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## The Cultural Industry of Folk Costumes

*Article starts with the regional style which was set by the impact of feudalism from the time antedating the 19<sup>th</sup> century agrarian reform. In this regard, the most significant regulatory effect in this part of Europe, as in other similar historical corridors, derives from the Military Border clothing heritage. Within this cultural heritage one is able to establish the etymology of the word “nošnja” and the concept of folk costume, the successor of ruho attire as the ceremonially outstanding part of the complete domestic pratež. In the process the views of the more recent social-anthropological literature which points to the inadequacy of referring to such events as “invented tradition” have been confirmed. Folk costume is one of the direct results of supplying the market which developed amidst new material, technical and social conditions from previous more simpler forms. As the secular holy object of national states and even more so as a collective creative good incorporated into symbolic exchange and into the market, the folk costume is being revived within the process of globalization and together with other cultural phenomena has just begun to enter into the new area of social regulation accompanied by the stated research interest of scholars of culture, of economists, lawyers and others.*

**Keywords:** cultural industry, cultural good, folk costume, dressing, Military Border

During the formative period of ethnology there was no simpler way of presenting its research agenda than to speak of its interest in folk costumes. Always first in any kind of enumerating the manifestations of customs that ethnologists care for,<sup>1</sup> its ossified perception as a relict of authenticity gradually became a mark of regressive myth-formative ideology (Rihtman-Auguštin 1987: 86). Venturing into an analysis of folk costumes from our (still) most prevailing work conditions as ethnologists, those in the museum, into the cultural requirements that are today put forward regarding folk costumes, it appears that prior to the analysis of the object for the purpose of obtaining more complete results in the research procedure not only is a critique of

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<sup>1</sup> In one of the answers to the question concerning the position of ethnologists in society in the 1989 anonymous survey conducted by Lydia Sklevicky concern was expressed that too little is known about ethnology and that the discipline „is as a rule associated with folk costumes“ (Sklevicky 1996 [1991]: 203).

sources needed but the deconstruction of the original category. Any kind of anxiety implied by this procedure has remained in the shadow of the analytic results that it has produced. As things therefore stand, the confirmation as in this case that the object of ethnological scientific interest is not cultural status (for example, “the archaic tradition) but rather the cultural process (for example, “the transmission of tradition”, “the archaizing of tradition, etc.) leads on in the reality of disciplinary life to the firm foothold which empowers the sovereign approach to numerous contemporary or other historically defined horizons. If the ethnologist is such a researcher who is capable of explaining the process which brought about, for example, certain features of some folk costume, then it is easier to attest that he has interpretative competence to face new questions – regardless of the fact whether these relate to ethnographic or philological sources, whether they are located in conservative environments or in postindustrial modernity. Results obtained by etymological reconstruction have already been frequent supports for the analysis of material culture carried out under the auspice of the cultural-historical school and have made valuable contributions.

After the cultural-historical approach we here appropriate the approach of the historicization of culture which in Croatian ethnology has been referred to and mediated from the theoretical mainstream of continental ethnology in Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin’s opus. In such a manner we will make an attempt to explicate the meanings subsumed under the word “costume” and the phrase “folk costume” with their connotative field of reference, to fathom the significance of the associated social order, why we believe that the scholars who refute the validity of the theoretical concept “imagined tradition” are right and ask what other theoretical concepts offer a realistic framework for taking stock of the total cultural phenomenon of folk costumes.

## Historical differentiation in opposition to simplification

Here we will undertake the historicization of the historical culture of clothing by way of one of the most reliable procedures of periodization, through stratigraphy. In 1925 Vladimir Tkalčić was the first person in Croatia to take note of the stratigraphy of the differentiation of folk costumes. Exhibiting variants of folk costumes of the Zagreb area he came to a surprising conclusion, one which contravened the customary perception of the simplification of one-time more abundant traditions:

“It is clear that all the other clothing in the settlements of the Medvednica region, today differentiated as far as wear is concerned, must at one time have been the same or at least much more similar to one another than it is now (...). It is certain that amongst the reasons, already mentioned, that brought about a stronger differentiation of all the clothing, must be included the most important one which pertains to the rise of a general, inclusive of the peasants, moral and economic individualism especially after 1848.” (Tkalčić 1925: 163)

Ten years after Tkalčić's article, Milovan Gavazzi also recognized the significance of the economic factor. He noted how on the same terrain numerous isolated villages were wont "to loose and eradicate the folk costume" while other villages "with stronger ties to the world, with communication venues (...) have their distinct, well-preserved costumes"; for the latter he adds that these were "large villages or a series of settlements with a numerous, more compact and connected populace" (Gavazzi 1935: 130). The solution to the riddle, as Gavazzi concludes, "is that costumes are better and longer preserved when they have the chance to contrast themselves, to stand out from something – in this case from (a number) of neighboring costumes" (*ibid.*, 139). When did it become possible for the compact, populous villages nearer to roads and cities to significantly differentiate the local habits of clothing?

"It seems that it was during this period [the last 150-200 years] that the most intensive and rich and varied differentiation of Croatian folk costume took place which we record sometime to the end of the last century or at least to the 1880s. The further one steps back into history, especially into past centuries, it seems, on the basis of all we know of that time and that is within reach, that their differentiation was weaker (...)." (Gavazzi 1935: 139)

In accord with these ideas the historicizing model of understanding folk costumes amongst Croatian researchers took the form of seeking answers to the questions "when" and "how". Therefore, what we are dealing with here are economically situated peasants who have a cultural need to differentiate themselves amidst representatives of the central state authorities and people from other local communities with whom they were coming more and more into contact. Answering the question "where", that is in what geographical coordinates did this historical process take place, Vladimir Tkalčić noted the standardization of local clothing features amongst the feudal subjects:

"The serfs of the old manorial estates on their clothing evinced significant differences so that they could be one from another. For example, according to the elder Jacob Vidović, the former clerk of the royal state Penitentiary in Lepoglava, the serfs who were under the jurisdiction of the Paulist monastery in Lepoglava had white "surine" with decorations made out of braids, the serfs of the counts Drašković of Trakošćane had grayish one with green braids while counts Oršić's serfs had dark brown one with red braids. As in this part of the Croatian Zagorje region, there is no doubt that the situation was similar in the other parts of Croatia and Slavonia that had an estate-ordered society." (Tkalčić 1925: 133)

Following on Tkalčić's observation, Milovan Gavazzi "justifiably believes that direct ordinances of some of these landowners affected the costume by ordering that their serfs wear this or that part of clothing" (Gavazzi 1953: 133). Tkalčić's sorting of types of folk costumes of the Zagreb region according to the boundaries of parishes Gavazzi explains by thusly bordered gatherings of the populace at church holidays at which the habitual local way of dressing had a large significance (*ibid.*, 132). As an outstanding example Gavazzi mentions the folk of Turopolje (*ibid.*, 134 and 135) that Aida Brenko explicated much later:

“In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Croatian costumes were still worn by citizens of Croatian origins but conservative noblemen as well. On portraits of Turopolje high nobility from that century we can see very picturesque type of folk costume richly decorated with braids, applications, embroiders and fur, with the obligatory sword. With this costume the Turopolje nobility displayed their national emotions dressing for certain occasions, such as when attending Parliament, ‘the Turopolje spravišće’. In reality this kind of costume was a kind of hussar’s uniform of the cavalry man Matija Korvin. It served as a model for the creation of other similar army uniforms for the equestrian units of a number of European countries. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century from being a military uniform it became a decorative, ceremonial element in civilian male and female clothing.” (Brenko 1994:22)

Amongst these regional influences on the historical culture of dressing one especially stands out – this is the clothing heritage of the Military Border.<sup>2</sup> Tkalčić was also the first to draw attention to this: “One fact for the area of Croatia is certain this being that for the development of the shapes of certain costumes, although not for the essential design of their style, of immense influence had to be the division of the land into parishes and various manorial lands as well as the ordering of the old Military Border” (ibid., 133). Some time afterwards, the Serbian ethnologist Milenko S. Filipović in an article devoted to the same issue stressed the same point:

