate experience (Hollander 1988:244). While designing costumes for the "Ring", his chosen historical pe-

⁷ For example, the book titled "Zur Geschichte der Kostüme", which the Munich publishers Braun and Schneider were publishing in separate volumes in the period from 1861 to 2880, on the basis of the sketches originally published in the magazine *Münchener Bilderbogen*, contained 500 drawings with around 1450 presented characters. Most of them represent historical costumes, while the last 35 tables present contemporary folk costumes from different continents. The best proof of the usefulness of that publication were the costume designing challenges in setting Verdi's operas, which were set in the period covering 4000 years (ancient Egypt in "Aida" from 1871, Biblical times in "Nabucco" from 1842, 13th century Sicily in "Les vêpres siciliennes" from 1855 or contemporary Paris in "La Traviata", 1853 – all following the theatrical rule of the time that the modern tragedies should be costumed in at least one century older historical period). For setting Puccini's operas, the costume designers had to be familiar with the ways of dressing in Japan, California or Rome in the time of Napoleon, etc. (Jowers 1992: 981 and 984). For the area under detailed research, this book of folk dressing and historical costumes is very interesting because of the three characters from Šibenik region included in the Table 109b. Easily accessible and technically simplified reprint was published by Dover and the publication containing colored drawings was the first among the detailed books of folk costumes which was integrally published on the Internet in 1997 by C. Otis Sweezey from Southern Illinois University, Dept. of Theater & Dance.

⁸ On obtaining the parts of folk costumes for the Paris performance of the opera "Boris Godunov", see Taylor 2004:224.

riod was the 7th century which was victorious for the Vikings and Saxons, and Wagner himself drew sketches of individual characters with winged helmets, longitudinal shields, long tunics and thoracic vests. Such dramatic costumes were historically incorrect, and selected clothing items were emphatically presented to the viewers due to the lack of material evidence. History was created in the way which Jowers called “kitsch-realism, whether authentic or legendary” (Jowers 1992:994). In Bayreuth this Wagnerian costume designing became traditional, authoritatively setting the standard of Medieval past which remained influential for a long time (Jowers 1992:984). According to Hollander “in the public opinion, even though in a somewhat undefined form, a whole fake history of clothing started to take shape, almost completely composed out of the stage stereotypes” (Hollander 1988:303).

Local contexts of Romanticist costume designing

Historical context of the creation of the term and phrase “folk costume” (*nošnja*) in Croatian culture lies in the years before the establishment of ethnology as the scientific discipline. “As far as different descriptions of folk costumes were concerned, they mostly referred to the period from the second half of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century, when the denoting and defining of the so-called “folk costume” and, consequentially, its scientific interpretation, served the purpose of national emancipation and independence of the Balkan people” (Schubert 1986:105). That context was illustrated by the circumstances of the Central European (i.e. broader Pannonian) formation of the term “ethnology”, defined as knowledge on distinct peoples which were emerging out of skirts of political hegemonies (Belaj 1998:345). Instead of national identity, at that historical period more meaningful were regional or class identities of social groups, and national character was yet to be coined after Herder’s reaction to French political upheavals. One informant’s account from Bulgaria after the war with Serbia explained that literary: “Our fathers were Greek and nobody ever mentioned Bulgarians. We won and we became Bulgarians. If we have to be Serbs, no problem. But right now it is better for us to be Bulgarians (Mazower 2002:99). Ödön von Horváth wrote: “If you ask me about my country, I will say: I was born in Rijeka, grew up in Belgrade, Budapest, Pressburg, Vienna and Munich and I have Hungarian passport, but I have no country. I am a very typical mixture of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire: in the same time a Hungarian, Croat, German and Czech, my country is Hungary and my mother tongue German” (Mazower 1998:44). Multiple identities and interactions were quite frequent. It was not at all uncommon that a transhumant shepherd from the region of today’s Macedonia spoke five languages and a port worker from Thessaloniki seven. Austro-Hungarian Empire encompassed 51 million people, two states, ten “historical” nations and over twenty other nations, while the neighboring “sick man from Bosphorus” begun in Bosnia and ended at the Persian border. Cultural identities which were established through those empires during the 19th century, under the influence and in relation to the developments in Russia and the British Empire, as well as to the unions which were formed on the basis of the French mod-

el of centralization over regional identities in Italy and Germany, took on rather logical forms in the view of achieving the required social goals.

