

2021

ICOM

Costume Committee Annual Conference

The Making of

Luxury



Online
31 August
2021

ICOM Costume Proceedings 2021 'The Making of Luxury'

Online Annual Conference 31 August 2021

Dear colleagues,

The years 2020-2021 were marked by the global crisis of the Covid-19 pandemic. Travel restrictions, strict regulations, and unprecedented sanitary international rules regarding public gathering, museum openings and events have led us to accept different ways of convening our ICOM Costume meetings and assemblies.

The annual conference 'The Making of Luxury' first planned in 2020 at Versailles palace could not happen due to the pandemic and the resulting regulations, curfews and confinements in France.

After the consultation of ICOM Costume members, the decision was made to cancel the conference 'in-person' as it was planned, nevertheless Versailles remains a place of interest for an ICOM Costume meeting, and I know how many of you expressed their wish to make this possible for another year.

In 2021, the ICOM General Assembly and annual meeting took place online, with a program complemented by recorded interviews at Versailles and at Trianon, in the archives of a silk manufacturer, and object videos recorded at the Paris Mint Museum. Virtual guided tours of historical haberdasheries in Paris and of vintage fashion shops at the flea market in Saint-Ouen (France) posted on ICOM Costume's You Tube Channel for a virtual post-conference tour. These videos have now completed a series of ICOM Costume videos on Costume YouTube channel in the playlist 'The Making of Luxury'.

This was ICOM Costume's first virtual open forum and conference. In a short format, with a limited number of papers, this conference offered a session to ICOM Costume students. Some of the papers presented are published here as conference proceedings 2021 in pdf format as usual on the ICOM Costume mini site, edited by Georgina Ripley.

'The Making of Luxury' is the focus of the short selection of presentations in 2021: from Antiquity to present day, it will offer a worldwide journey through time, material, and techniques.

This event free of charge convened more than 100 attendees on line. I am grateful to ICOM France who supported the ICOM Costume annual meeting 2021.

I wish to thank all the people and institutions involved in the organization of the 2021 annual meeting.

Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, Château de Versailles
Chair of the international committee ICOM for the museums and collections of Costume, Fashion and Textiles

ISBN: 978-2-491997-71-7

Proceedings edited by Georgina Ripley, member of ICOM Costume Board (2019-2022).

Cover by Virginie Lassarre.

Images caption and copyright (cover): Shawl and cape, Europe, wool fabric embroidered with silk, No. MNK XIX-10037.

Obtained for the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow before 1899.

© National Museum in Krakow

Little luxury for women and men: embroidered or printed shawls and sashes from the collections of the National Museum in Krakow

Kowalska, Joanna Regina
The National Museum in Krakow, Poland

Abstract

The National Museum in Krakow has an excellent collection of printed and embroidered shawls, the purchase of which was within reach of middle-class burghers and less affluent noblewomen. Although the materials and techniques used in them were not those most valued at the time, we often deal with very original and beautiful objects. Attention is drawn primarily to embroidered shawls, often made at home, according to the own invention of ladies of the house, but we also mention the nicest examples of printed shawls. In men's fashion of the nineteenth century in Poland, the indispensable accessory of noblemen's traditional costume was a luxurious silk sash. It could cost a fortune if it came from one of the great Polish manufacturers. Poorer noblemen would have to wear an embroidered one, the cheaper substitute. It is worth examining fashion accessories that were only intended to match their costly counterparts, but which often exceeded them in terms of originality.

Contents

- Introduction
- Printed shawls
- Embroidered shawls
- Men's sashes
- Shawl or sash?
- Patchwork shawl

Introduction

In women's fashion of the nineteenth century, shawls played a significant role in creating a fashionable image. Every elegant woman's dream was a wonderful cashmere shawl, or one made of Brussels lace. Only the richest could afford such an expensive accessory. Ladies from less affluent homes had to restrict themselves to cheaper versions of luxury shawls. Printed or embroidered shawls could be purchased also by the middle-class burghers and less wealthy noblewomen. Although the materials and techniques used in them were not necessarily those most valued at the time, we often deal with very original and beautiful objects.

Poland in the nineteenth century was partitioned between Austria, Prussia and Russia, but the fashionable desires of Polish women were just the same as in the rest of Europe. Men were also fond of expensive fashion accessories. The male equivalent of the shawl in the world of the Polish nobility (and later on also amongst richer burghers) was the *kontusz* sash, the indispensable accessory of their national costume. Polish, Turkish, or Iranian sashes, often woven with gold and silver, were very expensive, so poorer noblemen had to obtain something nice but cheaper instead. In the collections of Polish Museums there are many examples of printed or embroidered shawls and sashes, intended for less wealthy representatives of Polish society. The National Museum in Krakow has one of the richest

collections; some of the most interesting objects among the collection are to be explored here.

Printed shawls

In the nineteenth century, the barely affordable dream for every elegant woman was the Indian cashmere shawl. These shawls had extraordinary values of softness, precision of execution, beautifully composed colours, and a sophisticated pattern. What other shawl could substitute for them? Could that be the printed shawl with the ornamental *buteh* motif? The easiest way to produce a cheaper, but still desirable shawl, was to use the pattern characteristic of cashmere shawls and repeat it in an accessory made of less noble materials and using simpler and cheaper techniques.

The most recognisable element of Indian shawls' complex ornament was a motif known as *boteh* or paisley. Described as resembling an inverted six, a teardrop or a feather, it was easy for designers to interpret. Variations of *boteh* shape and overall appearance were invented both in the East and West. Since in Poland the taste for the Orient with all its beauty and refinement had a very long tradition, it is not surprising that Polish women were used to looking for fashionable accessories in the Muslim countries of the Middle East. Quite lovely, reasonably priced shawls could be brought from Iran. They were made of printed cotton fabrics and resembled the beauty of Indian-produced shawls in terms of shape, pattern, and colour, but not the quality and sophistication. The use of ornamental motifs was elaborate, but the colours obtained were visibly paler; their touch was coarser, and they were definitely not so warm as the original cashmere shawls (Fig.1).¹



Fig. 1. Shawl, Iran, first half of the nineteenth century, printed cotton fabric, inv. No. MNK XIX-2261. Given by Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński, 1929.

¹ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. numbers: MNK XIX-2261 (129cm x 268cm), MNK XIX-2257 (135cm x 245cm)– both from the Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński collections, given to the Museum in 1929.

Printed shawls with Paisley motifs used in Poland also came from Western Europe. As early as 1892, the former Museum of Industry and Technology obtained a shawl, which in the shape and arrangement of motifs resembles shawls from the Napoleon era.² It is made from very fine wool and the pattern is complex, constructed of multi-coloured details. Paisley motifs intertwine in floral twig entwining typical European elements of the trellis (**Fig. 2**).³



Fig. 2. Shawl, Europe, first half of the nineteenth century, printed cotton fabric, inv. No. MNK XIX-2215. Obtained by former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow from Józefa Grakocka, 1892.

² The Technical and Industrial Museum was dissolved by the decision of the communist authorities in 1950 and its collection was included into the collections of the National Museum in Krakow.

³ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-2215 (242cm x 67cm), from the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow, obtained in 1892.

Another printed shawl referring to classical cashmere shawls from the Napoleonic era was given to the National Museum in Krakow by Maria Czerkawska–Mauthnerowa (1881–1973), Polish poet, novelist and author of children books. She came from noble, but impoverished family, so a printed shawl was probably the only affordable choice for her female ancestors. The yellow shawl is ornamented with rows of “Indian” motifs, primarily using the Paisley pattern. Especially in the border we can notice ornaments visibly inspired by Turkish textiles, such as palmettes and flowers.⁴This is a rare example where we can prove that a certain printed shawl was an accessory for a noble woman of good taste, but with limited financial resources. Another beautiful example is a brown shawl with ornament printed in six different colours in shades of pale red, yellow and cream. Paisley motifs correspond with typical European garlands and multi-shaped medallions. The lightness of the striped fabric is particularly important because the shawl is huge.⁵

All of the shawls with Paisley motifs described above refer to shawls from the Napoleonic era; all are designed to leave a large portion of the central part ‘empty’. But the style of original cashmere shawls changed with the passing decades of the nineteenth century. When crinolines came into fashion, the preferred shawls were overflowing with ornament, and only a very small part of the background was visible. Shawl designs from that period could be described as designed out of *horror vacui*. Another fashionable design was the square shawl, dating probably from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The elaborate ornament decorates its whole surface (Fig. 3).⁶



Fig. 3. Square shawl, Europe, the third quarter of the nineteenth century, printed woollen fabric, inv. No. MNK XIX-4458. Obtained in 1964.

⁴ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-3324 (250cm x 62,8cm), given by Maria Czerkawska–Mauthnerowa in 1961.

⁵ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-8644 (177,5cm x 356cm), given by Anna Chrzanowksa, 1977.

⁶ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-4458 (169cm x 163cm).

Its eastern character is emphasized by *boteh* motifs, but in between it features flowers in bloom with a typical European styling. This compilation of eastern and western ornament is illustrated in this printed square shawl of the mid-nineteenth century. It is made from very fine wool and silk checkered gauze. The ornament of the frame is Indian inspired, obviously with Paisley motifs, while the central part is decorated with Western net ornamented with flowers.⁷



A beautiful, European creation is this white shawl decorated with very simple black ornament of rosettes and leaves. A single tassel accentuates the central axis (**Fig. 4**). This shawl reflects Napoleonic era accessories in terms of its shape, size, and colour. Its simplicity would have made it very much in fashion in the first decade of the nineteenth century.⁸

Sometimes even quite plain, one colour shawls could be much desired. Their beauty lay in the quality and unusual choice of materials, like in an example in the collection of a shawl made of pink cashmere wool, trimmed with golden galloon and fringed with llama hair.⁹

Fig. 4. Shawl, Europe, early nineteenth century, printed woollen fabric, inv. No. MNK XIX-3214. Given by Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński, 1929.

Embroidered shawls

Another way to lower the price was to exchange woven techniques with embroidery, which was quicker and cheaper. As demand for cashmere shawls was growing in Europe, weaving techniques were very often substituted with embroidery even in places where this valuable accessory originated. In Europe, embroidery techniques were part of the education of every well-bred woman, and thus embroidery was the simplest and the most obvious way to obtain something beautiful to wear.

⁷ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-3327 (281cm x 285cm), Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński collections, given to the Museum in 1929).

⁸ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-3214 (258cm x 70cm), Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński collections, given to the Museum in 1929.

⁹ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-3328 (137cm x 138cm), Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński collections, given to the Museum in 1929.

Embroidered shawls could be made at home and the finish appeared of higher value than it was. Idleness was seen as one of the worst female vices in nineteenth-century Europe, so even wealthy woman could spend their time practising embroidery. If she was very talented, a woman's needle could produce top-class embroidery, especially if she could afford expensive embroidery materials. Extraordinary examples of such high-quality embroidered accessories are two narrow but long shawls from the beginning of the nineteenth century, given to the Museum collections by Zofia Tarnowska from Chorzelow (1866–1956). Tarnowska was the daughter of a rich, aristocrat family and shawls inherited by her could hardly be considered cheap. Nevertheless, thanks to them we can observe how spectacular artistic effect could be obtained by replacing weaving techniques with embroidery (**Fig. 5**). Both shawls are made of batiste. They are decorated with motifs and even figural scenes inspired by antique art, popular at the turn of the nineteenth century. The materials used for the embroidery are of high quality, both the metal elements and the silk yarn.¹⁰The precision of execution and the quality of the design are amazing. Such an embroidery likely demanded the skills of qualified craftsman, but we cannot know for certain.¹¹



Fig. 5. Shawl, Europe, batiste embroidered with metal and silk threads, No. MNK XIX-3209, given by Zofia Tarnowska from Chorzelow, 1960

Another good example was given by Wanda Homolacs to the collection of the Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow. She was the wife of Karol Homolacs (1874 –1965), artist, professor of art, theorist of ornament and the curator of the aforementioned Museum. Wanda Homolacs visibly appreciated the artistic value of the piece, the delicate ornament of the floral twig, baskets and buckets of flowers executed in gold thread on fine muslin.¹²

¹⁰ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. numbers: MNK XIX-3210 (166cm x 29,5cm), MNK XIX-3209 (159cm x 29,5cm), both given by Zofia Tarnowska z Chorzelowa, date unknown.

¹¹ A professional embroiderer probably also made two square shawls embroidered with gold, ornamented with floral motifs, in the collection of the National Museum in Krakow, inv. numbers: MNK XIX-9921 (91cm x 95cm), MNK XIX-9922 (87cm x 91cm), given by Stanisław Ursyn Rusiecki, before 1939.

¹² The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-5954 (from the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow).

Instead of a wildly fashionable cashmere square shawl folded in half, a nineteenth century woman could wear an equally beautiful looking triangular embroidered shawl. Each of the original cashmere shawls is unique, but it is only among the European shawls worn for balls and for walking that you can find objects that draw attention with their originality. Especially beautiful is an example made of stripes of delicate, probably cashmere wool in red, white and black and decorated with bouquets of flowers, executed with tambour stitch and shaded embroidery with silk yarn (**Fig. 6**). It has a silk lining and two-button fastening with a loop of multi-coloured cord. It has been in the Museum collections since 1899.¹³ It is difficult to say whether it is still a shawl or a cape. Additionally, a triangular shawl made of ivory and pink silk taffeta has exceptional artistic qualities (**Fig. 7**).



Fig. 6. Left: Shawl or cape, Europe, wool fabric embroidered with silk, No. MNK XIX-10037. Obtained for the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow before 1899.

Fig. 7 Above right: Square shawl, Europe, silk taffeta decorated with applique on tulle, No. MNK XIX-10036. Given by Lucjan Portruski to the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow before 1882.

Fig. 8. Below Right: Square shawl, Europe, tulle embroidered with silk yarn, with applique of silk gauze, No. MNK XIX-8266. Obtained in 1976.

¹³ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-10037 (120cm x 230cm), from the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow, obtained before 1899; M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów*, Wrocław : Zakł. Nar. im. Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo, 1968, s. 782.