“The Serbs and Croats who lived on the territory of the one-time Military Border were especially vulnerable to the orders of the military authorities who intruded into the entirety of the people’s lives, including the way they dressed. Since the male border guards had almost during their whole lives military obligations and wore uniforms this fact, indirectly, had an impact on changes in clothing (...).” (Filipović 1961: 65)

In the above mentioned article Gavazzi also noted “how in its period the military territorial division, foremost the layout of the Military Border, had an impact”. In this sense he draws attention to the example of alpine with military buttons and ornaments known as *cvelferske grane* (ibid., 133), that is *špenzle* with 12 streaks as a differential dress feature in Cvelferija, in the southern part of the Županija part of Posavina where the

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<sup>2</sup> Concerning the significance of the historical vicinity of the Ottoman empire for the Croatian diversity of costume in the broader sense see Schneider 1971: 5, Gervers 1982: 4. The influential cultural manifestation from the peripheral belts of broadening empires are also of interest. This research project deals with the dress features of the border soldiers with are connected with the uniform of the hussars. The Russian Cossacks and the Gurkhe from Nepal (Abler 1999) and the Uskoci from Croatian history are the best known examples of such border military reputations. This dress paradigm can also be viewed from the other side, say, across the borders in alternative times of the growth of colliding empires. Also, the caste organization of the mountain cavalry (more than the ethnic community) can remind us not only of the Cossacks but also of the Croatian ethnogenetic amalgamation of the military social stratum with the wider populace from the period of the Avar kaganate. Can we, perhaps, again evaluate the elements of the then border reputation of the guardsmen which were disproportionately appropriated throughout the spacious political hegemony? The Croatian ethonym, the etymological droplet of Iranian descent in the Slav language ocean, can be numbered amongst such unproportionally distributed cultural features.

12<sup>th</sup> Drenovac company of the 7<sup>th</sup> mountain regiment (before 1808 in the 9<sup>th</sup> Petrovaradin regiment) of the Military Border was stationed (Ćosić 2004).

Excepting its single acceptance by Gavazzi, Tkalčić's historicizing and differentiating conclusion did not impress Croatian ethnologists. In her book "Folk Costume in the Area around Zagreb", Katica Benc-Bošković registers Tkalčić's territorializing model of explaining local shapes of dress but she classifies the varieties according to areal types while amongst the seven concluding statements there is no mention of it (Benc-Bošković 1988: 242 and 278).

## Regions and the regional style

The reach of feudal authority in texts written by Tkalčić, Gavazzi and Filipović brings us to the concept of "the region".<sup>3</sup> The identification of the region is a conceptual procedure of determining territorial authority, perceived though the given nature of the legislative, administrative and juridical apparatus. In the enlightenment dictionary of the French Academy from 1762 the "province" is defined as "a significant span of land which a part of a large country and which consists of a number of cities, settlements and villages, usually under the same administration" (according to Revel 2006: 155). Konrad Köstlin also associates the concept of region with the prerogatives of power:

"The region is created by the practicing of norms and the validity of centralised, intentionally unifying law, demarcated and delineated by justice. Regions in premodern context were created to be univocal in implementation of these patterns codified by regional law and opposed to centralistic structures of power in Central Europe since 16th century, creating by effect regional diversity we can enjoy today (...). Cultural creation of regions is artificial. It is a result of regional laws made mostly from 16th century afterwards (...), and today can be followed as opposed to Europeization." (Köstlin 2001: 37, 41 i 45).

In France, the country from which concepts such as *pays* and *terroir* had a powerful impact on organizational ideas throughout the world, the transformation of the territorial organization of the centralized state in the revolutionary year 1790 proceeded by the destruction of the then existing regional identities into the new boundaries of 94 continental departments. each of them represented an identically large area which a state official from the department center could reach by horseback without the night falling on him on his journey (Revel 2006. 173).<sup>4</sup> The coalescence of the concept of the region with authority is evident in all those examples where the name of the area is,

<sup>3</sup> Characteristics of the „regional“ frame of reference in the light of historical folk traditions is discussed by Burke 1991: 54-58.

<sup>4</sup> Even with such a historical heritage, 219 years after the creation of departments the changing of the ingrained area number code from 1 to 95 on the vehicle registry in accordance with the new rules of the European Union brought about protest reactions of department administrations and symbolic acts of protest among the populace.

in fact, the literal administrative name of the area. Amongst the better known examples in this part of Europe are the following: Ravni Kotari, Gorski Kotar, Banovina (Banija), Banat, Vojvodina, Hercegovina, Crmnička Nahija, Sandžak, Metohija, Has in Dukagjin (Metohija) and the Bulgarian Haskovo, Krajina, Kranjska and Ukraine, German Palatinat (Pfalz, Palz) as well as Austria (“Eastern reich”) itself.<sup>5</sup> The market connotation of the concept “region” also derives from the administrative dynamism. The cultural anthropologist Robert Ulin, in his analysis of the creation of the market wine sort Bordeaux, established that the fabrication of authenticity is indivisibly connected to the territorialization of political circumstances.<sup>6</sup> In France Bordeaux became the model for the codification of the criterion of market excellence in all fields of trade and culture, today legally well-established throughout the world as a system of markers for controlled geographical origins, a marker of originality and reserved rights of its market use (Ulin 1995., according to Peterson 1997: 212, also see Pratt 2007: 290).<sup>7</sup>

After this initial definition of region, our journey through terminology ought to proceed with the observation how the habitual international designation “regional style” amongst the investigators of the historical culture of dressing represents clothing culture typical in conservative societies (Ribeiro 2003: 661). In the European historical heritage of dress, the first regional recognizability of dressing from the feudal period was intertwined with the gradual uniformity of high-nobility body guards out of which mercenaries developed and later sedentary troops. The feudal lord ensured the loyalty of the guardsmen by paying them, by providing shelter, food and clothing, economically attending to the last need by supplying them with identical rolls of textile; providing uniforms for the subjects spanned those who were knights, officials and craftsmen (the English example from the XIVth century cited by Davenport

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<sup>5</sup> The collective motivation for maintaining costumes as the original source of regional identity can be compared with the longevity of areal identities that came into being on the basis of the span of territorial administrations. On the Croatian coast the example of the narrower and broader meaning of the word „littoral“: while the „littoral of Croatia“ extends from Savudrija to Prevlaka, the „Croatian littoral“ is part of the coast encompassing the area of the former continental half of Croatian lands under Austrian rule. Who today in Croatia is a *Primorac* (excepting people bearing this surname) or a *primorac* is not only a question of orthography.

<sup>6</sup> Of course, cultural implications do not relate only to collective practices. In 2002 H. and W. Baumol examined the lawsuit between Beethoven and his feudal patrons who guaranteed to him a lifelong income after he was offered the position of bandmaster at the court of the Westphalian king in 1809. The musician’s remaining in Austria can be recognized in his works by its Free Mason motifs which were at that time popular in Wien (according to Acheson and Maule 2006:1151).

<sup>7</sup> The appearance of the first sort of wine of controlled origin dates back to the end of the Middle Ages when wines from the interior alongside the river Dordogne to the east of Bordeaux were more esteemed on the Paris market. It was then that local wine growers and merchants convinced the English, who ruled over Bordeaux harbor and the adjoining river traffic, to introduce, alongside other restrictions, higher duties on wines delivered from upriver, more eastern areas. That is how the local wine production developed and established its renown on foreign markets. The decisive market formation of this supply occurred prior to the World Exhibition in 1855 in Paris when Bordeaux merchants, because of cheaper wines from Spain, Portugal and Italy, decided to maintain their part of these markets by the codification of the technology of producing wine and by associating wines with concrete areas and land properties, classifying the wines regions („terroir“) whose labels the wines were allowed to display. Thusly the identity of the wines justified their high price which the wine growers did not find profitable to reduce.

