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Prehistorija pojma “narodna nošnja”

U članku se preispituje pojam “narodna nošnja”, neologizam koji je u hrvatski jezik uveden tijekom XIX. st. Da bi se pristupilo njegovu značenjskom polju, prikazano je stvaranje intelektualne predodžbe o odijevanju naroda kroz povijest kakva je utrla put romantičarskom uvriježanju ovog pojma.

Ključne riječi: narodna nošnja, etnološko nazivlje, kulturna povijest

Svojevrсна se prehistorija pojma “narodna nošnja” kao ispravnog prikaza etničkog odijevanja može ustanoviti od najstarijih predodžbi ljudskih likova koji su na likovnim prikazima svojom distinktivnom odjećom domaćem gledatelju imali predstaviti strani (etnički, plemenski ili regionalni) identitet.¹ Iz pretkršćanskog doba vrlo su zanimljivi rimski spomenici vojnih pobjeda s predodžbama pokorenih naroda. R. Gergel je 1994. godine analizirao oko šest stotina ceremonijalnih prsnih oklopa rimskih vojskovođa u trijumfu, koji su sačuvani na tako ukrašenim kipovima. Već je prvi ovakav nalaz cara Augusta 1863. godine bio najdetaljniji od svih kasnije nađenih, s kombinacijama mitoloških figura, simboličkih likova i alegorijskih personifikacija, pobuđujući živo zanimanje i brojna tumačenja. Prikaz s ovog oklopa odnosi se na njegov povratak ranije izgubljenih rimskih vojnih obilježja od Parta,² stoga se ne prikazuje vojna pobjeda već pacifikacija a čitava je simbolička poruka usmjerena k glorifikaciji donositelja mira i napretka svijetu rimske epohe. On je, kao i drugi takvi likovi, prikazan u vojničkoj opremi. Ikonografski se podjarmljeni likovi (pacificirani barbari ili zaslužnjenici) na ovakvim re-

¹ Članak je prilagođeni dio uvoda disertacije o narodnim nošnjama i povijesnoj kulturi odijevanja u sjevernoj Dalmaciji pod mentorstvom Aleksandre Muraj, kojoj toplo zahvaljujem na naputcima i strpljenju. Članak su savjetima poboljšali i ocjenitelji Etnoloških istraživanja. Svaka je eventualna greška isključiv propust autora.

² To su bili standardi tri rimske legije koje su Parti osvojili u bitkama 53., 40. i 36. g. pr. K. Sam August ovo svoje diplomatsko poduzimanje opisuje u djelu “Res gestae” odl. 5.29 (Gergel, 1994: 194).

ljefima po dijelovima odjeće ili kosi uopće mogu prepoznati kao predstavnici, npr., Germana, Dačana, Parta, Armenaca ili Židova. Zajednička crta ovih prikaza jest da se radi o alegorijskim personifikacijama zemlje, te se prikazani lik, npr., na spomenutom Augustovom oklopu ne može prepoznati ni kao partski kralj koji je u stvarnosti vratio obilježja rimskih postrojbi, niti kao partski arhineprijatelj Mitridat. To je jednostavno "Part", personifikacija čitave zemlje (Gergel, 1994: 194, 195 i nap. 14).

Kod nas je 1886. godine pronađen jedan rječit arheološki spomenik srodne likovne vrste. To je tropej iz Garduna pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Na sačuvanom ostatku ovoga trijumfalnog spomenika u slavu rimskog slamanja Batonovog ustanka koncem prvog desetljeća I. st. n. Kr. prikazana su dva zaslužnjena predstavnika poraženih Delmata i Panonaca. Realistični prikaz njihove različite odjeće i obuće arheologu je dao mogućnost protumačiti ih kao etničke reprezentante oba pobunjena naroda, ponajprije stoga što su u prvom planu vidljive njihove različite fibule od kojih je jedna nesumnjivo obalnog rasprostranjenja (Cambis, 1984.; Schönauer, 2001: 234-239). To je prvi likovni prikaz ljudi koji predstavljaju domaći etnički identitet na području Hrvatske.³

Karakteristični prikazi etničkih identiteta tijekom srednjeg vijeka mogu se sresti na likovnim spomenicima u potrebama prikaza tema iz kršćanske ikonografije, poput Molitve sv. Ivana Krstitelja u pustinji, Krštenja u rijeci Jordan, apostolskih molitvi ili misionarskih djela (Ilg, 2004: 35), slično kao što je i jedan od redovitih likovnih izvora za predodžbu seoskoga socijalnog identiteta ikonografija Rodenja Isusovog s likovima pastira. Takva su vrela i marginalna opremanja srednjovjekovnih djela, poput minijatura u rukopisima, poslužili kao prvi predlošci u nastanku nove vrste likovnih predodžbi ljudi iz raznih zemalja, krajeva i naroda. Kartografska dopuna ove vrste slijedila je navadu slovnog (simboličkog) označivanja prisutnosti naroda na zemljovidima, kako je to uvriježeno od priređivanja Ptolemejeve "Geografije" u dijelu zemljovida zapadne Europe iz XIII. st. Na samom koncu izrade tzv. T-O zemljovida triju poznatih kontinenata s Jeruzalemom u sredini, sredinom XV. st. su se počeli uvrštavati likovi Noinih sinova Sema, Jafeta i Hama na pripadnim kontinentima. Na vrlo poznom T-O zemljovidu koji je 1482. godine izrađen za kralja Eduarda IV. unutar obrisa afričkog kontinenta ucrtana su dva crna (Wallis i Robinson, 1987: 106).