Along the edges and in the central corner there is inserted tulle with silk appliqué. A dense, very precise floral ornament, with roses in full bloom and leaves taking the shape of a rocaille motif, clearly references the Rococo. The contours and the internal drawing of the pattern are made with tambour stitches. It was given to the former Technical-Industrial Museum in Krakow before 1882.¹⁴The material which had exclusively decorative properties was tulle. Numerous embroidered tulle shawls are preserved in Museum collections. Embroidery on tulle quite accurately imitated expensive lace, so the most popular were white embroidered tulle accessories. More interesting are those shawls which are embroidered with colourful yarn, mostly on a black tulle ground, where their ornament does not imitate anything. The most beautiful one in the collection is a square shawl from the Biedermeier period, featuring a long fringe, with three-dimensional decoration of bouquets of gauze roses and violets, with leaves and stems executed in silk yarn embroidery (**Fig. 8**). Such decoration can also be found on other accessories from this period.¹⁵

Men's sashes



Fig. 9. Men's sash, Poland, end of the 18th cent., tambour stitch embroidery with metal thread and silk yarn, No. MNK XIX-2476, given by Society of Friends of the National Museum in Krakow, 1936

In nineteenth-century Poland, national *kontush* costume, used by the nobility in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was still present in men's fashion. Its indispensable accessory was a luxurious silk sash. It could cost a fortune if it came from one of the great Polish manufacturers and was woven using expensive metal threads. However, sometimes even cheaper silk woven sashes could be too expensive for a poorer nobleman. If he did not inherit a valuable sash from his ancestors, he would have to wear an embroidered one. But first we must recall the exquisite quality sashes made in Poland in the eighteenth century.

In the 1780s and 1790s, the demand for good quality silk sashes was so high that they were produced even in Lyon, where sometimes they were obtaining fake signatures of Polish sashes. Much cheaper printed, cotton sashes were produced in Mulhouse (Taszycka 1984, 110-111).¹⁶At the turn of the century, poorer nobility (it must be noted that nobility made up 10 % of Polish society—a percentage unparalleled in Western Europe) wanted to maintain the tradition of wearing the Polish national costume, but

¹⁴ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-10036 (144cm x 314cm), given by Lucjan Portruski, before 1882, from the collections of the former Technical and Industrial Museum in Krakow, lata 60.

¹⁵ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-8266 (187cm x 190cm)

¹⁶ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-2477 (383cm x 40cm).

for many of them a sash from the professional workshop was too expensive. So, they substituted them with sashes decorated with tambour stitch embroidery. The Museum has a beautiful half-sash (cut lengthwise, like many sashes of eastern origin, which were too wide to wear comfortably) in the collection. It features a traditional composition with decorative endings and striped main part (**Fig. 9**). Such beautifully embroidered sashes are preserved in many Polish collections (Chruszczyńska 1995; Wróblewska–Markiewicz 2009, 31). A very unusual sash was made from a striped silk fabric. The stripes on the fabric are arranged in groups: a dozen or so narrow stripes alternate with the area with almost no decorations, with only single stripes (**Fig. 10**). To achieve the effect of a traditional sash composition, blank areas were filled with embroidered stripes, repeating the pattern of woven stripes, which gave the effect of "pólka"—the stripes characteristic of Polish sashes. It was a simple and cheap version of a traditional sash.¹⁷

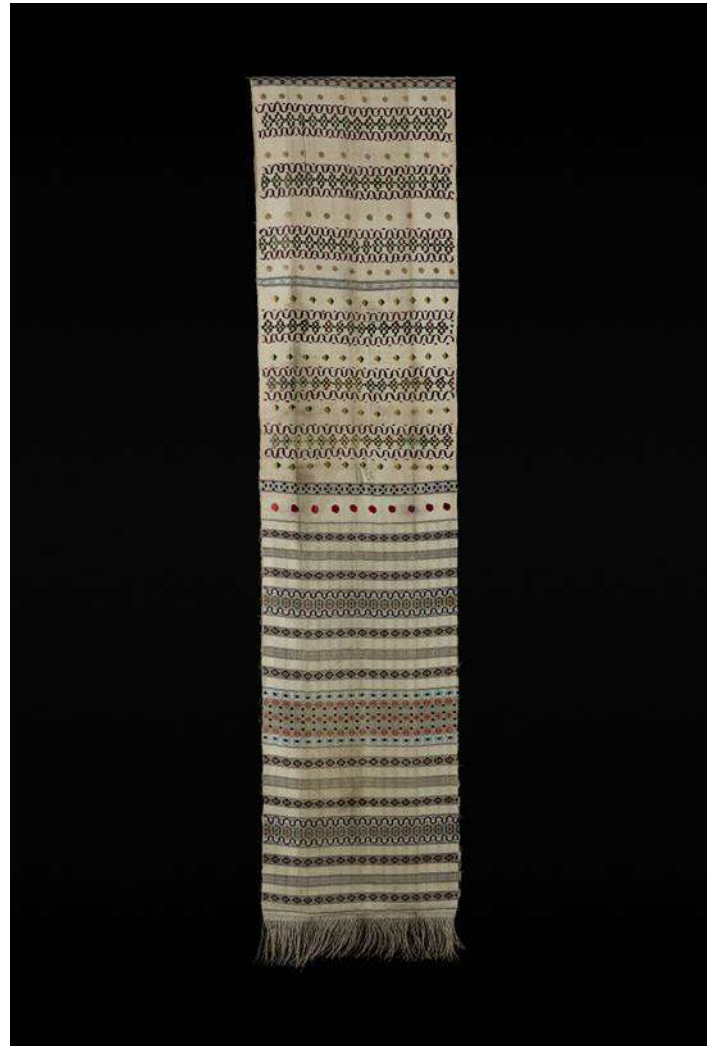


Fig. 10. Men's sash, France and Poland (?), early 19th cent., patterned silk fabric embroidered with silk yarn, inv. No. MNK XIX-2478. Given by Feliks "Manggha".

Shawl or sash?

We cannot say if the modest but lovely accessory made of half-silk fabric and decorated with tambour stitch embroidery with metal thread is a shawl or a sash (**Fig. 11**). Its background with a dot pattern and ends decorated with buckets of flowers with a bow determine it could be worn as sash or a shawl. Its dimensions (284 cm x 50cm) let it be worn over the shoulders as well as around the waist (if folded widthwise, as sashes used to be worn). We likely will never know. Nevertheless, it is a good example of something made at home, at low cost, especially because it bears many traces of being repaired and remade. Certainly, it would have been used by a male or female member of a Polish noble, but not overtly wealthy family.¹⁸

¹⁷ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-2478 (286cm x 30cm), Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński Collections, given to the Museum in 1929.

¹⁸ The National Museum in Krakow, inv. number: MNK XIX-3240 (Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński Collections, given to the Museum in 1929).



Fig. 11. Shawl or sash, half-silk fabric with tambour stitch embroidery with metal thread, inv. No. MNK XIX-2478. Given by Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński, 1929.

Patchwork shawl

Sometimes the story behind the object is as interesting as the object itself. There is, for example, a strange, green shawl, stitched together out of paisley-patterned cashmere wool pieces: big and small, put together to create a rectangular shawl with decorative ends. Strangely, pieces of patterned fabric are sometimes sewed together upside down, with the reverse side up. It is hard to imagine how folded the shawl had to be to look nice; perhaps the shawl's owner had her way. The shawl was given by Teresa Nieszczyńska (1870–1956), to the National Museum of Krakow just after the Second World War in 1949. Knowledge about the donor has faded with time, and she was put amongst the many benefactors we know nothing about. She was not famous enough to be found in the Polish Biographical Dictionary and not noble enough to be put in any genealogy. But recently I found by accident T. Nieszczyńska street in Sucha Beskidzka, a small town in the Beskidy Mountains. It turned out that Teresa Nieszczyńska was a highly respected teacher in this town (1898–1928).¹⁹As a teacher devoted to her work, she did not make a big fortune, and her shawl turned out to be another example of an accessory used by a not-so-wealthy family. Now we know who the donor was, we hope to find a photo of her wearing the shawl to answer the question of how it was worn. Sometimes it is worthy to turn our attention to goods which are often underestimated. They have the potential to be an interesting field of research, especially when we know their provenance, and their artistic quality makes the research a real pleasure.

¹⁹ I owe all the information about Teresa Nieszczyńska to Anna Spyrzyńska from the Sucha Beskidzka Museum.



Fig. 12 Shawl, pieces of woollen shawls sewn together, No. MNK XIX-3299. Given by Teresa Nieszczyńska, 1949.

Acknowledgements

I owe all the information about Teresa Nieszczyńska to Anna Spyczyńska from the Sucha Beskidzka Museum. All the illustrations were made in the Photographic Workshop of the National Museum in Krakow.

Bibliography

Chruszczyńska, Jadwiga, 1995. *Pasy kontuszowe z polskich manufaktur i pracowni w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*. Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie.

Gutkowska-Rychlewska, Maria. 1968. *Historia Ubiorów*. Wrocław: Zakł. Nar. im. Ossolińskich-Wydawnictwo.

Taszycka, Maria et al. 1972. *Ceintures et costumes polonais*. Exhibition, May 23 – September 30, 1972, Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes, Mulhouse.

Taszycka, Maria. 1984. *Polskie pasy kontuszowe*. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Literackie.

Wróblewska–Markiewicz, M. 2009. *Pas kontuszowy. Recepcja formy, recepcja mitu*, Łódź: Centralne Muzeum Włókiennictwa.

One for All. The Luxury Not to Change: Floria Tosca's costume at the Vienna State Opera 1958-2021

Nicolai, Dorothea
Zurich, Switzerland

Abstract

Margarethe Wallmann's staging of Puccini's *Tosca* at the Vienna State Opera premiered on April 3, 1958, with set and costume design by Nicola Benois, starring the famous soprano Renata Tebaldi in the title role. Since then, it has been performed over 600 times at the Vienna State Opera with a list of celebrated sopranos as Floria Tosca—still wearing the same “old dress”; meanwhile, six more copies of the same design have been carefully conserved and altered by the seamstresses and wardrobe ladies of the repertory tailor shop on the sixth floor of the Vienna State Opera. This paper explores the anachronism of this dress and staging in the ephemeral and fast changing reality of theatre and opera: the luxury not to change and renew.

Contents

- Tradition and the Vienna State Opera
- “Stehplätze”
- *Tosca*, by Giacomo Puccini
- Margarethe Wallmann
- Nicolas Benois
- Floria Tosca's second act costume: the costume inventory, the repertory tailor shop, and the wardrobe service at the Vienna State Opera
- The costume accessories
- Toscas and their costume
- Austrian Theatre Museum

Fig. 1. Box containing the *Tosca* costume accessories in the Vienna State Opera costume stock © D. Nicolai

Tradition and the Vienna State Opera

The opera has been the heart of Vienna and an important part of the city's identity for many generations. The opera in Vienna elicits the kind of passionate discussion other cities reserve for their soccer team. The famous “*Stehplatzkarten*” (standing tickets) ensure accessibility; they cannot be reserved in advance and can be purchased for the price of € 5 or €10 at a special ticket teller eighty minutes before the performance starts. For each performance, 567 standing tickets (of a total of 1,709 places) are available. The best standing places are at the rear of the



parterre (the pit). It is tradition for long queues of passionate opera lovers to form when famous operas or singers are scheduled. Each season presents about sixty different operas and ballets, among which about eight are new productions and the others are revivals. Approximately 100 productions are kept in repertory ready for performance, an unmatched extravagance for an opera house.

The current building was inaugurated in 1869 as the "Vienna Court Opera" (*Wiener Hofoper*) in the presence of Emperor Franz Joseph I and Empress Elisabeth of Austria replacing an older building dating from 1709, the *Kärntnertortheater*. It became known by its current name after the establishment of the First Austrian Republic in 1921.

Tosca, by Giacomo Puccini

Tosca is an opera in three acts by Giacomo Puccini (1858 in Lucca–1924 in Brussels) in the tradition of Italian *verismo*. It premiered at the Teatro Costanzi in Rome on January 14, 1900. The work, based on Victorien Sardou's 1887 French-language dramatic play, *La Tosca*, is a melodramatic piece set in Rome in June 1800, with the Kingdom of Naples threatened by Napoleon's invasion of Italy. The drama of torture, murder, and suicide plays out in the opera to the strains of some of Puccini's best-known lyrical arias. Adolf (Adolfo) Hohenstein (1854–1928)—the pioneer of Italian poster art and an exponent of the *Stile Liberty* (Liberty Style, or Italian Art Nouveau)—designed the costumes and sets for the premiere in Empire style, which has inspired all later designs. The opera takes place on June 17 and 18, 1800 in Rome: Act I at *Chiesa Sant'Andrea della Valle*, Act II in *Palazzo Farnese* and Act III in *Castello St. Angelo*.

Tosca at the Vienna State Opera

The opening of Margarethe Wallmann's staging of *Tosca* at the Vienna State Opera took place on April 3, 1958 with sets and costumes by Nicola Benois. Renata Tebaldi took on the title role. Since then, this staging has been performed 624 times, opening the 2021-22 season on September 3, 2021. Since that opening, ninety-eight sopranos have sung *Tosca* in this staging. They include a veritable "Who's Who" of sopranos—from Tebaldi through Anna Netrebko. All performed in the same dress design in this timeless staging, making it an outstanding anachronism in the fast changing, ephemeral world of the theater.