1979:356). The other recorded occasion for uniform dress under feudal rule was of a ceremonial nature demonstrating social and political influence.<sup>8</sup>

Roberta Seid dates the appearance of real regional styles to the XIXth century.<sup>9</sup> Alma Oakes and Margot Hill date the predecessors of the “regional style” in the presentation of folk dressing in the western part of Europe since the XVIIth century (1970: 27 and 59), for example they date the “regionalization” of male headgear as late as the XVIIIth century (*ibid.*, 31).<sup>10</sup> They also remark that the emergence of a regional style does not coincide with the characteristic city dress, the fashion that was probably initiated in the XVth century and that significantly spread to France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy (*ibid.*, 59, see also Schneider, ; Davenport 1979: 505).<sup>11</sup>

“Although there had been for some time a few distinctive regional dresses, or features, (...) the costumes which could be assigned to one particular village or region or status did not blossom into their full glory before middle or even the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Only then were the better-off peasants in a position to indulge in ‘infinite variety’ and richness of design and materials, though this was mostly apparent in the gala dresses for Sundays and feast days. Complete freedom from tied service to landlords, the buying of their own farms, and the abolition of the sumptuary laws were, as we have seen, the causes of these changes; the people were then left to buy as their pockets, taste and village fashion dictated.” (Oakes and Hill 1970:67)<sup>12</sup>

On the basis of these habits, enabled by the possibilities of thicker wallets,<sup>13</sup> two fortuitous interpretative paths open up to us. We will look at the modalities of the cul-

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<sup>8</sup> Among the most cited examples of such historical cultural events was the return in 1415 of the English king Henry V with French prisoners when he was met by identically clad London dignitaries, the two rows of 600 London citizens who greeted king Edward I after his marriage in 1300 and the woodcut whose purpose was to give protocol instructions for dressing to the participants of the solemn procession serving as an invitation card to the crowning of the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus on March 29, 1464 to be found in the graphics collection in the New York Metropolitan Museum (Davenport 1979: 356, 414 and 528)

<sup>9</sup> Seid 1987:11, see also Roche 1996: 375, 2000:194, Oakes and Hill 1970:10.

<sup>10</sup> As far as the Italian Renaissance is concerned, Jacqueline Herald maintains that it is difficult to estimate the adherence to regional recognizability of dress outside the domain of city fashion and holds that regional origin could best be revealed by women’s headgear (Herald 1981: 195 and 196). At the same time, various foreigners were recognized by their dress (*ibid.*, 200).

<sup>11</sup> As an important figurative art source for these aspects Davenport cites W. Hollar’s book „Aula Veneris“ (*ibid.*, 505). In the XVth century, the emergence of the first military uniforms are connected with features of local authorities (Boucher 1987: 248, Davenport 1979: 528).

<sup>12</sup> Concerning social segregation after 1500 see Burke 1991: 212; summarily concerning the economic emancipation of rural folk : *ibid.*, 194-195.

<sup>13</sup> The cause of the appearance of peasants on the XIXth century market was the agrarian-reformist dissolution of his former private-legal obligation to the feudal lord. When he was no longer obliged to fulfill his contractual obligation with his stock’s meat, the peasant was given the opportunity to take cheese to the marketplace and to return back with money. The peasant’s entry into the marketplace opened up an economic space for making available formerly inaccessible social services such as higher education, political activism and etc..

tural implementations of new social possibilities by way of kin relationships while we will return to purchasing and the market in the conclusion.

## “Costume” and the regulation of kin relationships

Dunja Rihtman Auguštin has already noted that for the inner title page of his 1814 book “Pjesnarica” (Song Book) Vuk Stefanović Karadžić chose a pastoral scene with a dominant (standing) figure of a “Serbian maiden” (1814:2) which according to dress has been ubicated as coming from Ravni kotari (Rihtman-Auguštin 2001 [1989]: 99). Here the folk costume is the dress show-window of an externalized *Nacionalizmus* (Karadžić 1814. 5 and 20). The geographical setting and the content of this lyric-figurative pastoral mimic Hacquet (2008[1801] 66-67). Situating the scene in Ravni kotari could also have been the result of mimicking another famous model, Fortis. Differently than the utilitarian-minded Fortis, who bears witness to all the things that the Republic could put to use in Dalmatia, from minerals to moral messages to be found among the Morlaks (exemplified by a figure of a woman dressed according to local customs, 1984: 17) unspoiled by civilization, Hacquet transforms his figurative art for the reader’s empathy and identification into the dialogical form of the pastoral. As he uses it, within its common consistency, it shares characteristic refashionings. In each of the three instances where the narration explains the presented scene the latter is represented in a different manner (Hacquet 2008 [1801]: 66, 86, 102). Obviously the rural image was freely conceived as an empty tablet of the represented events amongst the illiterate on which the author, from one need of the writing to another, was able to apply various forms of characterization. There is no misunderstanding concerning the reader’s identification with the figure because the man is dressed in a schematic manner and one can easily imagine him on city streets. The figure who is, from the perspective of civilization, unusual, both by the dress and by the gender and working pose, is the woman.

It befitted the reader of that time to identify only with the male of the two represented figures; on the far side of the cultural division of such identification remained the figure who was predisposed by gender to reveal under the layers of culture unadulterated nature itself (Kale 1996: 100-103). If Hacquet’s pastoral was transported from the technological capacities and the cultural perspective of its time into the corresponding place of our own period, it would be the title page of the national edition of “Playboy” or the weekly commercial television show that reveals what soccer player has begun to date what fashion model (on the assumption that soccer players make better money) rather than an article in the national encyclopedia. In his “Song-Book” Karadžić maintains the sentimentalization of the pastoral as a rural flirting, as a lyric plot of courting in nature,<sup>14</sup> as a guarantee of the reader’s attention and as

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<sup>14</sup> „The Serbian swain is either at home, or with the sheep,/ working he sings, as a skylark, to his sweetheart./ Fiddling or playing he answers her/ professing in this manner his love.“ (Karadžić 1814:2)



a convincing cellophane in which is wrapped the programmatic intention of the entire text. In such a manner the book does not only justify its academic stature but is also a good sell.

In order to understand what happened to Karadžić's "Serbian maiden" we need to recognize the significance of the concept "folk costume" in his work. It has already been shown how this expression was previously used by people (Kale 2008) and that in XIXth century elite culture it spread as a label for an already constituted semantic field (Kale 2009). The first usage of the word "nošnja" (costume) can be dated to 1818 in the Serbian column of Karadžić's dictionary alongside the German words "die Tracht" and "der Kleider" together with the synonyms *nošaj* and *nošivo* (Karadžić 1898 [1818]: 438). Impressed by the intellectual achievements of the German-speaking world<sup>15</sup>, in his norm-setting undertaking as part of the national-political project (Rihtman-Auguštin 2001: 101) this lexicographer opted for the word "nošnja" and other derivatives of the verb *nositi* (carry) following the example of German: "nošnja za nositi" according to the model "Tracht zu tragen".<sup>16</sup> The standardization success of the word "nošnja" among the South Slav peoples is owing to the cultural and political program of the Croatian intellectual elite. Intellectuals from the Illyrian circle were not ethnographers. If something had to be tested on the field, one would pick up Karadžić's dictionary (Barišić 1987, Kapetanović 2007: 241). The word "nošnja" was a penetrating lexicographical new form because it was rooted in the elastic generative base which makes it an easily understood word easily domesticated in the feeling for language of the closely resembling languages.

An examination of the ethnographic and philological indications in the North Dalmatian area within the Croatian frame of reference puts Karadžić's German-style use of the verb *nositi* in opposition to a series of older language derivations from the verb *prtiti* and its root *prt* which itself connoted the complex of dressing (SER III:24-25 and 59, ARj XI: 380-382 and XII: 510.517); in contrast to the examples such as individuals with the last name of Prtenjača or places called Prtište and many similar ones, particularly telling is the absence of the word "nošnja" in the conservative part of the linguistic heritage such as the onomastic fund. "National costume" as a regional style and as an inventory of dress, at the time when it became possible both in the social and technical sense, terminologically filled in the ideologically carved out field in the connotative space such as did not exist in widespread usage – not only was the word "nošnja" not used but before Romanticism during the epoch of the *Ancien régime* the notion of "folk costume" which did not exist either linguistically or conceptually would have occupied such a hypothetical position. Contrariwise, as a general designation for domestic movables one recognizes the word *pratež*. The dress unity is an integral concept which does not leave out even the crucial ceremonial vents within the family when dress reveals to every eye important status meanings. Thus we have those proverbial statements which say that a marriageable girl can be "both *rušna* and *krušna*" or "neither *rušna* nor *krušna*" and a dowry characterized in such a manner can subsequently

<sup>15</sup> As the author described it, the purpose of the folk song-book published in Wien in 1814 was the transmission of „Nacionalizmus“ (Karadžić 1814: 15 and 20), see Rihtman-Auguštin 1989:66.

