

Fashion through History

Fashion through History:

*Costumes, Symbols,
Communication
(Volume II)*

Edited by

Giovanna Motta and Antonello Biagini

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-0345-3

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-0345-8

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CHAPTER TEN

FASHION AND ECONOMY

SUITS OF CARDS, STATUETTES AND FAIRY TALES

GIOVANNA MOTTA

Chess, tarot cards, and other games

In historiography, the topic of games, which has previously been dealt with by great thinkers such as Kant and Schiller, found in Huizinga (1872–1945) in the first decades of the twentieth century, an exponent of a complex analysis with interesting points of reflection on expressed and/or implied concepts. Huizinga—a great scholar of European history, philosophy, anthropology, psychology, the symbolism of the Middle Ages, humanism and the Renaissance, located within the German tradition of *kulturgeschichte*—questioned the nature and significance of games as a cultural phenomenon. He is probably the first author to consider games a fundamental element of life and social organization; a pre-cultural factor that brought into being an “action libre, limitée dans le temps et dans l’espace, et qui obéit à des règles” (Belmas 2006). This was a new attitude, brought along with the movement from rural to city life where the salaried worker employed in the manufacturing sector followed a different rhythm to that of the farmer (who worked on the farmland according to the changing hours of daylight and darkness) and during his free time looked for a moment of escape that could be filled with games. Games, Huizinga affirms, were governed by rules that became laws to follow and were characterized by diverse styles that changed over time and by the tension felt by every player who wished to win, often to attain money as a prize (Huizinga 1973). In the transition from feudal life to life at the court in the Middle Ages, anniversaries that marked religious holidays were celebrated; during the Renaissance new festivities, understood as laic celebrations, were introduced, such as the settlement of a sovereign or the arrival of a queen back from a trip, and included music, dance, and stage-plays. On these occasions playfulness was the norm and playing cards, especially, became a great moment of escape and transgression. If, for some games like chess, of ancient Arabic, Persian, then Iberian origin, primary sources are abundant, it is more difficult to delve into the history of card games because a historian, who is required is to track down original sources,

is not always able to find those that offer answers to all questions. A card game is more transversal (compared to chess, which was primarily known among the ruling classes), played by the rich as well as the common people, and became the object of study of philosophers, psychologists, sociologists, lawyers, and economists, who researched its economic and social values. This was especially so when it came to gambling where the uncertainty of the result was likely to attract special interest. The analysis of games induces social and ethical reflections on: the consequences of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation; as indispensable moments of transgression; or, conversely, as grave violations of the moral and social order. In short, games are relevant, in both theory and in practice—they often entail serious consequences for public order and individual psychology and highlight important legal and fiscal aspects (Belmas 2006).

The text of an anonymous writer from the twelfth century introduces us to the dimension of everyday life. It suggests that these games were not exceptional and were often perceived to have a strong and terrible attraction: “Quando siamo alla taberna, non ci curiamo più del mondo, ma al giuoco ci affrettiamo, al quale ogni ora ci accaniamo.”

Games, therefore, belonged to everyday life and were not only widespread, but also ended up becoming obsessions giving rise to real social problems. Significant consequences could arise from them: the loss of large sums of money, brawling and criminal acts of varying severity that seriously endangered the common peace. To curb this trend—with notable differences between regions—both religious and civic authorities intervened, the first condemning the vice of gambling on moral grounds, the second promulgating a set of rules aimed at regulating games in an attempt to control their social dynamics for the purposes of public order. Card games, in particular, spread transversally into all environments—they triumphed at court, but also reached the lower classes who, through games, attempted to escape the harsh realities of daily life. This was so much so that some authors have defined their function as *consolatoria*, transforming them into a collective mode of sociation and becoming “un importante ammortizzatore sociale” (Imbucci).

Festivities celebrating religious and civil holidays were held in every city—the city authorities, commercial companies, and arts and crafts guilds gathered, while sellers of goods, artisans and innkeepers, and a diverse and multifaceted crowd circulated. A large part of them wanted to go into the taverns, have a drink, and play cards: “spazi segreti, cinti, consacrati, sui quali valgono proprie e speciali regole ... mondi provvisori entro il mondo ordinario” (Huizinga 1973). The ‘place’ of the tavern, limited in time and in space, welcomed players by offering them the possibility of a card game. But this was not a painless process—the voices of preachers rose among them, in

addition to the promulgation of ordinances and decrees of civil authorities. Usually, men of the church limited games to holidays; the most stringent, however, wished to ban them outright. The chronicles tell of San Bernardino of the Order of Minor Friars—known for his tireless preaching on the renewal of the Church—speaking to a crowd of the faithful gathered in the church square of the Piazza del Campo in Siena and railing against all types of games. The effectiveness of his warning was such that the faithful, immediately went to their homes, looking for chessboards and cards to burn in the streets. Administrators entrusted the regulation of games to citizens' statutes that usually only prohibited gambling for profit and allowed 'games at the tables'—arranged in the streets and managed by so-called *barattieri*. Prohibitions, however, did not prevent the rapid spread of card games and the stimulation of the playing card industry, which fostered the phenomenon of counterfeiting. This is demonstrated by the birth, in Venice, of the large Association of *Maîtres Cartiers* (1441), which went to the authorities to report cases of counterfeiting and obtained from the Senate a prohibition against the large number of "de cartes peintes e imprimées qui se font hors de Venice" (Belmas 2006). For their part, the authorities did not succeed in stopping these games in any way, and decided to obtain an advantage for the treasury through taxation, applied indirectly by means of contracts. The law, however, maintained the prohibition of gambling in the legislation and distinguished legal games from illegal ones—a boundary that was extremely plastic and regularly ignored. Despite repeated complaints, the spread of cards did not stop; in Italy, thanks to the invention of the *gravure en bois* allowing for an increase in production, cards were manufactured in almost every city and exported to other countries, including France, Germany, and Holland. Attention was great; manufacturers knew that card games were highly profitable because bans were not effective and they were played by the upper classes as well as ordinary people. Card games were common in the many taverns of towns and villages, and during social evenings organized at court and in salons, which, especially from the eighteenth century onwards, became important meeting places for the social elite. While chess, with its rigorous system of strict rules that were considered on a par with moral laws, seemed less shallow and futile and was allowed even for churchmen, card games were basically condemned. Kings and noblemen with conspicuous assets could take an immense fortune in a single night at the great European courts, while the poor attended the taverns where a thousand quarrels arose from misconduct or the outcome of a game. To solve problems connected to the playing of chess, treaties were made; these encoded rules based on the tactics and strategies, of clear military design, and to which were added illuminated and handwritten regulations that preserved a wide variety of images. For card

games, this topic was covered by the *Tractatus de morbus et disciplina humanae conversationis* (1377) by Friar Ioannes di Rheinfelden. He dealt with the origins of the games and with the priority of the tarot over the *naibi* following the *iter*, tracing out how cards became differentiated between countries over time. The Biblioteca di Castiglion Fiorentino contains the manuscript *Regole del nobile gioco delle Minchiate*, by Niccolò Onesti, and defines the particular game that came from the tarot as: “onesto e dilettevole trattenimento... atteso che è un vivo esercizio di buon genio, di spirito et ingegno, non meno che di attenzione e memoria,” downplaying the bad reputation of players.

But whatever twists and turns the story of card games took in the society of the *Ancien Régime*, here we have chosen to follow the path of the development of the images on cards, with various characters coming to be dressed in significant outfits in order to emphasize their role and the power they held. The goal is to better understand the characters that were deemed relevant to Beatrice Lascaris on the occasion of her wedding (1412) to Ventimiglia (Motta 1983)—the images on the cards presented a prototypical social hierarchy. From this perspective, playing cards open up interesting and, perhaps, unexpected scenarios that introduce us to the symbolically expressed codes of different ages and their transition, confirming the connotation of games as a social phenomenon.

The oldest cards in Italy come from Lombardy and were commissioned by Filippo Maria Visconti as a present, suggesting that these cards were something valuable; they were produced by a famous painter, Michelino da Besozzo, who adopted the same technique used for painting miniatures. The cards refer directly to the years 1442–47—the cards of the denari (coins) suit, portray golden florins minted by Visconti in those years. Precious and refined, these tarot cards—the tarot of Visconti—present a series of images related to the period of the Middle Ages, influenced by court society, heraldry, astrology, and mythology. The figures—kings, queens, soldiers, knights, spades and shields—wear clothes that reference the finest materials of the day—silk, brocade, and velvet—and highlight the ‘military style’ of the tarot, and of playing cards more generally. The subjects portrayed, however, differ from country to country and place to place—Germany, France, Switzerland, Spain, Italy, Bologna, Ferrara, Milan—at one moment following a fixed pattern, at another, on the contrary, presenting a variety of subjects whose characteristics are dependent on the era. In this context, the dress of the characters is important: it helps to delineate their role and function. In the major *arcana* of the Visconti tarot, clothes celebrate the importance and the role of the chosen characters and express dichotomous contrasts: between the sacred and the profane; and between political power

and religious belief. The *Emperor* wears a sumptuous dress all in gold, with wide blue-lined sleeves and carries a scepter, the sign of power, in one hand and the globus cruciger in the other.



Figures 1 and 2. The Emperor and Empress.

The *Empress*, in the same dress as that of the emperor, bears a crown on her head and a shield with the imperial eagle in her left hand; the *Pope* is dressed in a green overcoat lined with gold, in his left hand he holds a long cross and on his head he wears a tiara or *Triregno* (father of the king, rector of the world, the Vicar of Christ) on which the insignia of the Holy Roman Empire is imprinted; the *Popessa* wears a more humble monastic dress and in her left hand she carries a long cross; the *Hermit* is an old man dressed in blue, with a large hat, leaning on a cane like a pilgrim and carrying an hourglass as a metaphor for the rapid passing of time and ‘death’; The *Lovers* are a young girl and a knight with a blindfolded cupid standing between them. They are dressed according to the sumptuary canons of attendees at court: she wears a large dress embroidered in gold and he wears a short blue jacket embroidered in gold.

Justice is clothed in a rich dress with wide sleeves lined with blue, embroidered with a large golden roseaux and holding a scale in one hand, a symbol of impartiality, and a sword in the other to punish those who are stained with the dishonor of their crimes; the *Moon* is a young girl in a blue

dress and a cloak in pink and gold; the *Star* is depicted as a beautiful girl in a blue dress and a two-tone cape embroidered in gold.

On each card the background is golden—a reminder of the expensive manufacturing technique for miniatures that was used for the decoration of religious, legal, and literary books destined for a rich and demanding clientele. The subjects of these cards point to the collective imagination at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Age and refer to the metaphysical dimension of the medieval era. The clothes worn by the characters and the colors chosen by the artists communicate encoded signs that speak to spiritual and secular life. More generally, the tarot, which was probably derived from the ancient *naibi* (from *naipes*—Persian origin) and early Spanish cards, offers numerous suggestions on the subject of clothing, showing a wide range of figures drawn from military history and representing social classes—warriors, clerics, merchants, workers—with a diverse iconography according to region. Dress was an essential part of an immediate, visual language that everyone could easily grasp, assisted by individual elements that underlined its symbolic value.

In France, on cards associated with Charles VI (1368–1422), who was married to Isabella of Bavaria, some of the figures are not so different from the Visconti ones, while others are represented quite differently, with symbols, images, and details relating to the French dynasty and the history of the country. The emperor is depicted seated on the throne with a crown on his head and in his hands, as a sign of power, there is a scepter with the lily of France. Other characters are dressed according to the fashion prescribed at the time by the etiquette of the court.

His successor, Charles VII (1403–61), secured the French territories at the end of the Hundred Years' War (1453), leading to France's victory over the British. While heir apparent he had married Maria of Anjou (1422); but he preferred courtesans and had many lovers, including Agnes Sorel. She was known not only because she would be the first to enjoy the official status of the favorite of the king, but also for her extraordinary toilettes. In choosing her clothes, she preferred the most luxurious fabrics and wore very low-cut dresses, which left her shoulders bare, with long trains and trimmed with fur. She loved jewelry and was the best customer of the court jeweler, Jacques Coeur, an international merchant of precious stones from whom the king bought the first cut diamond. Although relations between Charles VII and Anjou were extremely sour, for reasons of state and for a long period Queen Mary remained a model and even appeared on cards in authoritative dress—her clothes lined with ermine fur, a rich headdress trimmed with gold, and sumptuous jewels. Other images show characters from court, also portrayed in elegant clothes, which were often of velvet and fur-lined, in hats topped

with feathers and tight trousers. *Valets* are dressed as pages: “les sergents d’armes de ce temps-la, l’un portant le toque à plumail et la casaque longue, l’autre vêtu de comte” (Belmas 2006).



Figures 3 and 4. Justice and the Moon.

Over time, the characters as well as their costumes changed—the kings still held the scepter and the queens held flowers—and the images, which in any case aligned with different periods, often refer to back to heraldry and chivalry. The military-inspired character of the images remained constant enough to make necessary the expertise of specialists in the sector in order to remove any suggestion that these were games of the East by replacing the vizier with images of Western sovereigns.

During the sixteenth century, the characters presented on French cards followed the fashion of the age of Louis XII (1462–1515), with kings and queens in rich velvet robes, trimmed with fur, and crowns with lilies. In the same century, with Henry III (1551–89), a different climate prevailed. The king had a complex personality and was involved in religious wars between the Catholics and the Protestants following the policy of his mother, Caterina de’ Medici (afterwards represented as the queen of hearts by the cardmaker Claude Valentin).

The king was extravagant and considered a weak character in his opposition to violence, war, and hunting; he was also known for his

extraordinary elegance and his fine looks. He is represented on playing cards—a specific type of satirical cards—in excessively sumptuous clothing—almost as a caricature. The clothing with which artists chose to depict their subjects reproduced the features of prevailing fashion, but also represented vices and virtues, projecting through images real political messages: respect for one leader who triumphed over his enemies; criticism of another who was not liked by the people. Henry III of France is depicted with a fan in his hand while his queen, Louise Lorraine-Vaudémont, is represented with a scepter—these images indicate the lack of love between them, his effeminacy as a leader, and also emphasize his alleged homosexuality (which has never been seriously documented).

Cards often hinted at life at court, which was considered secular, frivolous and corrupt. It was a place of constant parties and masquerades, absorbed with intrigues, and ruled by the strongest, while the poor were devastated by fatigue, hard work, hunger, and pestilence and could only make their voices heard through social unrest. Cards were a symbolic representation of the courtly ways of life and death—physical and moral—and say much of that world. Because they had to be liked by the common people, whose daily lives were beset by harshness and difficulty—from which they tried to escape through the fortunate conclusion of a game—the master-makers of the cards appealed to the breadth of their imaginations in drawing, painting, and coloring simple sketches that would help ease the worries of the day—food in short supply, heavy taxes, and epidemics rampaging through the population. In this sense, a game of cards looks almost like nourishment for the soul, but with many negative consequence due to poverty and greed; a small event like a game of cards could interrupt their anonymous lives and they could become the protagonists of their own stories in an evening at the tavern.

In the modern age the signs, subjects, and colors of playing cards change; there is a greater diversity in images—fruits, flowers, mythological and fantastical animals, famous people, emblematic figures that tell of changing times and political thought—right up until the French Revolution when, more than ever, symbols were used to communicate new ideas to the masses. No wonder, then, that the royal crown was replaced by the Phrygian cap—a cap with the top pulled forward, of distant Persian origin (from Phrygia in Asia Minor), and adopted in ancient Rome as a symbol of freedom as it was given to a slave on the occasion of his manumission. As the revolutionaries were marking a momentous event by erasing the society of the *Ancien Régime*, this headgear found new life. In the post-revolutionary period, another change relates to the sign of devotion (towards a sovereign) that was customarily added to the cards—honoring of the powerful was replaced by phrases glorifying human rights. Then it was the turn of Napoleon, and artists, who

painted figures on cards inspired by history, depicted him in his prime with a laurel wreath suggestive of imperial greatness.

With the spread of cards throughout Europe, their use stimulated production, leading not only the production of valuable items, but also less expensive types that could allow even the poorest to access this very peculiar type of market. Cards remained a special product; on the one hand they conquered consumers, while on the other they fell under the prohibitions of the Church and city authorities that almost everywhere prohibited or limited games. To avoid attracting too much attention producers often concealed them as generic *papeteries* (packages for stationery). In France, during the reign of Henry III—the final two decades of the sixteenth century—a primary regulation establishing the status of the *maître faiseurs de cartes* was made; it remained in force until the revolution. It was particularly the case with this sovereign—who was more preoccupied with creating and following fashion than with governing the state—that card games became a real mirror of the time: a testimony to the extravagant fashions of a period in which the ephemeral triumphed. In this climate of great attention to aesthetics, kings had trimmed beards and wore hats with feathers—“les troussees bouffant, le pourpoint tailladé, les chausses collantes”; queens wore their hair *retroussée* and ruffled—“la robe a justaucorps e a vertugarde”—and the much criticized crinoline that, with different materials, lasted through at least two centuries (Motta 2015). In France, from the regency of Caterina de’ Medici to the reigns of Louis XII and Louis XIV, cards marked out the fashions and whims of the court as seen through the imagination of master card-makers and there, as in other countries, they presented the dominant characters of each era.

The statuettes of Meissen and the style of the model masters

Until the eighteenth century, true porcelain was only manufactured in the Far East—China and Japan. The Western world produced a variety of tiles and ceramics that were also greatly appreciated, but Oriental porcelain, which for its beauty and rarity was an unattainable goal for many, arrived in Europe along the Silk Road as part of the spice trade; after the first voyage of Vasco da Gama, who opened up the sea route to the Far East (1497–99), it was loaded onto ships for safer transportation.

In this way an important commercial traffic grew that made possible the arrival of an exceptional product in Europe; the doges and dignitaries of Venice—first in conflict and then in trading relations with the Ottomans—discovered it on the occasion of their visits to the sultans of Egypt who gave porcelain pieces as gifts to several European sovereigns (Charles VII and

Lorenzo de' Medici). Having become a symbol of wealth and artistic perfection, thousands of pieces were shipped from Macau to Lisbon and then, via the East India Company, to the Dutch ports and out across the Old Continent.

To learn more about the history of European porcelain it is enough to read the excellent book by Janet Gleeson, *The Arcanum: The Extraordinary True Story*, which analyzes the complexity of the issue and looks at an eighteenth-century world still fascinated with esoteric research; stimulated by curious and greedy rulers searching for the recipe to immortality and the alchemical secret of transforming base metal into gold. Going deeper into that world, one can find issues related to political, military, economic and social history: at the time to purchase and own porcelain was a sign of power. Occasionally, the desire to obtain the most beautiful, rare and precious pieces became a real obsession, as was the case with the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, Augustus II Wettin (1670–1733). Augustus the Strong—as he is known to history—spent appalling amounts of money in acquiring for himself the most beautiful Oriental porcelain that arrived in Amsterdam from Canton; as other sovereigns sought to find the philosopher's stone, he kept the alchemist Böttger as a prisoner in his fortified castle, not far from the Saxon capital, in search of porcelain's secret. After a long and complex series of events and years of advanced study in the mining sector, Böttger arrived at the discovery of the formula—hard paste—thanks to the identification of the main ingredient—kaolin. Production began in Saxony of an asset that, apart from its aesthetic value, took on political significance.