Margarethe Wallmann

Margarethe Wallmann (1901?–1992) was a dancer, choreographer, and opera director. Born in Berlin, she received a classical dancing education, before attending Mary Wigman's *Ausdruckstanz* (modern dance school) in Dresden from 1923 and dancing in Wigman's touring company. In 1928, she traveled to New York and held lectures there on Wigman's *Ausdruckstanz*. In 1929, she became head of the Wigman School in Berlin. She moved to Vienna in 1933, and became ballet master at the Vienna State Opera and head of its ballet school. In 1938, after the *Anschluss*, when Austria was annexed to Nazi Germany, Wallmann, being of Jewish descent, left Austria for Argentina and found work as ballet director at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires. In 1949, she returned to Europe and became ballet director of La Scala in Milan. Since 1952, she concentrated on directing opera. She successfully worked at La Scala, the Vienna State Opera, the Salzburg Festival, the Metropolitan Opera in New York and in Berlin—exceptional for a woman stage director in the 1950s and 1960s. Her staging, based on her background as a dancer and choreographer, brought dramatic movement to the stage in an era when singers mostly stood stiff and still at the edge of the orchestra pit. She was married twice and stayed agile until old age. On August 17, 2020 the artist Gunter Demnig installed a *Stolperstein* in her commemoration at the Haus für Mozart in Salzburg. *Stolpersteine*, literally "stumbling stone", is a sett-size, ten-centimeter concrete cube bearing a brass plate inscribed with the name and life dates of

victims of Nazi extermination or persecution. The *Stolpersteine* project aims to commemorate individuals at exactly the last place of residency before he or she fell victim to Nazi terror.

Nicola Benois

Nicola Alexandrovich Benois (1901–1988) was a stage designer, known for his work as principal scenographer and costume designer at La Scala in Milan. He was the son of Alexandre Benois, an influential artist, critic, historian and stage designer at the Mariinsky Theatre. The family lived near the opera house in their mansion, built by his grandfather Nikolai Benois. Nicola studied art and design under his father before attending the Academy of Fine Arts in Saint Petersburg. He emigrated to Paris in 1923, where he worked for Sergei Diaghilev as a set designer for several of the Ballets Russes productions. In 1935, he accepted the post of principal scenographer at La Scala. There he collaborated with Luchino Visconti, the powerful producer of La Scala, who insisted on genuine period jewelry and costumes for the performing stars. Benois was a master of period design. His stage works are remarkable for their mastery of line, form, and color scheme. In all, he designed about 300 ballet and opera productions for theaters of Turin, Milan, Rome, and other cities worldwide. I am very happy to present Benois' original costume rendering for Tosca's second act costume in this context with the generosity of the Teatro Alla Scala Archives in Milan. Deducing from the design, the Act II costume could be based on the famous Jean-Baptiste Isabey design for Empress Josephine at the 1804 coronation ceremony of Napoleon I.



Fig. 2. Above, left: Jean-Baptiste Isabey, "Grand Habilleme[n]t de L'Impératrice," *Livre du Sacre*, 1804 © Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 3. Above, right: Costume rendering for the second act by Nicola Benois for the Vienna *Tosca* Premiere at Archivio bozzetti e figurini Teatro alla Scala, Milan

Fig. 4. Right: Renata Tebaldi in the costume of Act II at the opening of the Vienna *Tosca* 1958
© Foto Fayer Vienna

**Floria Tosca's second act costume:
The costume inventory, the repertory
tailor shop, and the wardrobe service at
the Vienna State Opera**

Costume labels at the Vienna State Opera do not bear the name of a singer. They only show a number: in this case "126" for *Tosca*, meaning it is the 126th production after the re-opening of the Vienna State Opera in 1955 after the war, when this number system was introduced. The "2" stands for "second costume" of the first soloist character following the cast list. If there is a number after the slash behind the 2, it means it is the first, second and so on remake of the original costume.



Fig. 5. Left: Label of the original 1958 *Tosca* costume, Act II © D. Nicolai

TOSCA

126

neu inszeniert 3. April 1958.

TOSCA: FRAU RENATA TEBALDI

I. Kostüm: schw. Spitzenkleid, gelbe Frisur m. Knoten,
rosa ärmelloser Leinenleib m. aufgen.
blauen Leidenrips - Brustteil, angen. stello
Schurz, ~~pa~~ angen. grüne Leidenunterschurz,
roter Samtmantel m. l. Ärmeln m. angen.
w. Geog. Fischli - Mantel - Schurz vorne offen 1
blauie Pümpf m. Masche.

II. Kostüm: ro. Lidraß - Diadem
gelber Orgonier Schleier } Eigentum
gelber schw. Gold gest. Brokat - Schleppkleid } würde ge-
1 paar l. beige Lederhandschuhe } banft
schw. m. grüne Leide gef. Samtmantel m.
l. weiten Ärmeln, ge. Hermelin Krage m.
Manschetten 2
Gold - Pümpf

III. Kostüm: blau-grüne Leidenripsleib m. l. Ärmeln } Eigentum
angen. stello " Schleppschurz }
lila m. roten " gef. Chan. Chan
Radmantel m. Pelzine m. Krage,
blau-grüne Reidskand 3
schw. Schuhe - Eigentum

Fig. 6. Handwritten costume list for Renata Tebaldi for the opening of Tosca, 1958
© D. Nicolai

All costumes for each production are carefully described by the wardrobe department, plus notations of all cast changes and individual costume adaptations. Today, all documentation is digitalized. The wardrobe service is separated into the men's department and the women's department. All costumes are kept separately and grouped according to male or female by stage gender, not the performer's biological one. Backstage at the Vienna State Opera, men's and women's dressing rooms are on either side of the stage and not accessible directly to each other. The two genders only meet on stage.



Fig. 7. Above, left: The seven Tosca costumes (including the original) vary in their design interpretation © D. Nicolai

Fig. 8. Above, right: Extra sleeves, pleated ruffles for the *décolleté*, and extensions for the belt, kept for alterations in the repertory tailor shop © D. Nicolai

The 1958 Tosca costume was constructed using “classical” theater tailoring technique; it was “period” only on the outside. Precious materials were used: a shimmering gold brocade combined with the finest black velvet, decorated with stenciled golden laurel wreaths and appliqued rhinestones. The costume is made up in “modules” and individually assembled to the needs of the singer. Open seams allow for quick alterations without having to undo the whole dress. The huge seam allowances allow size alterations to range from small to generous. Inside, like “streets” left and right of the side seam, the traces are named with the famous singers’ names, recalling who wore this costume (**Fig. 9**). The train is a separate piece. It is added to the fitted dress. The repertory tailor shop keeps bits and pieces to vary the same design for each singer to make them feel comfortable. One singer may prefer a longer ruffle for the *décolleté*. Another may opt for no ruffle at all. A sleeve may be lengthened. Extensions allow the belt to be expanded for a larger waist. Meanwhile, seven different dresses of the same design are in use, for taller and shorter singers. They all try to

imitate the original design but vary in the choice of fabric. The big brooch in front is detachable; there is only one for all seven dresses. But the original, made in 1958, is still the favorite of all singers, even today. They want to wear the original, imbued with the magic of all the famous singers who wore it before them.



Fig. 9. Inside side seam with the traces named by the singer. In the armhole, the dress shield protects the costume from sweat © D. Nicolai

The trend today is to provide a new costume for a new singer, but for years it was customary to have one costume that was shared. Rarely would a singer bring her own Tosca costume, as the American soprano Leontyne Price did in the 1950s—an exception made possible because the main design concept for all traditional Tosca stagings was Empire style.

Though new materials are used in construction, copies of the original dress aspire to maintain its character. The wardrobe department and repertory tailor shop also take care of the cleaning, repairing and storage. Huge dress shields are sewn in beforehand and removed after the performance to be washed. Each dress has a perfectly fitted hanger. All dresses hang from a high rack, to keep the fabric from creasing. The staff loves this production and protect the costumes carefully from the wear and tear of each new performance.



Fig. 10. Previous page left: The original fabric with the stencil of the laurel wreath.
Fig. 11. Previous page right: A newer fabric.

Fig. 12. Right: Velvet coat only for the entrance of Act II. On the left, the original 1958 coat, stripped of the fur trimmings, which have been mounted onto the new one (right). © D. Nicolai

For her dramatic entrance in Act II, Tosca wears a voluminous black velvet cape with a high-standing collar over her dress. The original 1958 coat is used for rehearsals and stripped of its fur trim, which imitates ermine. The fur is attached to the new coat; it is a singular garment. There are no other versions. The wardrobe supervisor told me she carefully spreads out the trains of the dress and the coat while the singer is waiting in the wings for maximum effect at the entrance.

The costume accessories

A box (Fig. 1.) contains all accessories that complete Tosca's costumes: the long satin gloves in different shades of gold, a fan of ostrich feathers, the jewelry that includes a selection of earrings and necklaces, to suit the singer's taste.

The original 1958 tiara is still in use. It is constructed in traditional theatre *trompe l'oeil*: a tulle base mounted on a wire frame, embroidered with pearls and rhinestones. This technique is lightweight and flexible and avoids too much metal (most singers do not feel comfortable with metal close to their head). The tiara is pinned with a horsehair strip to the wig of the singer.



Fig. 13. & Fig. 14. Previous page and right: The original 1958 tiara is pearls and rhinestones sewn to a tulle base mounted on a wire frame © D. Nicolai



Toscas and their costume

Each singer adapts the dress to her own comfort level. Eliane Coelho was famous for wearing the "old" tiara upside down and eliminated all the frills from the *décolleté* (Fig. 15). Mara Zampieri had her own dress made, avoiding all velvet in the train and coat, and replacing it with satin (Fig. 16). The timeless design still functions after more than sixty-three years. Costume and opera enthusiasts may want to watch the many video clips of the Wallmann production on YouTube, with its hit parade of famous sopranos through the decades.



Fig. 15. Eliane Coelho as "Tosca" und R. Bruson as "Baron Scarpia" in *Tosca*, Staatsoper, 8.2.1994 ©Theatermuseum Wien



Fig. 16. Mara Zampieri as "Tosca" und N. Shicoff als "Cavaradossi" in *Tosca*, Staatsoper, 5.11.1991 ©
Theatermuseum Wien

Epilogue: Austrian Theatre Museum

When a Vienna State Opera production is *skatziert*, meaning that it is taken from repertory, the original soloist costumes will find their place in the Theatermuseum, ready to tell the story of famous singers and opera roles and costume designers in regular exhibitions.

The Theatermuseum, situated in the vicinity of the Opera House, highlights the magic moments on stage forever. More than 1,000 stage models, 600 costumes and props from three centuries, more than 100,000 drawings and prints, as well as more than 700,000 theater photos are among the holdings of the museum.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to Vienna State Opera costume director Vera Richter and wardrobe supervisor Maria Mader and their team for their wonderful cooperation.

Bibliography

Casanova, Caramaria. 1981. *Renata Tebaldi: La voce d'Angelo*. Catania: Electa.

Láng, Andreas and Oliver Láng. 2014. *Impressionen zu Tosca*. Vienna: Vienna State Opera.

Nava, Vlada Novikova, 2019. *Nicola Benois: Da San Pietroburgo a Milano con il teatro nel sangue*. Milan: Fuoril[u]ogo.

Schickling, Dieter. 2017. *Puccini: Biografie*. Leipzig: Reclam.

Wallmann, Margarethe. 1976. *Les Balcons du Ciel: Mémoires*. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Useful links

<https://www.theatermuseum.at>

<https://www.wiener-staatsoper.at>

<https://www.mip.at>

Paul Poiret and the 'Battick' haute couture

Wronska-Friend, Maria
Cairns Institute, James Cook University

Abstract

In 1911, Paul Poiret—the leading Parisian couturier, launched a collection of opulent evening gowns decorated with the Javanese technique of wax-resist dyeing, known as batik. The colours and motifs of the fabrics of those gowns echoed the textile art of Java and were executed by Erica von Scheel, a German artist living in Paris. Although the later fate of these gowns is unknown, they were documented in photographs by Edward Steichen and Henri Manuel and in drawings by Georges Lepape and Georges Barbier. Poiret's interest in the batik decoration was short-lived but it was vital for drawing the attention of other French designers to the potential of the Javanese technique in creating fashionable clothing. A decade later, in Paris dozens of workshops produced a range of textiles decorated with the batik technique, of which the best known was 'Le Batik Française' studio run by Marguerite Pangon.

Contents

- Orientalism in the fashion of Paul Poiret
- Batik technique in Europe
- 'Battick' collection of Paul Poiret
- Javanese inspirations
- French batik fashion after Poiret
- Sources

Orientalism in the fashion of Paul Poiret

Paul Poiret (1879–1944) is remembered as one of the most extravagant and influential Parisian couturiers at the beginning of the twentieth century. His innovative style, in which simplified, fluid lines of garments replaced stiff corsets and close-fitting dresses, was frequently inspired by real or imagined traditions of the Orient and antiquity. In 1905, Poiret launched the opulent 'Confucius' evening wrap, inspired by the construction of the Japanese kimono (Grossiord n.d.). Eastern garments became an even stronger source of Poiret's inspirations in the following years, seen in a series of

Fig. 1. Paul Poiret, c. 1913. Creative Commons.



ladies' costumes with bouffant, harem-style trousers, tunics, and evening coats of simple cut and boldly patterned textiles accompanied by accessories such as painted fans, turbans and aigrettes studded with precious stones. These luxurious and extravagant garments, so revolutionary at that time, stemmed from the free interpretation of costumes and textile traditions of Persia, Turkey, Japan, China, and North Africa. Frequently combined to create improbable fusions of style and sartorial taste, they gave the Parisian elite the illusion of life in a dream-like world of 'Oriental' fantasy and opulence.

Poiret's elevation of the Orient reached its apogee in June 1911, when an extravagant costume party with the theme *The Thousand and Second Night* was held in the grounds of his couture house at avenue d'Antin. The host dressed as a Turkish sultan, while the guests—his friends and most treasured customers—wore a variety of costumes inspired by diverse traditions of Middle Eastern countries (Delandres 1987, 50-55; Troy 2002, 125). The event was documented by Parisian photographer Henri Manuel, and the images of this lavish fête were published in several French journals.

The same year Poiret turned his attention to another source of Eastern inspiration, launching a collection of evening garments decorated with the Indonesian batik technique. This new series of silk evening gowns featuring bold, hand-drawn patterns executed with the technique, was a befitting way to reinforce Poiret's phantasmagory of the mythical Orient. Although the technique was already known in Paris, Poiret elevated the status of batik to new heights by pioneering the introduction of the Indonesian method of textile decoration into the French tradition of *haute couture*.