Renesansne knjige nošnji

Vrijeme velikih geografskih otkrića Europljana ovakvoj je kartografskoj ilustrativnosti pridalo novi oblik. Kartografi su oslikavali svoja djela zornim prikazima pripadnih naroda. Tzv. Millerov atlas, koji je nastao oko 1519., i "Boke of Hydrography" iz 1542. uključuju prikaze izravnih likovnih svjedočenja egzotičnih domorodaca, u potonjem

³ Od preostala 32 spomenika iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu koji sadržavaju prikaze odjeće što ih je obradila Srđana Schönauer jedini preostali primjer etničkog identiteta prikaz je Izraelaca pri prijelazu preko Crvenog mora na importnom sarkofagu iz rimske radionice.

slučaju sela Tupinámbe naroda u Brazilu. Takva se kartografska praksa ibernskih kartografa iz raznih knjiga proširila Europom, pa i dalje (ibid.). U tom novom razdoblju u kojem je interes za širine svijeta obnovljen i potaknut uslijed otvaranja novih tržišnih pravaca, Renesansi, od 1562. počele su se objavljivati knjige sastavljene isključivo od prikaza karakteristično odjevenih predstavnika raznih dijelova svijeta. U prvih tridesetak godina objavljeno je ne manje od deset ovakvih knjiga, koje su svoj novi zasebni interes iskazivale i u samom naslovu. Kolekcije ovakvih litografija pojavile su se već od oko 1520., i pretpostavlja se da ih je (zajedno s knjigama) do 1610. bilo preko 200 (v. proslov u: Vecellio, 1977. [1590.]). Ovakvom novom nakladnom žanru kumovala je promijenjena percepcija svijeta. Smještaj vlastitog društva i naroda dobija mjesto u širokoj slici svijeta, otvarajućeg za upoznavanje sazrijevanjem enciklopedijskog duha s mnogim kamenčićima rasprostrućeg mozaika. U kulturnim raspravama na važnosti dobijaju analogije, a otprije uobičajen publicistički oblik historije država evolviraju u širu, globalnu historiju. U njoj je jasno postavljena civilizacijska razdjelnica među odjevenim Europljanima i nagim urođenim. Nama je početak ove nove nakladne vrste vrlo zanimljiv zbog uvrštavanja prikaza "dalmatinske ili slavenske žene" u najčuveniju ovakvu knjigu XVI. st., "De gli habiti antichi et moderni di diverse parti del mondo" Ticijanovog nećaka Cesarea Vecellija iz 1590. godine.

Jedna od izravnih primjena knjige poput Vecellijeve bila je kazališna (Hollander, 1988: 247). Samo su njegovom suvremeniku Shakespeareu za "Otelo" ovdje na raspolaganju bili likovni naputci za četiri pojedinačna lika i dvije skupine likova (Vecellio, 1977. [1590.]). Priručnik za izvođenje kazališnih djela u Mlecima iz 1554. preporuča kostimiranja u nošnje ("costumi") ljudi iz dalekih zemalja jer "novitet potiče divljenje gledateljstva a time i njegovu pozornost" (Jowers, 1997: 971). Mnogi među kupcima knjiga o svjetskim nošnjama već od prvih izdanja bili su glumci, kostimografi i vlasnici kazališta sa svojim garderobama (Hollander, 1988: 258, 271), jer je kostimirati trebalo ne samo glumce već i glazbenike koji su s njima dijelili scenu. Napose je važno bilo kostimirano prisustvovanje dvora, koji je u početcima opere bio aktivnim dijelom predstave (Hollander, 1988: 248, 272). Barokni učitelj iz 1682. napućuje da tijekom zabavnih međuscena plesači budu slično odjeveni, ali bez pojavljivanja dva puta u istom kostimu.⁴ Za to sugerira i kostime koji bi trebali dočarati američke Indijance, Perzijance ili Maure (Jowers, 1997: 972). Knjige su očito imale takav kostimografski učinak: u jednoj mađarskoj opernoj izvedbi 1784. godine se na sceni pojavilo ne manje od 60 glumaca u, među ostalim, maurskim kostimima (o. c., 980). Na taj način nastali su scenski standardi kostimiranja glumaca u ulogama istočnjaka (Hollander, 1988: 286), ili kostimografski stereotipi pri predstavljanju povijesnih zbivanja uopće (Hollander, 1988: 264).

⁴ O ilustriranju ambijenta scenske radnje kroz zasebne prikaze zvane *intermezzo*, kao svojevrsnog sljednika wuličnih *tableaux vivants*, v. Hollander, 1988: 268.

Uloga kartuša u atlasima

Doba izlaska knjiga s prikazima nošnji iz raznih dijelova svijeta poklapa se s vremenom objavljivanja prvih atlasa čitavog svijeta. Prvi takav jest Orteliusov iz 1570. godine, dok je prvi naslovni "atlas" Mercatorov iz 1595. godine. U nakladničkom proslavu knjige nošnji iz 1581. "Habitus variarum orbis gentium" izrijekom se kaže da će njegovo izdanje biti vrijedno poput korisnih knjiga sa zemljovidima, prikazima krajeva, gradova, mora, planina, šuma i životinja, jer "pokazuje ljudske odjeće kako ih nose pojedini narodi i stoga (...) se lako može opaziti ne samo razlike od kraja do kraja, već i među stanovništvom i narodima" (Ilg, 2004: 38). U atlasima ove epohe prikazi karakteristično lokalno odjevenih ljudi bili su čestim dijelom bogato ukrašenih okvira zemljovida, tzv. marginalnih obavijesti ili "kartuša" s alegorijskim prikazima, naslovom, autorom, nakladnikom, posvetom, mjerilom, ključem znakova, mjerilom ili orijentacijom. Tu su se smještale i praktične informacije poput pripadnih grbova, karakterističnih proizvoda, karakterističnih životinja i karakteristično odjevenih ljudi. Općenito zainteresirani čitatelj na taj je način mogao utaliti radoznalost o svjetskim raznolikostima.

U djelu "Atlas maior" Willema Joana Blaeua iz 1665. svaki od četiri kontinenta ima svoj polazni zemljovid optočen s po devet karata istaknutih gradova i po deset parova ljudskih likova koji su legendama predstavljeni kao stanovnici pojedinih zemalja, gradova ili pripadnici pojedinih naroda toga kontinenta, a u sastavu samog zemljovida uključene su i figuracije karakterističnih životinja. Ove su ilustracije zasnovane 1606.-1607. na ranijem djelu Georga Brauna i Fransa Hogenburga "Civitates orbis terrarum" (Wallis i Robinson, 1987: 106). Praktično je značenje Blaeuovog atlasa jasno među pojedinim zemljovidima. Zainteresirani trgovac je s potrebnim sveskom njegovog djela (npr., samo njemačkih zemalja) u prtljazi mogao samopouzdanom putovati i nepoznatijim, udaljenijim tržištima jer mu je atlas omogućavao prepoznavati grbove vlasti čijim je teritorijima putovao, izdašnosti terena, flore i faune, istaknute lokalne proizvode za trgovanje, pa i "karakteristično" odjevene ljude po čijim se geografskim pripadnostima također mogao orijentirati u itinereru.⁵ Knjiga "Civitates orbis terrarum" (objavljena 1572.-1617. u šest svezaka) snažno je utjecala na kasnija izdanja. Sastoji se od topografskih prikaza mnogih europskih gradova, a gotovo svaki uključuje i prikaz stanovnika. Njihovi su likovi gdjekad ukomponirani u krajolik, a ponegdje u poseban dio zemljovida, no u svim slučajevima donose raznovrsno odjevene likove za koje se često može ustvrditi da predstavljaju citat suvremenih knjiga s nošnjama (Ilg, 2004: 38).