The refined court of Dresden announced to the world the invention of porcelain in four languages—Latin, French, German, and Dutch—and located its manufacture in the Albrechtsburg castle—the home of the elector. Through years of harsh, militaristic policies (Northern wars, 1700–12) with the aim of establishing himself in the German region as absolute ruler, Augustus II received even further notoriety. On his travels he had visited Versailles and intended to make Dresden an equally grand and elegant capital. He enriched it with magnificent palaces realized by one of the best Baroque architects of the time, Daniel Pöppelmann, and spent large sums on huge festivities (with theater and fairytale performances) and his wardrobe; but he devoted himself mainly to his passion—porcelain. If previously he had bought Eastern products—“the Roix de Saxe devint a acquéreur compulsif des Porcelaines les plus Elégantes et les plus coûteuses” (Gleeson 2006)—after the discoveries of Böttger, he was most concerned with the promotion of this new production process that gave him leadership in the field.



Figures 5 and 6. The statuettes of Meissen

From then on, he devoted himself carefully to the development of his factory in Meissen, which was soon imitated by others across Europe over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Valuable manufactories flourished: in France at Limoges and Sevres; in England—Wedgwood; in Italy—Ginori; in Russia—the Lomonosov (commissioned by Empress Elizabeth, a great collector of ceramics and porcelain); in Denmark—the Royal Copenhagen; in Portugal—Vistalegre; in Hungary—Herend. The market was swamped. The diffusion of these products was especially great during the Reformation—the artistic patronage of the Catholic Church, which had dominated European arts, was replaced by the bourgeois patronage of great merchants and private citizens who preferred genre scenes representing the realism of everyday life.

Pieces of great beauty were produced in the Saxon workshop, with precious decoration and splendid colors; they adorned the most important tables of Europe, satisfying the taste and ambitions of sovereigns, and producing jobs requiring skilled labor—a large number of artists, craftsmen, painters, sculptors, modelers, and decorators owed their livelihoods to this new trend. Porcelain came south from central and northern Europe when Charles III, the first king of Naples, founded a factory in Capodimonte similar to the one in Saxony—part of a policy of reform and inspired by his wife Maria Amalia Wettin, who came from the dynasty that had introduced this new invention to the world.

At Meissen, after the first fine tableware, production was switched to porcelain figurines, which replaced the triumphs of sugar that in previous centuries had decorated the tables of the nobility; this fostered an intense traffic between Sicily and the countries of central and northern Europe (Motta

2013). These new table centerpieces stimulated the creativity of artists who offered a wide range of subjects to celebrate or impress guests attending a banquet, such as a rendition of the incomparable fountain of Piazza Navona in Rome from which water of roses dripped—made for an important dinner at the Saxon court in honor of Prime Minister von Brühl (Gleeson 2006).

The model-masters left their creative mark on the porcelain: in the early period, under the guidance of Johann Joachim Kändler (1731–74), the style developed in a Baroque spirit with highly decorated figures and vivid colors. Later, Camillo Marcolini (1774–1813) followed the neoclassical style, characterized—in the eighteenth century—by its simplicity. Neoclassicism took the motifs of formal classical art and combined them in a number of ways in different European countries, influencing both architecture and painting; the prevailing trend was one of pure lines, often with decoration. Meissen figurines represent the different types of social classes throughout history. In the great halls of bourgeois mansions, *stucco* ceilings, furniture, and ornaments demonstrate the attention given to the materials and workmanship.

This new trend allows one to grasp the historical shift from sentiment to reason advocated by the Enlightenment, which welcomed delicate colors, harmonious shapes, and light strokes. In the transition from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the feeling of the age passed from the decorative style of the Baroque (and Rococo)—symbolic of happiness and life at court—to reason: an artistic reaction to excessive artifice and an affirmation of simpler lines. Over time, proceeding from a one-dimensional to a three-dimensional design, artists of porcelain made human figures depicting: the members of court; the characters of the *commedia dell'arte*; knights and ladies; young people in traditional costumes; pastoral scenes; genre scenes set in living rooms; characters that referenced the fabrics and colors of Eastern models; grotesque figures; hawkers on foot or horseback; and traditional masks. A multiplicity of forms tell of the reality of the time and the imagination of people and artists.

Let us imagine that we are watching one of the showcases of the Dresden Royal Palace—everyone at court wished to attend these—and examine some of the statuettes, striking in the harmony of their size and shape and the splendor of their clothes: the *marquis*, in a full evening dress and lilac redingote, a gilet with floral decoration, and a white jabot; a *knight* with a tricorne hat and striped pants, kneeling at the foot of a lady dressed in an aquamarine dress highlighted with gold; *la bonne mère*, a group in which a lady of high society with an eighteenth-century hairstyle is surrounded by her three children, dressed, as usual, in clothes mimicking those of adults (there was not yet a specific fashion for children, it would appear in the middle of

the nineteenth century—the fully bourgeois epoch); *a couple of musicians*—the man plays a wind instrument and wears a frock coat with small flowers and blue pants while the woman plays a chordophone and wears a light-colored dress lined with fabric in a contrasting color, a pink petticoat, and red orange shoes; *Count von Bruhl*, a dignitary in rich and elegant clothes rides a goat and is wearing a sash on which is pinned a bright decoration. It is said that he had demanded to visit the factory and the model-master, in revenge, decided to represent him, ironically, on this strange ride. *A lady with a coffee table and black servant*, with a shirt *a ramages* and feathers, a big yellow overcoat with wide blue borders—she has a fan in one hand and a little dog on her lap; *a knight in a bright-red frock coat*, holding a cocked hat, bows to a lady wearing a flowered dress with a large skirt; *a group representing a gallant scene* dominated by a tree around which there are several figures in colorful clothes; *Cris de Paris* and cries of London (the cries of small merchants selling their wares) present a number of different types—a female figure carrying a basket full of lemons dressed in the simple clothes of a peasant woman, a modest, young man leading a goose, and a female figure with a basket of flowers; *three figurines* that represent the common people—two women dressed in long skirts with flowers to which aprons are tied are taking their baskets to sell their wares at market; *a man*, also in a peasant costume, has both a basket and a pair of scales in his hands; *a pair of players*, in Oriental clothes of many colors.

In short, craftsmen/artists offered an almost endless series of suggestions in which the dress of the subjects depicted has a role and manages to evoke a particular atmosphere—a military context, a rural reality, a city environment—and represents an evolving society. Meissen figurines show how in a Europe bewitched by china—known as white gold—exclusive products had become a sign, a cultural index, an economic resource, and a way of combining meanings and symbols of historical relevance.

A fairytale dress and the destiny of a princess

Even if historians are more accustomed to seeking information in archival documents, they can also be fascinated by the dimension of the imaginary. Fairy tales, legends, and myths propose alternative narratives of history that are able to testify to the stated or implied codes and values of ancestral memory. Even if tales are timeless, they are not without reference to some specific reality or particular historical moment—to a turreted castle, a medieval tournament, a Baroque palace—which enters presumptuously into the narrative and displays a model of society and the character traits that animate it. In this context, the style of clothes becomes a language for

presenting an immediately accessible reading of the role of each character. In the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times, the ideal of the chivalrous hero was replaced by the commercial ideology of the mercantile middle class and the rural dimension gave way to the urban—the place of the political power of the new bourgeoisie—and popular stories changed accordingly, becoming adventures of merchants to distant lands, the conquests of unknown peoples, the knowledge of different objects and customs, the desire to bring special gifts, often from the Orient, to impress the powerful, or to honor a beloved. In these stories, precise social and physical prototypes alternate with sovereigns of ancient origin, and novel characters, of newly acquired power emerge. In the sixteenth century, the emerging classes became part of the political and economic fabric in the transition to modernity and embodied a new cultural representation. The modes of dress changed, both for the different functions of the subjects and for the symbolic content attributed to their clothes. The clothes, the attitude, the objects that surrounded the upper classes—in a living room, in a painting, in a fairy tale—tell both individual and collective stories. Read well, such a tale is a treasure trove that contains many meanings, sometimes explicit and sometimes expertly encrypted, and the events of history unfold in the collective memory, combining them into a fantasia and preserving the unresolved issues of a lost war, a disputed territory, or a never completely erased fear. Recurring themes include ethnic conflicts, the fear of being invaded by stronger nations, being separated from one's faith (as happened during the Reformation and the harsh reaction of the Counter-Reformation), or being robbed of one's belongings—even the anguish of losing one's children, abducted by enemies who intend to dispossess a conquered people of their future. Across time and space, remote fears emerge in stories that preserve memories and even didactically present values drawn from the original culture of a people in order to shield them from the processes of homogenization imposed from above and with force—as in the case of the those incorporated into the supranational structures of the great tsarist, Ottoman, and Habsburg empires—that endangered national identities based on language, religion, food, and anthropological characteristics. From fairy tales a cultural heritage emerges that draws on the rich folklore formed through oral storytelling and was collected, in the late nineteenth century, by different schools that argued with each other on methods and objectives—the anthropological, Finnish method; the historical-geographical analysis of Aarne and Thompson; the formalist-structuralist of Popp and his Marxist historicization; and the contribution of Freudianists and their interpretation of dreams (Motta 2011).

Suggestions coming from fairy tales are many and lead in many directions, drawing on popular culture as well as on literary traditions, applying homogeneous cultural boundaries for historical or military reasons. In fairy tales, then, history is hidden, marked in time and handed down through a popular culture that expresses the essence of an ethnic or lingual group from a particular territory and preserves customs and traditions in legends, proverbs, and song. A story is brought out that comes from the ground up and is capable of offering an infinite number of details of a collective past and where the path outlined by an imaginary fairy-tale intertwines with historical facts alluding to events or places of significance to a given historical memory, especially in terms of national histories. In an ample list of authors, we should perhaps remember one of the most significant, Giambattista Basile, with his *Lo cunto de li cunti*. He reached the heights of Baroque poetry and through the material of fairy tale he provides food for thought in an analysis of the society of his time. The three fairies in *Lo cunto* tell the story of Cicella, who is abused by her stepmother. As with Cinderella, the poor girl is to be rewarded by the fairies who accompany her to an enchanted palace where they place her in front of a big wardrobe full of magnificent clothes.



Figure 8. Edmund Dulac, *Cinderella*.

Sumptuous dresses of velvet, taffeta, and Venetian brocade; skirts of Spanish linen; large cloaks; short jackets with wide sleeves; rich coats; ruffs, hairstyles, and jewelry of all kinds, none of which raises the greed of the girl who chooses a skirt of little value for herself, confirming her shy and modest personality. Faced with this, the fairies make her wear a dress of gold and wish her to find a good husband—something that will happen after a series of difficulties that finally entail a happy ending. Here, as in other cases in complex fairy tales, historical data are intertwined with fantastic imagery, and clothes acquire great significance, becoming the center of the story itself—these clothes have the purpose of making up for class differences and helping those, who until then, had only known misery and injustice. In the development of European societies, ways of dressing arose to distinguish new human and social typologies; even more so in popular and fantastical tales, the mode of dress has the task of specifying the character and status of the protagonist. Dress can help shape the aesthetic detail of a scene where the social role of the actors is defined by their clothing—king, prince, traveler, merchant, farmer—and each has a well-defined profile that places them within the usual dynamics of the unending struggle between Good and Evil. In the cultural context of the Middle Ages, the great breadth of the Renaissance, and the multifarious facets of the Baroque period, fairy tales used dress to make a character immediately available and to add the artifice of transformation—a metamorphosis that changes the scene with the intervention of a supernatural element, such as a wizard or a witch. Fairy tales draw images that represent and describe past worlds from heraldic legends and family genealogies. Mutation through clothes leads to the change of status of a character to (from a man to a woman; from an animal to a man); but it can also have a punitive meaning (the companions of Ulysses are transformed into swine by the magician Circe), or a liberating one (the kiss given to the frog turns it into a prince). Dress is part of this metamorphosis of characters and stresses the importance of that passage, becoming a language in some political way in its assignation of each subject to a social or economic class, which is highlighted and emphasized by clothing. Another obvious example is that of Cinderella! In this fairy tale, in which a humble servant girl abused by her stepmother and stepsisters changes into a fascinating protagonist who meets a happy ending, there are two dresses: the first made by an army of mice and birds who want to help her and another created for her by her fairy godmother. Receiving the invitation to the dance during which the prince must choose his bride, the girl asks the stepmother if she can participate and Lady Tremaine imposes impossible conditions—she must finish all the housework (made more difficult by the demands of the bad sisters)—and then find a suitable dress to wear. Skillful and zealous animal

friends work together to modernize an old dress that belonged to Cinderella's mother, adding ruffles made from a scarf thrown away by one sister and a pearl necklace abandoned by the other. The dress is a masterpiece—immortalized by Walt Disney—and is one of the finest elements of the story—one that every little girl keeps in mind. But the two evil sisters recognize these objects, even though they had rejected them, and having become angry, they destroy the clothes. Cinderella is about to give up on that special evening when the godmother intervenes, who, after a clumsy attempt to remember the right magic formula, manages to provide for her goddaughter a wonderful silver dress and beautiful glass slippers, then turns a pumpkin into a carriage, mice into horses, and two dogs into a coachman and a valet. Cinderella can go to the ball! But the godmother warns her that the spell will break at the stroke of midnight—the spell will end and everything will be as before. Cinderella's metamorphosis emphasizes the beauty and attractiveness of the protagonist, her aspiration to a better life marked by love becomes the highlight of the story, and the disappearance of the spell also brings the return of the girl to the inferior role to which she is condemned by her antagonist—her stepmother. This transformation has the basic aim of a fairy tale as good triumphs of over evil; the victory of the good over the evil and transformation also serve to mark time in the narrative, setting out a before and after, as a point that marks a new status, and a different function. Clothes are part of an emotional investment implied in the narrative, which follows a particular path where one can become a princess thanks to a fabulous dress, and, at the end of the tale, in some cases can be cruel, but this time is happy. The dress has brought the fulfillment of Cinderella's dreams, the frivolity of a dance, in the Viennese style, at the court appropriately concludes a story in which high and low culture are fused, and where history, apparently joyous, fails to embrace the restless darkness of the tale, such as the evil stepmother and her daughters. On clothes, perhaps not only in fairy tales, sometimes one's fate hangs.

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BEFORE ITALIAN FASHION: TEXTILE CRAFTSMANSHIP IN ITALY (1861–1911)

MANUELA SOLDI

These brief notes are part of a wider research project carried out at the Graduate School of Art History and Performing Arts, University of Parma. The aim is to reconstruct the discussion that developed during the first fifty years of Italian unity on the recovery and promotion of Italian textile handicrafts and the possibility of considering this production as the basis of a fashion system that liberated Italy from French cultural dominance.

Various elements lie at the heart of this phenomenon. Firstly, the economic factor—at the start of the period the so-called *piccola industria* was still seen as an accessory to major industry with its economic power and large number of workers. Secondly, the variety of local production highlights the wealth of Italian material culture at a time when historians and intellectuals began to be interested in minor and popular production. Finally, both industrial and artisanal textile manufacture aroused the interest of women's associations; this was due to the large number of women employed in the sector and the habit of women working at home in the production and upkeep of textile artifacts. Growing mechanization impacted on female occupations and gradually on homemade production—this changed and diminished with the spread of sewing machines and other devices, influencing and changing production processes and traditional, inherited methods. The more moderate wings of the feminist movements supported a return to these. Women could work at home without neglecting the family, or in small workshops which avoided the public promiscuity of the factory. Conservative solutions combined women's need for financial emancipation with the safeguarding of crafts which were soon to be swept away by technological advancement. Their reactivation connected to the idea of developing Italian fashion as a creative process and mode of production able to execute all the stages of manufacture.

On the other hand, the origins of Italian fashion as we know it today—as an industry and design phenomenon—seems far removed from the period analyzed in this study. The development of a concept of our own fashion appears older, part of a broader plan to create a sense of national feeling. Episodes preceding the unity of Italy and dating to the first half of the century in which the concept of national fashion began to emerge (Pisetzky 1969, 401–407; Buttazzi 1992, 493–514) include: Italian models and the *Annunzio per la Moda di Milano* (January 23, 1819), which appeared in Carolina Lattanzi's *Corriere delle Dame*; the 1848 intrusion by a group of young people dressed in Italian style at a ball at the Milan Philharmonic Academy in Milan—a costume in dark velvet crowned by a hat *all'Ernani* (or *alla Calabrese*); publication in 1854 of *Storia delle mode*, in book form as a supplement to the *Corriere delle Dame* and with a chapter in the appendix specially dedicated to Italian fashion, from the Etruscans to the eighteenth century. These initiatives were fruitless from the point of view of production, especially since there being no Italian state, there was no chance of economic unity.

It was no coincidence that one of the first tasks of the Italian government was a national exhibition that allowed a first census of production in the country. As regards textile manufacture, grouped under the heading *Vestimenta*, they were “meanly represented and are practiced in feeble proportions in Italy, tributaries of France, England and Germany” (La Direzione 1867, 384). There was, however, a widespread awareness that Italy had once been a leader in the textile sector.

In the 1860s, Michelangelo Jesurum started his business of traditional bobbin lacemaking, typical of the Venetian Lagoon and particularly of Pellestrina. He was helped by the elderly lacemaker Giustina Coja and Paulo Fambri. In 1875, Jesurum introduced multicolor lace, winning a gold medal for it in Paris in 1878. His success led to the opening of a school and seven workshops in Venice, Burano, Murano, Chioggia, and Pellestrina, where a private museum opened in 1906.

A certain interest in the subject was becoming apparent and in Florence the first *Esposizione nazionale dei lavori femminili* was held in 1871.¹ This involved all sectors of female work—the words *lavori femminili* covering the classic crafts of embroidery, lacemaking and sewing, and are still associated with the phrase today. Among the main players was Conte Carlo Demetrio Finocchietti, initially an official representative of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and later Italy, who helped organize a large number of exhibitions and worked

¹ Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Fondo Ministero Istruzione Pubblica, Divisione Antichità e Belle Arti, Serie Esposizioni congressi mostre e conferenze 1860-1894, busta 6, fasc. Esposizione Nazionale dei Lavori Femminili in Firenze.

with various academies. Attention came from Vienna, in the shape of director and founder of the *Österreiches Museum für Kunst und Industrie*, Rudolph Eitelberger Von Edelberg, charged by the emperor to arrange a similar exhibition (the only record of the fact comes from Finocchietti himself; however there was a female section at the Vienna Expo of 1873). Nevertheless the exhibition made considerable financial losses, making it impossible for the committee to realize their future plans of organizing an international exhibition on the subject and bringing out a periodical. The idea of a national museum for female crafts lasted for a few months however, as we see from the correspondence between Finocchietti and the Education Minister Cesare Correnti, who requested a feasibility report, which, unfortunately, was not found convincing. The report shows the connection between the development of *lavori femminili* in its strict sense and the idea of Italian fashion.

Founded at almost the same time was the Burano Scuola dei Merletti, a lacemaking school that revitalized a sector of production that had not quite disappeared. It was the first in a series of similar initiatives all over the country defined not as charity, in the form of bread, but as work, by Elisa Ricci, the foremost contemporary observer of the world of textile manufacture who recognized its particular connection to the women's movement.

The immediate cause was the terrible famine brought about by the harsh winter of 1871–72 on the island of Burano near Venice where the population's main livelihood was fishing. Senator Paulo Fambri and Contessa Andriana Zon Marcello, a lady at the court of Margherita di Savoia, from whom she managed to obtain patronage, helped to set up the project. The husband of Andriana, Alessandro Marcello, had already tried unsuccessfully to relaunch the craft in the 1850s. The two main figures in this tale were the daughter of the mayor of Burano, Anna d'Este, and the elderly expert lacemaker Cencia Scarpariola, who taught her the craft. The school's production was inspired by the various types of sixteenth-century Venetian lacemaking and by the Flemish and French methods that dominated the market in the following centuries. From the beginning it was clear how important it was to make the school fit into a centuries-old tradition. It only takes a quick glance at the list of exhibits in Florence in 1871 to realize that the need to cherish traditions was not generally so keenly felt in other places as it was in Venice. Therefore, as Elisa Ricci points out the care taken by the school to publicize itself, with its quality of production initially uncertain, is significant. Indeed, although Italian participation at the 1873 Exhibition of Vienna, on the whole, was poor, the Burano School was there. The 1878 exhibition in Paris, on the other hand, saw the publication of a booklet on the

history of Venetian lace—*Origines de la dentelle de Venise et l'Ecole du Point de Burano* by Victor Ceresole. Other lace-makers began, timidly at first, to show their wares in the same section and eleven of them, out of a total of thirteen, received awards. What is more, in the catalogue *Arte e industria a Parigi 1878* by Hoepli, which contained a selection of the best European homemade and mechanical handicrafts, only lace appears among the Italian articles.