<sup>16</sup> Compare the etymological comment in Weissengruber 2004:42, endnote comment 8.

be disrupted, that is taken away. In later usage expressions such as *poruha*, *porušica*, *porušna odića*, *porušiti se*, to be *porušen* and similar ones relate to wearing mourning clothes. the overall dress of the deceased is not *porušeno*, in the testament dating from 1643 she dress herself (“opravi se”) (Anzulović 1999:121). The Zadar writer who filled in the questionnaire pertaining to common law writes that “clothing was called *ruho* while ‘*prćija*’ designated the other features of moveable property” (Bogišić 1874: 213).

Through words such as “*nošnja*” or *zadruga* Vuk Karadžić became the normative standard who unified and replaced not only local terminology but modified their semantic fields. In addition, the word “*nošnja*” indicates the geographical direction from which the concept “folk costume” was taken. According to its root derivation, the word “*nošnja*” is not worn like a suit nor does it habituate as “*costumi*” or “*habiti*” from the earlier Venetian publications by Fortis and Lovrić but is “carried” as “*Tra-cht*”. Therefore, Karadžić’s standardization derives from two sources. Semantically it arrived from the north, while it was geographically conditioned from the west.

The categorical moment of the formation of the folk costume was this conceptual re-fashioning of the Ravni kotari *rušna* from the ornate *ruho* (dress) of the marriageable girl (with a necklace<sup>17</sup> and coins on the lower edge of the girl’s cap<sup>18</sup>) into the pastoral show-window of the transmitted “*Nacionalizmus*”, that is into that which ethnologists and their predecessors after Karadžić will learnedly call solemn, holiday costume. In time, through scene performances, through being incorporated in festivities, being placed on bank notes and postal stamps this costume will enter all doors and eventually return to the village home.

## Implications of the regional model

When Karadžić, as part of his national program, chose Ravni kotari as the setting for introducing his “Serbian maiden” into what will after him come to be known as costume (“*nošnja*”), this combination received its other potent part. In the North Dalmatian area from Ravni Kotari across Bukovica and Zagora to Vrlika and Sinj, including the contact zone with the littoral, the folk way of dressing during the last two millennia was decisively shaped by the social organization alongside state borders. Before the Military Border of the Hapsburg monarchy, this was a specially sequestered and regulated region of Venetian territorial aspirations not only on the continental boundary facing the Turks but also in the area securing safe navigation. Within the historical areas of the Old Venetian possessions, the players of the game “*moreška*” in Kumpanjija were accounted for as folklore recollections of the reviews

<sup>17</sup> In the Ravni kotari village of Lišani such a necklace with gold and silver coins worn in three rows around the neck was called *obradica* while a necklace with crowned thalers in ravi kotari was also known as *žutci*. To the south in Zagora a necklace with *cvancika* was known as *vinac*.

<sup>18</sup> Pierced coins sewn along the lower edge of the girl’s cap as part of dressing the maid throughout the Ravni kotari area are known as *cvancike* or *thalrs*.

of local “cernida” troops (reserve territorial units) as existed in the XVIIth century (Aralica 1996:117). In the much broader belt of the former Military Border stretching from the Adriatic to Bukovina as well, a series of clothing features of male folk costumes was inherited from the dressing codes of the direct administration from Vienna.

The practical aim of the authorities was twofold. After the introduction of infantry firearms in a proportion which was decisive for military success, because of losses suffered under friendly fire it proved important to make the clothing of soldiers uniform. We need to remember that this was time far distant from the obligatory recruitment which was introduced in 1854 or 1868 and the production of military uniforms exclusively by the state that ensued. On the other hand, this was reason why, in order to save funds, it was necessary to exploit the domestic production of textile and clothing. Men’s combat uniforms (“*Feldmontur*”) and ceremonial, that is off-duty fatigues (“*Hausmontur*”) on the Military Border were separated by decree in 1757. Because of saving measures in the state economy, the latter for some time continued to be produced in the soldier’s own home or in local manufacturing units (Nikolić 1978:95).<sup>19</sup> The degree to which economic considerations were involved is evident in the prolongation and gradual implementation of the code to put the various regiments in uniform.

According to this proposition, today’s North Dalmatian dress reconstructions of traditional breeches to meet the needs of members of Dalmatian harmony-singing groups, of folklore groups or museum presentations can most precisely be designed according to the official cut filed away in the archives of the Military Museum in Wien (Nikolić 1978:114-117); the same is true for the gendarme *pripašnjača* or the red woolen *brus* from the cloth *koporan* with its characteristic red tailored seams which mimics non-commissioned officer’s emblems with a red camel’s mane; the ornamental braids implemented on the breeches are a literal dress consequence of the, so called, “Hungarian loop” which as a part of the renown of the Hussars<sup>20</sup> was introduced into numerous European uniforms, etc. (Hollins and Pavlović 2005: 11,12,16, 38; Brnardić and Pavlović 2004: 36).<sup>21</sup> According to his figurative representation and description Lovrić’s duke Prvan Kokorić was in every dress particularity a Military Border officer (Lovrić 1948 [1776]: Table II).<sup>22</sup> Amongst the selection of such historical military

<sup>19</sup> The off-duty fatigues of the Military Border personnel sometimes served as combat uniforms. Military Border regiments participated in the War of Succession (1740-1748) and in the Seven Year War (1756-1763) which the Austrian empire waged against Prussia on the Middle European battlefields. They became famous when in 1745 they captured Fredric the Great’s treasury in Hohenfriedburg. On certain monuments of figurative art one can see that certain troops wore the *Hausmontur*-fatigues, probably their combat uniforms closely resembled the colors of Prussian uniforms (Hollins and Pavlović 2005:4 and 14).

<sup>20</sup> The military reputation of the Hussars from the turbulent border can etymologically be compared with the Uskoks – while the first was a thief from the border (lat. *corsarius*, pirate) the second was an arson victim who feels from one place to jump to another.

<sup>21</sup> The loop made by a cloth braid was an offshoot of the ornaments on the first gendarme uniforms on Louis XIV’s court. Such loops, placed on the shoulders, engendered the creation of commissioned and noncommissioned officers’s epaulettes (Davenport 1979:529). For the male dress/costume see Tkalčić 1925:161.

<sup>22</sup> Fortis’s Sočivica was not as fortunate as Kokorić. He grew old seeking some kind of secure state service with regular emoluments. For a description of functional clothing see Lovrić 1948[1776]:204.

traditions one ought to include the following: for example, moustaches with the shaving of the beard, long bluecoat's sideburns or shaven off *kajzlerbafa* or the male pigtail. The diffusion of the forms of male Military Border dress onto female clothing far outside of the strict military zone can be perceived on the cuff sleeve of the female hip-length coat which were cut in a triangular manner characteristic of uniforms from military codes, on the planar ornamentation with coins and on the jačerma decorated with flak and elsewhere.<sup>23</sup>