Batik technique in Europe

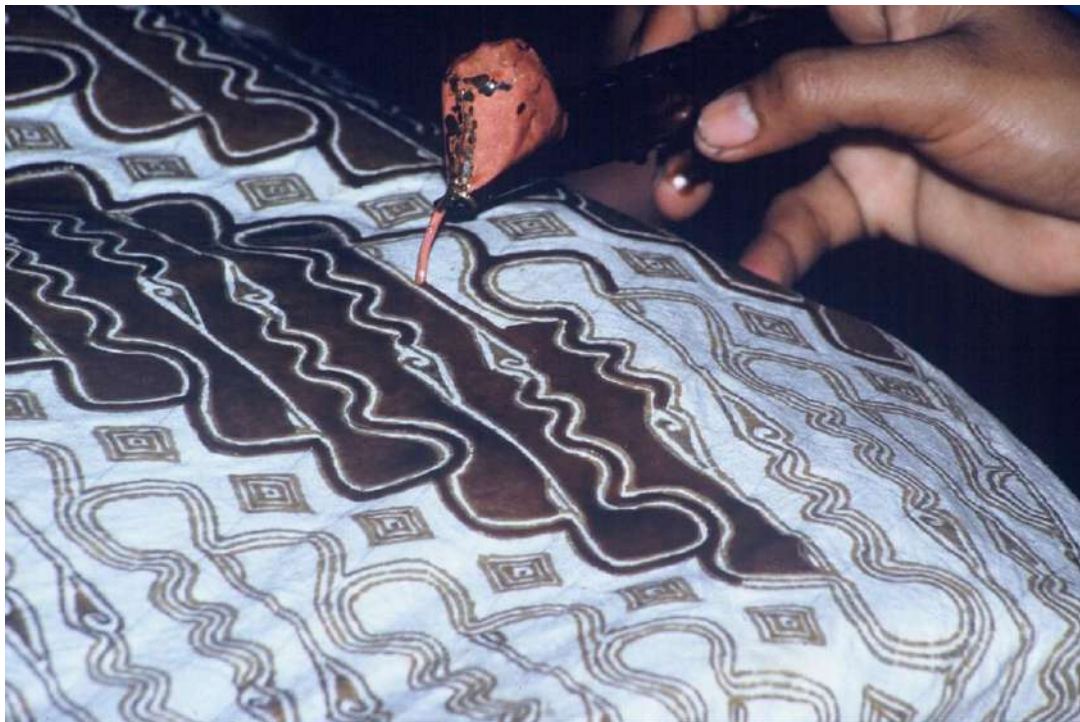


Fig. 2. Batik technique of Java: molten wax applied to the surface of a cloth to draw patterns. Photo: Maria Wronska-Friend.

Batik is the technique of patterning cloth through a repeated process of drawing patterns with molten wax which acts as a resist, and cold-temperature dyeing. As the motifs are drawn by hand with a small pen-like tool called a *canting*, each piece of cloth receives a unique character, and the range of ornaments that can be applied is almost limitless. Although wax-resist dyeing has been practised for thousands of years in several parts of the world, it was on the Indonesian island of Java that this technique of textile decoration was brought to the highest development. Batik is applied to the decoration of men's and women's garments worn as everyday and festive dress in all parts of Java, and at times also on other islands (**Fig. 2**).

The technique of batik was introduced into European arts in the early 1890s after a group of Dutch artists, inspired by a collection of Indonesian textiles in an Amsterdam Museum, initiated first experiments with hand-applied wax resist. In Europe, unlike Java, batik was first employed to decorate textiles used in interior decoration, such as furniture upholstery, curtains, or wall coverings. Only several years later did Agatha Wegerif-Gravestein—who opened the first batik atelier in Europe in Apeldoorn—apply the technique to the decoration of exquisite ladies' garments (Wronska-Friend 2001, 106-09).

Within a few years, Dutch textiles decorated with the Javanese technique became popular outside the Netherlands. In Paris, from 1899 they were sold at the fashionable art gallery 'La Maison Moderne' owned by the art critic Jules Meier-Graefe. A year later, they were presented with great success in the Dutch Pavilion at the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris (Wronska-Friend 2014, 373). At the beginning of the twentieth century batik went on to be practised by hundreds, if not thousands of craftsmen and artists all over Europe, in particular in Germany, Austria, France, Poland and Great Britain. The applications of this technique varied greatly in style of decoration, standards of technical accomplishment, the types of tools and dyes used, the technology of dyeing, and so on. While some European batik artists used to refer to the textile traditions of Java, for most of them batik became a new medium that reflected the decorative styles that dominated the European arts of the day: at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century it was Art Nouveau, while after the First World War it was the style of Art Deco.

'Battick' collection of Paul Poiret

Although the Javanese technique was practised in France already by the beginning of the twentieth century, it was Paul Poiret who introduced batik into Parisian haute couture, giving it special recognition. In 1911, Poiret launched a collection of evening garments that featured several opulent robes called 'Battick'. These were long, sumptuous coats made of draped silk fabrics with collar and cuffs trimmed with a blue fox fur. The fabrics were decorated with purpose-made large, dramatic motifs in the batik technique.

At this stage of research, none of Poiret's batik coats have yet been identified in private or museum collections. However, this new embodiment of Eastern taste has been documented in photographs and drawings by Henri Manuel, Edward Steichen, Georges Lepape and Georges Barbier, published in French and German fashion journals and albums in 1911 and 1912.



Fig. 3. Batik evening coat by Paul Poiret.
Photo by Henri Manuel, published in *Deutsche Moden-Zeitung* in 1911.

In addition to the photographs taken by the Parisian photographer Henri Manuel (1874–1947), who had collaborated with Poiret in previous years, a special session was organised for the American photographer Edward Steichen (1879–1973), who in the following years was to be recognised as the pioneer of fashion photography. One of the batik gowns photographed by both Manuel and Steichen provides a good illustration of the contrasting approaches taken by the two photographers.

Henri Manuel, in his sharply focused, detailed images published in the *Deutsche Moden-Zeitung*, simply documents the dress and the pattern of wide, diagonal bands filled with large dots and long dashes (Alfen 1911). Edward Steichen's interpretation of the same dress was published in the magazine *Art et Décoration*, to illustrate the essay 'L'Art de la robe' (Cornu 1911). Shooting with soft lenses and hazy lighting, Steichen decided not just to document the batik coat but transformed it into an artwork in its own right, supporting Poiret's vision that he was a dress artist rather than a mere couturier (Troy 2002, 128-29). This was the first fashion shoot for Steichen who in following years was to become the chief photographer for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*.

Another batik coat from Poiret's collection was illustrated in one of the drawings by Georges Lepape (1887–1971), published in February 1911 in the exclusive, limited-edition album *Les Choses de Paul Poiret vue par Georges Lepape*. The third plate of this album features three models and the one on the left wears an evening batik coat. The dress has been decorated with a horizontal row of elongated, yellow triangles filled with blue dots and set against a white background.



Fig. 4. 'Chez Poiret' by Georges Barbier, used as a cover illustration of 'Les Modes' journal, Paris 1912. The coat on the right is from the Paul Poiret batik collection.

A third example features in the drawing by Georges Barbier (1882–1932), published in 1912 on the cover of the journal *Les Modes* (Barbier 1912) (Fig. 4). The pose of the model on the right is similar to the one in the photograph by Steichen. The motifs of her batik gown seem to be a fusion of the decoration of the first dress, photographed by Manuel and Steichen, and the second one, drawn by Lepape. The main part of the garment has been covered with diagonal rows of large dots while the upper part of the dress features a row of triangles—

which in Lepape's drawing were the focal motif of the garment. The head of the model has been wrapped with a turban-like cover, topped with an aigrette.

The motifs of those batik gowns were the work of Erica von Scheel (1881–1966), a German painter and designer and one of the most gifted students of Henry van de Velde at the Kunstgewerbliches Seminar in Weimar. She learned the batik technique at a training course at the School of Applied Arts in Weimar in 1908. She moved to Paris in 1909 and the following year started collaboration with Paul Poiret on creating batik haute couture. She returned to Germany in 1912 and the same year married painter Ivo Hauptmann (Wronska-Friend 2014, 386-88).

Javanese inspirations

Not only the technique but also the motifs and colours of the 'Battick' gowns point to their Javanese inspirations. However, their source may not be immediately obvious because the motifs have not been directly copied from Indonesian textiles but have instead undergone a significant degree of transposition. For example, the patterns composed of diagonal rows filled with dashes and large dots depicted in the Manuel and Steichen photographs can be traced, with high probability, to the curved diagonal lines of the prominent *parang rusak* design, which traditionally was restricted to the use of the rulers and their families at the courts of Surakarta and Yogyakarta (Wronska-Friend 2014).



Fig. 5. Sarong skirt in blue-brown colours with two rows of elongated triangles known as *tumpal* motif. Java, late 19th – early 20th century, Rudolf Smend collection, Cologne.

Undoubtedly, the art of Indonesian textiles also informs the line of elongated triangles that decorate the gowns in the Lepape and Barbier drawings. This motif is known in Java as *tumpal* and is presented as two rows of triangles placed in a vertical arrangement, usually in the central part of Javanese sarongs. However, in Poiret's 'Battick' collection, this motif has been presented as a single, horizontal line of triangles that runs across the whole width of the garment.

The need to use low-temperature dyeing limits the range of natural dyes that can be used in batik. Three colours—blue, brown and yellow—dominated textile decoration of Central Java, where until the end of the nineteenth century only natural dyes were used (Wronska-Friend 2001). Depending upon the technology of dyeing, indigo—the most common natural dye in Indonesia—can produce a range of blue tones, from light blue to dark navy, while the over dyeing of dark blue and brown results in black. Interestingly, the colours of the garments in Lepape and Barbier's drawings—blue, yellowish-brown and dark navy—suggest that in decorating Poiret's batik gowns, Erica von Scheel was guided by the colours of Central-Javanese batiks. It is doubtful, however, that in Paris she was able to use the Indonesian natural dyes; most probably they were synthetic dyes reflecting the Javanese range of colours.

It is difficult to determine whose idea it was, the couturier's or the artist's, to decorate the gowns with motifs and colours that echoed the textile traditions of Indonesia. There are no indications of Paul Poiret's knowledge of or engagement with Indonesian textiles, and his encounter with batik was short-lived; he used the technique only in his 1911 collection. On the other hand, Erica von Scheel, who before coming to Paris spent several years at Weimar, had a very good knowledge of the iconography of the Javanese textiles. Henry van de Velde, her teacher and one of the most prominent European designers in the first half of the twentieth century, had been fascinated by Indonesian textile art for several decades. Recent research into van de Velde's textile design reveals that in a number of interior decoration projects he used replicas of Javanese batiks, printed in the Netherlands. There is no doubt that Erica von Scheel, who assisted van de Velde in the execution of several of his projects, knew this group of textiles quite well. For example, her bedroom at Weimar was decorated with a cloth that featured the Javanese pattern *garis miring* (Wronska-Friend 2014, 381). It is probable that in accordance with the Orientalist trope of his *haute couture*, Poiret might have suggested that the 'Battick' collection of evening coats should be decorated with Javanese motifs. However, in all likelihood it was Erica von Scheel, the artist who executed these patterns, who was also the author of the Javanese-inspired decoration.

French batik after Poiret

'Battick', the new embodiment of the Eastern fantasy, complemented Poiret's other garments that had been inspired by Orientalist traditions, such as 'Confucius', 'Ispahan', 'La Perse', 'Minaret', 'Sorbet' and several others. The batik technique imbued each piece of cloth with individuality and originality, and as such, closely paralleled Poiret's approach to fashion where each garment was a unique, distinctive creation. And yet, Poiret's encounter with batik was quite brief: only the 1911 collection featured gowns decorated with the wax-resist technique. The reasons for this one-off encounter are unknown but might be due to Erica von Scheel leaving Paris in early 1912.

However, Poiret's idea of opulent evening gowns decorated with the batik technique found followers among other fashion designers in Paris in the following years. For example, another outstanding couturier, Gabrielle 'Coco' Chanel, in 1923 launched a collection of fur-trimmed gowns "in the colours of autumn and suitable for a visit to a theatre," decorated with the batik technique (d'Avrily 1923, 24).



Fig. 6. Evening batik coat of silk velvet. Marguerite Pangon batik atelier, Paris ca. 1925. Powerhouse Museum, Sydney.

Batik reached the peak of its Parisian popularity in the 1920s with dozens of small-scale studios operating in several parts of the city. There is no doubt the doyenne of Parisian batik was Marguerite Pangon, who ran 'Le Batik Française' atelier at 64 rue La Boétie for more than a decade. Although Pangon learned the batik technique at the Koloniaal Laboratorium at Haarlem where the teachers and students closely adhered to the technique and aesthetics of Central-Javanese batik, her studio in Paris specialised in the mass-production of highly commoditised apparel that contradicted the ideals of the complex and value-laden cultural expressions of Java (Wronska-Friend 2001, 121). The singular collection of exclusive batik garments created by Paul Poiret in 1911 reflected more closely not only the

aesthetics of Javanese textiles but also the philosophy of classical Javanese batik, with its underlying principles of uniqueness and creativity.

Bibliography

Alfen, Ola. 1911. "Poiret-Kleider." *Deutsche Moden-Zeitung* 46: 1946-47.

D'Avrily, Colette. 1923. "La Mode et les Modes." *Les Modes* 11: 6-26.

Barbier, George. 1912. "Chez Poiret." *Les Modes* 136: cover.

Cornu, Paul. 1911. "L'Art de la robe." *Art et Décoration* 29 (April): 101-18.

Delandres, Yvonne. 1987. *Poiret. Paul Poiret 1879-1944*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Grossiord, Sophie. n.d. "'Révérend' Coat, Paul Poiret." Accessed December 18, 2021.
<https://www.palaisgalliera.paris.fr/fr/node/1259>

Lepape, Georges. 1911. *Les Choses de Paul Poiret vues par Georges Lepape*. Paul Poiret: Paris.

Troy, Nancy J. 2002. "Paul Poiret's Minaret Style: Originality, Reproduction, and Art in Fashion." *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 2: 117-43.