The school became a model for promoting the Italian manufactures run by the most culturally and morally vulnerable sectors of the population, in particular, women. A basic theme was beginning to emerge where a local Cencia Scarpariola-like figure passed on their know-how, which otherwise would have been lost to future generations.

Soon to become honorary president of the school of Burano, Queen Margherita regularly loaned the school examples of antique lace and supported the teaching of drawing. Evidence of this connection is the bridal veil given to her daughter-in-law, Elena of Montenegro, on the occasion of her marriage, and the parasol given to the princess herself by the school on the same occasion.²

Margherita commissioned many works around Italy and her name, in fact, occurs regularly where the work of women has been fostered. This was partly to be expected from the first lady and first queen of Italy. A number of factors were at work here: economic interests related to the development of women's manufactures, also reflected sometimes in the choice of materials for their rich toilettes (for which Margherita and her court also turned to Worth and French products); the need to focus national feeling through rediscovery of Italian folk traditions; and, ultimately, a personal inclination for embroidery and lace, which was shared by many women of the time. Also significant was the fact that the catalogue published by the Industrie Femminili Italiane cooperative (IFI) during the Simphon Exhibition of 1906 (IFI 1906) began with lines inviting us to consider the work of the hands as an expression of the heart. It was signed by Margherita, who had become more of a patron of these disciplines than her daughter-in-law.

During the 1870s lace production began to change from a forgotten and neglected industry into the standard bearer for Italian artistry. The same period was marked by debate over the question as to whether a national fashion was in the making. Talk began again about producing Italian fashion plates during the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) when it was not possible to access the French market. The enthusiasm was palpable on the pages of

² See photographic albums in the Burano Lace School Archive, currently preserved at the Palazzo Mocenigo Museum and Centre for Studies of the History of Textiles and Costumes.

magazines such as *La moda italiana. Giornale dei lavori femminil*, whose goal was to give fashion events a national character all of their own, which was defined as “one of the most pressing needs of the world of Italian elegance, to be met by turning to the innate artistic intellect of the Italians, and to our glorious traditions” (La Direzione 1871, 1-2). To fulfill the project required the combined commitment of entrepreneurs, seamstresses and artists. Francesco Dal’Ongaro, who wrote for the magazine, drafted a long appeal (Dall’Ongaro 1872). He was not new to analyzing the question of fashion—in *L’arte italiana a Parigi* (1869), after having fully examined clothes (*vestimenta*) in the applied arts sector, he posed the question of how Italian textile manufactures might be able to regain their rightful position of supremacy.

In 1872, the Società per l’emancipazione delle mode italiane (Society for the emancipation of Italian fashion) opened in Rome. It grouped artisans together close to the Royal House and published the monthly magazine *L’emancipazione italiana. Giornale delle mode*, which shortly afterwards became the three-monthly *Il risorgimento delle mode*. Its aim was to improve Italian production with models and technical advice.

A promoter of Italian fashion during the same period was Emilia Bossi, a business woman in the prêt-à-porter sector, owner of stores in Florence and Rome, and a supplier to the royal household. In 1874, to mark the exhibition on Michelangelo, she designed and launched the Michelangelo hat, made in Paris and inspired by the artist’s own hat. At the same time her company published two very different pamphlets. The first, *La moda ai tempi di Michelangelo*, was initially intended as an analysis of costumes at the time of the artist, but became little more than a few suggestions for further reading. It showed, however, an interesting cross section of nineteenth-century studies on clothing styles. The second was a short literary text written for the occasion and entitled *Di palo in frasca* (Jumping from one subject to another), which was described as a record of a conversation overheard in the salon of one of the company’s important customers.

In this imagined scene, ladies and unidentified intellectuals were chatting amiably in a salon—some of the personages were clearly closely associated with the royal family—and their conversation touched on the subject of the Italianness of fashion. In actual fact, the advertising for the celebratory hat, warmly recommended only in the last few pages, became an opportunity for an analysis of contemporary costume and a criticism of the tendency to seek security in French fashions. It became a critique of the national nature of fashion, the necessity of its relationship with art and history and, in closure, mused on the time when “it will be the turn of our artists and manufacturers to supply materials for the grooming of ladies” (*Di palo in frasca* 1874, 30).

Emilia Bossi also supported a national exhibition of all genres relating to fashion, with regard to women's clothing,³ in Florence. This time, gender characterization was removed from the exhibitors' admission criteria and applied to the buyer. The text that illustrates the project observes the changing conditions since unification, and refers to the crisis in textile production—a sector that had previously allowed Italy to occupy a leading position in Europe. Yet, some production of good quality managed to endure, despite lacking in design and visibility. Before achieving an Italian fashion in terms of design, it was therefore necessary for industry and textile manufacturers to join together to create Italian apparel. This is why Emilia Bossi's proposal contemplates the possibility of presenting women's clothing on the Paris model as a first step in a process that, once the Italian textile industry was ready, would add details to clothes that the French and English modistes did not and therefore to create an original fashion—many centuries of division prevented manufacturers from influencing one another and engaging positively in terms of originality.

In the late 1880s and 90s, the revival of Venetian lace was an established fact, serving as a model for similar situations. While the Renaissance became an archetype for architectural styles and many of the applied arts in united Italy, another trend was emerging that looked to the people for national character, and a multifaceted popular culture was investigated from all possible perspectives, including ways of dressing. The attention to traditions and folk crafts materialized in the Ethnographic Exhibition held at the Milan Expo in 1881; in 1892 Giuseppe Pitrè organized a Sicilian event at the Exposition of Palermo; in 1898, at the Turin National Exposition, special displays were held of the small industries of the Aosta Valley, Valsesia, and Sardinia. At the invitation of the government minister Martini, Italian ethnographer Lamberto Loria organized an important ethnographic exhibition, held in Rome in 1911, which included a section on costume.

Divergences and points of contact between more refined models and those of folk arts are easily visible in the work of Elisa Ricci, who investigated both the aristocratic tradition of needle lace and pattern books—taking part in the exhibition *Ornamento femminile* in Rome (1908), which was mainly dedicated to the reconstruction of the costumes of the élite—as well as peasant art. She recalls, for example, how in Italy the relationship between needle lace and bobbin lace can be compared to literary language and dialects: “needle lace speaks Italian, though with a Venetian accent, bobbin lace speaks in dialect” (Ricci 1908, 218-19). Elisa Ricci dealt with

³ ACS, Ministero di Agricoltura Industria e Commercio, Divisione Industria e Commercio, I° versamento, busta 116B, fasc. Esposizione campionaria di prodotti nazionali per l'abbigliamento femminile in Firenze 1876.

rustic arts in several articles appearing in *Emporium*, and particularly in a long essay for *Peasant Art in Italy* (1913), a monograph published by *The Studio*, a British magazine closely connected to the Arts & Crafts movement.

Initiatives aimed at training artisans through schools and museums also began to mature in the 1890s. In Rome there was an exhibition of fabrics and antique lace in 1887, part of a comprehensive program of exhibitions on the applied arts organized by the Industrial Art Museum (Museo artistico industriale) in Rome (Erculei 1887). Defined as both retrospective and contemporary, the purpose of these exhibitions was to present a detailed overview of past production alongside major contemporary Italian output. These were composite exhibitions in an organic program that involved crafts and manufacturing as a whole and were devoid of any reference to gender.

Meanwhile, among the associations a large number of women were becoming interested in these issues. In 1890, a new exhibition of women's work was held in Florence, as part of the celebrations for the sixth centenary of the death of Beatrice Portinari. The main actor was Professor Angelo de Gubernatis, best known for his literary works and his activities as an Orientalist and magazine publisher. In this case, despite the controversy caused by the name of the exhibition, the gender aspect prevailed again. The exhibition was an important occasion for Italian supporters of the female cause, many of whom belonged to local committees. International initiatives, which were already more advanced elsewhere when compared to Italy, go back at least to the mid-nineteenth century, and reached their zenith in Chicago in 1893, when the World's Congress of Representative Women, organized by the International Council of Women (ICW), was held. Delegates from thirty countries, including fourteen European ones, gave a truly international character to an organization that until then had been primarily American. Cora Slocomb of Brazzà represented Italy. Besides already establishing some of the lace-making schools described in her speech, the Contessa di Brazzà, with her sisters Maria Pasolini Ponti and Antonia Suardi Ponti, belonged to the Società per l'Esposizione Artistico Industriale (Society for the exhibition of industrial art), which had held exhibitions in Rome for the first time in 1891, identified by the IFI as the first step in a process that would lead to its constitution.

Of even greater significance today is the influence of the event organized in 1893 by Cora di Brazzà and her companions, which occupied the entire Italian wing of the Women's Building at the Chicago exhibition (Slocomb di Brazzà 1893). This was the first major exhibition of Italian women's work abroad, and presented their work as of recognized excellence, fit to be used for the benefit of the national image in an international context. An increasingly tight knot was being tied, meanwhile, between the struggle for

the emancipation and promotion of handicrafts, in both manufacturing and domestic contexts, to allow less well-off women to support themselves. The exhibition *Operosità femminile* of 1902 provided the opportunity for an initial survey and coordination of existing laboratories nationwide and was the direct cause of the foundation of the *Industrie Femminili Italiane* cooperative in 1903 (Amadori 1902). Among its purposes was the recognition of the economic value of craftsmanship and advocacy for reform of the aesthetics of craft products inspired by folk heritage and national art through association with artists, as well as a unified effort to sell and promote articles. The same year saw the founding of the National Council of Italian Women (*Consiglio Nazionale delle Donne Italiane*). The official organ for both was *Vita femminile italiana*, a magazine started in 1907 and directed by Sofia Bisi Albini, the aim of which was to create a bridge between the two organizations.

The participation of the IFI at the Simplon Exhibition of 1906 was certainly one of the highlights of the cooperative. Most of the Italian regions were represented at the exhibition and its impact resonated clearly in the words of the famous critic Ugo Ojetti, who at the time considered the IFI proposal to be the possible answer to the question of defining a national Italian style. Twenty years later, Elisa Ricci was to remember it as the happiest time for Italian women's work, spoilt only by a disastrous fire that destroyed the Pavilion of Decorative Arts. The cooperative expressly asked for examples of work with the typical markers of the exhibitors' place of origin, and the photos that accompanied these works were published in the catalogue, showing an ethnological-anthropological interest in the local contexts from which these products originated.

Next to the IFI section, in the same pavilion, a member of the Rosa

Genoni cooperative was displaying examples of pure Italian art made with Italian materials—a first response to more than forty years of critical and powerful commitment to the revival of Italian textile traditions and the inception of the Italian fashion concept. The construction of a productive and creative system able to make these dreams a reality would come about only later.

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NAPLES IN THE FASHION CIRCUIT:
MEN'S NEAPOLITAN FASHION
OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
AND THE INFLUENCE OF BRITISH FASHION

MARIA TERESA ANTONIA MORELLI

In the twentieth century, while Paris dictated the rules of fashion for women's clothing, for men London was the fashion capital; in the waiting rooms of Italian tailor' shops and on the tables of the cutters there were English figurines. Over the preceding centuries, the British had spread their fashion through trade—in Italy this trade was closely connected to the port cities of Genoa and Naples—and through cultural relations, which were particularly intense and fruitful during the period of the Grand Tour. Moreover, in Naples there had been a thriving English colony from the end of the eighteenth century: the time of Lord Hamilton, who for some decades had been the ambassador of the English crown at the Bourbon court.

Beginning in the nineteenth century, the promotion of the English look had also greatly benefited from the popular consciousness of certain prominent figures as arbiters of elegance whose charisma induced elegant people to imitate them both home and abroad.¹ This role, especially among the entourage of the royal family, was not accidental, but was played with full awareness in order to promote sales and the development of the English economy. Many Italians got their clothes in London and others sent their shirts for ironing to the British capital, like the Milanese Count Marco Greppi (Pedemonte 2012, 23).

In the twentieth century, many Italian tailors went to London to broaden their knowledge of tailoring, including Adolfo De Nicola and Raffaele

¹ For example, the suit (blue tails, light color pants, black boots) launched by Lord Brummel between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century—clean, simple, and elegant, not because of any showy embroidery, but because of its fine quality and class, impeccable cut, high quality fabrics and attention to detail (Buttazzi and Mottola Molfino 1991, 39).

Ciardulli. In Naples, Gennaro Rubinacci opened a tailor's shop dedicated to the English mode called London House—he considered London to be the capital of style and of new trends. Rubinacci was a representative of the commercial bourgeoisie that established themselves as the dominant social class in the city in the early twentieth century, surpassing, with their newfound wealth, the old aristocracy of Bourbon origin.

In a short time, the Rubinacci became the tailor of choice for the celebrities of show business, culture, and Italian and foreign politics. Regular customers included Eduardo and Peppino De Filippo, while Vittorio De Sica wore Rubinacci's clothes in his private life and also in the films in which he starred. The Rubinacci jacket he wore in the film *The Gold of Naples* remains among the most famous items of clothing in Italian cinema. Among the most important customers was Prince Umberto of Savoy who, in 1941, granted the inscription of the princely emblem to the sign of Rubinacci's shop as a clothing provider for 'His Royal Highness, the Prince of Piedmont' (Tagliatela 2010, 35).

Men's Neapolitan fashion took the taste of the bourgeoisie and capitalist England as its guide. The bourgeois man expressed his difference from the aristocratic class through clothing that was sober in lines and colors and represented a new ethos based on moderation, one's will, saving for the future, and merit. For roughly the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Neapolitan style concided with the English. Not taking into account the different climate and rigidity of form, Neapolitans dressed as how they imagined a perfect British gentleman would, at least until the partnership formed by Gennaro Rubinacci and the young tailor Vincenzo Attolini revolutionized the canons of male elegance (Raiano 2002, 14). Rubinacci and Attolini began their partnership around 1926; a few years later in 1930, their collaboration produced a jacket destined to become a cult item.

The climate and aesthetic of Neapolitan exuberance led to the softening of the lining, the lines, and the structure, creating the Neapolitan jacket, which did away with the rigors and rules of male English elegance. Removing the padding, shoulder pads, and lining led to the creation of the famous soft-shouldered jacket, with wider sleeves for ease of movement, making it more comfortable to wear in the heat. The jacket became as soft and light as a shirt. The jacket was unstructured (and a forerunner of the Armani jackets of many years later) and was a real revelation. Glowing testimonials came, mainly from the world of theater and film; on the stage clothes were required to tolerate the whims of the wearer—the gestures of an actor could not be hampered, particularly in the bourgeois theater that reached its pinnacle in Naples. The Duke of Windsor, the former King Edward VIII of England, fell in love with the elegance and innovative style of the Neapolitan jacket; when

he arrived in Italy with Wallis Simpson he turned to Vincenzo Attolini's shop (Raiano 2002, 36).

Victor Emmanuel III got himself a suit, which he wore while presiding over military exercises and for which Attolini was nicknamed the 'the tailor of kings.' This name was later transformed by Raffaele La Capria into the 'The King of Tailors' (Tagliatalata 2010: 31). Victor Emmanuel III and the Duke of Windsor show how even aristocratic convention succumbs to the temptation of new fashions.

At the end of the 1920s, another great tailor, Angelo Blasi, opened his shop in Naples in Calabritto Street near Victoria Square where he shared for a long time the title of the 'king of tailors' with Rubinacci. What distinguished Angelo Blasi was his strict conformity, both in cut and choice of fabrics, to the British style. The Blasi style was popular with professionals and captains of industry who felt more comfortable with the rigor of the cut (Raiano 2002: 38).

Angelo Blasi and Gennaro Rubinacci's jackets became, in the decade preceding the Second World War, a sign of social identity. They were worn both by the descendants of an aristocracy that had outlived its own history, for whom knowing how to dress was also a way of maintaining one's credentials, and also by the leaders of the emerging industrial and intellectual élite (Vergani 2003:1086).

On June 26, 1914, Eugenio Marinella established his shop for ties, clothing and English articles in Naples; next to the name of the shop owner the sign read 'Shirtmaker and Outfitter.' On the ground floor of Palazzo Satriano, in Piazza Vittoria, Eugenio Marinella opened the doors of a small corner of London, little more than twenty square meters, to the nobility and the Neapolitan upper class of that time. The Foa company realized, in perfect English style, the furniture for the shop. A counter in mahogany and crystal welcomed customers, shop windows at the entrance were made of curved glass, an emblem with the inscription 'Supplier to the Royal House of Bourbon Two Sicilies' was posted in front of the entrance, and the hands of an old wooden clock pointed to 5 o'clock—the hour for tea in England. This last detail was not accidental. In fact, Eugenio Marinella traveled to England in order to research the most interesting men's clothing brands, attracted by the style and quality of the fabrics, and offered in Naples a wide range of exclusive products from London while demanding exclusivity from English suppliers.

The opening of the Marinella shop was an important moment for high society and was celebrated in Matilde Serao's column *Mosconi*, which was published in the newspaper *Il Mattino* on June 29, 1914. Matilde Serao wrote: "in the warehouse on Victoria Square, our viveurs will find English articles

exclusively modeled for the House, such as shirts, ties, suspenders, handkerchiefs, canes, etc., all most fashionable. Marinella offers to the ladies violets and to the gentlemen the British cologne Floris.”

In fact, Floris’ and Penhaligon’s perfumes, the Look hats, the Aquascutum raincoats, and the precious fabrics of Kent were all products that Eugenio Marinella, the first to do so in Italy, imported for a sophisticated clientele that included members of the Agnelli family, members of the House of Savoy, and the descendants of the Bourbons of Naples (Vergani 2003: 761). Even today, Maurizio Marinella, who represents the third generation of the family business, personally selects the fabrics in England for his ties² and his shop continues to be visited by famous Italian and foreign politicians, managers, and artists.

In the 1980s, Francesco Cossiga, at that time the president of the Italian Republic, became something of an ambassador for the brand, bringing a box containing five Marinella ties as a gift to heads of state on official visits. The G7 summit, held in Naples in 1994, finally opened the very exclusive door of becoming a supplier to world powers to the Neapolitan company—the organizers decided to offer a box containing six Marinella ties to all the heads of state present at the G7 summit.

Two coats of arms were placed alongside the illustrious brand of Marinella from its beginning, reflecting the prestige that the shop acquired almost immediately: the Order of the Garter, as an official supplier to the British Royal House, and the Bourbon coat of arms. Among the numerous national and international awards received over the years, in 2012 the company received the Internationalisation Business Award, which was given to Maurizio Marinella from the UK Trade Investment (UKTI) for the contribution to innovation and internationalization that the Neapolitan company made to the British production system.

Italian fashion for men in the first half of the twentieth century became the key actor in a major public event—the Men’s Fashion Festival, created in

² The main characteristic of the Marinella tie is the special padding and reinforcement of the knot; as the size of the padding of the knot varies according to taste, so the width and length vary according to the height of the person who wears it, a true, customized service applied for the first time with the tie. The ties are cut and sewn by hand, only four equal pieces can be made from a single square of pure silk printed in Britain with the micro pattern fantasies that became the style of the house. There are also ties with five, seven and nine folds which constitute the most valuable variants compared to the classical model, as they require more complex processing and the use of more fabric. The seven fold tie for example is so called because, in order to give it more texture, the fabric is refolded inwards seven times from the exterior towards the center.