⁵ Izdanje ovog atlasa iz 1665. broji ukupno 600 zemljovida. To je dansko izdanje atlasa tiskano u 300 primjeraka, što po izračunu svih otiskivanja (zajedno s latinskim, francuskim i španjolskim izdanjem) znači da je tiskara bila kontinuirano uposlana otiskivanjem listova. Ukupna naklada četiri izdanja ovog atlasa bila je 1550 primjeraka. Sve navedeno po podacima iz Taschenovog pretiska 2005. godine.

Nova vrsta alegorijskih likova

Ovakve predodžbe naroda i krajeva predstavljaju dio uzora na kojima je nastalo romantičarsko poimanje "narodne nošnje". Knjige nošnji i atlasi su, uslijed intelektualnih i praktičnih potreba svojeg vremena, ljudima u nošnjama isprva nadopunili, a potom zamijenili simbole kontinenata i mitološki nadahnute alegorijske likove iz zemljovidnih kartuša – nasljednica rukopisnih minijatura i marginalija. Tamo gdje su prije na kontinentima bili Noini sinovi a na morima koja optaču krajeve tog svijeta iz oceana se grozila morska čudovišta, u novim su se tržišnim okolnostima, čak i u posve dalekim krajevima i zemljama, našli parovi lokalnih stanovnika prepoznatljivih po odjeći, alatkama ili predmetima u ruci, likovno oživljenih u pozi ili gesti. Slikovitost mitoloških alegorija ovisila je o klasičnoj izobrazbi autora. Od autora novih priručnika tražile su se nove upućenosti.

Autori ovakvog načina prikazivanja ljudi u nošnjama nisu željeli prikazati samo odjeću, već i duhovni karakter naroda. To su i doslovne riječi iz proslava nekih knjiga s nošnjama naroda svijeta: to "nisu samo slike osoba u domaćoj odjeći, već i njihovih običaja i društvenih normi" (1577.), "odjeća prikazana u ovoj knjizi također daje i osjet temperamenta i običaja odnosnih naroda (1581., po: Ilg, 2004: 47). Kako na tragu utjecajnih semioloških analiza zaključuje Ulrike Ilg, odjeća je time postala znakovnim sustavom koji može pokazati određena apstraktna obilježja osobe koja je nosi (usp. i Bonifačić, 1997.). Ta su obilježja u suštini moralna, a pojašnjena su karakterizacijama u legendama ilustracija. Bez identifikacije nositelja odjeće ilustracija u svojem kontekstu ne bi bila svrhovita, a te su identifikacije jednostavne i jednoznačne te time učinjene razumljivima širokom i raznovrsnom čitateljstvu. Takva se jednostavnost postizala uvriježenim priređivačkim ključevima. Nošnje su prikazivane redom od bližih prema daljim krajevima. Uz geografsku pripadnost, jasno je predstavljena i rodna pripadnost. Takvo strukturiranje sadržaja približavalo je knjige ove vrste rječnicima, jer su prikazi bili nizani slijedom definicija: narod ili kraj – zarez (ili novi red) – rod – zarez – društveni status (Ilg, 2004: 42). U takvom se strukturiranju stvarnosti priređivači uklapaju u intelektualnu povijest stoljećâ tijekom kojih se usavršavala odnosno nastajala leksikografska i enciklopedistička djelatnost. Društvena i kulturna stvarnost takvim je postupcima prosijana i pojednostavljena. Sva raznolikost prakticirane stvarnosti nekog društva i njegove kulture našla se u lijevku idealnoga društvenog stanja. Takva su izdanja našla svoje mjesto kao priručnici za nošenje sa složenosti svijeta kojem su se granice znatno proširile. Pri tome su važno mjesto imale i nošnje, kakve po smislu prepoznamo u riječima "costumi" i "habiti".

Nova vrsta priručnika nije praktična samo trgovcu na novim putovanjima. Budući da je nošnja ujedno i očitovanje morala (vrijednosti asocirane uz čistoću ili prljavost, urednost ili zakrpanost, razdrljenost, obnaženost, nagost, nakićenost, pretjerivanje ili smjernost, obilježja autoritativnosti ili podložnosti), njegovo listanje uvijek uključuje više ili manje izravan sud koji također može odrediti čitateljevo mišljenje (Ilg, 2004: 43). Mnoge opisne karakterizacije koje presežu nad suštom identifikacijom lika, koje donosi Ulrike Ilg, odaju takav respekt spram odjeće kao pokazatelja društvene regu-

lacije. Legenda uz lik Engleskinje u knjizi nošnji Josta Ammana "Das Frauentrachtenbuch" iz 1586. u tom smislu domeće: "... ona je odjevena sukladno njenom društvenom položaju. Odjevena na način pokazan na slici, ona se ispravno predstavlja i izvršno udovoljava svojem mužu. A ako bi odjenula drugačiju odjeću, njen bi je muž istjerao iz kuće" (Ilg, 2004: 45).