The appeal of the Military Border dress in the historical collective memory of the Croatian populace and their neighbors can be explained by two reasons. First of all, for a long period of time the Military Border was the most alluring feudal master. The border corridor was exempt from the constitutional order of the Monarchy and it was joined to the rest of Croatia only after the demilitarization of 1881 – fourteen years after the Austro-Hungarian agreement, thirteen years after the Hungarian-Croatian agreement and three years after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Gross and Szabo 1992:491, Kaser 1997: 2006). Within the area of the Military Border the feudal agent of regal rights was also the emperor while the role elsewhere played by feudal masters was here played by extended families under military obligations.<sup>24</sup> What in 1535 began as the sedentary settling of the Uskoks from Žumberak when they were temporarily freed from feudal obligations in exchange for unpaid military service, in the centuries that followed formed as an area where there were no serfs or statute labor, no obligatory yearly tithes, no assessments or obligation to give a part of the harvest (Kaser 1997: 215).<sup>25</sup> The regulatory function concerning features of dress which were elsewhere played by the fact that one belonged to a feudal fief were here played by the fact that one belonged to a regiment, that is, by the company communities (Stanojević 1987:33, Kaser 1997: 207). Even contemporary collective memory recognizes the popularity of the better part of the historical heritage of the Military Border by, for example, the familiarity of the ethnonym Kranjci (“Krajinci”)<sup>26</sup> for the Croats coming from the Dinara mountain region, in the anthroponymy of local surnames as well as in the rebellious choice of the name Krajina by the secessionist Serbs for their state in 1990. In 1990 the collective fame of the Military Border populace outside the constitutional order of the state sufficed to be a nominal symbol of resistance to the government in Zagreb although that memory in historical reality implicitly included an unquestioning obedience to Wien and fighting for the emperor not

<sup>23</sup> David 2003 has written about the influence of military uniforms on XIXth century women's fashion. For a description of „the Croatian fashion“ of male *ošvica* from 1640 see Stojković 1953: 258. Ćosić 2004:115 has illustrated such female examples.

<sup>24</sup> The authorities had military reasons for maintaining the mobilization capability of the Military Border families and the kin structure of the extended family was attuned to this need as a sort of microgarrison. In this sense it is an especially theme to see the emergence of the word „zadruga“ (meaning extended family) from the same lexicographical source as the word „nošnja“ (Costume).

<sup>25</sup> The social heritage of the Military Border (for example, ownership of the land) had to be dismantled even later through special legislation, similarly to the distinct nature of ownership in the Neretva river basin or in Istria.

<sup>26</sup> The region Kranjska in Slovenia with its Kranjci folk was also a part of the historical Military Border area where the reserve troops had their headquarters in Varaždin and its chambers in Graz.

only against the Turks but wherever it was commanded to do so throughout the Middle European battlefields. A similar selective collective amnesia took also hold with the costume canonized according to the military book of rules.

The second reason for the social attractiveness of the Military Border dress was its effective regulation of the manifestation of manliness. What from the perspective of the state was an **obligation** to wear this kind of man's clothing, from the social perspective was the **right** to wear it – “some kind of a token of dignity” (Gavazzi 1935: 133). As was proven by answers given to a survey questionnaire, when a boy no longer wore *klašnje* and when he began to wear *benevreke* signaled him coming of age and being able to enter military service and thusly being old enough to marry (Bogišić 1874: 294) someone who at that time walked dressed in such a manner conveyed to other men how he did not have a feudal overlord while to the girls with this respected social decree he verified his manliness. Under the operative administration of the Military Border weapons were a constituent part of the off-duty fatigue, a privilege that people from the neighboring areas looked upon with envy. In the classic period the military influence on the widely worn clothing by men could be stressed with a short mantle known as “sagum”. The phrase indicating the wearing of the mantle in the figurative sense meant going to war (Schönauer 2001: 403).<sup>27</sup>

Such a powerful social mechanism for the verification of manliness with its material manifestations smoothly fused with the life of the local communities. It is impossible to forcefully separate such a dictate from some kind of essentialized *tradition* or *national art*. Father Filip Grabovac's part dirge and part lampoon from the Venetian period speaks about this. It does not reprimand the changeover from some older national tradition of dressing to the dress habits of the Military Border guards but the abandonment of precisely such features (the carrying of weapons, ornamentation with flak, kind of clothing, pigtail and moustache without a beard) for the love of “Lacman” city fashion. In the last verses Grabovac addresses his dirge about the loss of Croatian traditions to the Venetian doge urging him to use the authority “in his hands” to force “undecent officers” to dress in the native manner or to “take their bread away from them” (Lovrić 1948[1776]: 98).

This is why the codification of dress went in two directions. In the production that took place in the province, the authorities saved by tolerating native materials and forms (a thesis which enforces a new rehearsal of the older dress heritage) and avoided casualties through the recognizable uniformity of prescribed clothing. On the other

<sup>27</sup> The sex appeal from this historical border corridor won global renown when the characteristic Hussar dress forms were appropriated by a number of official uniforms of European monarchial armies, afterwards spread in the official cuts throughout the world (Abler 1999). Today the analogy would be the civil clothing marked by recognizable camouflage or commando markers of the uniform that seeks to attain the prestige of the soldier from the front lines or even deeper in enemy territory. The example of the decorative flak on the *jačerma* under the North Dalmatian *koporan* can perhaps be compared with the shaping of the man's short coat known as the Russian *čerkeska* (Georgian *čoha*, with recognizable breast patches for cartridges) during the long border contacts with the specially administered royal Cossacks. A review of the period from the first written documents relating to the predecessors of this dress since the first part of the XVIth century and continuing after is given by Hewitt and Khiba (1997:94-97).

hand, the social regulation of masculinity, of kin relationships and manifestations of status left a deep imprint and general acceptability. The administration of the border corridor had at its disposal local resources and extant cultural practices, bringing into being a public and private practice of dressing and a memorable model for neighboring communities. The wave of representational interest for identity features from folk dressing from the second part of the 1920ies and from the second part of the 1930ies as well as from the end of the 1960ies petrified as far as that goes the narrowed down choice of historical dressing forms.

## Not inventing tradition

Here we have to momentarily return to the concept of “the invention of tradition”. The 1983 eponymous collection of papers presents the papers from the conference of historians who were under the evident academic influence of so-called intellectual history, a part of cultural history edited in the American academic tradition (Hobsbawn 1983: 1). Hobsbawn’s coeditor in this collection, the Oxford Africanist Terence Ranger when revisiting his article ten years later revised the applied concept of unilateral invention within the broad scope of bilateral adaptations, removing “invented tradition” from his professional vocabulary because the “invention” implies the unimportance of the historical processes of reinterpretation and reshaping, essentializes the concept of tradition and emphasizes the inventors of tradition alongside the construction of its passive imitators (Ranger 1993: 62-70 and 78-82, according to Spear 2003:5).

“Far from being created by alien rulers, then, tradition was reinterpreted, reformed and reconstructed by subjects and rulers alike. In the process of analysis, once provocative concepts have often been reduced to ahistorical clichés. Colonial power is taken for granted, while economic forces are neglected. (...) We must, then, reconceptualize the dynamics of tradition along historical lines. (...) tradition also constitutes a discourse by which people assert present interests in terms of the past. Traditions thus have their own histories, histories that can be recovered by careful excavation of their successive representations. (...) traditions are viewed as discourses long term continuities in political language’ that are continuously transformed as people struggle over social changes and conflicts within their society.” (Spear 2003: 4-6)

Perceiving the discourse on tradition as a discourse relating to social power is known from Gramsci’s model of culture as it was elaborated in ethnology by Alberto Cirese where social stratification and conflict is the normal and not an extraordinary condition of generating folklore (Cirese 1972: 28 according to Rihtman-Auguštin 1988:55). Where Cirese seems to be saying “show me a tradition and I will reveal the exploiter in that community”, after the organicist critiques of this model in recent times social anthropologists led by Africanists maintain “show me a tradition and we will reveal the cultural dynamics and the two-sided social process between power and the subjected”. The eventual ethnological perception of heritage through the concept

of inventing, for example, the Illyrian tight-fitting braided jacket from 1848, the ornamented colonial koporan from the 1870ies, the Đakovo jewelry from 1882 (Gušić 1955:75, Brenko 1996: 56) or the Šibenik cap around 1910, leaves out the circumstances of the premises for these new cultural practices. In our case, the decisive importance lies in the nature and the scope of power during the time of the modification of the tradition as was later taken to be the canon.