Wronska-Friend, Maria. 2001. "Javanese batik for European artists. Experiments at the Koloniaal Laboratorium in Haarlem." In *Batik – Drawn in wax. 200 years of batik art from Indonesia at the Tropenmuseum collection* by Itie van Hout, 106-23. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.

Wronska-Friend, Maria. 2014. "Fernöstliche Faszination: Henry van de Velde und die javanische Batik. Oriental fascination: Henry van de Velde and Javanese batik." In *Henry van de Velde – Raumkunst und Kunsthandwerk: Ein Werkverzeichnis in sechs Bänden, Bd. II: Textilien*, edited by Thomas Föhl and Antje Neumann, 369-397. Leipzig: Seemann Verlag.

The use of 3D virtual technologies for the research, conservation, and dissemination of archeological and historical textiles and costumes

Bries, Nathalie

Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, France; Sorbonne University, France

Abstract

The development of an innovative protocol to study and reconstruct archaeological and historical textiles and clothing using 3D and CAD technologies during the PhD. research about textiles and clothing of the women represented in the wall paintings of Akrotiri and the archeological textile fragments found in situ, shows a break with previous textile research in how it completely changes the scientific approach, the look, and how a textile can be interpreted. The 3D virtual reconstruction of an embroidery decoration, part of a Paracas' mantle belonging to the textile collection of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, and from a mineralized archeological textile from Kalyvia, demonstrate the importance of virtual 3D reconstructions for not only partly preserved but also deteriorated archeological textile fragments.

Contents

- Introduction
- Embroidery mantle Paracas from the collection Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac
 - Context of embroidery from the Paracas mantle
 - 3D Research and reconstruction of the Paracas mantle
- Archeological Textile from Kalyvia, Greece
 - Context of archeological textile from Kalyvia
 - 3D research and reconstruction: archeological textile from Kalyvia
- Conclusion

Introduction

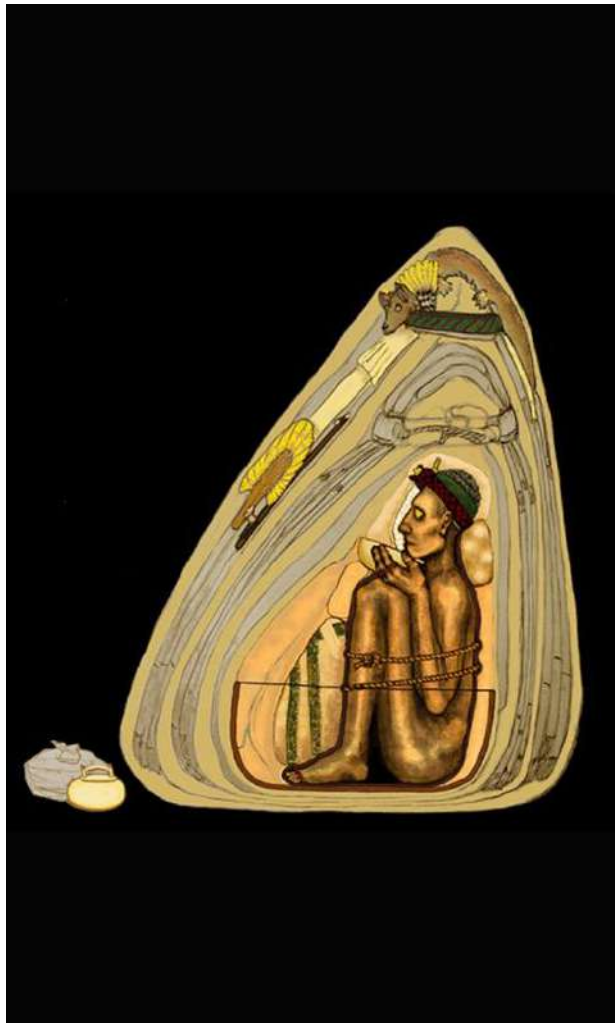
An essential part of preserving the cultural heritage of textiles and costumes is the meticulous research, its dissemination, and the accessibility of information to a broader audience. We can see that new media and 3D technologies can play an increasingly important role in this field. The transition from raw material to a ready-made textile or finished garment requires a whole chain of choices and operations in which the characteristics of the material and techniques and the qualities required for the specific use of the finished textile play an intertwined role. Archaeological and historical remnants of textiles and garments are often not well or only partially preserved, making it challenging to analyze all of the initial characteristics of their production process and visual aspects through microscopic imaging alone. Incorporating 2D and 3D technologies allows virtual recreation of the operational chain from material selection to all the techniques used for producing a finished textile or garment. Visual and behavioral aspects often not visible in archaeological textiles become visible in their 3D virtual recreations. This new approach is developed and validated in a PhD study about textiles and dresses of the women represented in the wall paintings of Akrotiri and the archeological textile fragments found in situ (Bries 2022). Integration of virtual 3D technologies leads to a more profound contextual

understanding of the studied textile or costume and therefore improves the education, dissemination, and preservation of their cultural heritage.

The next paragraphs will present two types of archeological textile fragments used for analysis and 3D virtual reconstruction: a well-preserved cut-out decoration piece of a Paracas mantle (600BC–150AD) and a mineralized disintegrated textile from a tomb in Kalyvia (500BC–400BC). We would like to thank the conservation department of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac for making the mantle embroidery available for study and 3D scanning, and for their collaboration during the reconstruction process. Special thanks go to Christophe Moulherat from Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac for the textiles' imaging and microscopic 3D analyses and his continuous support and collaboration in developing the integration of 3D virtual technologies in textile and costume research and museology.

Embroidery mantle Paracas from the collection Musée du Quai Branly Jacques Chirac

Context of embroidery from the Paracas mantle



The 3D virtual reconstruction of an embroidery decoration, part of a Paracas' mantle belonging to the textile collection of the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac, presents the different aspects of this new approach. Cut out of a mantle, the remaining decoration only represents a small part of the entire mantle, which raises questions about the missing parts and visualization of the embroidery within a complete mantle. The virtually reconstructed mantle allows a better understanding of the Museum's collection piece and offers the possibility of exhibiting this delicate fragment to a large public without the risk of fragilization. Few museum collections outside Peru possess complete Peruvian mantles, which makes it interesting for the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac to have a virtual reconstruction of an entire mantle based on the embroidery.

Fig. 1. Illustration of mortuary practices, Paracas.
Source: [Paracas Archaeology Research Resources](#)

Paracas mantles are funerary mantles used by the population of the Southern coast of Peru from 600 BC until 150 AD. Clothing had an important role and is described by Anne Paul as "transcending the customary role of protection, emphasizing changes in status within the life cycle and serving as a principal ceremonial good" (Paul 1979, 7). A deceased person was wrapped in multiple layers of woven decorated fabrics and mantles, and buried with offerings (**Fig. 1**). The mantles were meant to cover the mummified person and had a spiritual function, expressed through the fine colorful decorations, which embedded cultural meanings for the Paracas population. The embroidery decoration from the Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac's collection is an excellent example of such a colorful decoration.

One embroidered decoration part reveals insufficient information for the reconstruction of a complete Paracas mantle. Therefore, the well-conserved mantles in Peruvian Museums and archives are an important resource, which are studied to find missing elements. Pictures from mantles taken in the museums and archives during a textile journey in Peru, and numerous publications on Paracas textiles and cultures (Lavallée 2008; Paul 1979; Paul 1991; Tello and Toribio 1979), made it possible to hypothesize missing elements about the decoration's mantle. Generally, mantles with this type of embroidery have a rectangular shape that can vary between 2.75 m for the large side and 1.3 m for the smaller one (Paul 1979, 19). The large surface in the middle is divided into rectangles or squares, forming a checkerboard pattern. For some of the mantles, this pattern is formed by alternating the decoration pieces on the rectangles/squares and using different colors for the decorated rectangles/squares and the undecorated ones. In all the mantles, the decorations are multicolored, with the colored weave derived from naturally dyed yarns. A unicolor border with similar decorations on the large surface surrounds the central part and is discontinued in the middle of both shorter sides.

3D Research and reconstruction of the Paracas mantle

Throughout the whole reconstruction process of the Paracas mantle, the conductive line is every step in the production process, like creating a physical one. The process starts with capturing 3D images recto-verso from the embroidery (**Fig. 2** and **Fig. 3**), and 3D microscopic views of the details for extracting the technical data of yarns and weaves (**Fig. 4**). The main fabric's yarns and weave characteristics are obtained from the remaining red brick parts in the middle and around the decoration. The red brick unembroidered fabric in the middle of the eyes of the decoration is a perfect study part (**Fig. 4**), as the weave is closed-in and less exposed to extension than the fabric parts around the embroidery. Due to the excellent state of conservation, well-preserved yarns and weave structure delivered reliable and required data for a realistic 3D virtual reconstruction. Red brick yarns from the fabric on which the embroidery is applied are made from alpaca wool, and their thorough analysis results in different yarn types, all used for weft and warp. The yarn diameters range between 0.46 mm and 0.71mm, with diameter variations between 14 percent and 1 percent within the yarns. Differences in diameters and yarns are probably not intentionally created but result from hand spinning techniques. The yarns show all are 2-ply, S twists, and their twists per cm vary from eight to ten. Based on these data, seven types of 3D virtual yarns are created, ensuring the coverage of all the measured characteristics. The fabric structure shows a balanced plain weave with 14 yarns per cm for weft and warp. The weighted average usage of measured yarn diameters is applied in the red brick fabric's 3D virtual warping and weaving. The virtual 3D fabric is subsequently placed on microscopic images of the original fabric to check the accuracy of the yarns and weave.



© Moulherat / MqB - JC



© Moulherat / MqB - JC

Fig. 2. Above. 3D scan, recto, embroidery on the Paracas mantle. Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac
Fig. 3. 3D scan, verso, embroidery on the Paracas mantle. Musée du Quai Branly-Jacques Chirac



Fig.4. 3D microscopic picture from red brick fabric in the middle of embroidered eye decoration.

The missing parts of the mantle need to be virtually created according to the same logic of the operational production chain and based on the sources mentioned above. Observations of complete mantles often show for rectangles in between the decorated parts, the usage of the same material, here alpaca wool, in the same or different color, and a slightly more dense weave. This information has led to creating a hypothetical virtual black fabric with the same types of virtual yarns, a balanced plain weave with a slightly higher density of 17 yarns per cm. The virtual yarns' red brick and black colors are created based on color pixel capturing from red brick yarns around the fabric and the black yarn used for the embroidery.

Once all the materials are created, the 3D virtual reconstruction of the mantle's structure can start as a physical costume. The pattern's drawing is based on characteristics obtained through research of existing mantles and the embroidery's dimensions. The middle part of the mantle is constructed with 41 decorated and 43 black rectangles, assembled in a checkerboard pattern bordered by a red brick band with the figurative decoration, and a small black trim at the outside. The embroidered decorative figure, added recto-verso in five rows, faces the same direction in the middle part, whereas the 20 figures on the red brick band follow a direction going around. The final stage in the process is the virtual sewing of the pattern pieces into a garment.



The created 3D mantle is virtually simulated on an avatar and draped on a flat surface to observe the behavior and drape of the fabric¹ Drape and folds suggest a rather heavy fabric on static pictures and are confirmed by animating the avatar and mantle (**Fig. 5** and **Fig. 6**). Due to this approach, the recto-verso parts become not only visible in one image but also show the embroidery piece in the context of the whole costume, a Paracas mantle.

Fig. 5. Above: Draping from virtual 3D Paracas mantle on avatar.

Fig. 6. Below: Draping from virtual 3D Paracas mantle on a flat surface.



Archeological Textile from Kalyvia, Greece

Context of archeological textile from Kalyvia

What is possible for well-preserved pieces is also achievable for fragmentary, deteriorated archeological textiles like those discovered in mainland Greece. Most of them are associated with metal and ceramics in burial circumstances, and rarely have conserved color pigments or decorative details. The severely

deteriorated condition makes them extremely fragile for handling or for exhibition to the public, and the disintegration hinders imagining their initial looks and characteristics like finesse and drape. Fortunately, it is possible to virtually restore their initial characteristics and appearances from mineralized, frozen, or carbonized archeological fragments. It must be emphasized that 3D virtual reconstructions of deteriorated textile fragments are based on dimensions and features from degraded material, sometimes over thousands of years. The degree of disintegration that

¹ As the recreation of an avatar with typical features from the Paracas population is not included in this project, the avatar is deleted. It gives the possibility to see the interior of the draped mantle.

changed the initial characteristics is unknown, so the dimensions and reconstructions should be considered approximative to the original fabrics.

3D research and reconstruction: archeological textile from Kalyvia

In 1999, archeologists on the Kalyvia site discovered about 20 mineralized fragments between 2 cm and 8 cm in size, which belonged to a textile that initially covered the lid and sides from a ceramic *dinos* vase in a marble cist (Moulherat and Spantidaki 2014, 163; Spantidaki 2016, 110). In 2002, the first study of the fragments by Moulherat showed superimposed layers, indicating the folding of the fabric. He counted up to 40 layers for a 2 cm thickness of the fragment, suggesting the finesse of the textile (Moulherat and Spantidaki 2014, 163). Progression in microscopic 3D imaging allowed Moulherat to perform a new study of the fragments in Greece during 2018, which delivered more precise and detailed technical information about the material, diameter, ply, twist direction, and weave structure (**Fig. 7**). Therefore, only the most recently obtained data from the archeological Kalyvia textile are used for the virtual 3D reconstruction as they are much more accurate than those previously published (Moulherat and Spantidaki 2014, 163-66). Additional features, like twists per cm, TEX, weave density variations, cover factor, and fabric weight—not previously studied but important for a profound understanding and necessary for reconstructing yarns and weaves—are obtained by additional analyses of enlarged microscopic 3D images in CAD programs.