Korijen ovakve ispravne nošnje, koja time više nije isključivo odjeća ili kostim, leži u povijesnom nasljeđu propisa vezanim za odijevanje. Ima točnosti u tome da je pučanin ili kaurin iz određenih zemalja vjerojatno mogao biti u načelu točno prikazan, jer je bilo propisano što ne smije odjenuti. Još je na zalazu starog režima pariška policija plaćala doušnice među mnogobrojnim preprodavačicama odjeće na tržnici Pont Neuf ne bi li među ponuđačima odjeće koja nije njihovih mjera, statusno netipičnih predmeta poput maramica, finijih materijala ili staleški prepoznatljivih boja uočila kradljivce i razbojnike (Roche, 1996: 336). Odjeća je doista činila čovjeka, kako kaže uzrečica iz predindustrijskog vremena. Propisano odijevanje, točnije rečeno zabrane odijevanja, zajedno s regulama odijevanja poput duhovničkih i redovničkih tvorila su društvenu osnovu za odjevnu ćudorednu pouku. U posveti knjige François Deserpza "Recueil de la diversité des habits (...)" iz 1564. godine (upravljenoj kralju) ona se predstavlja korisnom jer "nam može pomoći da odbacimo bilo kakvo pretjerano odijevanje koje čovjeka vodi u izljev taštine: kao što se redovnik može prepoznati po habitu, zabavljač po svojoj kapi i vojnik po svojem oružju, tako se i mudar čovjek može prepoznati po svojoj umjerenoj odjeći" (Ilg, 2004: 45).

Regina Bendix je upozorila na moralno mjerilo stvaranja teritorijalnih alegorijskih likova u ceremonijalu bavarskog dvora prigodom vjenčanja kralja Ludwiga I. Godine 1810. njegov je savjetnik baron Lipowski vjenčani par dao pratiti s osam dječjih parova odjevenih u novokrojene seljačke nošnje kao simbole osam bavarskih okruga. Dječji parovi u narodnim nošnjama kombinirani su alegorijski lik anđela i integrativna poruka zajedništva svih dijelova (ne svih društvenih slojeva) Bavarskog kraljevstva. Razumijevanje ovakva simboličkog govora bilo je moguće zahvaljujući ranijim kostimiranjima, npr., bavarskog nadvojvode u seljačku nošnju 1765. (Bendix, 1998: 135). Slično kao s dobro poznatim romantičarskim nakladnim poduzimanjem u Škotskoj,⁶ Lipowski je kao mecena do 1830. omogućio završetak objavljivanja "Zbirke bavarskih narodnih nošnji s povijesnim tekstom" koja je objedinjavala 48 koloriranih litografija. U tom se vremenu Bavarska našla u potrebi dokazivanja snage između Pruske i Austrije. Kad je 1842. bavarski princ Maksimilijan vjenčavao prusku princezu Mariju, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova razaslalo je okružnicu u kojoj za potrebe kra-

⁶ Nakon političkih restrikcija i represije zbog trvenja i pobune u Škotskoj tijekom XVIII. st. Edinburgh je 1822. godine prvi put posjetio kralj hanoverske dinastije. Pripremajući posjet, pukovnik D. Stuart, službeni asistent za ceremonijal i odjeću, objavio je "Sketches of the Character, Manners and the Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland". U toj je knjizi bez dokaza ustvrdio da je kilt s različitim kariranim uzorcima staro razlikovno obilježje brđanskih klanova, umjesto dokumentirane poduzetničke invencije koja je zbog sigurnosti radnika pilane nastala oko 1730. Stuartovu tvrdnju poslije su potanko razradila braća Allen falsifikatom "Vestiarium Scoticum" iz 1842. i divot-izdanjem "The Costume of the Clans" iz 1844. godine. Raščlamba kulturnog fenomena kilta dominantan je primjer iz eponimnog zbornika radova o izumljenim tradicijama (Hobsbawm i Ranger, 1983.).

ljevskeg protokola saziva vjenčanja parova iz svakog od bavarskih okruga. Savjesno sačuvana pismohrana ovoga protokolarnog pothvata njemačkim je etnolozima ostavila prvoklasno gradivo za istraživanje nastanka "narodne nošnje".

Tako se 14. listopada u Münchenu vjenčalo 11 protestantskih i 24 katolička para u narodnim nošnjama svih dijelova Bavarske, no put do ove "neviđene ljepote", kako su o tomu izvještavale novine, nije bio samopodrazumijevajući. Tijekom priprema na pozivnu okružnicu stizali su i odgovori da u pojedinom kraju više nema posebne ili osobene narodne nošnje, da se mladež već godinama odijeva u gradskom stilu s malo razlikovnih obilježja među mjestima, da su lokalne tradicije ove vrste u rasapu nakon propasti cehova i opadanja nekoć jarkih prepoznatljivosti među velikim imanjima, da je narodna nošnja nekadašnjega lokalnog vojvodstva posve nestala i zamijenjena mješavinom širih pokrajinskih nošnji. Među više postavljenih naputaka za okupljanje parova, zahtjev za razlikovnom prepoznatljivošću lokalne je vlasti dovedio i u situacije da kreiraju takve odjevne detalje, poput nevjestinog oglavlja učinjenog na osnovi bamberske ženske kapice nad posve bijelom odjećom. Politički ciljevi protokola zadali su pravilo da se iz razloga iskazivanja jedinstva u religijski mješovitim krajevima kao predstavnici odaberu protestantski mladenci, a svi su parovi imali biti oličenje čudoredne pristalosti. Stoga su iz uvriježene uloge mladenaca ispali stariji parovi, neugledni pojedinci, oni za koje se u njihovom mjestu i župi nije konstatalo čestito ponašanje, mladenka koja je tijekom izabiranja raskrivena kao trudnica, ili mladenci u starim i potamnjelim nošnjama. Mjerilo društvene čestitosti bila je i sposobnost plaćanja troška svoje nošnje. Selekcija je općenito odavala posesivni odnos iz feudalne domene, ocjenjujući iz nadležnog rakursa pristalost i stas za vlastiti estetski doprinos ceremoniji kraljevskog vjenčanja. Mjesni upravitelj iz Eichstätta je, nakon prvog izvješća o nestanku specifične narodne nošnje, na osnovi pronađenih odjevnih komada slikaru dao napraviti crteže za krojače i obrtnike. Crteži su se pri izvješćivanju zagubili u Ministarstvu, nanovo napravili o trošku ministarskog budžeta, po njima su naposljetku nošnje i napravljene a čitavo se putovanje i sudjelovanje u protokolu kraljevskog vjenčanja pretvorilo u demonstraciju lokalne političke moći s gradonačelnikovim sinom kao djeverom, a gradonačelnikom i članom lokalne skupštine kao kumovima. Mnogi koji prije nisu bili naklonjeni čitavom poslu priključili su se svečanoj povorci s krojačkim rekonstrukcijama namjesto ranije favoriziranih "regularnih" nošnji (Bendix, 1998: 141).