## Aspects of deconstruction

Three characteristic modern developments were in 1816 terminologically subsumed under the phrase “folk costume”: regionalization, the administration of the anti-Turk corridor and Romanticism. The renown of recent military uniforms represented as Medieval national specificities took place as a declaration of an ideological program. Just as today it is implicitly held that banknotes with the stamp of the National Bank are not literal monetary notes earmarked for the money needs of the members of the nominated people but that they guarantee value in the money transactions of the citizens within the boundary of the national state, in like manner neither is the folk costume a public object appropriate for literal readings or semantic hair-splitting. The risk of the analytic implementation of deconstruction in the humanities and the social sciences can be compared with the dangers of epidemiology or pyrotechnics – work with such things and mechanisms has to be entrusted to those in the know who possess certified methodological abilities and who are socially responsible, for the best benefit in controlled conditions of the almost exterritorialized social environments such as seminar rooms or scholarly project’s discussion panels. The achievements and the implications of teaching or of research will always reveal whether these parts of the concern were addressed.

According to the ideological framework of the national state, folk costumes are numbered among the secular holies, among the objects of public piety.<sup>28</sup> In front of the Greek presidential guard Evzones which in Athens stands guard over the Grave of the Unknown Soldier we do not see the costumed protocol of the Bavarian royal establishment according to the idea of king Otto but rather the dressed memory of rebels who fought for the establishment of the state, the symbols of those who suffered under Turkish rule etc..<sup>29</sup> The folk costume is really just a distinctly cut textile but isn’t the flag the same thing? Just as it is not proper for the warship to display it at night,

<sup>28</sup> Robert Bellah as the more neutral term brings into line with his famous concept which he employed between 1965 and 1978, the concept of civil religion (2003:208).

<sup>29</sup> Although folk costumes everywhere celebrate the oldest original authenticities, the ceremonial Greek guards are not dressed in the northern nomadic Saracian relic of the pre-Classical epoch as Angelika Hadžimihali expanded it in 1957 but in memory of the rebels from 1821-1834 who were dressed according to the southern mountain-region habit. The same is true elsewhere where costumes, valued on coins or stamps within the habitaula cult of the archaic quality, do not relate to some relic ethnic community, although the presented embodiment of the folk costume was seething with recent references and still remembered transformations.

just as it is not proper that any member of the household covers the table with the flag even if preparations are being made for a wedding, funeral or an oath, just as the destruction of such pieces of cloth shows the disgust somebody feels towards whole countries, in like manner the handling of folk costumes has also its symbolic weight. Just like the flag, the national costume in each of the environments and situations it finds itself in lives its life in a public manner. Just like the flag, using the rules of its cut and its ornamentation, anyone can make a national costume out of certain pieces of textile. In such a construction there is no consecration such as is the case with religious holies but the moment when three joined strips turn into the tricolor corresponds to the moment of the creation of a secular sacred object. It is therefore possible to understand folklorization as a secular sacralization (Köstlin 2001:34) however it appears how the propagators of this civilian cult are politicians. The folk costume and traditional customs provide the national state with a “religious legitimacy” (Bellah 2003:210)<sup>30</sup> as happened in a self-evident manner on the occasion of the costumed staging of the “national custom” of gifting a newly born infant on Jelačić square in Zagreb after the constituent assembly of the first democratically elected Parliament of the independent Republic of Croatia in May 1990.<sup>31</sup>

## The national costume as a cultural good of creative industry

After coats-of-arm and the ceremonial sumptuousness of aristocratic luxuriance, such cohesive symbols of society became necessary at the time of the constitution of new national states. The technological revolution had changed the social regulation and the trade in goods. During these processes the national costume was a cultural good, the product of the creative industry which met the new social need according to the laws of supply and demand. From the literary-theoretical standpoint, Itmar Even-Zohar understands the market as “the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of literary products and with the promotion of types of consumption” (Even-Zohar 1990:38) which is clearly applicable also in cases that lie outside the literary market. On a thusly-conceived market “by ‘product’ I mean any performed (or performable) set of signs, i. e., including a given ‘behavior’; thus, any outcome of any activity whatsoever can be considered ‘a product’, whatever its ontological manifestation may be” (ibid., 43). Goods supplied by the market are not conceived as mere articles on shop shelves but as a “very complex social form and the exchange of knowledge” (Appadurai 1986: 41).

<sup>30</sup> Bellah perceives such public displays of piety as a secular religious adhesive glue in characteristically modern societies.

<sup>31</sup> The president of the triumphant political party, Franjo Tuđman, and the Zagreb archbishop, Kuharić, in front of women wearing national costumes and a folk fiddler made a gift of a doll reclining in a folk cradle symbolically to the new-born Republic of Croatia, both with the quill and a gold coin. Coincidentally, at the end of the same month The Croatian Ethnological Society held its regular annual conference during which, after the presentation given by Silvio Braica, this event was also discussed. It was observed that the gift-giving had no literal ethnographic model but was performed as a symbolic evocation.



Because of the recognition of common characteristics and the need for an integral regulation of cultural policies during the 1990ies, from within the scholarly field of economics, the economy of art, a recognizable field of interest since the 1960ies, was transformed into the nominally broader cultural economics<sup>32</sup> which incorporates the economic interest for cultural creativity, performance arts, cultural heritage and various cultural creative industries such as the markets for films, music, souvenirs etc. Economists see this field of interest as a junction of interests with the history of art, the philosophy of art, with sociology, anthropology, law, geography (urban planning) and others (Towse 2003:12). All the incorporated cultural goods, whether material or intangible, include creative, that is, artistic (for example, aesthetic) elements. Direct calculations can estimate the market value of only some cultural products so that the existence of non-economic values (for example, beauty) of cultural goods and associated services (McCain 2006: 150-152) is also important on the market.

Demand for cultural goods, the products of the creative industry, depends on the cultivation of interests, that is, on the sophistication of taste. The elementary definition of the economy sees it as science which investigates human behavior as a relationship between usage and limited resources which have fluctuating uses. On this site usages are determined by individual choices so that we are immediately on the terrain of taste (McCain 2003: 445). Economists agree that someone who would be able to provide the placer of the order for his expertise with an always valid and effective formula for shaping taste in favor of demand for certain products would become wealthy overnight. Such a *vademecum* cannot be expected to become reality. Nevertheless, one can more easily comprehend the economist's leafing through sociological and anthropological literature and the appropriation of economically-exotic theoretical concepts. Therefore on these unusual disciplinary intersections one can encounter amongst the analyses of the formation of taste mathematical simulations of habits with the necessary formulas (McCain 2008: 162, 163). Models vary from the passive formation of taste through the habituation of cultural practices, through learning by consumption to the creation of rational dependence. When discussing the concept of the creative industry, the author recognizes to what extent is everyday non-utilitarian communication significant for the preferences of individual taste (Caves 2000. 178-184). Taste is not a given nor is it inherited; taste is acquired. Individual and collective selections in the process of acquiring and behaving according to taste (Blumer 1969., according to Caves 2000:183) represent the fundamental communication tissue of culture.

In one of the most often cited articles dealing with this theme objective goods on offer in the market are distinguished from the subjective experiences they create in the individual; through their combination the individual consumer ensures the generation of desired sensations (Stigler and Becker 1977 according to McCain 2003:446). As far back as 1911 the economist Joseph Schumpeter explained that the needs of the

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<sup>32</sup> Such is the title of the *Journal of Cultural Economics* which has been published since 1973, the thematic focus of relevant biannual international scholarly gatherings which have been held since 1979 as well as the name of *The Association for Cultural Economics International* (1003) which has been internationalized from its original American society.

consumer as such are not large but that they can be conditioned to a state of insatiability by appropriate stimulation (McCraw 2007: 73, see also Appandurai 1986:32-33). On a market stimulated in such a manner some former local bearer of a symbol or an artistic value of a particular community can be transformed into a widely offered commodity (Švob-Đokić 2008:46).<sup>33</sup> (Cerullo and Ewen 1984:35, according to Baker 2002:204). In the discharging of such cultural fantasies cultural goods come into being which lack native cultural application, “based in part on [local] analysis of how Westerners ‘read’ their textiles” (Zorn 2004:87-88 and 101). Using the example of the market offerings of “authentic food” (for example, certain varieties of cheese) the researcher in that sense comes to the conclusion:

“Through this kind of ethnography we can see more clearly what is going on with the concepts of locality and tradition. These speciality products are not survivals as such, they are generated out of sustained commercial activity, state regulatory systems and international trade agreements. Nor are we dealing with a localized food system except in a very restricted sense, and certainly not one that has survived from some pre-capitalist era.” (Pratt 2007:291)

National costumes belong to that sort of cultural practice which did not change (accommodate, contaminate, weaken, restore themselves..) during the last two centuries in the wake of the industrialization and modernization of society. In reality these costumes came into being as a cultural offering to the voiced demand of industrial society and with the aid of products that were created by mechanized and industrialized tools. The protectionist conservatism of national cultures stands in a complementary relationship with the simultaneous processes of globalization.<sup>34</sup> In such a global economy consumers are educated concerning the offerings of new commodities and their meanings as Schumpeter explained (McCraw 2007:72); commercials become a constituent part of the buildup of taste.<sup>35</sup> The national costume is a distinct cultural phenomenon of the Modern Age with prominent cultural practices as creative recombinations of existing elements. The national costume as a pre-industrial fantasy in the Romantic key corresponds to the Wagnerian construction of national Medieval times or to the 1761 Ossian forgery. All of this does not detract from its historical significance nor does it negate its potential to motivate.<sup>36</sup> We can admire the costume just as

<sup>33</sup> Kafir 2007 analyzes the transformation of the mask of the Idom people and the lance of the Sambur people 8part of the resettled Massa people) into souveneirs.

<sup>34</sup> (Acheson and Maule 2006:1150)

<sup>35</sup> Here we can acerbically add to the familiar kind of comment concerning epochal shifts by stating that the industrial or postindustrial commercial is in no way a smaller liar than the preindustrial epic. Night in night out invincible heroes have been replaced by irresistable products.

<sup>36</sup> Amongst the other urban utopias of the indutrial epoch the national costume can be compared to the modern genesis of idealized nature in the intensively regulated preserves such as the zoo (1752) or the national park (1878). The zoo or the national park as the essence of indisputable or „untouched“ nature as is conditioned by trams or railways alongside the cities of the nation state as a cultural construction corresponds to the idea of the relic essence of rural settings combined with the reality of larger cities alongside which are the respected centers of tradition in towns and smaller settlements. Lozica 1997: 194 drew attention to these carnevalesque examples (Samobor nearby Zagreb, Opatija nearby Rijeka, Donji Kašteli nearby Split, Župa nearby Dubrovnik).

we admire a mountain lake until we realize that it is not a lake but an accumulation of water alongside a hydro-electric power plant which was built in order to meet the demands of the electricity market. The lake did not become uglier. The only thing that happened is that we now understand its other significance.

The national costume as a modern cultural good of the creative industry redefines certain old questions. If the national costume is the original embodiment of an essentialized tradition it is obvious how today only its replica or copy can be generated. However, if folklore itself in its generative base is the same as folklorism, the costume is an original whether it recombines the existing elements within available circumstances in 1850 or in 2000. Those who do not heed significant deviations from the canonized forms are outside consumers who consume only one part of the cultural meanings of the object.<sup>37</sup> “Ironically, a healthy measure of replication is thought to be a sign of the authentic in the context of ‘tradition’ but symptomatic of the counterfeit in the context of objects openly made to be sold” (Kasfir 2007:264).<sup>38</sup> Paradoxically speaking, here we are in front of the original copy (ibid., 193).

“ (...) the past enters the present, but it doesn’t bring together a growth in the knowledge of history. The celebratory use of history in the urban festival does not bring to people an experience of diversity, it is merely a literal, uninformed translation into present social and cultural schemes. (...) its way of evoking the past cannot be produced except by such a simplifying and reductive translation into present-day experiential language. Its only way to be ‘true’ is to accept to act as ‘authentically false’. (...) The past enters the present time of festival paying a heavy tribute to ‘representativeness’.” (Mugnaini 2000:277,278)

One has to keep one’s eye on the user of the cultural practice or the buyer of cultural production because the balance of such contradictory relations is always constituted anew depending on the purpose –through consumption. Amongst the objects of ethnological interest these kinds of changes are wholly ordinary as collective change that

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<sup>37</sup> The process can be the reverse. Scheider observes that the weavers of the Navajo people indifferently implemented carried out the dictated market changes while their culture remained untouched by the market modifications of the blankets because, due to the fact that it was quite recent, this type of handiwork represented a culturally peripheral expression, not essential as a means of spiritual display and not represented in rituals (Schneider 1987:430, compare the social role of textile amongst the neighboring Zuni and Pueblo people in Kent 1979:100). However, the product was a favorite market commodity because the pottery souvenir of the local Pueblo-tradition were not suitable for transport and these potters received their tourist shoppers at their doors. Blankets were easier to transport collectively and it was easier to build a network of middlemen as intermediaries to the larger cities (Brody 1979:74-76).

<sup>38</sup> The accompanying process of propositioning and arbitrating authenticity is evident in the process of certifying artifacts. The first certificate was a commercial formulation of a store trading Navajo products that was opened in 1884 (Bloomberg 1988:20-21), while their first state certificate was approved in 1916 (Schrader 1983:8, according to Moore 2008: 197). The mark of the Harris Tweed (The Old Mark) from the Hebrides was established in 1909 (Ennew 1982). Within the market economy the certificate represents the sale substitute for the unemphasized environmental context of the object within the setting in which it came into being and where it was used. In this sense the certificate can be compared to the exhibition legend of a museum piece which reduces the entirety of its cultural meanings to the selection of those of its features which make it a monument.

are collectively remembered through the very act of performing them.<sup>39</sup> In such adaptations tradition is like a river, because one cannot step into the same water twice. Accordingly maintained, the adapted public content is made part of the tradition whether it is accounted for as “original” folklore or as a staged folklorism.

Earlier mechanically understood as nameless upholders of tradition, today people and their communities can be distinguished by name and surname and as its creative protagonists and legally respected owners. These interesting social transformations, instigated by disciplinary discussions and adequate legal decrees,<sup>40</sup> increase the dynamics of the culture of local communities with all their stratifications and complexities and ultimately strengthen traditions.

The producers of cultural goods, in our time conjoining the roles of both producers and middle men for the market, with their creative and technological abilities are able to satisfy the criteria of being a “creative class”. Such individuals with their work increase the value of the product and therefore do become objects of interest for the investors on the markets of services (Florida 2003 and Hartley 2006 according to Švob-Đukić 2008: 63-65).<sup>41</sup> Goods created in this manner in today’s economy are subjected to the whims of the consumer’s desires. The consumer’s choice of products contains a paradoxical dose of creativity which is evident in the case of fashion.<sup>42</sup> On this site the sharp boundaries between creativity, production and consumption become blurry while cultural consumption creates the enabling conditions for individualizations. Similarly to the reconstruction of historical ways of dressing, the possibilities of choosing in everyday ways of dressing also shares the characteristic of a creative act (Švob-Đukić 2008:44, Tarlo 1996:12 and 318). Individuality is expressed using the available means, means which do not derive from the treasury of the cultural practices of self-sufficient economies nor share such a symbolically expressive inventory.<sup>43</sup> Such new connotations of creativity earmarked for expansive markets<sup>44</sup> offer at the same time a space for new creative practices, both individual as well as collective.

<sup>39</sup> Tschmuck 2006: 183-193. for the costumed scenic performances during the Middle Ages see Mugnaini 2006:288.

<sup>40</sup> Compare the impact of the 1991 NAGPRA law in the USA: museums were forced to present themselves to the inheritors of local cultures as better places for presenting the restituable heritage while, on the other hand, scholars thereby become more highly motivated collaborators with the local community in their separate interpretative initiatives.

<sup>41</sup> The creator of new values is not one who bears risk. In the economy responsibility lies with the one whose investments come to naught if his actions have no effect. As Schumpeter teaches, in economic innovation the entrepreneur can only risk his reputation. Therefore the acting out of innovative practice is not an unambiguous procedure (McCraw 2007:74).

<sup>42</sup> Compare today’s popular term *fashion-buyer* which refers to people whose purchase choice determines the collective taste in dressing; also see Hansen 2004:373. In West Africa the researcher is „“ (Kriger 2006:6)

<sup>43</sup> J. Brody with his concluding observation about the new type of painting analyses the impact of creative market consumerism using the example of artefacts and artistic creations of the Southwest part of the US: „“ (Brody 1979: 83).