The relations between dominant European states in the 19th century determined the points of competition and establishment of power. The academic attitude towards different cultures in those parts of the continent was influenced by the Enlightenment ideas and descriptions of native cultures from non-European regions of expansion, such as Native Americans. In the same way Venetians conceptualized the Morlacs (Wolff 2001), and Austrian Foreign Secretary described his Eastern neighbors as "wild Indians who could only be treated as untamed horses, who should be handed corn with one hand and threatened by whip with another" (Mazower 2002:97). In the power struggle between the great states, a path was laid for Austrian corn and whip in the direction of Europe's southeast. It was the region where, after the fall of Napoleon, Russia spread its political interests by supporting the local rebellions of Orthodox Christians which sought its help. The leaders of rebellion in 1813 were dressed in stylish Turkish attire, probably aspiring to that social status in the existing Ottoman Empire. As noted by a contemporary, the Second Serbian Rebellion started in 1815, when Miloš Obrenović started sending orders throughout the Belgrade County to kill anyone wearing green clothes, i.e. the clothes forbidden for the kauris (Mazower 2002:83). After the Turks brought him to power, Obrenović killed all of his enemies and rebels, helped Turks break the Greek rebellion and under the circumstances of the Russian-Turkish war, he was awarded for his services and for not making alliances with the Russians and received a Dukedom with autonomy and hereditary privileges.

In the newly established Dukedom, the Turks remained confined to the garrisons and cities, while the Christians were changing their lifestyles by wearing the previously forbidden parts of clothing: Boue noticed that *chalma* was not exclusively worn only by the Muslims and in 1829 Pirch met in front of the Duke's office several young people wearing stylish clothing for which he thought were worn only by the Turks (Schubert 1986:109). The Duke himself stated that he proudly wore *chalma* as the sign of freedom he had begotten from the sultan. In the new Dukedom, which was soon to become a model for the fight for independence, intellectual buzz was, as a rule, occurring in the Austrian regions (Srijemski Karlovci, Novi Sad) and large academic centers (Karadžić in Vienna), while, on the other hand, help from European powers was continuously sought, since without it, the battles against the Turks had been lost in the past (defeat of the Serbs in 1810 and Greeks in 1827). By the agreement achieved among the great European powers, a 17-year-old Bavarian prince Otto was appointed the head of the newly independent Greek state, who brought with himself his personal guard and royal etiquette, posing to the painters in Greek folk costume. Prior to his appointment as the Rumanian king, the Prussian prince Karl claimed he had never heard of that country, while golden Bulgarian age, territorially speaking, following the Treaty of San Stefano, was brought on the boots of Russian soldiers at the battle of Istanbul in 1877 (Mazower 2002:87-94). The interventions included not only weapons and newly achieved independence, but also new cultural patterns. During

the 1830-ies, the Serbian Dukedom no longer looked like a “Levantine casaba”, and the intellectual circles during the 1840-ies started supporting the clothing which deconstructed Oriental heritage and reached for the depths of national past. A short military coat was in the local variant reminiscent on the Medieval ruler and called “dušanka” (Dušan’s coat). The shape of the coat resembled the uniform of Serbian Hussar regiment founded in 1734 and it spread over Dukedom thanks to the Romantist painters (Prošić-Dvornić 1989:114-116 and 2006:274). No longer commonly found in the 1870-ies, the influence of another military inventory was, however, still present at the later periods (*šapka*, military-type trousers and brass orchestras). The same type of coat called “surka”, created on the basis of the folk “surina”, became the symbol of the leaders of Illyrian movement in continental Croatia (Muraj 2006:10 and Bonifačić 1997:145)⁹. In the Romantist fervor following the events of 1835, it was decorated by embroidered characters signifying Croatian national independence, with marked omitting of the Old Croatian motifs which could be found in later period on numerous items of clothing and embroidered quotations after the archeological campaigns of Don Frane Bulić and foundation of Knin Antiquarian Society in 1887, which was the result of the discovery of a large archeological site near the regional railway line two years earlier. The defining events of the 19th century were linked to the consequences of the revolutionary year of 1848, demission of feudal institutions and change in the social nature of creating goods, strengthening of the concept of national states whose political participants were the citizens and the economic backbone were now “large” and “small” trades and crafts, i.e. industrials and manufacturers capacitated through the means of technological advancement (Iveljić 2007:135).