Promatrači su čitavu ovu svečanost mogli procjenjivati na osnovi ranije objavljenih prikaza poput onih iz mape Lipowskog. I uopće su bile važne reputacije iz javnog čuvenja, poput okruga koji je otprije postao poznat po objavljenoj zbirci narodnih priča pa se respektirao kao predložak narodnih raznolikosti za preferencijska ili preporučena kostimiranja. Iako se Bavarska kraljevina nije othrvla pruskoj političkoj hegemoniji, kulturni su tragovi ostali u obliku Oktoberfesta koji je sljednik tih svečanosti kraljevskih vjenčanja, prosvjetnom, društvenom i svečanom respektu za *Lederhosen* i narodnu nošnju, kao i u općenito najprepoznatljivijem regionalnom identitetu u današnjoj Njemačkoj (Bendix, 1998: 143).

Sredstva poistovjećivanja s nacionalnom prošlošću tijekom XIX. st.

Za romantizma je nošnja postala jednim od važnijih nacionalnih obilježja. Vrativši se 1819. u Prag nakon studija u Jeni gdje je, po vlastitim riječima, “kušao gorko i agonizirajuće voće sa stabla nacionalnosti”, Jan Kollár je 1824. u svojoj najpoznatijoj pjesmi “Slavina kći” najavio dane kad će moćna slavenska bujica proširiti njihove granice, slavenski jezik slušati po palačama a njihova nošnja, običaji i pjesme biti popularni kako na obalama Seine tako i na obalama Elbe (Zamoyski, 2001: 316). Prizivanje nacionalnih vrijednosti od poštovanja je poprimalo crte štovanja. Michelet je 1846. držao nastavu na temu nacionalnosti i potom taksativno objasnio što čini kult i evanđelje nacije (o. c., 311). Među onima koji su se upustili u privatni trošak krojenja vlastitog “nacionalnog” odijela bio je i Liszt (o. c., 325). Za ruskog književnika K. S. Aksakova ostala je zabilježena ocjena suvremenika da “nosi nošnju toliko nacionalnu da ga seljaci na ulici drže za Perzijanca” (o. c., 321).

Kao što su engleske drame pisane u XVI. st. zaplete smještale, npr., u Mletke, na Kretu ili na “bohemijsku obalu”, tako se s nekim novim knjigama u rukama u XIX. st. zbililo da su redom i Rossini, i Bizet, i Donizetti pisali opere radnjom smještene u Škotskoj ili Engleskoj. Samo godinu dana nakon izlaska ceremonijalnog vodiča kroz karirane kiltove škotskih brđanskih klanova objavljenog u pripremi za kraljev posjet, u Londonu je po riječima suvremenika “u pripremu predstave uloženo mnogo truda, a likovi odjenući u kariranu nošnju raznih klanova” (Jowers, 1992: 981). U novom svijetu nacionalnih država kojima su se i preostali suvereni odijevali u frak, romantizam je slavio nacionalne prošlosti. Uslijed interesa pobuđenog romanima poput onih W. Scotta množili su se prikazi srednjovjekovnih kostima (Hollander, 1988: 287), a već su prvi tehnički predšasnici fotografije omogućili dokumentirati izgled udaljenih sredina.⁷ Sredinom XIX. st. kraljevsko je kazalište u Londonu posjedovalo više od pet tisuća kostima i veliku količinu materijala za krojenja novih (ibid.).⁸ Re-

⁷ Primjerice, knjiga “Zur Geschichte der Kostüme” koju je Münchenski nakladnik Braun i Schneider na osnovi listova najprije objavljivanih u časopisu “Münchener Bilderbogen” izdavao u svescima od 1861. do 1880. sadrži 500 crteža s oko 1450 prikazanih likova. Glavnina prikazuje povijesna odijevanja, a suvremene narodne nošnje s više kontinenata zapremaju zaključnih 35 tabli. Najbolja ilustracija korisnosti ovakvog izdanja su kostimografski zahtjevi u postavljanju Verdijevih opera, čije su se radnje zbivale u rasponu od 4000 godina (drevni Egipat u “Aidi” 1871., biblijska vremena u “Nabuccu” 1842., 13. st. na Siciliji u “Les vêpres siciliennes” 1855., suvremeni Pariz u “La traviata” 1853. – s kazališnim pravilom da se suvremene tragedije moraju kostimirati u najmanje jedno stoljeće stariju povijest). Za postavljanje Puccinijevih opera kostimografi su morali poznavati odijevanje u Japanu, Kaliforniji, Rimu napoleonskog doba i dr. (Jowers, 1992: 981 i 984).

Za istraživano područje ova knjiga nošnji i povijesnih kostima vrlo nam je zanimljiva zbog tri lika iz šibenskog kraja uvrštena na tabli 109b. Pristupačan i tehnički pojednostavljen pretisak objavio je Dover, a izdanje s koloriranim tablama bila je prva među opsežnijim knjigama nošnji koju je 1997. godine u integralnom obliku na Internet postavio C. Otis Sweezy sa Sveucilista Južnog Illinois, Odjel za glumu i ples.

⁸ O namicanju dijelova narodnih nošnji pred parišku izvedbu opere “Boris Godunov” v. Taylor 2004: 224.

gularni dio programskih predstavljanja repertoara postale su i konstatacije u rasponu od "korektnih rekonstrukcija" do "apsolutno autentičnih povijesnih re-kreacija", postavši očekivanim prezentacijskim standardom (Hollander, 1988: 290-291). Važnu ulogu trajno ima i oponašanje individualnih kostimografskih preferenci glumačkih zvijezda (Hollander, 1988: 304 i 310). Jedan od autora koji je pomno nadgledao i izravno utjecao na kostimiranja junaka u izvedbama svojih djela bio je Wagner. Mijenjanjem dubine scene i proscenija gledatelju je omogućio poistovjećivanje s likovima i doživljavanje povijesne radnje kao neposrednog iskustva (Hollander, 1988: 244). U kostimiranju "Prstena" favorizirao je povijesno doba pobjedonosnih Vikinga i Saksonaca u VII. st., za pojedine likove osobno skicirajući kacige s krilima, izduljene štitove, duge tunike i pancirne prsluke. Takva su dramatična kostimiranja bila historijski netočna, s izabranim odjevnim naglascima koja su pred gledatelje postavljena u nedostatku materijalnih pokazatelja. Prošlost je stvarana na način koji je Jowers nazvala "kič-realizmom, bilo autentičnim ili legendarnim" (1992: 994). U Bayreuthu je ova vagnerijanska kostimografija postala tradicionalna, autoritativno namećući standard viđenja srednjovjekovne prošlosti koji je dugo ostao utjecajnim (Jowers, 1992: 984). Kako piše Hollander, "u javnom mnijenju je makar u neodređenoj formi počela živjeti čitava jedna lažna historija odijevanja, gotovo posve sačinjena od scenskih uvriježnosti" (1988: 303).