1952 by Michelangelo Testa, editor of the *Arbiter* magazine. At the festival, which took place in San Remo, the men's fashion runway show, which initially was only used for women's clothes, acquired its own autonomy and brought to the forward a craft of great prestige (Tagliatalata 2010, 25).

During these years, Italian tailors and craftsmen through the Accademia Nazionale dei Sartori—a professional body of the Associazione Nazionale Artigiano dell'Abbigliamento—held regular meetings in order to study issues of men's fashion (Minnucci 1949, 3).

On May 28, 1949, the vocational education of artisans was the subject of a proposed law presented to the Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies by the Honourable Gerolamo Lino Moro and other signatories,³ on behalf of the Gruppo Amici dell'Artigianato. This law, on the *Disciplina dell'apprendistato e dell'istruzione professionale degli artigiani*, describes the social, economic, technical, and pedagogical reasons that inspired its proponents to submit the resolution to parliament on the problem of craft development and improvement in artisanal workshops and apprenticeships, as required by the Italian Constitution. The extensive report preceding the law highlighted the inadequacy of previously issued legislation on the subject of apprenticeships and the need to give to the craft a specific legal definition (Arbiter 1949, 66).

In conclusion we can say that the history of fashion—where fashion is the way of dressing—can be considered to be a kind of connective tissue running through social, political, and economic history (Levi Pisetzky 1978, 5). Outfits play an important role in the social construction of a personality; they differentiates between social classes and at the same time allow an individual to express himself or herself and his or her identity (Svendson 2006, 18) Gianfranco Raiano's story is emblematic of this:

“In Naples elegance ... has Via dei Mille as its ideal proscenium, the chic street of the time ... and the usual walk turns into a real interactive show, made of a continuous intersection of looks, sometimes of furtive touches of the fabrics in order to evaluate how every Tom, Dick and Harry were dressed. A real representation in between the catwalk and the theater... marked by an accurate terminology ... to define the quality of an outfit or of the wearer. And so there is the jacket that is too narrow and has a too evident finishing (considered a defect) ... the pants that are too short clearly showing the socks (one of the major mistakes that one can make)... There are really very few people who come out well from this very severe jury whose highest

³ The other signatories are: Gaetano Ambrico, Luigi Bima, Margherita Bontade, Bruno Castellarin, Domenico Chiaramello, Maria Pia Dal Canton, Beniamino De Maria, Filomena Delli Castelli, Francesco Franceschini, Mario Martinelli, Giorgio Mastino Del Rio, Antonio Maxia, Lodovico Montini, Stefano Riccio, Vittoria Titomanlio, Michele Troisi.

evaluation is a simple but definitive ‘its sartorial!,’ caused by a well finished outfit” (Raiano 2002, 9–10).

The real value of the product is measured on the basis of its quality, tradition, and reliability over time. A valuable product differs from others as it is unique. The keyword is ‘personalization,’ i.e. the desire to leave the herd behind, to feel unique through tailored objects, and the city of Naples is a place where tailoring, craftsmanship, and personalization are the foundations of local production.

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MEN'S FASHION CHANGES: FROM THE BOURGEOIS SUIT TO THE INNOVATIONS OF ITALIAN TAILORS AND THE BIRTH OF 'MADE IN ITALY'

CINZIA CAPALBO

From court dress to bourgeois suit

Today, Italian fashion for men is known and appreciated worldwide. It represents an important segment of the entire Italian fashion system, but it was not always like this. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, an Italian male style did not exist and Italian tailoring used the seasonal fashion diktats of London, which, from the end of the eighteenth century, had been the undisputed capital of men's fashion. Italy lost its supremacy over European fashion during the sixteenth century when political control by the French and then Spanish over most of the peninsula marked the end of the supremacy of Italian culture in Europe. In later centuries, for a time Spain, with its sober, predominantly black clothes, was the one to lay down the law on the fashion of the European royal courts. It was followed by France in the seventeenth century, especially from the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) onwards, which established its leadership in European fashion and linking it to the milieu of the court. Fashion became an emblem of the splendor of the crown and the royal court became the place of the creation of style (Riello 2010, 25–26). Louis XIV skillfully used strategies of appearance and presentation in order to manage the court machine and as a means of imposing French cultural supremacy over Europe (Belfanti 2008, 52); the Versailles court reached the highest point in the opulence of court dress during the *Ancien Régime*.

Even at the English court the kings of the Stuart era used a style oriented towards magnificence and ostentation as a means to enhance the splendor of the dynasty. They resented the dominance of French fashion, which was seen as an instrument of French cultural hegemony. In England, after the Civil War and the economic crisis of the seventeenth century, there was a heated

debate on the consumption of luxury and the sumptuousness of court dress. From this debate a common position emerged that condemned the luxury of the court and its excess in clothing. The poet Richard Brathwait wrote: “Soft clothes introduce soft mind. Delicacy in the habit begets an effeminacy in the heart” (Kuchta 2002, 68), and the mercantilists and puritans displayed a disdain for luxury, ceremony, and superfluity, promoting modesty and sumptuary sobriety in order to reduce the level of imports, and to promote use—and thus production—of domestic industry (Kuchta 2002, 73–78).



Figure 1. Gary Cooper

It was with the restoration of royal power in 1660 that Charles II, attempting to obtain the appreciation of his subjects, introduced more sobriety in clothing. In 1666, assisted by his personal tailors, John Allen and William Watts, he decided to adopt a formal male suit to be followed by all the aristocracy: this so-called three-piece suit, consisting of a coat, vest, and breeches (Cataldi Gallo 1991, 39). However, this new male suit had only just begun to take hold by the time of the Glorious Revolution of 1688; on the continent, French imperialism in men's fashion would continue for about another century (Belfanti 2008, 79).

Indeed, it is very likely that the three-piece suit was a more sober reassessment of the 'Frenchmen's' suit that Charles had had occasion to appreciate at the court of Louis XIV, where he had spent almost twenty years in exile (Riello 2012, 53). The simplified structure of a 'men's suit' had

already appeared at the court of Versailles in the second half of the seventeenth century, when Louis XIV reformed male clothes into three fundamental elements: *justacorps*, *veste*, and *culottes* (Coppola 1991, 23). The basis of this new set consisted of the *Justaucorps à brevet*, a blue jacket, in silk or velvet, with lace sleeves and wide cuffs, decorated with gold and silver embroideries, also known in Europe as *habit habillé* or *habit à la française* (Coppola 1991, 26–27).

The success of the *sober English style*

What has been called “the bloodless war of fashion between France and England” (Belfanti 2008, 78), actually hid a deeper political and cultural conflict between the two nations. It was resolved at the end of the eighteenth century with the triumph of the more sober English style, which finally ended French dominion over men's fashion. The *habit à la française* was substituted by the more practical, but equally elegant *frac* (or tailcoat), which would become men's formal suit for the European elite (Mansel 1984, 61–63).



Figure 2. Giornale dei sarti figurini 1852

With the spread of the *frac*, the male suit became a sort of civil uniform¹ that interpreted the bourgeois ideals of decorum, decency, and good taste and the construction of a new social semantics based on this new dress code. In

¹ We talk of it as a ‘uniform’ because the three-piece suit, although made up of separate pieces, jacket, vest and trousers, forms a single clothing structure.

place of color and extravagance, English male fashion preferred a formal line oriented towards darker shades that symbolically denied the male body and reinforced the idea of the intensely focused mind of the industrial and bourgeois evolution. It can indeed be said that the English style was the result of the economic, social, and cultural changes of the Industrial Revolution, the bearer of a system of values different to those of the aristocracy, for whom social ascent was a matter of wealth and lineage.



Figure 3. Habit Habillé.

In the England of the eighteenth century, work and manual dexterity were not considered a hallmark of the common people as opposed to the bourgeoisie. Both the nobility and the gentry practiced primogeniture whereby the eldest son inherited lands and title; however, unlike the situation in most other European countries of the time, such as Italy, the other sons were not directed towards a military or ecclesiastical career, but to the novel sector of international trade, which was both the pride of the British economy and a nursery for the construction of new lineages (Landes, 1993, 83–90). The French Revolution did not produce the same effects because it had not revolutionized the economic structure of the nation and the old social hierarchies so that at the end of the revolutionary period, the different popular and aristocratic models of menswear were once more imposed (Alberoni 1972, 74–75).

English bourgeois clothes were distinguished from the clothing of the old aristocracy by certain fundamental components: they were sober, dark, austere, and practical, and interpreted the lifestyle of a member of the nineteenth-century urban bourgeoisie devoted to business. This male suit did

not make concessions to the imagination, extravagant consumption, or luxury. The same fixity, typical of uniforms, represented the seriousness of a man who, in contrast to the aristocratic model, did not live at the whim of the moment—and thus of fashion—and was therefore reliable in life as he was in business (Alberoni 1972, 75).

The turning point in menswear was interpreted, in 1930, by the psychologist John Carl Frùgel, as the 'Great Male Renunciation,' according to which men relinquished their claim to adornment and beauty and paid attention only to the practical (Frùgel 1978, 125). Men did not give up fashion or the communication of social differences through clothing—these were now more simply expressed in a few, but important, details: the impeccable cut, the quality of the fabrics, the extreme care given to the suit, and the immaculate white cuffs and collar, which were removed and washed separately. Despite these sober elements that gave more discretion to the men's suit, it was not devoid of semantic meaning nor the transmission of social rank (Coppola 1991, 32).

In the Regency period, the greatest interpreters of the new male fashion style were the dandies, in particular George Bryan 'Beau' Brummell (1778–1840). Brummell's exemplary stylistic perfection was based on the principle of 'conspicuous inconspicuousness' (Vainshtein 2010, 329–31). He was from a middle-class family and the fact that he had become one of the most important and refined men of England made him an archetypal bourgeois myth. He was the son of a butler and never tried to conceal his origins but, on the contrary, considered them a source of pride (Moers 1965, 28). For this reason he can be symbolically considered a forerunner of the social mobility that characterized contemporary Western society, in which individual taste and choice of apparel becomes independent of the membership of a class. An old adage, mentioned by Hobsbawm, says "the clothes make the man: a saying that is well suited to an era where social mobility had placed numerous people in the new historical condition to play a social part once unknown and superior, and thus to wear an appropriate dress" (Hobsbawm 2003, 283).

Sartorial development and the success of Italian fashion for men

The tailored profile, the statement of the English style and the consequent use of woolen fabrics, which could be handled and cut more precisely than silk, stimulated tailors to experiment with new cuts and try to achieve a better fit. As reported by the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio: "a dress can be made of a fabric that costs only thirty or forty lira a meter, apparelled with

accessories that cost not more than thirty or forty lira; but the *cachet*, the true *chic*, the real value depends on the tailor; it depends, as we say, on the author's signature" (Davanzo Poli 2003, 555). The tailor begins to have a fundamental role in the definition of men's fashion and the choosing of a tailor became a tangible sign of status—London tailors became masters of international elegance. The wardrobe of a gentleman had to contain a dress shirt bought at one of the many renowned tailors of Savile Row, the London street where the best and most famous tailoring of men's fashion was located—they counted among their clients the most important members of the European elite (Cataldi Gallo 1991, 40).

A problem that distressed the tailors of those years was the lack of a scientific measurement system for the body to facilitate more accurate cutting of cloth, which represented the most demanding professional test both from the point of view of creativity and efficient use of fabric. The resolution of this issue would also prove crucial to the production of the first ready-to-wear clothing.

The German mathematician, Henry F. Wampen, published, in 1834, his treatise *The Mathematical Art of Cutting Garments According to the Different Formation of Men's Bodies*.² This was the first major anthropometric study allowing for the creation of a tailored measurement system; it was based on horizontal sections of the human body, thanks to which the use of the tape measure probably began (although the inventor of the graduated meter remains unknown). In 1855, an Italian tailor, Basile Scariano, applied the principle of triangulation to the cutting out of clothing; in this process the surface of the human form was decomposed into a certain number of triangles that, reconnected to each other, formed the surface of the bust (Davanzo Poli 2003, 552).

Italian tailors, with a centuries-old craft tradition, in addition to excelling in tailoring techniques, also distinguished themselves in their creative ability, and were capable of making a man's suit unique, although inspired by the English style. Renowned Italian tailors included Pietro Prandoni, the Milanese tailor and, since 1862, supplier to the men of the House of Savoy (Davanzo Poli 2003, 555), and the Pontecorvo Brothers' shop in Rome, which opened at the end of the century in Via del Corso and boasted among its customers the most important members of Italian industry, finance, and the art world (Capalbo 2012, 46).

² His main work, however, was entitled *Mathematical Instructions in Constructing Models of Draping the Human Figure*, published in 1863 (Waugh 1964, 131).



Figure 4. Richard Dighton (1795–1880). Portrait of Mr. George Payne and Lord Admiral Rous

However, until the early twentieth century, Italian tailors were still dependent on the stylistic dictates of the London tailors of the West End. In 1922 a new magazine was founded, with the unequivocal name *The Gentleman*, in Milan, which took its inspiration from the English style. In the first number of this new periodical, the editor declared that because of the lack of an Italian style for men, the magazine could not ignore what was happening abroad, in particular in England (Capalbo 2016).

Things began to change during the Fascist period (1922–43). The male prototype propounded by the regime was that of a virile man whose manhood was also obvious in his manner of dressing—a sober yet dynamic style. The search for greater practicality in the men's suit represented a real attempt to diverge from the British style, which, according to Italian tailors, maintained too rigid a structure.

Futuristic avant-garde ideas helped to create a cultural climate favorable to changes in male fashion. One of the main contributions of futurism to fashion was the work of Thayaht (Ernesto Michahelles), who published an article entitled 'Dressing the Italian Way' in the *Oggi e Domani* magazine. In 1932, he signed the *Manifesto to Transform Male Clothing*, in which a varied range of models was proposed for a radical reform in men's clothing that was to be comfortable, tasteful, and better able to fulfill the needs of modern life (Garavaglia 2009, 224).

But above all, the need for renewal in men's fashion found space in the periodicals of the sector, which became, especially in the 1930s, the debating arena for sartorial innovations, aimed at simplification and greater comfort in clothing. With the aim of encouraging Italian designers to create an innovative male fashion different to the English one, the magazines engaged top artist-designers to draw figures as prototypes for sartorial reproduction (Capalbo 2016).

The first periodical to promote the Italian style was the magazine *Lui*, founded in 1927. But the most important contribution to the campaign to spread Italian fashion for men started in 1935, when the magazine changed its name to *Arbiter* and became the interpreter of autarkic change—so much so that the declared aim of the periodical was to banish any reference to the excellence of English fashion (Capalbo 2016). Many designers collaborated with *Arbiter*, presenting technical tables for tailors, including Saverio Spagnolo, an expert in sartorial techniques who drew on his work experience with Roman tailors (Capalbo 2016).

The suggestions published by the magazine seeking to innovate men's fashion were varied, such as substituting trouser buttons with the more practical zip, which was adopted by numerous tailors (Capalbo 2016). Also, research into improved cutting and measurement techniques continued. In 1933, the Milanese tailor Bruno Piergiovanni patented a mechanical device—for women's clothing as well—called *Pi-no-stop* (Lupano and Vaccari 2009, 19)—a small, simple machine used to take exact measurements. Another measurement system called *Plastes* was patented in 1940 by the Roman tailor Luigi Branchini. It was a metal cage that enclosed the body and registered any disharmonies of proportion before determining a corresponding change in projections and ratios; this allowed the tailor to create greater harmony in the form of the outfit (Capalbo 2016). The success of Branchini's method crossed national boundaries—it was appreciated by English tailors too and the method was published in the magazine *London Alliance* in 1938 (Capalbo 2016).

But the tailor to whom we owe the success of Italian fashion for men was the Roman, Domenico Caraceni. Thanks to a study of English works on cutting, he modified the English tailor's blueprint for jackets by eliminating the rigidity of its internal structure. His innovative ideas on men's tailoring were published in 1933 in a treatise entitled *New Directions in the Technique and Art of Tailoring*. His clothes combined pleasing aesthetics with a perfect cut and the lightness of a handkerchief (Vergani 2004). It was necessary to wait until the 1980s for another restructuring of men's jackets by the designer Giorgio Armani.

Italian tailors tried to create an alternative style to the English. In contrast to the muted tones of English tailoring they used more color; this did not go beyond the limits of good taste, but bestowed on male clothing a distinct Italian look inspired by the sun and *Bel Paese* colors.

It was after World War II that Italian men's fashion, as with women's fashion, regained the *allure* lost at the end of the Renaissance. The protagonists of this change were Roman tailors. In 1945, Nazareno Fonticoli and Gaetano Savini opened a tailor's shop for men in Via Barberini. The new fashion house was called Brioni—after the Dalmatian island that was a popular holiday destination for the European elite. The name and the logo chosen by the two partners was born from a business strategy aimed at conquering an international and wealthy clientele who loved elegance and the dynamic, jet set life. The choice was far-sighted—Rome was about to become the city of cinema and a favorite destination for wealthy tourists, especially Americans (Capalbo 2012, 138).

As had happened with women's couture, cinema played a very important role in the success of Roman men's fashion after World War II. Thanks to the arrival of US productions at Cinecittà, male Hollywood stars became regular customers of Roman tailors (Capalbo 2012, 132–34). This newly arrived wealthy and whimsical clientele, open to innovation and experimentation, was a stimulus to Roman tailors and the development of a new and less rigid style compared to the English one. Comfort, color and style, combined with high craftsmanship and quality, were the salient features of this new Italian tailoring.

One of the most innovative colors in men's fashion in those years was that of *ottanio*, a mixture of green and blue, created by Trading Tex and Fratelli Cerruti woolen mill in Biella. To give the men's suit a more slender line and a modern character, Roman tailors reduced the wadding of the jacket, cut out unnecessary material, and rejuvenated the trousers, but without introducing innovations that could harm the overall refinement of the model (Capalbo 2016, 139).

Jackets by Augusto Cifonelli with soft lines at the shoulders; clothes of light cut and rich fabrics created by Ciro Giuliano, which were appreciated, among others, by Gary Cooper; the impeccable cut of the *frac* and the outfits of Arocle Datti, worn by Eisenhower; the never vulgar eccentricity of the suits by the tailor Angelo Litrico, with colors and fabrics copied from women's fashion; the modern lines of the tailor Bruno Piattelli, loved by Michael Caine and Orson Welles, all highlight the sartorial revolution accomplished by Roman tailors after World War II.

Conclusions

Since the 1950s, after a century-old dependence on the English style, international fashion for men was directed by the brand ‘Made in Italy.’ Roman tailoring also won a place at the Florentine fashion shows; these were organized by Giovanni Battista Giorgini from 1951 onwards and created to publicize women’s fashion abroad (Pinchera 2009, 27–43). For the second edition of the Italian High Fashion Show, Giorgini asked the Brioni fashion house to bring a model onto the Florentine catwalk to accompany some women’s high fashion. The following year, in 1952, in the Sala Bianca of Palazzo Pitti, Brioni made a well-honored entrance, presenting more than forty models. Men’s fashion was becoming a player on the catwalk. About ten years later, in 1963, Florence hosted the first collective presentation of men’s fashion, leading to the birth of Pitti Uomo in 1972: the most important event dedicated to men’s fashion made in Italy and still one of the most significant events in men’s fashion worldwide.