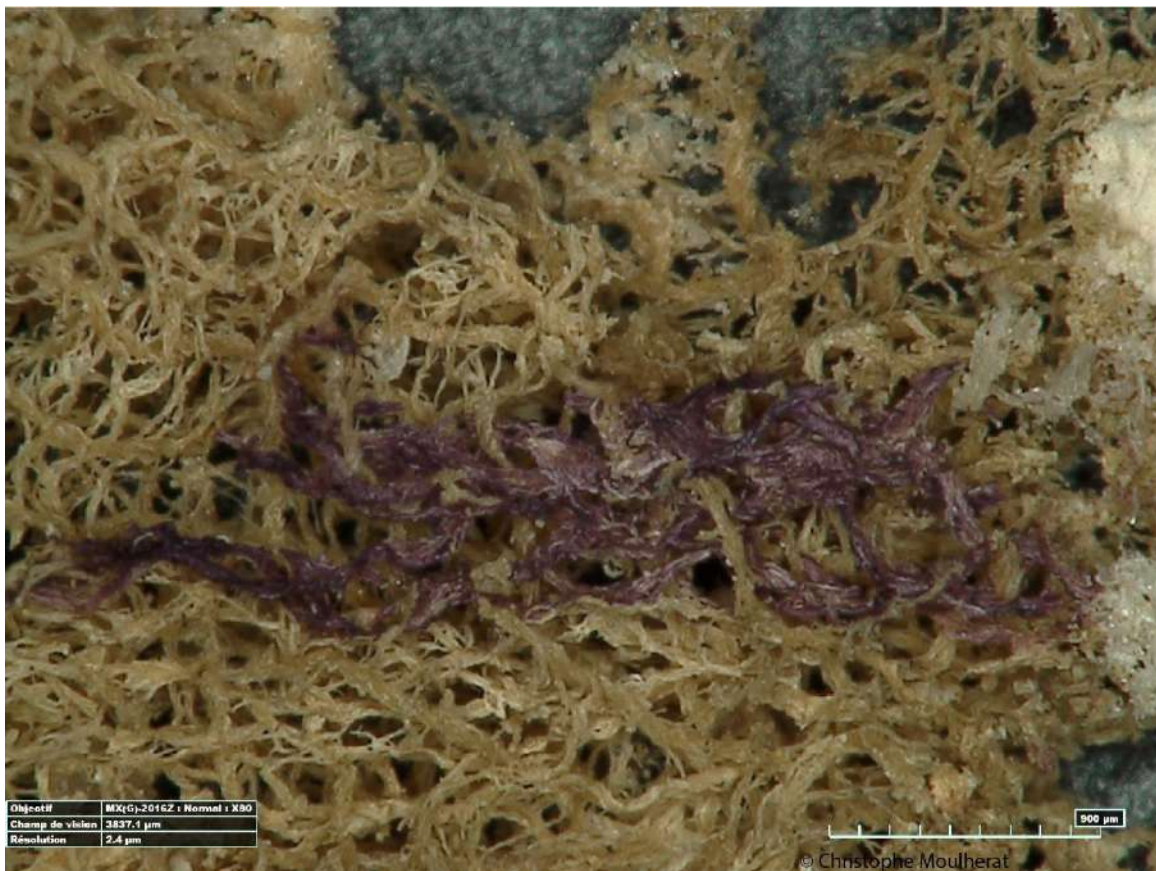


Fig. 7. 3D microscopic image of the textile from Kalyvia.

The Kalyvia textile's weave and warp yarns material is linen, and all are constructed of 1-ply with a Z twist. Other yarn characteristics differ substantially for warp and weft. Warp yarns have an average diameter of 0.106 mm with a variation of 38 percent, five twists per cm, and a TEX of 8.2, whereas weft yarns show a smaller average diameter of 0.055 mm with a variation of 37 percent, hardly twisted, and a TEX of 2.2. At the initial weft border, seven purple yarns, with the dye substances identified as probably *Murex brandaris* (Moulherat and Spantidaki 2014, 164), are used with the same characteristics as the other weft yarns. The warp and main weft yarns are kept in a natural linen color, as no specific dye pigments are detectable on these archeological yarns.

The fabric's structure is identified as plain weave with an average warp density of 25 yarns per cm without a noticeable density variation. However, the weft shows an average density of 80 yarns per cm with a variation of 25 percent. It is impossible to determine if the high variation in weft density was utilized as a pattern or purely coincidentally because of the fragmentary state and folded position of the Kalyvia textile. Therefore a random density is applied for the 3D virtual weave structure, resulting in a textile weight of 40gr/m² and a transparency factor of 42.66 percent. Seemingly a dense weft with extremely fine handspun yarns indicates the highly technical expertise of the people involved in the fabrication process of the Kalyvia textile.

Because of the state of preservation, it is impossible to determine the exact dimensions or the specific form of the Kalyvia textile. Therefore a rectangle pattern is created for the 3D virtual Kalyvia textile and virtual draping and rendering reveal the weight, flexibility, and transparency (**Fig. 8** and **Fig. 9**). Interestingly the seven purple-dyed weft yarns are hardly noticeable in the draped fabric, raising questions about their functionality. Certainly, their decorative purpose was very limited, suggesting a meaningful, coded function.

The virtual 3D reconstruction of the archeological, mineralized, and therefore extremely fragile Kalyvia textile shows how these technologies are important for a more extensive understanding, revealing characteristics that are not observable in the archeological pieces.

Fig. 8. Close up 3D virtual reconstruction of the textile from Kalyvia.



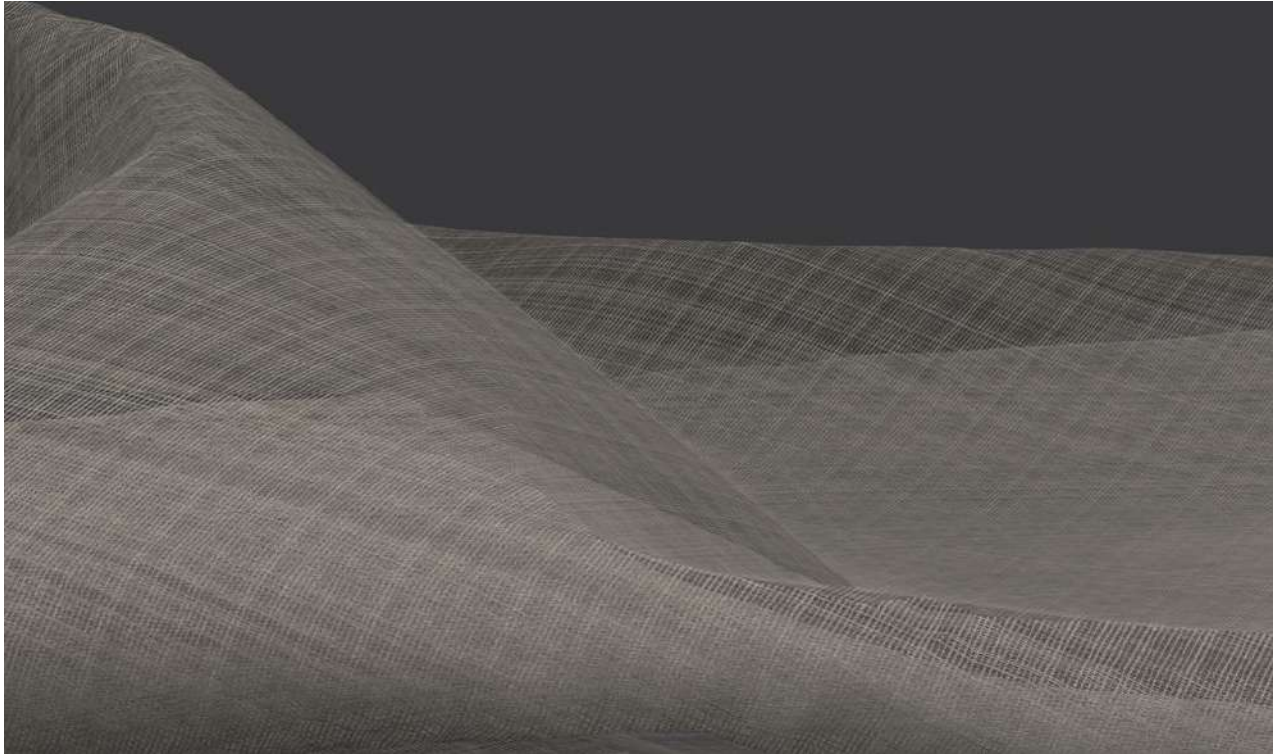


Fig. 9. 3D virtual reconstruction and draping of the textile from Kalyvia.

Conclusion

New technologies related to 3D imaging have focused mainly on studying architectural buildings, monuments, sculptures, and ceramics. Textiles and costumes have hardly been used in these studies and are mainly focused on microscopic analyses and studies of textile tools. Therefore, the integration of virtual 3D technologies for studying archeological fabric fragments and garments represented on Akrotirian frescoes in the PhD dissertation of Bries offers new possibilities for the analysis, education, and dissemination to a large public of fragile textile and costume heritage (Bries 2022). The research entails developing an innovative protocol for virtual 3D reconstruction of textiles, whatever their condition—that is to say, from well preserved to a high degree in alternation, but also iconographic representations. The protocol shows a break with previous textile research in how it completely changes the scientific approach, the look, and how a textile can be interpreted due to the introduction of new parameters in the 3D virtual reconstructions.

Archeological and historical textiles and costumes require careful handling and are sensitive to environmental aggressions like insects and light. Consequently, they are often difficult to study and impossible to present to the public because of their extreme fragility. These 3D technologies allow us to approach them without risk, to virtually restore them, and to present them in a high-quality digital form to the public. Researchers and the public will be able to observe them closely, place them in historical context, and soon have the sensation of touching pieces that normally are inaccessible because of their fragility or their geographically remote

presence. These 3D virtual textiles and costumes can circulate freely in the context of worldwide exhibitions, without any restrictions for damage or conservation issues,.

Based on a fragile decoration piece, the above-presented reconstruction of an entire Paracas mantle illustrates the possibilities for integrating 3D virtual technologies in the museology of textiles and costumes. There is a different approach for virtual 3D reconstructions of generally known and relatively well conserved pieces, such as Paracas mantles, and altered preserved archeological fragments, for which nobody knows their initial visual aspects. Nevertheless, the virtual 3D reconstructions of disintegrated archeological textiles reveal features from the original fabrics without pretending to have the status of exact copies. Thanks to this digital approach, the study of visual and behavioral aspects of archeological fabrics, previously impossible, becomes a reality. Equally, their virtual reconstructions open up comparisons with iconographic representations of fabrics and garments and allow us to place them in a broader historical and anthropological context. Collectively, these technologies offer a new perspective in the study, education, and dissemination of archeological textiles.

Bibliography

Bries, Nathalie. 2022. *“Femmes élégantes et sophistiquées d’Akrotiri à l’âge du Bronze Tardif. Recherche sur les femmes et les vêtements (peintures murales et textiles archéologiques) par la combinaison des perspectives de l’anthropologie historiques et des sciences exactes.”* PhD diss., Sorbonne University.

Lavallée, Daniele. 2008. *Paracas, Tresors Inedits Du Perou Ancien*. Paris: Flammarion.

Paul, Anne. 1979. *Paracas Textiles – Selected from the Museum’s Collections*. Göteborg: Göteborgs Etnografiska Museum.

Paul A.P. (1991); *Paracas Art and Architecture; Object and Context in South Coastal Peru*; University of Iowa Press; Iowa

Moulherat Christophe. and Youlie Spantidaki. 2014. “A Study of Textile Remains from the 5th Century BC Discovered in Kalyvia, Attica.” In *Ancient Textiles. Production, Craft and Society*, edited by Carol Gillis and Marie-Louise Nosch, 163-66. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Tello, Julio. and Mejía Xesspe Toribio. 1979. *Paracas II Parte – Cavernas Y Necropolis*. Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Spantidaki, Stella. 2016. *Textile Production In Classical Athens*. Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.

Turbans, ersatz, and ingenuity. Women's hairstyles in Occupied France: an affordable luxury?

Olivier, Marie

MA student, Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne University, Paris, France

Abstract

The study of French women's hair practices during the Occupation of France by the German Third Reich (1940–1944) can provide an interesting perspective on the importance of beauty and fashion in such a wearisome context. With the shortage of beauty products, newspapers offered recipes to make shampoo or brilliantine at home, whereas hair salons found alternatives to face power cuts. Despite restrictions, hairstyling appeared as one of the only ways for women to show a little originality and elegance: "the only accessible luxury," as Paul Gerbod wrote in his *Histoire de la coiffure et des coiffeurs*. Indeed, with a few tricks, it was possible to counterbalance a faded outfit with an elegant hairstyle. In addition, the wide variety of turbans, hats, and headgear, sometimes made of surprising materials (newspaper, used stockings, or handkerchiefs) were all possibilities for women to bring novelty and originality to their outfits.

Contents

- Introduction
- Hair product shortages
- Power cuts and energy restrictions
- The "only accessible luxury": coquetry and creativity
- Substitute hairstyles
- Conclusion

Introduction

Fashion and appearance during the Occupation of France were rather unexplored subjects until Dominique Veillon's founding work, *La Mode sous l'Occupation*, published in France in 1990, providing a real study of this era through the lens of fashion practices. The Military Administration of France by Germany was established with the Second Armistice, signed on June 22, 1940, by the French government and the Third Reich, and ended in the Summer of 1944, with the gradual liberation of the territory by Allied troops. During these four years of collaboration between the Vichy regime and Nazi Germany, most French people continued living, working, and consuming, but also dressing and taking care of their appearance, including their hair.

Far from being trivial, the subjects of fashion and beauty were at the heart of many French women's daily lives during this period and played economical, moral, and ideological roles. Indeed, a few months after France's defeat against Germany in 1940, the women's magazine *Pour Elle* wrote: "It is an obligation, and even more a duty, to keep yourselves well-groomed, to remain charming and to take care of yourselves, despite the current worries, concerns and difficulties" (*Pour Elle* 1940, 11). Therefore, the study of women's hairstyles during the Occupation of France can provide a perspective on the expression of French elegance and luxury, despite restrictions and shortages.