Lokalno situiranje romantičarske kostimografije

Povijesni kontekst izgradnje značenja pojma i fraze "narodna nošnja" u hrvatskoj kulturi leži u godinama pred nastankom etnologije. "Što se tiče različitih opisivanja nošnji, najveći njihov dio se odnosi na situaciju od druge polovine prošlog do početka našeg vijeka, kada određivanje i ograničenje takozvane narodne nošnje, dakle, i njeno opisivanje u znanosti, služi ciljevima nacionalne emancipacije i nezavisnosti balkanskih naroda" (Schubert, 1986: 105). Taj je kontekst prikazan okolnostima srednjoeuropskog (točnije, široko panonskog) nastanka riječi "etnologija" kao znanja o zasebnim narodima koji tada počinju izranjati ispod skuta političkih hegemonija (Belaj, 1998: 345). Umjesto danas uobičajenog narodnog ili nacionalnog određenja pojedinca, u tom vremenu smislenija su bila regionalna ili društvena određenja društvenih skupina, a narodni karakter nakon Herderove reakcije na francuska politička vrenja tek dolazi na red za kovanje. Jedno seljačko kazivanje iz Bugarske nakon rata sa Srbijom to doslovno objašnjava ovim riječima: "Naši su očevi bili Grci i nitko nije spominjao Bugare. Mi smo postali Bugari, pobijedili smo. Ako trebamo biti Srbi, nema problema. Ali sad je za nas bolje biti Bugarima" (Mazower, 2002: 99). Ödön von Horváth je napisao: "Ako me pitate koja je moja domovina, odgovorit ću: rođen sam u Rijeci, odrastao u Beogradu, Budimpešti, Pressburgu, Beču i Münchenu i imam mađarsku putovnicu, ali nemam domovine. Ja sam vrlo tipična mješavina stare Austro-Ugarske: u isti mah Mađar, Hrvat, Nijemac i Čeh, moja je zemlja Mađarska a moj mate-

rinji jezik njemački” (Mazower, 1998: 44). Mnogostruki su identiteti i interakcije bili česti. Nije bilo neuobičajeno da transhumantni stočar s područja današnje Makedonije govori pet jezika, a lučki radnik iz Soluna sedam. Austro-Ugarska carevina okupljala je 51 milijun stanovnika, dvije države, deset “historijskih nacija” i preko 20 drugih naroda, dok je susjedni “bolesnik s Bospora” počinjao u Bosni i završavao pred Iranom. Kulturni identiteti koji su se u ovim carstvima utvrđivali tijekom XIX. st., pod utjecajem i u vezi sa zbivanjima u ruskom i u britanskom carstvu, kao i s ujedinjenjima koja su se po francuskom modelu centralizacije nad regionalnim identitetima zbivala u Italiji i u Njemačkoj, uzimali su svakome očite oblike ne bi li uopće položili jasan društveni utjecaj.

Odnosi velikih europskih sila XIX. st. određivali su područja nadmetanja i utvrđivanja moći. Intelektualni stav o kulturama u tim dijelovima kontinenta bio je utjecan prosvjetiteljskim idejama i opisima domorodnih kultura iz vaneuropskih područja ekspanzije, poput sjevernoameričkih domorodaca. Na taj način se iz Mletaka gledalo na Morlake (Wolff, 2001.), a austrijski ministar vanjskih poslova za susjedne istočne narode kaže da su “divlji Indijanci prema kojima se jedino može ponašati kao prema nepripitomljenim konjima, kojima se jednom rukom pruža kukuruz dok se drugom rukom prijeti bičem” (Mazower, 2002: 97). U odmjeravanju velikih sila austrijskom su se kukuruzu i biču putevi pružali prema europskom jugoistoku. U tom je području nakon odbacivanja Napoleona Rusija našla interesa podržati lokalne pobune pravoslavnih kršćana koji su joj se utjecali za pomoć. Vođe ustanka iz 1813. bile su odjevene u birano tursko ruho, aspirirajući k takvom statusu u postojećem otomanskom poretku. Kako je zabilježio suvremenik, drugi srpski ustanak počeo je 1815. razašljanjem poruka Miloša Obrenovića širom beogradskog pašaluka da se ubije svatko u zelenoj odjeći, tj. boji zabranjenoj za kaure (o. c., 83). Nakon što su ga Turci uveli u vlast, Obrenović je likvidirao neistomišljenike i pobunjenike, pomogao Turcima u slamanju grčkog ustanka i u okolnostima rusko-turskog rata kao nagradu i ustupak za neprilaženje Rusima dobio kneževsku autonomiju s nasljednom vlašću.

U priznatoj kneževini Turci ostaju konfinirani u garnizonima i gradovima, a kršćansko se stanovništvo emancipira odijevanjem ranije zabranjenih dijelova odjeće: Boue primjećuje da čalme više ne nose samo muslimani, a Pirch 1829. pred kneževim uredom susreće nekoliko mladih ljudi u kičenoj odjeći za koju je mislio da je nose samo Turci (Schubert, 1986: 109). Sam knez veli da ponosno nosi čalmu kao znak slobode dobijene od sultana. U takvim je okolnostima nove kneževine, koja će doskora postati uzorom u borbi za samostalnost, važno primijetiti da se intelektualno vrenje u pravilu zbivalo u austrijskim područjima (Srijemski Karlovci, Novi Sad) i u intelektualnim središtima carevine (Karadžić u Beču), a s druge je strane konstantno snubljen pomoć europskih sila bez koje su propadala ranija sukobljavanja s Turcima (poraz Srba 1810. i Grka 1827.). Na čelo osamostaljene grčke države dogovorom europskih sila postavljen je sedamnaestogodišnji bavarski princ Otto koji je sa sobom doveo osobnu gardu i dvorsku etikeciju, pozirajući slikarima u grčkoj narodnoj nošnji. Pruski princ Karl, prije svojeg postavljanja za rumunjskog kralja, rekao je da za tu zemlju nikad nije čuo, a teritorijalno najsretnije bugarske sanstefanske godine došle su na čizmama