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DESIGN AND FASHION AS DETERMINANTS
OF INDUSTRIAL COMPETITIVENESS:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE EVOLUTION
OF THE FOOTWEAR INDUSTRY
IN ITALY AND SPAIN

GIOVANNI LUIGI FONTANA
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In the twentieth century, the footwear industry achieved its greatest growth in two European countries: Italy and Spain. This paper presents a comparative analysis of the development of this industry in both countries, identifying the common factors responsible for growth and the elements that distinguished them from each other. The first section explores the birth of the modern footwear industry in Italy and Spain in the first half of the twentieth century. This is followed by an analysis of how both countries became major world exporters in the second half of the century. The comparative study of both cases shows that different results can be achieved with similar production structures. The stronger and earlier commitment of Italian footwear manufacturers to quality, design and fashion seems the main reason for its more successful performance.

**The creation of the footwear industry in Italy and Spain
in the first half of the twentieth century**

Although the massive expansion of the footwear industry in Mediterranean Europe did not occur until the second half of the twentieth century, the production structures that would enable it had been forged in the preceding decades. The onset of modernization of the sector—it began to adopt a manufacturing structure and incorporate machinery into production—dates back to the late nineteenth century. At this early stage of development the Spanish industry was ahead of the Italian one. By 1885, although manual

production in small workshops still dominated, Spain had fifty at least partially mechanized shoe factories, producing more than 1.5 million pairs of shoes per year. This modern industrial sector continued to grow and before the First World War the number of companies had doubled and mechanized production had quadrupled (Butman 1913a). During this time, but especially in the 1890s, Spanish footwear production not only satisfied domestic demand, but also accounted for substantial exports to colonial territories. The bulk of this modern industry was located in Barcelona, leveraging the advantages of the city's industrial agglomeration, its proximity to a large consumer market, and access to raw materials and export shipping facilitated by the port. However, with less mechanized production but lower labor costs, the Balearic Islands and the south of the Region of Valencia also began to occupy a prominent position in the Spanish footwear industry in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

Although domestic demand was higher in Italy, new technologies spread more slowly across the country; mechanized production remained very much the exception until the early twentieth century and by 1912 was still limited to some seventy companies with an annual output of fewer than five million pairs. Moreover, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and up until the First World War, not only were Italian footwear exports negligible, but much of the country's domestic demand was met through imports. Nonetheless, during this initial stage of mechanization, most Italian production was characterized by its quality, which reflected the tradition of craftsmanship; Spanish production was dominated by cheap, nailed or Blake-stitched shoes. Italy did resemble Spain, however, in its pattern of industry location: the most advanced companies were concentrated in the north, in the Milan-Turin corridor close to the main centers of footwear consumption, machinery suppliers, and the tanning industry (Segreto 1989, 253; Butman 1913b).

The Great War provided a decisive impetus to the modernization and growth of the footwear industry in both Spain and Italy. High military demand, internal in the case of Italy and external for the Spanish industry, led to an increase in production capacity and mechanization. Italy achieved a positive foreign trade balance for footwear in the 1920s—from an annual production of around 16 million pairs before the war, increasing by 50 percent in the mid-1920s, and reaching 30 million pairs per year by the beginning of the following decade. This production increase was centered on the industry's traditional heartlands, particularly the region of Lombardy, but also now included Tuscany, Campania, Veneto, Marche, and Sicily.¹ In Spain, the Great War exerted a positive effect on all footwear producing

¹ *The leather trade's review*, October 12, 1927, p. 814.

areas, but especially in the south of Valencia, initiating a progressive displacement of the industry's centre of gravity from Barcelona to the province of Alicante—this shift had reached its conclusion by 1930. Production grew mainly thanks to the advances of mechanization and reached around 20 million pairs per year during the Second Republic.²

The development of this industry in Mediterranean Europe occurred later, more slowly, and with less intensity than in the advanced countries of northern Europe. The main cause of this delay was the behavior of domestic demand—Mediterranean populations in general had a lower consumption capacity. Thus, even by 1935, per capita consumption of leather footwear in Spain and Italy still did not exceed one pair a year; it was twice this in the United Kingdom and 50 percent higher in France.³

With weak domestic demand and because labor was both abundant and cheap, the industry was primarily based on small companies of diversified production, for which mechanization was not profitable. Therefore, footwear companies in Italy and Spain tended to enhance their competitiveness through the external economies they could access after establishing agglomerations in certain territories. Districts specializing heavily in the footwear industry began to emerge, such as Vigevano, the Riviera del Brenta, and the Maceratese-Fermano district in Italy (Sabbatucci 2007, 2010; Fontana 1998, 2008), and Elda, Elche, Ciudadela, and the Raiguer district in Spain (Valero et al. 1992; Manera 2002; Miranda 2009, 2014). Besides their strong specialization in the footwear industry, these districts were characterized by the coexistence of factories, small workshops, and a multitude of home workers, a growing vertical division of the production process between different companies and the existence of an increasingly dense infrastructure of footwear industries and ancillary services.

The expansion of exports

For both Spain and Italy, the 1940s represented a seriously problematic period for the footwear industry with the negative economic impact of World War II in the case of Italy, and the effects of the recent Civil War and subsequent policies of economic self-sufficiency imposed by the Franco dictatorship in the case of Spain. After the war, the industry in Italy had to cope with increased labor costs, a shortage of raw materials, a restriction on credit and, most importantly, low domestic demand. The situation improved after 1948 thanks to a slight recovery in domestic consumption, but the

² *Piel. Revista española de las industrias de la piel*, II, 19, 1945, 49.

³ *The leather trade's review*, March 18, 1936, 362.

companies existing in the early 1950s did not seem to be able to compete internationally, nor to achieve rapid increases in production (Roveratto 1998, 201–203). However, spurred on by the need to stimulate demand, the Italian footwear industry set out to conquer the foreign market and achieved indisputable success. Between 1950 and 1960, their leather footwear exports grew at an average annual rate of 68 percent, going from just over 155,000 to 27.6 million pairs, and by a further 20 percent in the next decade, reaching 173 million pairs.

Foreign market penetration of Italian footwear was assisted by strong international promotion of Italian fashion from the 1950s onwards. Through initiatives such as the Italian High Fashion Show, organized in Florence from 1951 onwards by Giovanni Battista Giorgini (Belfanti 2008, 237–39), and fashion shows held in Europe and the United States organized by the Milan-based Centro Italiano della Moda and the Istituto per il Commercio Estero, Italy achieved an international reputation for its fashion products: they were associated with elegance, innovative design, quality, functionality, and a relaxed and festive lifestyle (Paris 2010). This positive image benefitted Italian footwear and helped open the doors of the North American and northern European markets.

The evolution of the Spanish footwear industry in the 1950s was much less triumphant. Domestic demand grew, but given the low level of income this increase was still largely directed towards an inferior product, textile footwear, whereas per capita consumption of leather footwear remained below one pair a year, less than 60 percent of the average consumption in the EEC.⁴ With regard to exports, the state implemented various measures to boost growth, but achieved negligible progress. By the end of the decade, exports accounted for only 3 percent of production, a slight increase. Spain's general economic situation prevented the country from imitating the early export success of the Italian industry. Although state intervention in the domestic market declined over the course of the decade and tentative moves were made to open the country to external markets, the policies of economic self-sufficiency still meant that footwear companies operated within a context of institutional barriers to foreign trade, a shortage of raw materials, and serious obstacles to technological renovation and improvement of product quality. Whereas foreign market penetration of Italian footwear had been launched with a medium-high end product of high quality and a unique style at the forefront of fashion, both as regards design and types of leather used, in the 1950s the Spanish industry continued to specialize in low quality footwear, made with inferior materials for a domestic market that was unable

⁴ *Piel*, May 1962, 13.

to consume new designs or trends—this seriously hampered penetration of foreign markets.⁵

Spanish footwear exports took off in the second half of the 1960s, based on a progressive liberalization of foreign trade, an adequate supply of raw materials and machinery, state support through subsidies and export credits, and a drastic devaluation of the peseta. Between 1966 and 1971, footwear exports grew at an average annual rate of nearly 70 percent, reaching around 60 million pairs of shoes by 1971. This expansion took place in direct competition with Italian footwear, mainly in the US market.

In the 1960s, more than 40 percent of Italy's footwear exports were targeted at its partners in the EEC, but the United States was the other main destination, accounting for more than a third of foreign sales. Spain, which was not a member of the EEC, made significant inroads in footwear exports to the US market, which absorbed almost three quarters of Spanish exports in the second half of the 1960s and was instrumental in the launch of this export industry. Between 1964 and 1973, US imports of Spanish footwear grew at an average annual rate of 51.5 percent, more than twice the growth rate of imports from Italy. Thus, Spanish footwear manufacturers increased their market share in the United States, boosting their share of the footwear imported from 3 percent to over 20 percent, while Italian footwear imports dropped from 50 percent to less than 38 percent. These exports mainly consisted of mid-range ladies' footwear, imitating designs manufactured in Italy and often bearing brand names suggesting that they came from here.

The competitiveness of Spanish footwear resided primarily in its price, which compared to similar quality levels was significantly lower than that of its European competitors (Aw and Roberts 1990, 267–79). This price advantage was the result of lower labor costs in a labor-intensive sector where labor represented about 40 percent of production costs. Still, in 1970, after several major increases in previous years, the average pay per hour in the footwear industry in Spain was 36 percent lower than in Italy (Frimpter and Macchio 1977, 48).

Crisis and adaptation to the market in the last quarter of the twentieth century

In the early 1970s, the Italian and Spanish footwear industries began to face a decline in consumption in their main markets, as well as the raising of protectionist barriers in the form of higher tariffs and quantitative restrictions on imports. At the same time, competition intensified from the Far East and

⁵ *Piel*, November 1959, 38; February 1960, 37, and April 1960, 39.

Latin America. The competitiveness of Italian and Spanish footwear was also eroded by the rise in price of imported raw materials and wages, and by the devaluation of the dollar (Miranda 2014, 261).

This crisis affected the Spanish industry more than the Italian one because the former was extremely dependent on the US market, where it lacked its own distribution channels and brands. Moreover, Spain's price advantage was seriously diminished by the devaluation of the peseta's exchange rate and the strong wage increases that occurred in Spain in the 1970s. These circumstances led to a proliferation of payment defaults and the closure of footwear companies in Spain, causing a marked reduction in the sector's production structure. The number of companies decreased by nearly one thousand between 1978 and 1985, while the number of employees fell by 40 percent. There was a spontaneous restructuring of the sector based on the flexible production infrastructure of the industrial districts, which facilitated adaptation to changes in demand and competition, both through increased product differentiation and by reducing costs through tax evasion and undeclared employment (Ybarra 2000). Both strategies were used in most footwear districts, but they did not have the same influence in all cases, nor was their combined impact the same in the Spanish and Italian industries. In general, the Spanish footwear industry leaned heavily towards the use of the underground economy, whereas the Italian sector took greater advantage of the capacity of districts to improve quality, fashion and branding (Organización Internacional del Trabajo 1992, 29–30). The impact was much more positive for the Italian than the Spanish industry: in 1982, Italian exports of leather footwear, measured in pairs, were 50 percent higher than in 1972, while for Spain the figure remained below 1972 levels.

Exports resumed growth in the early 1980s, but once again stagnated in the early 1990s with the international recession. Foreign market sales soared again in 1993, driven by a severe devaluation of the peseta and the lira and the establishment in the EU of anti-dumping measures and quantitative restrictions on imports of certain types of Asian footwear, mainly manufactured in China, the new global leader in footwear exports. The Spanish industry's recovery during this new phase was based on a profound restructuring of production and commercial structures along the same lines as those adopted in Italy in the 1980s. Participation in the underground economy decreased and decentralization of production was accompanied by increased emphasis on quality and product differentiation, which was reflected in a rise in unit export prices in real terms (Miranda 2014, 265).

Italian exports of footwear peaked in 1985, with nearly 435 million pairs. The Spanish industry, however, peaked in 1997, with about 150 million pairs. After these two dates, exports from both countries showed a fluctuating but

decreasing trend due mainly to changes in the exchange rate and the economic situation in their main markets. Besides these factors, the decline in the final years of the twentieth century was also due to increased international competition. Italy felt the effect of growing competition from Spain and both countries noticed the impact of footwear exports from other countries in southern Europe, especially Portugal, and Eastern European countries, such as Romania. At the same time, exports of Asian footwear, mainly from China, achieved further growth, displacing European footwear from the low price market. In Spain, increased international competition was reflected in a marked reduction in the size of the sector, especially in the 1980s, but also in the first half of the 1990s. In Italy, however, there was a much less drastic reduction in the 1980s, and during the following decade the sector had recovered sufficiently to surpass 1970 levels.

Increased productivity, better product differentiation, rapid adaptation to demand, penetration of new markets, and improved distribution relied heavily on Marshallian external economies and the opportunities for cooperation provided by the agglomeration of companies in industrial districts; this enabled Spain and, especially, Italy to continue to maintain a strong comparative advantage in the footwear export market. Furthermore, in order to reduce costs and increase their price competitiveness, footwear companies increasingly resorted to partial or total relocation of production to countries with lower labor costs. The Italian footwear industry employed the strategy of offshoring before Spain, and, initially, to a much greater extent. Various Italian companies had already begun to subcontract the most labor-intensive tasks to other countries by the late 1970s, but it was in the 1990s that this practice became widely adopted in the principal footwear districts, relocating a significant portion of the manufacturing process to other, mainly Eastern European countries, particularly Romania (Amighini and Rabellotti 2003; Constantin et al. 2010; Cutrini, Micucci and Montanaro 2013). Although offshoring grew apace in the Spanish footwear sector during the last decade of the twentieth century, by the end of the century the industry still presented a relatively low level of production offshoring compared to other Spanish industries and the footwear sector in other European countries (Gómez et al. 2006).

Conclusions: marketing and fashion as determinants of competitive advantage

In both Italy and Spain, development of the footwear industry's export activity was initially made possible because of their lower labor costs. However, it was not only a matter of low wages. Had this been so, the

industry would have taken off much earlier and more strongly in Spain, where wages were lower than in Italy. The ability to manufacture a product that responded to demand, with a certain level of quality and adapted to trends in fashion, was also a decisive factor. Italy and Spain possessed this ability thanks to the production structures that had already been forged in the first half of the twentieth century, based mainly on industrial districts specializing in footwear that had the know-how to combine large-scale production with constant product innovation.

However, in the 1950s, when international demand began to grow rapidly, Spain had a worse production structure than Italy. State interventionism and the country's economic isolation prevented the Spanish footwear industry from replicating the boom in exports experienced by Italy. Over the following decade, even though economic policy reforms enabled Spain to participate in the massive export of footwear, it remained in a position of inferiority with respect to Italy, having to compete in markets where Italian producers had already positioned themselves. In addition, the reputation for high quality associated with traditional shoemakers and leather craftsmen in Italy, together with the promotion of Italian fashion that began in the 1950s, transformed Italian companies into benchmarks for international footwear fashion. 'Made in Italy' became synonymous with footwear quality and fashion, whereas many Spanish companies merely imitated the designs created in Italy and even adopted brand names suggesting that they were Italian companies.

Despite these initial disadvantages, the Spanish footwear industry managed to compete effectively with the Italian one until the mid-1970s thanks to rapid modernization and lower labor costs. However, the Spanish footwear industry's position in foreign markets was weaker, rendering it more vulnerable than its Italian counterpart to competition from newly industrialized countries, which began to make strong inroads. The industrial districts were instrumental in facilitating adaptation to new market conditions. The flexibility of the production structure was leveraged to increase specialization in a higher quality fashionable product less subject to competition from Asia and Latin America. Furthermore, many companies exploited the possibilities offered by this production structure to evade labor and tax regulations, thus reducing costs. Each country used both strategies, although Spain leaned more heavily towards the use of the underground economy. For this reason, the Spanish footwear industry was less prepared than the Italian sector for increased competition from Asia in the 1980s and 1990s.

In conclusion, comparison of the path followed by the footwear industry in Italy and Spain shows the importance of timing—the opportunities afforded by international markets are never constant. This analysis of both

cases also highlights the influence of production structures, but it shows, as well, that different results can be achieved with similar production structures. The stronger commitment of the Italian footwear industry to product quality and, especially, design and fashion are the root causes of its more successful performance.

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TEXTILES IN ITALO-TURKISH RELATIONS: FROM THE PAST TO THE PRESENT

FRANCESCO PONGILUPPI

Introduction¹

Italian textiles have been famous since the Middle Ages. During that time, Italian merchants established their emporiums around Eastern Mediterranean regions in order to better control trade routes and therefore ensure maritime superiority. In fact, the commercial activities of the Maritime Republics of the Levant were one of the main reasons for the creation of several Venetian and Genoese settlements stretching from the Aegean Sea to the western coast of the Fertile Crescent. With the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the relationship between the Italian peninsula and the Eastern Mediterranean continued at a faster pace. The preeminent maritime power of that period, La Serenissima Republic of Venice, was already in a trading relationship with the Ottoman Empire, the new rulers of the former capital of the Eastern Roman Empire; by this time, they had expanded their domains in across both land and sea. Over the years this interaction, although marked by frequent wars, was behind the circulation of goods, people, and ideas between Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The Silk Road and the spice trade routes were, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the subject of disputes, development, and enrichment involving the Venetians and the Ottomans. The aim of this paper is to trace a brief historical exposition of the involvement of Italians in the textile trade of the Levant in the area that is now Turkey. This article, emanating from a speech I delivered at a conference held in Rome in June 2015,² for reasons of space, will unfortunately be very concise. In addition, this paper hopes to enlighten readers on contemporary Italian activities in Turkey in the textile sector. In this way, the reader will be offered some suggestions and keys to

¹ All the quotations in this article have been translated into English by the author.

² This refers to the international conference Fashion through History: Costumes, Symbols, Communication, Sapienza University of Rome, May 20–21, 2015.

afford them the opportunity of investigating this topic more deeply in the future.

Italian trade and presence in Turkey during the Ottoman period

“Among the institutions created in the Middle Ages, the most magnificent were the merchant colonies ...; such as the colony of Galata founded by the Genoese. Located on the Thracian side of the Bosphorus ..., [Galata] was hugely responsible for the growth and the prosperity of the [Italian] maritime trades of the Black Sea” (Sauli 1831: VII-VII).

This introduction was written by Ludovico Sauli d’Igliano,³ the Sardinian chargé d’affaires at the Porte⁴ in the second decade of the nineteenth century, to his history of the Genoese suburb of Galata.⁵ The presence of Italian communities in the Eastern Mediterranean is, as remarked in the introduction to this article, related to their commercial activities in this strategic region. The Venetians and Genoese were already trading in hides and leather with the Turks before Fatih Sultan Mehmet conquered Constantinople. Turks were involved in the trade in hides, acting as carriers (Fleet 1999, 30), in several localities of the Ottoman territories, including Bursa, Gelibolu, and Miletus, selling tanned sheepskin, goatskin, and different leathers to Latin merchants. The establishment of colonies by Italian merchants and the maintenance of their culture, language, and religion are behind the crucial role that Venice played over the centuries as a bridge between the Islamic Middle East and Western Christendom.

The Venetians living in Turkey were under the authority of a *balio*, a protector with the Ottoman government and their administrator, police chief, and judge (Mansel 2010, 8). The *balio* was also the ambassador of La Serenissima at the Porte, the first Western diplomat accredited in the Ottoman Empire. From 1453 to 1463, Fatih Sultan Mehmet granted the Venetian merchants several privileges, up until the republic declared war on

³ Count Ludovico Sauli d’Igliano (Ceva 1787/Turin 1874) was an intellectual, politician, and diplomat of the Kingdom of Sardinia: “He supported the delicate office of Chargé d’Affaires in Constantinople at the beginning of relations between the Sardinian Government and the Sultan” [Senato del Regno, *Atti Parlamentari, Discussioni*, 25 November 1874].