Dommage qu'il n'y ait plus de **ROJA!**
...



Rare? Oui, Madame!
Introuvable? Non!

LA BRILLANTINE ROJA est devenue chère, explique le chimiste des laboratoires Roja, à cause de la rareté des huiles minérales importées d'outre-mer avant-guerre.

Roja maintient sa qualité du temps de paix, mais s'excuse de ne plus pouvoir satisfaire toutes les demandes.

MAIS si! madame, c'est toujours la même brillantine composée des mêmes huiles irradiantes ricinées qui venaient en temps de paix des pays d'outre-mer, vendue dans les mêmes flacons et possédant les mêmes propriétés! Toutefois, la rareté des matières importées, nous empêche de satisfaire toutes les demandes comme par le passé. C'est pourquoi nous avons mis sur pied un système de répartition équitable entre les fournisseurs — parfumeurs, coiffeurs et pharmaciens, — répartition proportionnelle aux commandes d'avant-guerre, afin de permettre au plus grand nombre de clients de continuer à l'employer, même par un usage modéré.

N'oubliez pas que la brillantine Roja que vous pouvez encore trouver dans le commerce est fabriquée avec les mêmes huiles précieuses et les mêmes soins méticuleux qui ont fait son renom mondial. Et restez fidèle, madame, aux marques qui comme la nôtre font actuellement de grands sacrifices pour maintenir, malgré les difficultés de l'heure, la finesse traditionnelle de la Parfumerie Française.

"La Roja" fait rayonner la chevelure et reste en plus sans graisser.



Economie...



Economies sur toute la ligne! Même sur le dentifrice? Pourquoi pas? Utilisez donc de préférence un savon dentifrice. Et, tant qu'à faire, prenez le meilleur: Gibbs. Il n'est pas plus cher! Avec le savon dentifrice Gibbs, votre brosse en prend juste assez pour obtenir un savonnage parfait. Ainsi, vous faites pour vos dents tout ce qu'il faut en dépensant **JUSTE CE QU'IL FAUT!**

Economique, la brosse à dents Gibbs montage "Otomatic", aux poils inarrachables, arrondis et imperméabilisés, répond à toutes vos exigences.



SAVON DENTIFRICE

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig.1. "Publicité pour la Brillantine Roja," Marie-Claire, January 1, 1942, 2. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Hair product shortages

Like many other commodities, hairdressing supplies were impacted by shortages and rationing. Like many other industries, the production of soap-based products dropped from 27,500 tons before the war to only 3,020 tons in 1941. As soon as Spring 1941, a national committee—appointed by the Vichy regime—established quotas for each hair salon regarding a variety of products such as shampoo, soap, hairpins, and towels, as well as coal and wood supplies for their heating systems (*La Coiffure de Paris* 1941, 5). To prevent shortages, hairdressers and beauty operators were encouraged to reduce waste and make their products last longer. In March 1941, an advertisement for Dop shampoo in *La Coiffure de Paris* advised hairstylists to use less shampoo and even dilute it with hot water, to make their bottles last longer and prevent shortage (*La Coiffure de Paris* 1941, 44-45).

Similarly, women's magazines invited housewives to reduce their shampoo consumption. A common solution was to make their own produce at home, following recipes such as one published in *La Mode du Jour* in 1941 (page 17):

Use your bar soap scraps: shred them with a cheese grater. Dissolve two tablespoons of this soap powder in a small hot pot of water, add a teaspoon of trisodium phosphate, which is an excellent degreaser. Your shampoo is ready and did not cost you much.

As for brilliantine and pomade, which were missing already in the early days of Occupation, magazines advised to substitute them with solar oil, if available (*Pour Elle* September 1941, 9). The brilliantine brand Roja even used its rarity as a sales pitch in its advertisements and announced: "Roja maintains its peacetime quality but apologizes for no longer being able to satisfy all requests" (*Marie-Claire* January 1942, 2). In consequence, the brand announced that it had established "a system of equitable distribution between suppliers [...], to allow as many clients as possible to continue to use it, even sparingly" (*Marie-Claire* February 1942, 22) (**Fig. 1**).

Power cuts and energy restrictions

Adding to the scarcity of hair products, power cuts also impacted hair habits, especially in big cities such as Paris or Marseille, where a vast number of households and beauty salons underwent power cuts or faced coal and gas shortages (*Le Journal* 1941, 1). Therefore, during particularly cold winters, hot water was widely unavailable, and hygiene was reduced to the bare necessity (*La Mode du Jour* 1941, 27). Most women's magazines advised their readers to wash their hair every two or three weeks. In between washes, daily hair brushing was recommended to maintain good hygiene (*La Mode du Jour* 1942, 14).

With the frequent power cuts, hairdressers were compelled to find alternatives, so that their devices, including perm machines or dryers, could continue to function. Apparatuses such as the *Régulator* were used to regulate the voltage's variation and guarantee a constant heat for perms (*La Coiffure de Paris* 1941, 4). More original solutions included cyclists and pedal-powered turbines, as described in an article and photograph published in *Le Petit Parisien* in August 1944 (page 1) (**Fig. 2**):

We lack electricity, and so do hairdressers. But women have their own demands, even in wartime. And Figaro, anxious to keep his customers, called on cyclists; it is thus possible for him to exercise his art. A few pedal strokes behind the scenes and our *élégantes* [...] will get the hot air required for their perms.



du cabinet, a annoncé l'ouverture de deux salles de cinéma où, à partir d'aujourd'hui, les actualités seront projetées en permanence tous les jours de 14 heures à 23 heures. Ce programme d'actualités doit être en principe augmenté d'un documentaire inédit et d'un dessin animé.

Le choix des milles a été déterminé par des questions d'ordre matériel; ce sont celles du Normandie et du Palais-Rochecrouart.

Une troisième salle ouvrira incessamment dans les mêmes conditions.

D'autre part, en cas d'événements importants, des éditions spéciales pourront avoir lieu.

Plus de 35.000 spectateurs pourront ainsi chaque jour suivre les projections de la presse filmée.

La projection, qui doit durer environ cinquante minutes, sera différente pour chaque salle, dont le prix d'entrée a été uniformément fixé à 10 francs.



Nous manquons d'électricité, et les coiffeurs aussi. Mais les

Fig. 2. Le Petit Parisien, August 2, 1944, 1. Ce document est extrait du Site RetroNews et est accessible à l'adresse www.retronews.fr / Toute réutilisation de ce document doit s'inscrire dans les conditions d'abonnement prévues par le site RetroNews.

When it was impossible to make electric devices function, hairdressers could use curling irons instead of perm machines (*La Coiffure de Paris* 1944, 1), and would let clients' hair dry naturally, inside or outside the salon, as depicted in Robert Doisneau's series of photographs of René Garraud's Parisian hair salon (Doisneau 1944).¹In their war memoirs, the Vallotton sisters confirmed this practice: "Hairdressers and pedicurists would work on their doorstep to see clearly, feet and hands outstretched towards the light. The [clients'] curled heads [...] would dry at home" (Vallotton 1995, 287).

The "only accessible luxury": coquetry and creativity

During the Occupation, fashion faced plenty of restrictions: textile cards, established in July 1941, controlled the fabrics and clothes supplies. In this context, ingenuity and creativity were required, as depicted in various *Marie-Claire* articles inviting housewives to transform old trousers into skirts or make dresses out of a small yardage of fabric (*Marie-Claire*, August 1941, 14-15; *Marie-Claire*, September 1941, 8-9). Thus, despite the shortage of hair products and equipment, hairstyling appeared as one of the few ways for women to show a little originality and elegance—"the only accessible luxury", as Paul Gerbod writes in his *Histoire de la coiffure et des coiffeurs* (Gerbod 1995, 228).

Indeed, an article published in *Votre Beauté* in July 1941 (page 27) noted that "women, no longer having the opportunity to dress, are happy to take more care of their hairstyle than ever before and to adorn it with accessories that allow them to contribute to a refined elegance." With a few tricks, rolls and curls could be used to create tall hairstyles, counterbalancing a faded outfit with coquetry and creativity, even though it could create a rather eerie silhouette, as described by Annie Vallotton: "The Parisienne wears all kinds of extravagant hairstyles that would go with long skirts at a push, but are ridiculous with calves and bare knees" (Vallotton 1995, 276) (**Fig. 3**).



Fig. 3. Photograph of a woman, 1940s. Bar-le-Duc, Archives départementales de la Meuse, Fonds Grandidier, cote 201 Fi 1/3377.

¹ Photograph by Robert Doisneau, *Séchoir solaire*, Paris, 1944. The photograph can be found in the International Center of Photography's collections. The photograph has been digitalized and is freely available on the Internet in English at the website of ICP: <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/objects/outside-rene-garraud>.

Some hairstyles displayed in professional magazines consisted of exuberant pilings of braids, hairpieces, curls, and rolls. This type of hairstyle was, of course, not offered to all customers, as they were often technical demonstrations and creations by great hairdressers—such as Antonio or René Rambaud—which, like *haute couture* designs, were only accessible to a limited clientele. Nevertheless, with these extravagant models, far from the preoccupations and restrictions of the war, a new vision of French elegance was displayed, based not only on clothing but also on hairstyles.



Fig. 4. “Une coiffure fantaisie”, *La Coiffure de Paris*, April 1944, 13. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

Substitute hairstyles

When it was impossible to style their hair properly due to the lack of time, money, or suitable products, magazines encouraged elegant women to adopt what Dominique Veillon called "substitute hairstyles". The wide variety of turbans, hats, and headgear were possibilities for elegant women to bring novelty and originality to their outfits while hiding their hair partially or totally. Simone de Beauvoir writes in *The Prime of Life*:

Because of electricity cuts the hairdressers worked at odd and irregular hours, and an ordinary set became a hazardous ordeal, with the result that turbans came into fashion; they formed a simultaneous substitute for a hat and a permanent. I had worn them occasionally myself, both for convenience and because they suited me (De Beauvoir 1960, 518).

Thanks to their lightweight and practicality, headscarves and turbans were popular among cyclists as well. With the petrol shortage, cycling was one of the most used means of transport in Paris, and women adapted their outfits—and consequently their hairstyles—to this new way of life (Veillon 2014, 61).



ROGER-VIOUET 208-4 (c) LAPI / Roger-Viollet.
Guerre 1939-1945. Journée de l'élégance à bicyclette, Paris, Juin 1942.

Fig. 5. *Journée de l'élégance à bicyclette*, Paris, June 1942. Credits: LAPI / Roger-Viollet.

Beyond their functional aspects, turbans were used as well in an attempt to create a more slender silhouette, as confirmed by the *Album de la mode Figaro*: "A breath of the Orient brings the turbans dear to the Mamamouchis, erases the hair, and by contrast slenderizes the faces" (*Album de la mode du Figaro* 1942, 31).² These turbans were not worn like simple

² In Great Britain and USA, where women were more largely part of the workforce, turbans were used to prevent machine accidents (Summers 2015, 161).

headscarves: magazines like *Marie-Claire* offered tutorials to teach their readers how to elegantly tie the fabric around their heads and even make their base structure out of newspapers or plaiting materials, to achieve a tall and steady hairstyle (*Marie-Claire* September 10, 1943, 10-11).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 6. “Une leçon de turbans,” *Marie-Claire*, September 10, 1943, 10-11. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.

More accessible options could include fabric scraps simply tied on top of the head, but sometimes more original materials were used. *Le Petit Echo de la Mode* (Fig. 7) thus offered a tutorial to make a turban from used stockings (1941, 5), while *Pour Elle* advised using two handkerchiefs to create “graceful and easy to drape turbans in five minutes” (May 1941, 14)

Conclusion

The interest in appearance, beauty, and elegance did not disappear during the Occupation years; still encouraged by creations and trends invented by the great Parisian hairdressers, hairstyle fashions circulated notably thanks to the popularity of women's magazines. Even though most French women had to adapt and overcome the shortages and rationing, their attempts to wear elegant hairstyles, despite the economic and moral crises, proved a certain desire to keep a touch of elegance and coquetry in their outfit. Hairstyling and, broadly speaking, beauty, were therefore significant moral supports, while also playing a part in the construction of the image of womanhood valued by the Vichy regime (*Pour Elle* May 1941, 14)—an elegant expression of femininity, maintaining the beauty and luxury sectors' economy (*Votre Beauté* 1943, 8). However, hairstyles and hats could also be used by women as a rather exuberant manifestation of coquetry in a wearisome context, as witnessed by the author of an article published in *Marie-Claire* in June 1943, criticizing the excessive hat styles emerging in Paris (page 4-5). Thus, it is apparent that hairstyles were an accessible form of creativity, ingenuity, and even luxury under the Occupation.

Fig. 7. Right: "Vos bas même usagés sont devenus chose précieuse," *Le Petit Echo de la Mode*, December 28, 1941, 5. Private collection of Sylvie Caillard.



Fig. 8. Below: "N'exagérez pas Mesdames ! ..." *Marie-Claire*, June 10, 1943, 4-5. Source gallica.bnf.fr / BnF.