ruskih vojnika pred Istambulom 1877. godine (Mazower, 2002: 87-94). S intervencijama nisu došli samo oružje i priznata nezavisnost, već i kulturni obrasci. Od 1830-ih godina srpska kneževina prestaje izgledati kao "levantinska kasaba", te intelektualni krugovi od 1840-ih godina podržavaju i odjeću kakva dekonstruira orijentalno nasljeđe i poseže u dubine nacionalne prošlosti. Vojnički kaputić u lokalnoj je preoblici u prisjećanju na srednjovjekovnog vladara prozvan "dušanka". Forma ovog dijela nošnje povezuje se s uniformom srpske husarske regimente zasnovane 1734., a po kneževini se proširila zahvaljujući romantičarskim slikarima (Prošić-Dvornić, 1989: 114-116 i 2006:274). Iako se izobičajila do konca 1870-ih, utjecaj drugoga vojničkog inventara vidljiv je i kasnije (šapka, hlače, van odijevanja i uloga limene glazbe).

Isti tip kaputića, "surka" nastala na osnovi narodne "surine", postao je semioforom prvaka ilirskog pokreta u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj (Muraj, 2006: 10; Bonifačić, 1997: 145).⁹ U romantičarskom zanosu nakon 1835. ukrašavan je vezenim likovima koji su imali istaknuti hrvatsku narodnu samobitnost, uz uočljivi izostanak starohrvatskih ukrasa kakvi su se u mnogobrojnim odjevnim i tekstilnim citatima našli nakon arheoloških kampanja don Frane Bulića i osnutka Kninskoga starinarskog društva 1887. po otkrićima na trasi željezničke pruge dvije godine ranije. Definirajuća zbivanja XIX. st. vezana su za posljedice revolucionarne 1848. godine, demisiju feudalnih institucija i promjenu društvene naravi stvaranja ekonomskih dobara, jačanje koncepta nacionalne države čiji su politički sudionici građani a gospodarska kičma "veliki" i "mali obrt" tj. industrijalci i obrtnici kapacitirani sredstvima tehnološkog napretka (Iveljić, 2007: 135).

Prošlo, seljačko i rukotvorno

Aristokratska reakcija na 1848. kroz neoapsolutističku vladavinu tijekom 1850-ih doživjela je neuspjeh. Aristokracija time nije uspjela vratiti sat u XVIII. st. (Mazower, 1998: 44), ali ni industrijalci, obrtnici i trgovci nisu bili zadovoljni dosegom građanskih liberalnih reformi 1848. godine. Taj je neuspjeh građanske emancipacije doveo do političke rezignacije, povlačenja građanstva iz politike i pojave refeudalizacije tj. tendencije najbogatijih građana da oponašaju i preuzmu način življenja stare društvene elite, aristokracije. U složenim društvenim procesima druge polovice XIX. st. kontinentalne i primorske Hrvatske događalo se da krupni trgovci i industrijalci (u agrarnoj dinamici Dalmacije čak i pučani i seljaci koji su izvukli korist iz konjunktura poput vremena u kojem je filoksera stigla u Europu a još se nije pojavila kod nas, ili vlastitoga tržišnog raspolaganja stočarskim proizvodima, sudjelovanja u, npr., koraljarstvu itd.) zauzimali mjesta vakantnih feudalnih vlasnika, aristokrata iz grada. U tom su se društvenom repozicioniranju nakon 1860-ih nanovo respektirani aristokrati i građanski industrijalci našli s iste strane društvene razdjelnice, one koja ih je

⁹ Ugledanje u uzor srpskog vojvode odjevenog u narodnu odjeću donosi Šulek, 1842: 205.

odvajala od nastajućeg društvenog sloja radništva.¹⁰ Dio poduzetnika je u svojoj privrednoj inicijativi bio upućen na državu, bez koje se, npr., nije mogao urediti željeznički pristup tržnim dobrima. Stoga je jasno da se s regulativne strane ove razdjelnice u potrazi za simbolima narodnih buđenja i nacionalnih država posegnulo u kulturni spremnik onoga društvenog sloja koji po naravi društvenih promjena više nije predstavljao ugrozu. To je bilo seljaštvo.

Uvođenjem dvojne monarhije čuvarom je pred opasnim nacionalnim previranjima postao novi carski nacionalizam, u našem slučaju mađarizacija (Taylor 2004: 169, 229) a drugdje turkizacija ili rusifikacija. Politička težnja za stvaranjem moderne centralizirane carevine društvenu je potporu nagrađivala asimilacijom i integracijom. Međutim, propisivanje novoga službenog jezika i striktna porezna politika zajedno s drugim oblicima mađarizacije znali su polučiti kontraefekt protunacionalizama. Takav se proces u Otomanskom carstvu zbivao u Makedoniji i Albaniji, u Ruskom carstvu u Finskoj, baltičkim državama i u Poljskoj, a u mađarskoj polovici Austro-Ugarske u Rumunjskoj i u Hrvatskoj (Mazower, 1998: 45). Ove su rezistencije bile u istaknutoj kulturnoj potrebi za nacionalnim prepoznatljivostima, a politički predispozicionirane za takvu zadaću bile su simboličke prepoznatljivosti seljaštva. Između seljaštva i naroda povlači se znak jednakosti kao što se potom znak jednakosti povlači između naroda u svojoj državi i nacije. Gradsko radništvo je kroz autoritativne društvene naočale druge polovice XIX. st. bilo jednostavno nevidljivo, na isti način kao što u nastanku etnologiji sestrinske znanosti socijalne antropologije tijekom istraživanja Malinowskog na Trobrijandskom otočju nije bilo mjesta konstatiranju prisutnosti bijelih farmera.¹¹

U relacijama stoljeća koje je politički otpočelo Marseljezom narodna je nošnja doživjela sudbinu trikolora, tekstilnog sinkretizma dvije gradske (pariške) i jedne kraljevske boje. Narodna nošnja postala je političkim, kulturnim i društvenim simbolom. Budući da simbolom nije postao proces kojim su se seljaci odjevno prilagođavali novim tehnološkim i ekonomskim okolnostima, već inventar odjevne cjeline, narodna nošnja se na razmeđu rukotvorstva i serijalizacije, predindustrijskog i industrijskog društva petrificirala poput zastava koje možemo nepromijenjene sa svojim državama listati u enciklopediji. Osim u najranije industrijaliziranoj Engleskoj, narodna nošnja postala je zamrznutom iskaznicom nacionalnog suvereniteta upravo poput zastave.