⁴ The Sublime Porte or Porte, are terms used to refer to the central government of the Ottoman Empire.

⁵ Galata, located at the northern shore of the Golden Horn, is now a quarter in the district of Beyoğlu in Istanbul.

the empire (Dursteler 2006, 23–24). Over the years, confrontations between Venice and the Porte were marked by war in 1499, 1537, and 1570.

Most of the Latin states of the Aegean were, until the beginning of the sixteenth century, under a sort of Venetian protectorate,⁶ and became subjects of the Porte (Slot 1982, 73–75).

The loss of Venice's Levantine domains eroded her monopoly over Mediterranean trade. However, Venice continued to be one of the Ottoman Empire's most important mercantile partners well into the 17th century (Dursteler 2006). From the second half of the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth century, La Serenissima increased demand for woven silk fabrics in the Ottoman market. Of special note, the seventeenth century represented for Venice the apogee of its export of silken fabrics to Ottoman cities (Iida-Sohma 2006). It is evident here that, even though Bursa was already a textile city by the late fifteenth century, especially noted for its heavy and valuable silk cloth (Faroqhi 2004), in Istanbul, the biggest market in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time, the dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire were attracted to and bought luxurious Venetian silk fabrics. Therefore, the Italian and Ottoman textile manufactures influenced each other and Italian artisans used oriental motifs to appeal to the Ottomans (Iida-Sohma 2006, 71).

Venetian artists and artisans integrated, through this rich exchange, methods, styles, and materials from Anatolia into their work. Similarly, Turkish silk designers copied a variety of features from Italian silk (Mackie 2004) and Ottoman dresses were influenced by Venetian tastes. More so, in Venice, since 1621, Ottoman Turks established their emporium, known as Fontego dei Turchi, in order to have a market, but also as a residence, for Muslim Turkish merchants in the city (Jirousek 2004, 236). The gradual decline of Venice over the eighteenth century minimally affected her textile trade in the Levant. Several European reports of that century confirm that the Venetian merchants in the capital of the Ottomans still controlled the textile market (Braudel 1961, 60).

The fall of La Serenissima at the end of the eighteenth century, with her occupation by French troops and ensuing submission to the Austrians, did not affect the ongoing trade between the Italians and Ottomans. In reality, the nineteenth century opened up a new pathway for Italian activities in Turkey. The reforms taken by the Porte in terms of greater freedom and the industrialization of Europe, gave more opportunities to the Italian presence in the Levant. In this regard, the most famous dressmaking company of the

⁶ As a result of the campaign of the Ottoman Admiral, Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha, in 1537–39, the Latin states in the Cyclades and the Sporades became subjects of the Ottomans, except on the island of Tinos.

time, the Sartoria Paolo Parma, was the official provider of the sultan's dresses. The company, founded in 1854 in the Ottoman capital, had, at the end of the nineteenth century, a factory in which more than fifty workers satisfied all kinds of supply in a very short time (Mori 1906, 175).

The establishment of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861 and constant Italian emigration to the Ottoman Empire were also reasons for the growth of Italian products in the Ottoman textile market. During the aforementioned century, Italians established their institutions, whether consulates, consular agencies, or chambers of commerce, in the biggest Ottoman cities. Among these institutions, the creation in Istanbul of an Italian chamber of commerce⁷ facilitated the development of Italian supremacy in the Ottoman textile sector. Italian trade in the Levant benefited greatly from the work of this institution, which created branches in the main centers of the empire. Through trade data and reports by external consultants, it was able to report on the commercial conditions in the Eastern and European regions, and developed new networks in order to promote, increase, and favour exchanges between Italy and the Ottoman Empire.⁸ According to data published in the commercial bulletin of the Italian Chamber, *La Rassegna Italiana-Organo degl'Interessi Italiani in Oriente*,⁹ textiles represented one of the primary sectors of Italian-Ottoman exchange. In light of the information available thanks to Angiolo Mori's publication on the Italians in Istanbul (Mori 1906) and other material accessible in the Archive of the Italian Chamber in Istanbul, Italian textiles in the capital of the Ottomans can be divided into four macro-areas: cotton yarn production, import of silk fabrics, sales of leather articles, and hats.

The introduction of cotton yarn to the Levant is probably due to the opening in 1880 of a storehouse of the Italian company Casa Faustino Ricci di Pontedera. Over the years, with the development and spread of this product, other Italian companies, such as the Cotonificio Veneziano, opened branches in Ottoman cities. Regarding the silk sector, Italy was, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the leading exporter of silk fabrics to Istanbul. Among the Italian companies involved in this activity in the Ottoman Empire, the biggest, in terms of business, were: Fabbriche Italiane

⁷ The Camera di Commercio Italiana di Costantinopoli was established in 1885.

⁸ Archive of the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Istanbul (ACCII). STATUTO E REGOLAMENTO INTERNO, Titolo II, *Composizione della Camera*.

⁹ This bulletin, founded in 1896 by the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Istanbul and the local branch of Società Dante Alighieri passed into the hands of the chamber after the first year. It was the main journal published in Italian in Turkey until 1952. Between the years 1952–71, a bulletin was published by the chamber with the name of Camera di Commercio Italiana di Istanbul–Bollettino Bimestrale.

di Seterie Clerici Braghenti, Unione Industri Seriche, Tessiture Seriche, Bernasconi, and G. Cattaneo e Braghenti, all of them established in the Italian city of Como (Mori 1906, 137). Regarding the sales of leather products, Italy was, together with France, among the leading exporters to the Ottoman market. These products spread throughout the empire because of the low technical know-how of local manufactures. Until the first decade of the twentieth century, the main Italian companies involved in this business were: Fratelli Olivari di Genova, G. B. Spigno e Gigli, Giuseppe dell'Orso, and others from the Italian city of Genoa (Mori 1906, 142–43). The spread of men's hats in the biggest cities of the empire allowed Italians to become involved in the export to the Levant of a variety of different fabrics. Italian companies were also at the head of this market. Different kinds of hats were exported to the Ottoman Empire by Italians, including those made of felt and wool, straw hats, top hats, and those for women.

In Turkey, a symbol of modernization that was in vogue in the nineteenth century was the *fez*. Originally introduced by Sultan Mahmud II for the military, this hat became a key marker of the modernization of the state (Quataert 1997, 412). In fact, according to regulations issued by Mahmud II in 1829, every civilian employee had to wear one. This law on clothing was part of the cultural and social revolution that took place in the Ottoman Empire at that time. The fez was the symbol of a new citizenry based on a common Ottoman identity and legal equality between Muslim and non-Muslims subjects. In fact, as Quataert reported in his article,

“The 1829 law removed the visible distinctions between (most) non-Muslims and Muslims and facilitated the formation of a new elite without the distinctive markings that had long set one community apart from the other. In wearing the fez, all civil officials would not only appear equal before the sultan; they would also look the same to one another. ... In using clothing laws to erode distinctions based on religion and create a new base for his regime, Mahmud II offered non-Muslims and Muslims a common subjecthood/citizenry” (Quataert 1997, 413).

Italian manufacturers became interested in producing this hat just before the Trablusgarp Savaşı,¹⁰ which for a number of years paralyzed relations between the Kingdom of Italy and the Porte. An article published in November 1908 by *La Rassegna Italiana* stated that an Italian company had been founded in order to produce the Turkish fez, the typical hat of the late Ottoman Empire:

¹⁰ The Turco-Italian War of 1911–12.

“The C. Scavia & C., a joint-stock company, founded in 1905 by Mr. Carlo Scavia through a share capital of 600.000 [Italian] liras, has its purpose in the production of the Turkish fez. The head office is located in Mortara. This company has created in Italy a new industry [fez production], until now a monopoly of Austria. Thanks to the audacity of Carlo Scavia ... this company now has a superb factory of 4.000 square meters, composed of a plant able to produce 400 dozen daily, in comfortable and modern, healthy conditions and with all kinds of new technologies. More than 250 workers are currently working in the factory and production is increasing day by day. All production is destined for the Orient. The Scavia Company has beaten its Austrian competitors in the sale of fez to the Macedonian Gendarmerie.”¹¹

The aforementioned Italian-Turkish War and the Great War contributed immensely to the decrease of Italian performance in the Turkish textile market. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and its defeat in war, Rome had to adopt a new strategy to keep its role in the Levant in the new geopolitical map of the Mediterranean.

Contemporary Italian involvement in the Turkish fashion textile market

The establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and those of the French and British Mandates in the former Ottoman Middle-East created a new economic map in the Mediterranean basin. For the Italians, the future of their position in the Levant market was uncertain. In Turkey, the new political economic scene was bound up with a nationalist ideology, and there were no guarantees of the former position and privileges claimed by the Italians continuing. In the territories under British and French control, Italians could not continue their activities in the same way as before; a new legal status kept them in a disadvantageous position compared to their competitors, in this case British and French companies. As a result, Italian efforts to maintain a primary role in the Levant were focused on the empowerment of the strategic Dodecanese archipelagos.¹² The islands were a crossing point between the western and eastern side of the Mediterranean Sea. Rome used the Dodecanese as a way to enforce her position in the Turkish textile market through rapid development of dominance of communication, such as the maritime lines, which at this time were mostly in the hands of the Italians.

¹¹ La Rassegna Italiana, *I Fez Italiani in Turchia*, 13 (10), November 1908.

¹² A group of islands in the Aegean Sea occupied by Italians in 1912, and after the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, a *de facto* Italian territory.

The situation in Turkey for Italian artisans working in the textile sector came to an end after a series of Turkish laws granted Turkish citizens alone the right to engage in certain professions (Shaw and Shaw 1977, 394). It should be noted here that imports and exports were, from 1930 onwards, the only way for Italy to play a role in Turkish trade. As such, among the institutions that contributed most to the commercial relationship between Rome and Ankara was the Italo-Orientale Chamber of Commerce of Bari (Pongiluppi 2015, 153). The Chamber, from its foundation in 1924, worked assiduously in the development of Italian-Turkish trade. One of the main instruments for the Italian-Turkish commercial network was the Fiera del Levante, a fair organized by the Italo-Orientale at which Turkish and Italian entrepreneurs, mostly working in the textile sector, met to engage in commerce (Pongiluppi 2015, 155). Over the years this empowerment continued and resulted in greater commercial cooperation.

All these activities are much reduced in the contemporary trading relationship between Italy and Turkey. Due to the political and economic crises affecting Turkey from the second half of the twentieth century up to the beginning of the new millennium, the period between the end of the Second World War and the last decade cannot be compared to the last twenty years. In fact, thanks to the economic growth recorded in Turkey over the past few years, a large number of Italian textile companies are now operating in Turkey, marking a new phase in Italian-Turkish relations. The actual Italian presence in terms of companies involved in the fashion and textile business in Turkey is made up of joint-ventures, on-site production, and a network of stores in the biggest cities, such as Istanbul, Izmir, and Ankara. Italian companies, like Benetton and Ermenegildo Zegna, have played an important role in the Turkish clothing market. Those companies, such as the Calzedonia group, that have invested in Turkey since the 1990s have followed their lead.

What are the main reasons for the contemporary involvement of Italian companies in the Turkish market today? According to Ferdinando Pastore, president of the Italian Trade Agency (ICE),¹³ the political stability of Turkey gave confidence to Italian investors together with new opportunities generated by economic growth. In Pastore's opinion:

¹³ The ICE-Agenzia per la Promozione all'Estero e l'Internazionalizzazione delle Imprese Italiana is a legal entity under Italian public law. Founded in 1926 with the original name of Istituto Nazionale per le Esportazioni (INE), it changed its name over the years until reaching the present one with the enactment of Law 214 on December 22, 2011. The Agency is devoted to the promotion of Italian goods and services all over the world. For more details on its activities and to download Italian Trade records, see: <http://www.italtrade.com/> (accessed October 3, 2015).

“The country [Turkey] is a regional hub. Companies working in Turkey have the opportunity to get closer to neighbouring markets, such as those of Iraq and Iran, and those of the Central-Asian republics. Italian companies of the textile and fashion sectors are generally investing in the Turkish market through trade collaborations and production plants.

Let’s recall that Italy is the second largest European commercial partner of Turkey after Germany. The balance of trade is in favour of Italy. The main sector is the Italian export of capital goods, wherein our data shows the export of textile machinery to be one of the major components. Turkish fashion is culturally and stylistically influenced by Italian fashion. People travelling across Turkey will surely find a huge number of stores or companies linked to the textile-fashion field, sporting an equivocal Italian name as a synonym of quality. Unfortunately, we have a very big problem about these fake ‘Made in Italy’ products and also about intellectual property law, especially in terms of trademark protection. We, as ICE, together with our Commercial Attaché and other Italian Institutions in Turkey, are offering advice in order to stem any possible risk in this regard.”¹⁴

According to data published by the *Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu* (TÜİK),¹⁵ Turkey exported around ten billion dollars worth of clothing products abroad in the first semester of 2014.¹⁶ This amount makes it easier to understand the role of the textile business in the Turkish economy and how Italy is making efforts to enforce her position in this market. In years previous to this, Italy exported almost six hundred million euro’s worth of fine yarns to Turkey.¹⁷ Italian companies are already aware of the potential business opportunities that Turkey offers. In recent years, new forms of cooperation between Italy and Turkey have emerged in the fashion industry and Turkish firms are also entering the Italian market. An example of this is the joint-venture Turkish-Piedmontese Ayaydın Miroglıo Group, which exports products all over the world under several brand-names, including Ipekyol, Twist, and Machka. This partnership, is composed of two entities; the Italian Miroglıo, active

¹⁴ This quotation is part of my interview with Ferdinando Pastore, held in the head office of ICE, in Istanbul, May 12, 2015.

¹⁵ The Turkish Statistical Institute is a Turkish government agency founded in 1926 in order to produce official statistics on the population, economy, society and culture of Turkey. Its official website, also available in English, gives scholars the opportunity to download the statistics and information, including the foreign trade performance records of the previous years. For more information, see: <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/Start.do> (accessed October 3, 2015).

¹⁶ Data taken from documents delivered by TÜİK and translated into Italian by ICE-Istanbul.

¹⁷ Information taken from statistics elaborated by ICE-Istanbul and given to me as a printed dossier on Italian-Turkish trade performance related to the last three years.

since 1883 and one of the leading companies in the global textile industry, and the Turkish Ayaydın Grubu, established in 1986 and specialized in the ready-made retail sector—they are aiming to play a major role in the global *prêt-à-porter* industry. As reported in the words of Pastore, Italo-Turkish cooperation is seen as a gateway for Italian companies to open up Central Asian markets—a primary goal of the Ayaydın Miroglio Group. In fact:

“As is clearly stated in its short and long term goals and in line with its vision of becoming a global brand, the *Ayaydın-Miroglio Group* is planning to become a major player in the sector in Central and Eastern European markets, as well as in Russia.”¹⁸

The partnership of the two countries in the textile-fashion sectors does not just involve a simple exchange of goods, but also greater cooperation in terms of education and training programs. A new step in this direction has been taken by some institutes operating in the field of fashion, such as the fashion academy Istituto di Moda Burgo¹⁹ in Milan, which has been active in Istanbul since 2013. This academy offers students the opportunity to study in both Italy and Turkey and hopes to train the next generation of a future Italian-Turkish fashion. The oft-mentioned project of establishing an Italian university in Turkey²⁰ could probably help fill a gap in the educational cooperation in this field.

Conclusions

Italian trade in the Levant, since the Middle Ages, encouraged the mutual exchange of goods and ideas between Western Europe and the Middle East. As emphasized at the beginning of this short article, these activities continued over the centuries in spite of the wars, disputes, and tragedies that have marked Mediterranean history. The fall of empires, the decline of republics, such as that of *La Serenissima*, or the changing of borders and states has not

¹⁸ As reported in the company's profile, available on-line at <http://www.ayaydinmirogl.io.com/eng/profile.asp?id=59&own=0> (accessed October 3, 2015).

¹⁹ The Istituto di Moda Burgo is a fashion academy established in Milan in 1961. For more information about its history and activities, see the official website: <http://www.imb.it/en/> (accessed April 15, 2015).

²⁰ This project is periodically referenced during intergovernmental meetings of the two countries. One of the latest instances is an article published by the Turkish newspaper *Milliyet*. *Milliyet*, *İtalyan Üniversitesi Kuralım Çağrısı*, December 13, 2014. Available on line: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/italyan-universitesi-kuralim/siyaset/detay/1983653/default.htm> (accessed May 8, 2015).

destroyed the historical relationship between the peoples of Italy and Turkey. The textile trade highlights how mutual understanding is far easier to achieve in the area of commerce than in other kinds of relations. The late Ottoman period was, for the Italians of the Levant, their apogee in terms of demography, institutions, and commerce. Although the implications of the Great War were hard for those people, like the Italians, who lost many privileges acquired in the past under the administration of the Porte, a new economic path was born in the first years of the Republic of Turkey. The establishment of new forms of trade cooperation and efforts by Italian institutions in Turkey, have facilitated and promoted an Italian presence in the region, as the performance of the fashion-textile sector demonstrates. Surely the future of these relations will also be linked to external factors including the economies and policies of both countries. However, the past has proved that trade between these two states are stronger than other dynamics.

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ITALY IN INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION IN THE 1960S AND 1970S: THE TEXTILE AND FASHION INDUSTRY

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Introduction

The oil crisis of 1973 coincided with the end of the political model and strategies of the interwar period. Italian public enterprises helped develop key sectors (iron, steel, energy, and infrastructure) for the country's growth. Italian private companies were able to increase the production capacity of industry, with mixed results; this was particularly positive in automotive and consumer durables, but less so in the chemical sector.

The economic miracle, which characterized the period of the post-war golden age, spread across the entire country and saw the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). During this period, Italy became more technologically advanced and seized the opportunities offered by the opening up of international markets and fully embraced the technological regimes of mass production (Grabas 2014; Di Maio 2014).

After the Second World War, Italian fashion houses and tailor shops bought exclusive models from French fashion houses, such as Dior, Balenciaga, and Fath. However, the Italian fashion industry was looking for new ways of international promotion; in the initial stage of this movement, the bonds of cooperation between textile companies and fashion designers were not yet consolidated or widespread in the textile and clothing sectors. Marzotto had benefited tremendously from the Marshall Plan and tried to penetrate the American market, making visits to promote his goods in the United States. He focused on products with a high value and, between 1951 and 1952, decided to begin producing garments.

During the economic miracle, 1958–63, economic growth was concentrated in the industrial triangle and unleashed a wave of mass migration to the cities of this area—Genoa, Turin, and Milan—which experienced a disordered and uncontrolled growth in construction. The high

labor supply kept wages far below the European average. A sharp dualism emerged between export industries that, in order to hold up against international competition, had to build technologically advanced plants and industries still anchored to inefficient production methods, such as the clothing, textile and furniture industries, producing for the domestic market and only later coming to the attention of foreign markets (Merlo 2008). In 1951, Giovanni Battista Giorgini organized an evening at Villa Torrigiani, his private residence, with the aim of promoting Italian fashion. Giorgini chose the attending fashion houses based on their expressed ambition to free themselves from the influence of French fashion (Codeluppi 2007). The idea was to undertake the international launch of Italian fashion through a fashion show. The show was a resounding success and impressed international buyers much more than a previous show in Paris. The major fashion magazines of the time, such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*, commented positively on the event. In 1952 Giorgini won the White Room in Palazzo Pitti in Florence, and this event can be seen as the birth of Italian fashion.