Bibliography

- Album de la mode du Figaro*. 1942. "La mode a change," Winter 1942-1943, no.1.
- Cordier, Françoise. 1942. "Soyez toujours bien coiffée." *La Mode du Jour*, March 12, 1942, no. 1058.
- De Beauvoir, Simone. 1960. *La force de l'âge*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Dumas. 1941. "Vos bas même usagés sont devenus chose précieuse." *Le Petit Echo de la Mode*, December 28, 1941, no. 52.
- Gerbod, Paul. 1995. *Histoire de la coiffure et des coiffeurs*. Paris: Larousse.
- La Coiffure de Paris*. 1941. "Conseils aux jeunes shampoingneuses. Ne jetez pas dans l'évier l'argent de votre patron!" March 1941, no. 366.
- La Coiffure de Paris*. 1941. "Les réalisations du comité national." June 1941, no. 369.
- La Coiffure de Paris*. 1941. "Publicité pour le Régulator de Perma." August 1941, no. 371.
- La Coiffure de Paris*. 1944. "L'ondulation au fer l'ondulation du moment." July 1944, no. 406.
- Le Journal*. 1941. "L'indéfrisable victime du malheur des temps." January 9, 1941, no. 17613.
- Le Petit Parisien*. August 2, 1944, no. 24433.
- Marie-Claire*. 1941. "De mon pantalon je fais une jupe." August 23, 1941, no. 213.
- Marie-Claire*. 1941. "Petits métrages pour Petites Robes." September 13, 1941, no. 216.
- Marie-Claire*. 1942. "Publicité pour la Brillantine Roja." January 1, 1942, no. 231.
- Marie-Claire*. 1942. "Publicité pour la Brillantine Roja." February 1, 1942, no. 234.
- Marie-Claire*. 1943. "N'exagérez pas Mesdames ! ..." June 10, 1943, no.283.
- Marie-Claire*. 1943. "Une leçon de turbans." September 10, 1943, no. 292.
- Pour Elle*. 1940. "Restons jolies et soignées." October 23, 1940, no. 11.
- Pour Elle*. 1941. "Faites un nœud à votre mouchoir." May 21, 1941, no. 41.
- Pour Elle*. 1941. "Vous plairez si vous dégagez de la lumière." September 24, 1941, no. 59.
- Summers, Julie. 2015. *Fashion on the ration: style in the Second World War*. London: Profile Books.
- Sylvie. 1940. "Votre Coiffure." *La Mode du Jour*, December 26, 1940, no. 997.
- Sylvie. 1941. "Soyons jolies pour être courageuses." *La Mode du Jour*, February 6, 1941 no. 1003.
- Vallotton, Gritou, and Annie Vallotton. 1995. *C'était au jour le jour: carnets 1939-1944*. Paris: Payot.
- Veillon, Dominique. 2014. *La mode sous l'Occupation*. Paris: Payot & Rivages.
- Votre Beauté*. 1941. "Coiffure de Concert." July 1941, no. 104.
- Votre Beauté*. 1943. "Renaissance de la féminité." July 1943, no. 125.

William Shakespeare between literary and fashion studies

Žarić, Stefan

Artis Center, Belgrade, Serbia; PhD candidate, University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Novi Sad, Serbia

Abstract

While both costume and fashion in William Shakespeare's *oeuvre* and its stage and screen interpretations have been studied in the West, Serbian fashion, theatre, and literary studies have not yet subjected Shakespeare's works to such analysis. As such, my doctoral thesis, conducted at the Department of English Literature at the University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, aims to bridge that gap by analyzing multiple functions of fashion in regard to structuring female characters in Shakespeare's Great Tragedies (*Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear*). The paper will thus outline preliminary aspects of the thesis, demonstrating how fashion studies could be utilized in interpreting literary phenomena in Serbian academia, still wary of fashion as a valid discipline.

Content

- Fashion and literary studies in Serbia
- "Visual Shakespeare": Fashion, costume and Shakespearology
- Fashioning the Great Tragedies
- Conclusion

Fashion and literary studies in Serbia

It can be argued that in the last decade Serbian fashion studies, including both historical study of fashion and its museological positioning, did rise to prominence, gradually liberating themselves from other humanistic disciplines. Nevertheless, ethnological, and anthropological, followed by art historical approaches to fashion are still dominant in the national academia. On the other side, problematizing fashion as an aspect of literature or applying fashion studies to literary studies is still largely absent in Serbia. Unlike pioneering studies in the West like Aileen Ribeiro's *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2005); Cynthia Kuhn and Cindy Carlson's *Styling Texts: Dress and Fashion in Literature* (2007); or *Fashion in Fiction: Text and Clothing in Literature, Film, and Television*, edited by Peter McNeil, Vicki Karaminas, and Catherine Cole (2009), there are still no similar academic projects in Serbia. Additionally, excluding a minor number of papers, mostly of student provenance, there are equally no studies that examine either national or world literature phenomena, be it specific periods, works, or authors.

This does come as a surprise given Serbia's rich and diverse fashion cultures positioned between the East and the West that have existed throughout centuries, especially in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, reflected in the national literary production. However, as Mirjana Prošić-Dvornić finds, Serbian literature by the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century did not contain many descriptions of clothes, but it did bear witness to representative cultural layers of urban life which would allow reconstruction of fashion imagery of that time. In that sense, not only can that literature serve as a valid source and material for structuring a more precise history of Serbian fashion, but also understanding fashion in literature can at the same time contribute to more a complex and

nuanced understanding of a literary phenomenon. Led by such absence of fashion and literature examinations, I have enrolled into a doctoral program in Language and Literature at the University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, to conduct my doctoral thesis within the Department of English Literature. While still in the preliminary phase without final approval, the thesis, mentored by professor Dr Vladislava Gordić Petković, seeks to examine how female characters of William Shakespeare's Great Tragedies are constructed through fashion, and will be based on scientific merits of both philology and fashion studies.

“Visual Shakespeare”: Fashion, costume and Shakespearology

In the introductory remarks of *Shakespeare and Costume*, edited by Patricia Lennox and Bella Mirabella (2015) and *Shakespeare and Costume in Practice* by Bridget Escolme (2021), all three authors note that studying Shakespeare in regard to fashion and costume as an “interdisciplinary conversation” and a “semiotic project” was initiated only recently, particularly from the 1990s onwards. The first step, according to Lennox and Mirabella, was undertaken in 1992 by Jean MacIntyre and her book *Costumes and Scripts in Elizabethan Theatres*. Excluding the aforementioned studies, MacIntyre's book was followed by Robert Lublin's *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage: Visual Codes of Representation in Early Modern Theatre and Culture* (2011); Catherine Richardson's *Shakespeare and Material Culture* (2011); and Sarah Jane Downing's *Fashion in the Time of William Shakespeare* (2014). Downing emphasizes that garments and fashion feature in almost all his plays, occasionally even as the pivot of the story. Contrarily, Serbian Shakespearology has not yet been concerned either with costume or fashion as a means of analyzing Shakespeare's plays.

Back in 2007, in an essay titled *Shakespeare's Shadows*, Gordić Petković noted a rather alarming lack of innovativeness in Serbian Shakespearology, asking whether Serbian academia created its own and authentic Shakespearology at all. As the author states, approaches to Shakespeare in Serbia have either dealt with unnecessary biographic and reception syntheses or uninspiring summarizations of already established critical dogmas. As such, she introduces, among several others, the concept of “visual Shakespeare”, based on transformations of the verbal structure of Shakespeare's works as a domain of classical literature into virtual, visual, kinetic, graphic, new media structures as a means of not reading, but inscribing (and corresponding to) Shakespeare's works. Fashion studies, de facto belonging to the concept of visual Shakespeare, could thus be one of possible – and numerous – ways of modernizing domestic Shakespearology, as the proposed thesis aims to demonstrate. More importantly, as Escolme stresses, studying fashion and costume in Shakespeare's plays demonstrates how a cultural relationship with the past is reflected and interrogated through clothing, what it means, and what it allows Shakespeare to mean. In the case of my doctoral research, new layers of meaning will be uncovered and established by analyzing female characters and their fashions and fashion performativity in the so-called Great Tragedies: *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*.

While the complete *oeuvre* of the English writer is regarded as the true literary canon, the Great Tragedies have been, alongside *Romeo and Juliet*, internationally valued as the most popular Shakespeare's works, subjected to both traditional and radical interpretations. Considered a norm of the literary canon in Serbia, they have been studied to the extent that would reaffirm and confirm their canonical status as invaluable works of classical literature, at the same time disabling other, less “intellectual” and non-normative interpretations seen as a “threat” to their canonical status and the very notion of the literary canon. As nowadays fashion studies occupy academic and museum systems worldwide, there is no reason to perpetuate the cemented perception of fashion as a decadent product of Western capitalism that has emerged in Socialist

Yugoslavia, and has as such impacted the study of fashion or the lack thereof in the country. On the contrary, approaching canons of art history or literary history through fashion studies means giving agency to new forms of academic expression while enriching those canons as well.

Fashioning the Great Tragedies

Shakespeare's Great Tragedies were selected as the basis of my research for those exact reasons: their status as works of art is not questioned by academia, and by belonging to the drama genre, the study of costume (and fashion) is a valid way of re-evaluating their literary value. As such, analyzing fashion-historical narratives of fashion systems of the Great Tragedies from the viewpoint of material culture, fashion and costume studies will be put in the service of philology, in order to understand the construction of female characters in these works and the role fashion plays in that process. The research could thus lay foundations for a complex implementation of fashion and costume history in the corpus of literary history and theory in Serbia, paving the way for future analyses alike. To begin with, both "vestimentary frame" and "sartorial performativity" in all four tragedies will be established. As defined by Kuhn and Carlson, the vestimentary frame enacts a site of aesthetic, social, and political inscription of fashion, whereas sartorial performativity employs apparel and accessory as a symbol, image, motif, or metaphor. In that sense, the authors conclude that the written clothed body, as well as disembodied attire, function as a narrative element with multiple dimensions. To paraphrase, vestimentary frame and sartorial performativity thus include not only the geographical and historical framework of a fashion system presented in literature, but also the semiotic and multifaceted layers of fashion and its meanings too. In the case of Shakespeare's Great Tragedies, there are four geographically and historically different fashion systems, each enacting a different vestimentary frame and employing different sartorial performativity. Neither is—as many to whom I have mentioned my research assumed—set in Elizabethan England nor is based on Tudor fashion. However, contemporary fashions of Shakespeare's time certainly did impact the fashioning of his literary characters and their stage costuming even more so, as according to Russel Jackson, in Shakespeare's own theatres costuming was broadly contemporary but with significant conventional adjustments for some specific historical periods. Fashion cultures in the four Great Tragedies are as follows:

1. *Hamlet*: fourteenth to fifteenth century Denmark
2. *Macbeth*: eleventh century Scotland
3. *Othello*: sixteenth century Venice
4. *King Lear*: Pre-Christian Britain.

In that sense, analyzing the role of fashion in constructing the female characters of these plays will inevitably consider studying noted fashion cultures as well as their rendering through conventions of Elizabethan stage costume and fashion. As we can see, only one of the plays, *Othello*, is set within the framework of Renaissance fashion, whereas the remaining three tragedies are set in fashion cultures spanning from the early to the late Middle Ages, or the Early Modern age. Additionally, structuring of female characters through fashion is not defined only by time and space or the place they are positioned in, but their relationships with male characters and their own sociopolitical status. For example, Gertrude and Ophelia's fashioning is conditioned by Hamlet just as much as his mourning attire is by the two of them. Furthermore, Gertrude is fashioned in regard to the death of her first husband, King Hamlet, and in regard to her marriage with the new king, Claudius, whereas Ophelia's dress codes are conventionally conceptualized through the white dress representing her madness. While the presence of female characters in *Macbeth*—Lady Macbeth, Lady Macduff, and the three witches—is brief, their reading through the lens of fashion studies could certainly give them more agency and

complexity, rather than reducing them, like in the case of Ophelia, to normative iconography. All three female characters in *King Lear*—Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia—are equally fashioned in regard to their marital circumstances, their relationship with their father, Lear, and their relationship with each other, with Cordelia being contrasted to Goneril and Regan. Besides *Hamlet*, *Othello* could be deemed as the most fashionable of Shakespeare's Great Tragedies, given the symbolism of the handkerchief Othello gives to Desdemona, and its function as a plot device.

As separate plays, both *Hamlet* and *Othello* have been subjected to a certain extent to fashion historical analysis, and to a larger extent to costume analysis. Notable among this are the essays *Apparel oft Proclaims the man: Dressing Othello on the English Renaissance Stage* by Bella Mirabella (2015), and *Hamlet, Mourning and the Disappearing Costume: Inky Cloaks and Solemn Black* by Bridget Escolme (2021), as well as insights in Lublin's *Costuming the Shakespearean Stage*. On the other side, neither *Macbeth* nor *King Lear* were subjects of fashion historical analyses, predominantly as fashion is indeed minor in both plays compared to *Hamlet* and *Othello*, although Cleanth Brooks in his 1947 essay *The Naked Babe and the Cloak of Manliness* did touch upon the metaphor of clothes in *Macbeth*. The other reason could be that the fashion cultures presented in them (early Medieval Britain and Medieval Scotland) are not *locus communis* of fashion history.

Conclusion

The lack of such interpretations calls for a prudent scholarship, one that would include all four tragedies respectively and demonstrate how the worlds of these tragedies and the female characters inhabiting them are constructed—or can be constructed—through fashion, rather than, as most research shows, emphasizing how fashion in these plays is rendered through the costumes of Early Modern theatre. More importantly, such analyses can also cast a new light on Shakespeare's tragic heroines, often trapped by criticism and reduced to homogenous fashion symbols or images (Ophelia as madness, Lady Macbeth as anti-mother, Cordelia as virtue, etc.) rather than seen as heterogenous characters in whose construction fashion acts as a multidimensional narrative. In Downing's words, Shakespeare extensively explored what could happen if the strict rules of dress were transgressed, hence there is no reason, for Serbian or any other Shakespeareology, not to follow the steps paved by the Bard himself and explore fashion in his works.

Bibliography

Downing, Sarah Jane. 2014. *Fashion in the Time of William Shakespeare*. Oxford: Shire.

Escolme, Bridget. 2021. *Shakespeare and Costume in Practice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gordić Petković, Vladislava. 2007. "Šekspirove senke." In *Na ženskom kontinentu*, by Vladislava Gordić Petković. Novi Sad: Dnevnik.

Jackon, Russel. 2015. "Brief Overview: A Stage History of Shakespeare and Costume." In *Shakespeare and Costume*, edited by Patricia Lennox and Bella Mirabella, 9-20. London: Bloomsbury.

Kuhn, Cynthia, and Cindy Carlson, eds. 2007. *Styling Texts: Dress and Fashion in Literature*. New York: Cambria Press.

Lennox, Patricia, and Bella Mirabella, eds. 2015. *Shakespeare and Costume*. London: Bloomsbury.

Prošić-Dvornić, Mirjana. 2006. *Odevanje u Beogradu u XIX i početkom XX veka*. Beograd: Stubovi kulture.