Preostali krucijalni utjecaj vezan je za oblikovne reakcije na industrijalizaciju. Krenuvši iz engleske kolijevke industrijske revolucije, "Arts and Crafts Movement" je programatski želio privedi masovne proizvode kvaliteti oblikovnog učinka predindustrijskih

¹⁰ Odijevanje društvenog sloja kao ideološkog semiofora potvrdilo se i nakon romantizma fašističkim odabranjem radničke crne košulje (iz metalurških tvornica sjeverne Italije) kao osnove za stranačku uniformu. Van domene narodne nošnje revolucionarni efekt iz perioda romantizma vezan je za crvene košulje Garibaldijeve odlučne tisuće boraca iz 1860. On je crvenu košulju uobičajio nositi od svojega argentinskog razdoblja, usvojivši navadu radnika iz tamošnjih klaonica. Na popularnim slikama često je prikazivan i u ponču.

¹¹ U takvoj društvenoj jednadžbi ekonomskih realnosti i danas u simboličkim i funkcionalnim aspektima kulture odijevanja postoji fundamentalno uvjetujuća komponenta nevidljiva u naočalama konvencionalnog istraživača – to su turisti.

rukotvoraca. Uza sve spomenute društvene silnice, s već iskazanim interesom obrtnika za hrvatsko narodno blago koje su uključivali u gospodarsko-obrtne izložbe priređivane od 1864. nadalje, upravo su senzibilizirani trgovci i obrtnici dali povoda i poticaja nastanku prvih zbirki.¹² Prvi impuls nastanku današnjeg Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt (koji se danas zapravo ima shvatiti kao Muzej za umjetnost i primijenjenu umjetnost) bio je etnografski, a polazna nominacija današnjeg Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu bila je "Trgovačko-obrtni muzej" (Muraj, 2006: 17 i 26). Sličan primijenjeno-umjetnički karakter imao je u nastanku i Etnografski muzej u Splitu (Šverko, 2003.)

Zaključak

Praćenje dugog puta koji je prošla ova kulturna posuda prije no što se u nju u XIX. st. ulio neologizam "narodna nošnja" već je u više bliskih akademskih tradicija pružilo osnove kvalitetnim raspravama (Knific, 2003.; Weissengruber, 2005.; Prošić-Dvornić, 2006.). Na ovome se mjestu u drugom svjetlu ponajprije mogu doživjeti polemiziranja o izvornostima narodnih nošnji. Uobičajenim isticanjem autentičnosti takve i danas odgovaraju na potrebe svojeg vremena, kao što su to činile i onda kad je respekt za ovako ustaljene kulturne institucije iznjedrio nove konvencije znanstvenog interesa poput folkloristike i etnologije s "narodnom nošnjom" u svojem terminološkom kovčežiću. Stoga rasprava o znanstvenom predmetu ne potire svoju disciplinu, već je pred njim revitalizira i u novim vremenima rehabilitira. Krene li se korak dalje, osvježenim metodološkim pomagalima mogu se detektirati značenja novih kulturnih praksi s kojima tradicionalna etnologija ima periferne dodirne točke,¹³ poput insceniranih povijesnih kostimiranja na svečanostima kakve se u Hrvatskoj priređuju tijekom zadnjih desetak godina.¹⁴

Ispravno odijevanje u ime svoje zajednice je, u osnovi, moralni čin. Svede li se na najširi zajednički nazivnik, to je uostalom i odijevanje uopće. Govori li se o prljavcu, podrtini ili čistuncu uvijek nam treba riječ ili znak konteksta više da bi razabrali misli li se na predmet ili na osobu. S nošnjom individualna ocjena čestitosti spada u viši rang, ona jamči i za osobu do sebe, za čitavu zajednicu ili za narod. Možda je upravo moralni kapacitet narodne nošnje sadržaj s kojim se etnolog može naći preliven u nove posude, i dalje na pravom zadatku.¹⁵ Onako kako su rodonačelnici etnologije i mnijenje njihovog vremena glorificirali narodnu nošnju, u tekstovima današnjih navijač-

¹² O zbirci uzoraka u "Prvoj hrvatskoj tvornici sukna, darovca i gunjeva" osn. 1887. v. Muraj 2006:19.

¹³ Prvi je elaborat ove vrste pod naslovom "Tradicijska odjeća dalmatinskog područja" na narudžbu Općine Rab napisala etnologinja Jelena Radauš-Ribarić 1995. godine. Elaborat je bio namijenjen kostimografinji angažiranoj za udrugu rapskih samostrijeličara. Podatak iz projektne baze podataka na internet-skom portalu Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i športa, datum zadnje posjete 1. srpnja 2008. godine.

¹⁴ Pionirski izuzetak kostimirano je uprizorenje predaje o "Picokima" i boja s Turcima koje se u Đurđevcu s prekidima odigrava još od 1968. godine (Vitez 2007.); za općeniti pregled v. Kale, 2008a.

¹⁵ Za primjer metodoloških reperkusija ovako prilagođenog očista (više intervjua, manje neuključivih načina promatranja) v. Saliklis, 1999.

kih himni slavi se i priseže na dres izabrane vrste hrvatskih nogometaša. Banalizira li se struka takvom usporedbom? U hrvatskom jeziku nije samo “dres” gost, to je također i “nošnja” (Kale, 2008.). Iza starijeg terminološkog ugošćenika doba je stvaranja nacionalnih država s prosvijećenim industrijalcima kao društvenim protagonistima. Naših dana navijački himan pred svojom djecom slušam sa kompaktnog diska koji je uz svoje artikle besplatno dijelio korporativni “ponosni sponzor”, kako se to najavljuje na početku snimka. U osnovi, da li je to baš tako različito?

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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 Tupinám̃ba 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 theatre 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 *Oktobertfest*, 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 sawing 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 vèpres 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 Swezey 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 Romanticist 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 Romanticist 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 (Šverko 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 find 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?

Translated by Tanja Bukovčan

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