In the early 1960s, Italian patents registered in the United States by foreign entities reached 4.5 percent of the total, not a very high level, but one which had never been reached before and has not been reached since. This was a period of great expansion for the Italian economy, which reached levels of GDP growth that were among the highest in the world, while at the same time reducing regional disparities between the north and south. The waves of emigration to the cities of the industrial triangle, unprepared to deal with this massive influx, exacerbated social conflict, which finally came to a head with the union struggles of the 'hot autumn' (Pinchera 2009; Belfanti 2008, Belfanti 2005, Belfanti 2003).

In this decade, the casual look was born with the appearance of a new social class, the middle class, which had grown wealthy and required appropriate clothing that was democratic, not luxurious. The equivalent in France was prêt-à-porter, which made affordable yet stylistically innovative and technically advanced dresses. For the first time it was possible to close the traditional gap between mass-produced clothing and tailored haute couture, creating an intermediate formula (Codeluppi 2007). The first couturier in prêt-à-porter was Pierre Cardin. This period of growth was interrupted by the first oil shock of 1973. This work aims to contribute to the history of the period from 1958–76, with particular reference to the Italian and European textile industry, and, above all, the Italian textile industry as one of the strategic entities of 'Made in Italy.'

The modern textile industry and the problems of the 1970s

The textile industry, including the garment industry and associated businesses, is an area that requires a lot of manpower and high capital investment, but makes a substantial contribution both to Italian and the European Community's exports with a positive effect on the balance of payments.

The textile industry became a multifaceted industry with diverse outputs after World War II and saw an increase in productivity that exceeded the manufacturing industry as a whole. The creation of an increasingly high quality product was matched by an increase in cost per piece, creating an industry with high capital outlay. Electronics and a new technique for spinning cotton led to structural changes resulting in fierce competition both in the internal EU market and in foreign ones.

As long as the EU economy was growing, workers who lost their jobs as a result of these changes in manufacturing could find employment in other industries. The serious and worrying structural unemployment that emerged after the first oil shock became one of the main problems that the European Community needed to address (Baldwin and Wyplosz 2012).

Combined with other problems in the sector, prompt intervention by the European Economic Community (hereafter EEC) was required to protect the regions main industries. The textile industry was found to be one of these basic industries and, as such, was required to act strategically along with other leading industries, while at the same time performing a similar socioeconomic function to that of traditional economic sectors in terms of providing employment to a huge slice of the population. However, a country cannot base its development exclusively on its leading industries, but has to try and diversify its industrial activity. There were substantial changes in consumption in the 1960s with the diffusion of prêt-à-porter. Textile companies were involved in the creation of products for clothing companies, which purchased a huge amount of materials and sold clothing under their own brand names.

The emerging mass-market for prêt-à-porter clothing influenced the demand for various types of fabric and were the focus of a number of small and medium fashion houses and textile companies. This trend was encouraged by the growth of 1970s fashion and aesthetic ideals; compared to the UK, however, the sale of clothing in Italy was dominated to a lesser extent by large retailers, cooperatives, and mail order companies.

The industries of the textile and clothing sector

The term 'textile' is closely connected to clothing. In 1974, clothing was estimated to account for 48.1 percent of the total consumption of chemical fibers produced. The share intended for household expenditure on clothing had been in constant decline for some time, despite the fact that a significant share of the market had passed into the hands of low price exporters.

Among the new product areas that opened up in the textile industry was that of home furnishings. The advantages of these products, such as for soundproofing rooms, led to the increased use of carpets, especially in large building complexes. In those years, wall fabrics were in stiff competition with wallpaper. With rising per capita incomes, upholstery fabrics (for covering chairs, armchairs, curtains, and so on) became increasingly important for interior decoration. Overall, these new opportunities accounted for roughly 20 percent (31.8 percent in 1974) of chemical fiber consumption in Europe.

The role of the textile industry in inter-industrial relations

Textile production actually begins with the production of chemical fibers and the majority of enterprises in this sector belonged to much larger consortiums. However, since the production of fibers was purely for textiles, the producers were members, at a professional level, of the coordination committee of textile industries in the EU (COMITEXTILI).

The textile sector was an essential outlet for chemical enterprises and the chemical fiber industry in Western Europe represented about 25 percent of total petrochemical production. Moreover, chemical dye production was now engaged at all stages of transforming raw materials into usable textiles and chemists had already begun to develop techniques that made it possible to spin chemical fibers colored in bulk, or to modify the fibers in order to be able to draw patterns on them that were invisible to the naked eye and thus were able to retain their intended colors.

Among other industrial suppliers a special place was assigned to the construction of textile machinery. Community investments in the textile industry for materials recorded during the final years of this period were as follows (Table 1):

Table 1. Community Investment in the textile industry. Source: OECD, Quarterly Bulletin of industrial production, n. 3/76. In million EUA

Fiber	Production industry	Chemical	Textile clothing
1971	374,9	(1.040)	190
1972	239,1	1.134	244
1973	262,3	1.212	202

There is no doubt that a reduction in the EEC's production capacity in the textile industry would have had negative consequences for the mechanical and engineering sectors. Indeed, it is unthinkable that we could make progress in this field if there was no longer close contact between those who designed and produced cars and those who used them.

If the processing industry had ever had to move out of Europe, this level of cooperation could no longer have taken place, forcing manufacturers to transfer most of their production overseas to remain competitive against their South American and East Asian rivals, whose governments had demonstrated their desire to maintain the stability of their textile industries. This view was also shared by machine manufacturers—at a meeting organized by the Textile Institute, one of their directors stated that textile machines had traditionally always been produced in the main settlement areas of the textile industry and that this was also true in non-European countries.

The different sectors of the textile industry

The complex relationships between the various stages of transforming raw materials highlight the upstream and downstream relationships of the entire textile sector and the clothing industry—from the production phase, the spinning of fibers, weaving, and then on to the finished product.

This meant that any reduction of activity in the downstream sector, for example at the level of the garment industry, has immediate repercussions on other sectors of the textile industry; any import of finished products has a negative impact not only on the product in question, but also for the whole supply chain. For example, importation of shirts means that there are fewer textiles to be woven, the spinning sector has less fabric to finish, and there are fewer orders for thread with negative consequences also for the production of chemical fibers.

If a ratio is calculated for imports and employment in the various sectors it is clear that in 1972 this area provided the greatest number of jobs in the EEC:

Table 2. Absolute value of employed and the individual sectors % of total manufacturing industry. Source: OECD, Quarterly Bulletin of industrial production, n. 3/76

EEC 1972: Employed persons *		
	Absolute value	Amount % on the total
Manufacturing industry industry, textile clothing	3,627,000	13.3%
Mechanical engineering and materials	1,000,000	11%
Of which: manufacture of machines		
Textile	160,000	0.6%
Manufacture of metal objects	2,750,000	10.1%
Industry of food products		
Beverages tobacco	2,380,000	8.7%
Industry of paper and cardboard		
Printing and Publishing	1,710,000	6.3%
Chemical industry	1,650,000	6.1%
Production and primary processing		
Metals	1,600,000	5.9%

- RPT and the Netherlands: companies employing more than 10 people;
- Belgium: employment as appropriate more than 5 or 10 people;
- Italy and United Kingdom: employment of more than 20 people;
- Because of these limits we tend to underestimate the number of job, especially in the garment industry.

With regard to the role of other industries, it is clear that any improvement in employment in the textile sector reduced unemployment in the EEC.

The following table indicates the percentage of the weight held by the sector out of total domestic manufacturing, bearing in mind that the EEC average was 13.3 percent—the share of total jobs in the manufacturing industry as a component of the textile/clothing sector.

Table 3. % of the textile industry in the total manufacturing in EEC.
Source: OECD, *Quarterly Bulletin of industrial production*, n. 3/76

	1963	1972	1973	1974
RFG	12,1	11	10,5	9
France	15	13,8	13,3	-
Italy	19,2	18,1	17,7	17,7
Belgium	18,6	17,2	-	-
The Netherlands	15,1	10,9	9	8,8
The United Kingdom	13,1	12,6	12,5	12,3
Ireland	21,4	20	19,6	-
Denmark	11,2	9,4	8,4	-
CEE	14,3	13,3	-	-

The figures show that the textile industry's share of the sector had been in constant decline since the early 1960s and declined further in the 1970s; a trend that was largely responsible for the employment problems of the recession of the 1970s as workers who left the industry had difficulty finding work in other sectors, especially since the textile industry had often been concentrated in EEC regions where there was little chance of changing sector.

The occupation of the textile sector in European regions

In many regions employment in the textile industry accounted for over 30 percent of the workforce employed in industry. The textile sector realized a turnover in 1972 of 44, 293, 300 mil. EU (OECD). In Italy, the international rise in prices triggered a cycle of stock trading thanks to which, under the pressure of growing demand, companies could substantially improve their margins (Codeluppi 2007). During 1973 they increased, rising from 5.7 percent to 9.3 percent of sales (Table 4).

Table 4. Labor costs per unit of output in industry. Source: Statistical Institute and Commission of the European Communities.

INDEX BASE 1970=100		1976 NATIONAL CURRENCY	1976 ITA
Italy		229,7	229,7
Germany		141,8	272,2
Belgio		158,3	270,6
Holland		156,9	285,2
Great Britain		239,9	239,2

The industry's performance was not positive between 1972 and 1976 (Table 5). Only Italy recorded good progress, mainly due to the development of its exports, favored by a significant devaluation of the lira.

Table 5. Textile Industry—Production Index 1970 = 100. Source: OECD, Quarterly Bulletin of Industrial Production, n. 3/76

	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
CEE	108,2	110	105	97,5	106,8
RFG	108,6	108,8	103	99,5	107,7
France	119,3	113,1	110,4	98,6	106,1
Italy	106,3	114,8	112,7	104,4	122,2
The Netherlands	96,8	96	93,4	78,1	78,2
The United Kingdom	101,8	105,6	96	91	94
Ireland	110,1	125,8	119	111	131,5
Denmark	112,4	111,7			

This recovery in production was mainly due to technical reasons. Prices remained low and they did not allow a normal return on invested capital.

The table below traces employment trends in the textile industry and highlights the extent of the drop in employment in the sector (Table 6).

Table 6. Labor force employed in the processing industry. Source: OECD, Quarterly Bulletin of industrial production, n. 3/76.

	R FG	B EL	P B	F R	I TA	D AN	I RL	R U	C EE
15 964	55,8	1 28,8	9 3,5	4 14,7	4 29,4	2 2,5	2 1,6	7 36	20 42,3
95 165	47	1 23	8 6,3	3 94,5	3 93,2	2 1,5	2 1	7 21	23 07,5
15 966	38,5	1 23,3	8 1,8	4 00,5	4 11,5	2 0,6	2 1,6	7 13	23 10,8
14 967	90	1 14,2	7 3,4	3 65	4 12,8	2 1,7	2 2,3	6 01	21 60,4
14 968	89,1	1 10,8	6 8,7	3 49,1	4 00,8	2 1	2 4	6 49	21 12,3
15 969	08,2	1 11,2	6 3,1	3 54,4	3 96,6	2 0,6	2 6,2	6 59	21 39,3
15 970	01,5	1 09,2	6 8	3 60,1	4 16,6	2 0,5	2 5,7	6 29	21 31,2
14 971	81,5	1 09,2	6 7,5	3 62,9	9 94,5	1 9,8	2 4,4	5 75	20 34,8
14 972	58,1	9 7,7	6 5,2	3 62,3	3 77,1	2 1,6	2 3	5 52	19 57,0
14 973	34	9 4,8	5 9,4	3 62	3 73,7	2 1,7	2 3	5 49	19 17,6
13 974	83,8	9 2,9	5 5,2	3 55	3 69,5	1 6,4	2 1	5 37	18 40,8
13 945	56,9	8 3,9	4 8,6	3 37	3 54,3	1 6,1	1 9,5	4 86	17 02,3
13 976	41,7					1 6,2		4 79	

Some European research has estimated that in 1975 more than one million people lost their jobs in the textile sector.

Table 7. Added value in industry: sectoral performances (composition and structure of the added value in industry; current values; companies with more than 20 employees). Source: Istat data.

Sectors	VALUE ADDED ON THE			STAFF COSTS		
	TOTAL INDUSTRY ADDED			ON VALUE ADDED		
	1970	1976	DIFF.	1970	1976	DIFF.
Food	7,6	7,7	0,1	70,6	73,6	3
Textiles	8,5	6,9	1,6	81,7	83,8	2,1
Clothing and footwe	4	5,2	1,2	83,7	83	0,7
Wood furniture	2,9	2,7	0,2	75,9	76,3	0,4
Metallurgy	8,7	8,6	0,1	65,6	72,8	7,2
mechanics	27,3	29,3	2	80,9	76,9	4
Transportation	10	10,9	0,9	91,9	82	9,9
Nonmetallic minerals	6,9	6,1	0,8	71,3	72,1	0,8
chemistry	13,5	12,2	1,3	67,2	70,2	3
Rubber	2,2	2,2	0	76	79,1	3,1
Paper	2,5	2,2	0,3	69,8	80,5	10,7
Other	5,9	6	0,1	77,2	82,1	5,1
Total industry	11181	27217		76,9	77	0,1

As shown in the previous table, the decline in added value margins in industry was mainly in the chemical, rubber, paper, textile, and food industries, leading to their structural reorganization. Subsequently, the crisis of 1975 highlighted a number of elements—the financial crisis of businesses, the collapse of investment, and problems related to labor mobility (Scognamiglio Pasini 2013, p. 388). This caused a drastic fall in GDP in 1975 of 3.6 percent; in the first half of that year the fall was even higher, at 6 percent.

EEC imports and exports

The EEC was the world's leading importer and exporter of textiles and clothing products, yet its total share of world exports shrank steadily from 1970 to 1975—from 27 percent to 22 percent. If we only consider articles of clothing, in 1975 it was overtaken by Hong Kong. The EEC's total share of world imports increased significantly from 15 percent in 1970 to 41 percent

in 1975. The EEC remained the first global partner but, at the same time, the main open market in the world. There was a rapid increase in textile imports to the EEC and a slowdown in the rate of increase in exports. The EEC gradually lost a number of external markets, especially in developing countries, which had replaced imports of EEC products with their own production. At the same time the EEC faced growing competition from countries in third markets.

The most worrying trend was recorded in the field of finished products, that is, in the field of clothing and packaging. The Community deficit has increased exponentially since 1971. In 1970, the Community still showed a positive balance of 540 million dollars, while in 1975 it saw a deficit of 1,451 billion dollars. In 1975, 53 percent of EU exports of yarn, fabrics, and various textiles and 72.2 percent of clothing exports were directed towards markets of developed countries. In the first category of products, developing countries accounted for 26.1 percent and state-trading countries for 20.8 percent. For clothing, the remaining 28 percent was distributed as follows: 20 percent to developing countries and 8 percent to state-trading countries. From 1973 onwards, however, the EEC became a net importer:

Table 8. Development of trade textile USA-EEC (1000 EUR). Source: ASBI

Exports			Imports			Balance	
	Textiles	A	Total	Textiles	A	Total	A
1973	504.085	258.625	762.710	311.700	43.900	355.600	407.110
1974	314.583	197.115	511.698	411.077	53.374	466.451	54.247
1975	235.014	188.200	423.214	389.993	64.596	454.589	-31.375

There are many reasons for this trend, including the devaluation of the dollar and its downward fluctuations, the level of American wages, which were much lower than in Europe, and the decision of the US government to adopt a dual price system for oil that favored the US textile industry in the field of synthetic fabrics. The voluntary limitation measures put into effect in 1971 gave confidence to the American textile industry, which was now protected by quantitative barriers and much higher customs duties than those

of the Common Customs Tariff. The US textile industry launched a massive investment program that later bore fruit.

The European textile industry never found a similar desire on the part of the authorities to create the conditions necessary for its maintenance and development in the EEC. Other countries that imported from the EEC included Canada and Japan, especially in 1973 and 1974, but the crisis that hit Japan caused a significant decline in Community exports in 1975. In addition, the EEC's export structure, especially for woolen and fiber fabrics, carpets, and high quality clothing, made its position vulnerable.

The best results for the EEC came from trade with EFTA countries, namely: Switzerland, Norway, Austria, Finland, and Sweden. These countries were linked with the Community by a free trade area, which favored EU exports to these countries, but also imports from them. A growing imbalance was recorded in community relations with a number of other European countries, in particular with Greece, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. Some sectors in these countries were extremely competitive, had well-equipped businesses that were able to compete with those of the Community and were supported by substantial aid in production and exports. In particular, the Community faced intense competition from Greek and Turkish cotton yarn.

Market pressure from Portugal was increasingly felt, especially in the British market, and Spain posed an increasing threat to all these countries; the Italian textile trade balance deteriorated significantly. European industry was a net exporter of semi-finished products and a net importer of finished articles.

This market equilibrium was essentially due to the Soviet Union, which had always imported more than it had exported from the EEC. However, its trade with other countries was much more balanced and in most cases in deficit. Among the state-trading countries continuing to penetrate the Community market was China, which would become a dangerous competitor in the future. In addition, these statistics do not include trans-zone trade (i.e. trade between West and East Germany). The German Federal Republic had a deficit of more than 150 million dollars in 1975.

By 1971, EU trade with developing countries was in deficit. The Community counted the largest textile company in the world at that time: Courtaulds (English). Among the top ten textile companies of global importance were two British companies, Coats Patons and Tootal, four American, and three Japanese companies. In the group of companies placing between tenth and twentieth place, there were two French companies: Agache Willot and the Dolifus Miegil group; one British company, Carrington Viyella; six American firms; and one from a developing country, Al Parcatas in Argentina.

The first German company, the Delden group was in thirty-second place, while Italy, with Lanerossi, occupied forty-eighth place. The first Dutch company was Ten Cate, which was at number sixty, and the first Belgian one was in seventy-third place. There were fifteen German companies between places forty-five and eighty.

The factors of raw materials, capital, and Community policy

If, at the beginning of the 1950s, textile production (spinning, weaving, finishing, and knitting) could still be regarded as an industry with a high labor input, by 1975 it was undoubtedly an industry with intensive use of capital. In 1950, the capital investment was, in current terms, equal to approximately 85,000 DM (Deutschmarks) per job in a modern spinning plant that worked with three teams. From 1965 onwards the reduction in the number of jobs in the textile industry, as a result of the capital invested, was matched by the use of an increasingly qualified workforce. In the Commission document No. 71.26.15 of 27.07.1971, the European Commission defined, according to its sectoral policy, some broad guidelines for the textile and clothing sectors.

The Commission proposed implementing a trade policy to try and reconcile the gradual opening up of the Community market with the needs of the textile industry to adapt by speeding up restructuring and overcoming, through increased productivity, the difficulties that arising at social and regional levels.

Preferential trade schemes (Pollard 1990) involved a special control system for semi-sensitive products and the setting of quotas and limits for sensitive products. By the end of 1973, with the distinction between cotton and other textiles having lost its meaning, the preferential scheme of trade had changed the system by expanding tariff preferences to all beneficiary countries of the general arrangement while at the same time introducing a systematic differentiation in the possibilities offered according to the degree of competitiveness of the recipient country.

In 1971, the EEC had ruled in favor of the establishment of fair trade competition at the global level, in accordance with regulations to be established, possibly by GATT, which would help to avoid the threats to world trade flows of textiles and to progressively implement the conditions for an orderly distribution of labor on a global scale. These guidelines were applied with the EEC's participation in the Multi-fiber Agreement, which was signed at the end of 1973 and entered into force on 1 January 1974. Under this agreement the EEC concluded a number of bilateral agreements and applied measures against Taiwan and other countries that had not

accepted the trade agreements. Following a critical period for the sector, and upon renewal of this agreement, the EEC chose to make some corrections and take some measures, especially on the control of imports, in order to rapidly and effectively implement the protection provisions of the agreement.