<sup>44</sup> „“ (Barrett 2002:16).

Instructed by the example of the transformed market during the XIXth century, in such circumstances it is necessary to recognize the guarantees of the regeneration of traditions and renewed cultural practices on the contemporary globalized market.<sup>45</sup> According to sociologists of culture, these are market commodities and their creators (for example, scene performers)<sup>46</sup> are simultaneously both their producers and consumers,<sup>47</sup> that is, economic subjects.<sup>48</sup> The laws of the market such as monopoly rent, which can be attached to a unique good (Pratt 2007:298), affect these as well as the imperative of innovative competition (Menger 2006:786-788).

## Conclusion

With Fortis, Hocquet and Karadžić, across the Illyrians and industrialist to the collective holding of the rights of using goods nowadays, we have traversed a distance here that can be compared to the darkened lecture hall during the projection of elementary concepts to a sleepy group of undergraduates when the attention of the adolescent listeners can all of a sudden be awakened by recapitulating the defined cultural phenomena as the social instrumentalization of war, sex, money and politics. And outside the seminar room it does not befit to compare the national costume with a fossil but with a picturesque and dynamic commercial, the communication product of the same age. Just as the commercial relies on the communication capacity of figural art and letters, in a similar fashion the national costume with its cut and ornamental recombinations relied on available decorative programs – amongst there truly were archaic elements.

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<sup>45</sup> Compare Cowen's 1998 fundamental thesis. The drawing of the line between the city and the village according to the modal of globalization confronting autarkic communities frequently can be artificial because work at home supplemented the production of craftsmen (with an important seasonal division of labor, Gullickson 1986:196) and was known to be its complementary or preliminary processual part. According to their productive capacities, villages transformed their communities into city communities with town corporative structures and with little or no difference from the so-called city production (compare the social predispositions of the craft of weaving in Burke 1991: 42-43). The significance of village or rural textiles „“, is the assessment with which John Munro concludes his survey of European medieval wool production (2003:227). Aspects of European „rural industries“ one the eve of industrialisation was exhaustively discussed in the collection of essays Kriedte et.al. (1981).

<sup>46</sup> The Croatian Association for the Protection of Performance Rights (article 167 of the Law concerning authorial rights and similar rights) is authorized to collect fees for recordings of performance artists according to an established book of rules and a specified tariff. Such fees for technically reproduced performances, for example, of costumed collective singing or of performing „folk dances in their original form“ (ibid, article 8) are prescribed for the benefit of the fund for the propagation of creativity and cultural variety.

<sup>47</sup> Concerning the blurring of boundaries between cultural producers and cultural consumers see Even-Zohar 1990:35.

<sup>48</sup> The native Croatian ethnologist is not wholly an unknown guest in the production process owing to Rihman-Augustin 1970, 1972 and others.

With our knowledge of the genesis of the national costume it is interesting to observe the social dynamics of the concept and the significance of the region in the life of the costume as a cultural good in our own times.<sup>49</sup> In addition to the administrative sense, the conception of the region continues to be related to the market.<sup>50</sup> During the last two decades the vitality of cultural practices in administrative procedures has been boosted by the implementation of the legal protection of collective practices in the form of immaterial cultural goods. Just as at the time when visits by state foresters, teachers, gendarme, physicians and recruiting commissioners replaced the visits by feudal estimators of the harvest and the peasants noted the interest these new enlightened and Romantic officials had for the characteristics of their hand-wrought artefacts, today the new space of demand enhanced by the technologically updated means of supply is perceived in the same manner. Every time that a person dressed in the national costume appears in a front of a sponsor's commercial logotype what we have is the marketing of cultural goods deriving from the partially inherited and partly from the creative facility of the cultural industry of experience, of value to the local community and to the communication tissue of constructing taste. To an extent, more or less indirectly, the practicing of socially responsible entrepreneurship counters such marketing.

Far distant from local sites, after the state initiatives of decolonized African countries and South American countries such as Bolivia and Peru, because of the market exploitation of their heritage, in the documents of UNESCO and WIPO the "folklore" definitions of collective forms of protected cultural practices are modified into formulations such as "cultural and intellectual ownership", "Traditional knowledge", "cultural expression" and others (Lucas-Schoetter 2004: 264). This market tide sets afloat "folklore" (the word coined by the English archeologist W.G. Thoms in 1846), that is, "the national treasure" and "national art" with the national costume as its prominent

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<sup>49</sup> It has been observed how the so-called spatial units for statistics of the second order (regions, provinces) in the countries that have entered the European Union acquired not only statistical features but those features associated with administrative wholes. Whether this means that some future inhabitants of the third Croatian spatial unit for statistics of the second order will consider themselves Adriatic (in the so-called Adriatic statistical region of Croatia) and design for their dress some kind of „Adriatic“ cultural item conceived in constct with other provincials from the countries of the European Union is bizarre to imagine but might be interesting to observe.

<sup>50</sup> Scholars of the Mediterranean have observed how the definitional perception of the Mediterranean accords with the prospects of tourism. Nine existing Mediterraneanoid natural regions define the most explicit of all the attributes of the Mediterranean, the climatic one, as rare and recent excesses which as such are all the more emphatically emphasized (Grove and Rackham). While social anthropologists (those who instituted „Mediterranean studies“) never came to a consensus as to where precisely lies the southeastern boundary of the Mediterranean, experts who deal with these Mediterranean shores and accesses do not even designate themselves with the Mediterranean label. Another example of the business definition of this large operative „region“ at the time of writing this article can be gleaned from newspaper accounts which, after Bavaria sold off its shares and Austria nationalized the bank Hypo-Alpe-Adria, have reconstructed the field and the scope of the bank's financial speculations. The bank served as a treasury for the redistribution of the social wealth of the European Southeast during the 1990s and as a renowned departure point of capital for the consumption of available resources such as the coastal area for real estate construction. In an unusual manner, the vitality of the operative „region“ after the genesis of the concept of the national costume is reconfirmed two centuries later.

aesthetic monument into the disciplinary treasury of paleoethnological terminology. The cultural conjuncture at the time of the industrial revolution was folklore while this conjuncture during the period of globalization has been transformed into marketing “local knowledge”.

The concluding disciplinary point of interest is represented by the circumstance that ethnologists within the Croatian academic tradition were not able to perceive the formative features of the national costume, meaning by this the stratigraphy of the social, cultural and technological capacities of the cultural process and the historization of this cultural practice.<sup>51</sup> Concerning Gavazzi’s 1935 “biological” article it has been noted that “such an understanding of dress differ from later ones which dominated Croatian ethnology of the cultural-historical tendency as well as from the later work of Gavazzi himself”; as early as 1944 he continued “to see national costumes as part of so-called national art (...) distributed according to cultural areas” (Vojnović-Traživuk 2001: 81, 82). Gavazzi did not even try to reconcile these two assertions, the historicizing model of periodic differentiation and the theoretical model of the area, probably because in the forms in which they are described they are mutually exclusive of each other. Departing from Gavazzi’s land areas as “piled-up agglomerations of numerous distinct cultural elements” (Gavazzi [1956] 1978:185) during the historization of this cultural good we found ourselves in front of “the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of [cultural] products” (Even-Zohar 1990:38). On the rugged path between these piled-up states and accretions which from the land area leads one to the market, in the words of the historicizing pioneer of Croatian scholarship, “at this moment for ethnology we do not perceive a better challenge and a *more productive chance*” (Rihtman-Auguštin 1988:6, italics in the original).

*Translated by Stipe Grgas-Mufa*

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<sup>51</sup> Although the high priests of this secular cult are politicians (Žanić 1998), the methodological researcher still have a responsible role to play: „It appears that it is precisely the ethnologists who are the scholars who choose what will be designated as ‘authentic’, ‘historical’ or ‘original’ and that will be later – using their scholarly reputation – sacralized by folklorization. Ethnologists have always made attempts to promote the objects and ideas that they have studied” (Köstlin 2001:34).