Old, rural, handmade

Aristocratic reaction to the events of 1848 contained in the neo-absolutist government of the 1850-ies, failed completely. The aristocracy failed to return the clock into the 18th century (Mazower 1998:44), however, neither the industrials nor the craftsmen and tradesmen were content with the level of bourgeois liberal reforms of 1848. This failure of bourgeois emancipation resulted in political resignation, withdrawal of the bourgeois representatives from politics and the onset of re-feudalization, i.e. a tendency of the wealthiest citizens to imitate and adopt the lifestyles of the old social elite, aristocracy. Complicated social processes occurring in the second half of the 19th century in continental and coastal Croatia enabled some wealthy tradesmen and industrials (in the agrarian dynamics of Dalmatia sometimes even citizens or peasants who benefited from historical coincidences such as the period in which Phylloxera arrived to Europe, but did not appear in our regions or exclusive market monopole over cattle products, coral exploitation, etc.), to overtake the position of feudal owners, town

⁹ For using the dress style of the Serbian Duke dressed in folk costume as a template, see Šulek 1842:205.

aristocrats. In the social repositioning after the 1860's, the newly reclaimed aristocrats and town industrials found themselves on the same side of the social border, which was dividing them from the emerging social stratum of workers¹⁰. Some of the entrepreneurs were in their business initiatives dependent on the state, since, for example, they needed the railway access to market goods. Hence, logically, from the regulative side of that border in the search for symbols of national awakenings and national states, the priority was given to the cultural reservoir of the social class which, by the nature of social change, did not represent a threat – those were the peasants.

After the establishment of the two-part monarchy, the safeguard against dangerous national developments became the nationalism of the new empire, in Croatia's case, it was Hungarian (Taylor 2004:169, 229), and in other regions Turkish or Russian. The political tendency for the creation of modern centralized empire awarded social support by assimilation and integration. However, the imposition of a new standard language and strict tax policy together with other forms of Hungarianization, also resulted in anti-nationalist counter-effects. In Ottoman Empire that process occurred in Macedonia and Albania, in Russian Empire in Finland, Baltic states and in Poland and in the Hungarian part of Austro-Hungarian Empire in Rumania and Croatia (Mazower 1998:45). Those forms of resistance were visible in the emphasized cultural need for nationally recognizable elements, while politically predisposed for this task were the symbolical, distinctive cultural markers of rural population. An equation mark was drawn between peasantry and nation and, later, between citizens of a designated state and nation. The town workers were, observed through the authoritative social glasses of the second half of the 19th century, simply invisible, in the same way in which during the birth of ethnology's sister discipline, social anthropology, there was no place for Malinowski to admit the presence of Caucasian farmers whom he encountered during his research of the Trobriand Islands¹¹.

In the realms of the century which started with *La Marseillaise*, the folk costume shared the tricolor destiny, a textile syncretism of two municipal (Parisian) colors and one royal color. Folk costume became a political, cultural and social symbol. Since the process through which the peasants adapted their ways of dressing to the new technological and economic conditions was not perceived as a symbol, since that status pertained only to the inventory of clothes, on the crossroad between handicraft and serialization, pre-industrial and industrial society, folk costume became petrified like flags which we find, unmodified, printed next to the name of a country while brows-

¹⁰ Choosing dress style of a specific social stratum as ideological marker was confirmed in the periods after the Romanticism, when the black shirt of metallurgy workers (from the factories in North Italy) was chosen by the Fascist Party as the party uniform. Outside of the domain of the folk costume, the revolutionary effect originating in Romantic Age was linked to the red shirts of Garibaldi's thousand determined soldiers from 1860. He used to wear the red shirt from his Argentine period onwards, adopting the habit of the workers from Argentine slaughter houses. On popular presentations he was frequently shown wearing poncho.

¹¹ In this social equation of economic realities, even today in the symbolical and functional aspects of the culture of dressing there exists a fundamentally conditioning component invisible through the glasses of a conventional researcher – those are tourists.

ing through encyclopedias. Except in the period of early industrialization in England, folk costume became a frozen license card of national autonomy, just like a flag.

The remaining crucial influence was linked to the formative reactions to industrialization. Starting from the English place of origin of industrial revolution, “Arts and Crafts Movement” attempted to raise the quality of the formative effects of mass products to bring it closer to the products of pre-industrial manufacturers. Together with the above mentioned social circumstances, starting from their already existing interest in Croatian folk treasures which they used to include in the large economic-trade fairs which were organized from 1864 onwards, it was exactly the tradesmen and craftsmen who gave the incentive for the creation of the first collections¹². The initial impetus for the creation of today’s Museum for Arts and Crafts (which today exists in the form of the Museum for Fine and Applied Arts) was ethnographic and the original nomination of today’s Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was Museum of Trades and Crafts (Muraj 2006: 17 and 26). Similar starting point in the applied arts had in its beginnings the Ethnographic Museum in Split (Sverko 2003).

Conclusion

The follow up of the long way which was passed by this cultural vessel before the neologism “folk costume” was poured into it, resulted in a number of valuable discussions in a number of national academic disciplines (Knific 2003; Weissengruber 2005; Prošić-Dvornić 2006). This article sheds new light on the polemics on the originality of folk costumes. Through the usual emphasis on authenticity folk costumes even today satisfy the needs of a historical period, as they have done in the period when the interest for those established cultural institutions has resulted in the new conventions of scientific interests, such as folkloristics and ethnology, having “folk costume” packed neatly in their terminological luggage. Therefore the discussion on a scientific object does not negate a discipline, but revitalizes it in its frameworks and rehabilitates it in a new historical period. If we move a step forward, by using innovative methodological tools, we can detect meanings of new cultural practices in which traditional ethnology has only peripheral interest¹³, such as the costumed historical plays on festivals which are increasingly popular in Croatia during the last decade¹⁴.

¹² On collection of samples from the “First Croatian Factory of Felt, Textiles and Blankets”, founded in 1887, see Muraj 2006:19).

¹³ The first study of this kind titled “Traditional clothing of Dalmatian region” done on the order of the County of Rab was written by the ethnologist Jelena Radauš-Ribarić in 1995. The study was intended for the costume designer employed by the Association of Rab Cross bowers. Data obtained from the database of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia last accessed on July 1, 2008.

¹⁴ The pioneering effort in that respect was the costumed staging of the legend on “Picoki” and the battle with Turks, which has been performed, with intermittences, in the town of Đurđevci since 1968 (Vitez 2007); for general overview see Kale 2008a.

The proper dressing following the rules of one's community is, in principle, a moral act. Generally speaking, the same is true for dressing in general. When speaking of rags or purity we need an additional word or a sign of context, in order to discern whether we are talking of an object or a person. When folk costume is concerned, this individual estimate of morality belongs to a higher level, it vouches for the person next to us, for the whole community or nation. Maybe this moral capacity of folk costume is the content with which the ethnologist can found himself/herself in a new disciplinary situation, but still following his/her old task¹⁵. In the same way in which the forefathers of ethnology and the changes of their times glorified folk costume, the texts of today's sports' fans hymns glorify and pledge allegiance to the colors of their selected teams of Croatian football players. Is the discipline degraded through such comparison? Both terms, "dress" (*dres*) and "costume" (*nošnja*), are recent guests in Croatian language (Kale 2008). Behind the older terminological novelty was the time of creation of national states with the Enlightened industrials as the main social protagonists. Today I am listening to football fans' hymns on the CD which was given as bonus to the articles purchased from the corporate "proud sponsor", as clearly stated at the beginning of the tracks. Basically, is that so different?

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¹⁵ For an example of methodological repercussions of thus adjusted means of scientific observation (more interviews, more inclusive observation), see Saliklis 1999.