Increased coordination between individual and collective action was hoped for. From an economic point of view, the considerable fluctuations in economic trends that were periodically observed in the textile industry constituted a serious hindrance to the operations of restructuring and modernization. In addition, they had a negative effect on companies' financial resources. The scale of these movements was due to the difficulty in making short-term forecasts in this field. It was therefore important to create an economic observation center throughout the Community with sufficient resources to gather all necessary data for making sound forecasts to help overcome these difficulties. The financial intervention of the EEC supported this action, while the European Commission undertook to achieve this purpose by using its services to coordinate and centralize these initiatives.

Three types of action were necessary to safeguard the Community textile market, which was in crisis despite still being the main international market. These were: support in favor of collective action in the textile sector for developing research and to improve the economic outlook in the short term; support for restructuring of the textile industry (elimination of overcapacity, conversion outside of the industry and concentration of businesses); and support for investment in the textile sector (modernization, restructuring and concentration of enterprises).

The European Social Fund and the European Regional Fund (especially the former) revealed their limitations in their inability, even partially, to solve the problems that arose from the policies pursued by the EEC in the field of trade, while the latter had to help provide benefits for the industrialized regions. These interventions were to be completed by the EIB, an institution that enjoyed a certain autonomy.

New strategies of the textile industry and 'Made in Italy'

Labor costs, calculated at current prices, had increased at a rate of 11.3 percent over the period 1970–1973; and by 17.2 percent in the years 1974–80. Wage increases, largely wiped out by rapid increases in inflation, had been obtained through general professional contracts, aimed at achieving a substantial leveling out of the treatment of different groups of workers by putting office and factory workers on a footing of equal pay.

From the 1960s onwards, large vertically integrated companies were no longer models of success in the Italian textile industry and some of them had

to resort to massive state subsidies in order to survive, a fact that provoked accusations of unfair competition from other EEC countries. Industrial restructuring led to the fragmentation of large integrated mills producing standardized goods into a network of small specialist firms. Most of these small businesses were created by former workers from the textile industry who equipped themselves with old machinery that was no longer used by their previous employers. Small specialized companies, often run by individual families with little machinery, could achieve high levels of productivity at a lower cost, taking advantage of a situation that, with a low level of accounting and remuneration for family work, had scant union and legal regulation and avoided paying social security contributions and other social costs imposed by the state.

The oil crisis of the 1970s marked a definite trend reversal in size-related equilibriums (Table 9).

Table 9. Manufacturing Industries (in billions of lire). Source: Istat, the GDP and investment of industrial enterprises.

Companies with more than 50 employees	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
sales + change in inventories	45615	48976,2	70500,7	72205	97567
GDP	12588	16925,3	22212,9	23963	31095
Staff costs	9977,3	12365,5	15613,3	18746	22902
Depreciation	1667	2096,3	2781,7	2846,6	3746
Financial Charges	1199,4	1467,3	2896,1	3816,7	5152
Gross profit	1411,1	3092,7	3703,5	1400	4447
Gross fixed capital formation	3209,2	3632,6	4587,5	4574,6	5257
Characteristic relationships	%				
GDP / turnover	27,5	34,5	31,5	33,1	31,8
Staff Cost /GDP	79,2	73	70,2	78,2	73,6
Financial charges. / GDP	9,5	8,6	13	15,9	16,5
Depr/GDP	13,2	12,3	12,5	11,8	12,04
Gross profit/GDP	11,2	18,2	16,6	5,8	14,3
Invest. Gross fixed capital for	25,4	21,4	20,6	19,1	16,9
Gross profits / inv. gross fixed	43,9	85	80,7	30,6	84,5

The average size of Italian companies had started to decrease, as a result of by the crisis of large enterprises and the greater dynamism of smaller ones. Alongside the companies organized in the Made in Italy districts, traditional

small business survived, indifferent to modern trends and targeted at meeting local demand or engaged in work with high labor use (Motta 2015; Gnoli 2012). The oil crisis of 1973 led to a gradual increase in the prices of imported goods and many workshops were forced to close. The youth revolution led to a radical change in trends with the arrival of anti-fashion: the punk subculture was born. The punk movement was the last of the subcultures linked to the working class before it was finally overcome. This was the period when, in the world of fashion: Fendi presented its first ready-to-wear line of furs; Gianfranco Ferré made his first appearance; the first collection of Versace was presented; Karl Lagerfeld signed his first collection for Fendi; and in 1975 Giorgio Armani set up Giorgio Armani SpA, and launched a women's and men's prêt-à-porter collection. Ready-to-wear fashion was becoming a global phenomenon.

Conclusions

The 1970s was a focal point in the industrial history of Italy, concluding the long phase of growth that began in the 1920s. The ability to generate new products in a timely manner according to the continuous shifts in domestic and international demand was the main factor for industrial success.

The textile industries in Veneto, the production of shoes in La Marche, iron working in Brescia's valleys, the wool industry in Prato, and many other specialized forms of production had created Italy's first industrial districts where several companies linked by informal ties had developed in the manufacturing of a particular type of goods. In some cases, companies had worked together to produce similar goods, while in others the production process had been divided into phases split between different companies: only some of them were involved in the packaging of finished products ready for the marketplace, while many other companies were specialized subcontractors to the latter; the entire production process almost always took place within the same local community. In some contexts, medium-sized companies that were dependent on subcontracting for a large Fordist enterprise such as FIAT created their own new production processes. An example of a runaway success was the Legler cotton mill, established in the 1870s in the province of Bergamo, which had transformed its traditional production structure by the late 1960s. It manufactured cotton fabrics of all kinds, using a work-intensive process in a capital-intensive structure that had the best automated technology and could produce denim and corduroy fabrics at low cost. In the 1970s young people in Europe also began to consider clothing as a sign of distinction; the clothes were mass-produced in different colors and in denim and corduroy at cheap prices—young people wore blue

jeans. At first the American companies Levi's and Wrangler cornered the market and Legler was the main supplier to the European branch of Wrangler. They dressed the students who marched to challenge the traditional social order. In the following years, many companies were set up in Italy to produce denim clothes. Initially, these were small businesses aimed at the local market and selling shoddy products at low prices.

In the 1980s and 1990s, large Italian companies managed to break the American monopoly on world markets with quality brands such as Pooh, Carrera, Benetton, Jesus, Armani, and Diesel.

The 1980s consolidated the triumph of Made in Italy products (Bucci, Codeluppi and Ferraresi M 2011; Crepax 2002), through the pairing of fashion and industry proposed by Beppe Modenese with a ready-to-wear fashion show in Milan. Rome was the centre for high fashion, while Milan became the centre for prêt-à-porter. Italy was distinguished by its textiles and its processing of raw materials. The common goal was a return to luxury and elegance. The Made in Italy concept was formed during this phase by businesses operating in the fields of fashion, furnishings, household products, sports, leisure goods, and food.

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SILK PRODUCTION IN GEORGIA: HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EKA LEKASHVILI, LIA LURSMANASHVILI
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From ancient times, silk, along with wool and flax, has been one of the main natural materials used in the textile industry. Silk yarn, with its specific technical properties (elasticity, durability, straightness, brilliance and delicacy), established production scale and high costs, is the most valuable raw material in the textile industry (Gugushvili 1959, 652).

A number of economic experts of sericulture argue that this agricultural branch was established through petty farming and that production on large-scale farms has failed, both in the East (Japan) and in the West (Italy and France). The basic socioeconomic factors of sericultural development include a relatively high population density, low wages and a surplus labor force, which cannot be used in other economic sectors. Sericulture is characterized by its seasonality and its short production cycle, therefore, it is considered to be an auxiliary branch in agriculture. The most important phase in the sericultural production cycle is the nourishing of the silkworm. This is a labor-consuming task and requires an experienced workforce. The sericultural production cycle ends with the making of cocoons and seeds (*Grenazh*). The development of sericulture in Georgia is closely connected to its geophysical location—it lies on the main route of the Silk Road between Europe and Asia, along which silk production technology came from China to Georgia.

Primarily, the use of silk was limited to domestic needs. In the Caucasus and Georgia, sericulture was part of broader agriculture, particularly cattle-breeding; small farms produced goods sporadically, which in frequent cases were exported. Silk production was relatively accessible—labor-consuming, but easily established and profitable. It was an income and tax/tribute payment source for both local authorities and invaders.

The secret of producing silk fiber was well-known in Georgia from early times, which is testified to by numerous historical/literary monuments.

Various well-known Georgian medieval historians and foreign travelers confirm that silk producing activities comprised the leading agricultural sector in Georgia. From antiquity, silk was one of the most important domestic and international items of trade in Georgia. In the early years, it was even used as a currency and source of tributary payment, along with gold and silver. Taxes and contributions were paid with silk garments, silk fabric (called *Lari*¹) and golden/silver vessels—silk was a precious gift and treasure (Gugushvili 1979, 228).

Silk processing handicraft appliances, machinery, methods and terminology have been preserved in Georgia up to the present day. From ancient times, craftsmanship and trade flourished in Georgian cities. Textile production and dyeing played a significant role in the state's economy. Archeological artifacts, historians, geographers and travelers (Herodotus, Strabo, and later Zakaria Kazvin, Marco Polo, Jean Chardin, Russian ambassadors, Turnefor, Güldenstädt) all testify that from ancient times Georgia was famous for its loom production and was producing textiles, including silk, for export (Gugushvili 1959, 656–59; Barelashvili 1990, 127).

The silkworm feeds on the leaves of the mulberry tree, which grows naturally in the Caucasus. This probably facilitated the development of ancient silk production in Georgia. The mulberry tree, with a number for varieties, is endemic to Georgia. Silkworm breeders preferred the ungrafted white mulberry, which in Kakhetia was called *Kartuli* (Georgian), *Dadzveburi* (old-timer), and *Chveneburi* (peculiar) in western Georgia. As for silkworm species, white and yellow breeds of domestic cocoon spread into Georgia.

According to silkworm breeders, the white cocoon was the best, with two yields per year and much silk in it, but it could be a little bit temperamental. White cocoon thread was much more convenient for coloring as well. In Imeretia this species was called *Kakhetian* and in Guria and Imeretia *yellow Kakhetian* usually gave a greater amount of silk.

Unraveling, spinning and knitting silk thread were carried out manually. Cocoons chosen for brushing would be left under the sun to kill the chrysalis. Then they would be boiled part by part and filaments reeled in hanks using special tools (*Elartashe*, *Ogi-dashe* in Samegrelo, *Ogvado* in Guria, *Samkheli*, *Samukhveli* in Imereti). In Kakhetia, a special spinning wheel, called a *Manjoniki*, was used. Thread hanks would be spun on a plate. Reeled threads would be spun on a spindle and a stone would be placed on the bottom of the shuttle for added weight. A single ended thread would be twisted again on the spindle in two folded or three folded threads. The

¹ Today's national currency (GEL) is called *Lari* in Georgian.

twisting spindle was longer and thinner than the one used for spinning and had a whorl on its top. Twisted yarn would then be wound into yarn balls and boiled in cinder for bleaching and softening. Defective cocoons—*Domfala* (two worms in one cocoon)—and production waste were boiled in the *Kachi*, which was afterwards dried, picked, carded, and spun with a spindle. Then it was twisted into a twofold thread. In Guria, *Kachi* was a general name for cocoons. Afterwards silk was woven on looms into *Tavia* (silk textile, known as *Merdini* in eastern Georgia and *Daraia* in western Georgia). Knitting needles and crochet hooks were used to knit: headscarves, socks, gloves, and other items of clothing; as well as *Tolaghi*, *platesũto*, *Chakhsakravebi*, faceted belts, *Qaitani*, *Chaparishi*, and *Saolveli*—elements of the national dress. Fabric was woven on horizontal looms with reed combs, which had different names in different parts of Georgia: Kakheti—*Safeikro*, Guria—*Samekslobo*, Samegrelo—*Oshuale*, in the historical region of southern Georgia—*Dezga/Safeikro*. Raw silk thread and spun yarn were used as warp threads on vertical looms (*Akazmebi*) for making the *Sakulaje* and *Sachokhe* fabrics.

Silk yarn was used for embroidering breastplates, bibs, waistbands, and purses, in combination with silver and golden thread. Silk was one of the main materials for making the national costume of men and women. Fabrics were patterned or painted in one color. Thread interlacing varied too. Sewing threads were usually made of woven silk, weaving several tips (2, 3, 4, 6 tips). For mixed type yarns, silk was used together with wool, flax, and cotton. For coloring silk, local natural dyes were used, mainly in blues and reds.

As the thirteenth-century traveler Marco Polo wrote: “there is plenty of silk in Georgia, they also produce silk and golden mixed textiles, which are beautiful and cannot be found anywhere else.” In the following centuries, Georgia continuously suffered from invasion. The invaders took away silk as a tribute or tried to destroy the silk industry to weaken the country economically. Enemies destroyed the vineyards and the mulberry bushes. Nevertheless, sericulture still remained one of the leading agricultural branches in Georgia. In the Middle Ages, silk was exported to Syria, Persia, and Italy. Foreign travelers emphasized the beauty and value of the silk produced in Georgia. The French traveler Chardin wrote in his *Persian Journey*: “Persia, at that time a great trading point, was receiving silk from Georgia, Khorasan and other provinces. Karabakh and Georgia separately produced 2000 loads of silk” (Chardin 2002, 181). The Russian Ambassador Tolchanov (fifteenth century) wrote that in Imerti and Samegrelo silkworm cocoons were cultivated in all peasant families. The same was said by, Johann Anton Guldenstädt (seventeenth century), a member of the

Russian Academy of Sciences who traveled around eastern Georgia. According to Nikolay Shavrov's record, in the seventeenth century silk was exported to Turkey from Georgia.

After Georgia and the Caucasus joined Russia, sericulture became a noticeable part of tsarist agricultural policy. The focus increased as more raw materials were needed for the domestic textile industry in Russia (Gugushvili 1959, 665). During the Russian colonial regime, Georgia, along with the other countries of the South Caucasus, supplied Russian textile factories with silk and only a small number of textiles were produced locally.

In the nineteenth century, raw silk threads and textiles were a source of income for farmers. All products were actively bought by merchants who would resell them at a mark-up. But after the annexation of Georgia, Caucasian sericultural policy was mainly determined by the Russian government. From the very beginning, Russia paid much attention to silk cultivation in southern Russia and Georgia and conducted inspections, collected information about sericultural and silk production areas, and inventoried local mulberry plantations. Russia was interested in silk as a raw material for its textile enterprises, which were mainly located in Moscow and its adjacent provinces. From the beginning, Georgia produced a high-quality silk textile—*Daraia*. At that time, Russia's main demand was for raw silk material; as a result farmers gave up traditional silk textile production and began using cheaper imported products instead. Over time, the traditional Georgian methods and techniques of silk making were forgotten. In spite of the revival of silk production in Georgia in the 1920s, the particular manner of production and the identity of Georgian silk had already been lost.

The 1950s saw great success for silk cultivation in Transcaucasia—the raw silk cocoon harvest reached approximately 700-800 thousand *pood* (1 *pood* = 16.38 kg.) per year. Sixty-seventy percent of cocoons were exported to Russia—to Moscow and other textile factories—and a small part was sent to Turkey and western European countries. The remaining 30-40 percent of the total was processed locally. As the Viceroy for the Caucasus, Mikheil Vorontsov, stated in his 1851 year report:

“Sericulture is an important part of Transcaucasian Agriculture [...] and in the Kutaisi province the silk cocoons are very good and with correct processing the best product can be gained. Local cocoons are bought and sent to Odessa and Moscow for unwinding of the thread in the European manner” (Shavrov 1907, 835).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a terrible silkworm disease, *pèbrine*, broke out in France and quickly spread to Italy, Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, and Central Asia. Silk production was endangered

with total extinction. In 1862–63, the disease spread across Samegrelo in western Georgia; by 1863 it had reached the province of Nukhi and by 1865 almost all regions of silk production were affected. The years 1866–69 were the most difficult for sericulture in Transcaucasia. The whole sector was facing the danger of total elimination. But in subsequent years, the disease gradually decreased, assisted by the importation of healthy silkworm eggs that had been tested using Louis Pasteur’s cellular method and also by breeding species resistant to the disease.

In the 1880s, the Russian Empire considered it necessary to implement measures for the further development of sericulture in the southern Caucasus. In 1887, the Caucasian Sericulture Station was founded in Tbilisi under the guidance of the prominent Russian scientist and sericultural specialist Nikolay Shavrov. The organization soon became a center of worldwide importance in sericultural studies. Experimental, chemical, zoological and bacteriological labs were set up; periodicals were published; sericultural training courses were given; a mulberry plantation, a nursery garden, and a warehouse were opened, as well as a silk museum, which is still functioning. The station was a leader in the field of sericulture and the silk industry at that time. According to N. Shavrov:

“in 1857–1864, sericulture almost became the most attractive and profitable agricultural sector in the Caucasus, even more so than cattle-breeding. This venture power-driven by western European, French-Italian, and Russian capitalist businesses revived the remotest Caucasian villages. For the first time in years this venture familiarized sericulture ... with systematic labor” (Gugushvili 1979, 175).

It should be noted that originally silk production was mostly in the hands of women; later, men were actively involved in the production process too. From 1880–90, a rapid rise in sericultural development in all Georgian provinces can be noticed. Previously, silk was only produced by peasants; the increase in profitability led to increased interest among merchants and landlords. Consequently, together with small manufacturers, large-scale owners appeared, who needed hired labor.

Before WWI, the average cocoon harvest in Transcaucasia was approximately 300,000 *poods*, 40 percent of which was exported abroad (Gugushvili 1959, 704). In Telavi, Samtredia, Khoni, and Ozurgeti, four small silk thread winding factories were functioning. Grenache was still imported. Completed threads were exported to Milan and Marseille. In the years of the Menshevik rule, these factories were closed down.

In this period, special institutions, such as the Caucasian Agricultural Society and the Caucasian Sericulture Station, played a major role in the

development of the silk industry and promotion of the sector. Since the 1920s, and from the beginning of the Soviet era, silk production has drawn a lot of attention. Sericultural departments, regional cocoon drying-rooms, manufacturing units, drainage mills, and selective-breeding stations were created in the former Soviet republics, and state and collective mulberry nurseries, cocoon primary processing facilities, and thread unwinding factories were established. In 1921–27, three large drainage plants were opened in Georgia and sericultural selective-breeding stations were established, which were producing grains suitable for the existing climatic conditions—the importation of silkworm eggs was stopped. During this period, silk-reeling factories were opened in Ozurgeti, Khoni, Telavi (1926), Samtredia (1927), and Kutaisi (1929). In 1925, the sericultural department—Sakabreshumi (Georgian Silk)—was established.

The cocoon harvest increased to 2000 tons, and later, in the 1960s it reached 4000 tons. In the early 1980s, there were five silk-reeling factories, two large silk weaving and two silk producing enterprises in Georgia; at Tbilisi and Kutaisi silk textile-sewing unions were functioning. In the 1960s, the Georgian silk industry was self-sufficient in silk cocoons.

In 1930, the Transcaucasian Sericultural and Silk Industry Scientific Research Institute was established at the Caucasian Sericultural Station—renamed the Georgian Sericulture Scientific Research Institute in 1955. In 1959, the institute was combined with the Sericulture Faculty of the Agricultural Institute under the name of the Sericulture Research Faculty. In 1989, the faculty was divided into a sericultural department and an applied laboratory; both were located in Digomi. Both these entities were staffed with highly qualified specialists in sericulture and the silk industry who had been trained in institutes of higher education.

Almost every phase of silk production existed in Georgia: mulberry-growing, silkworm breeding, cocoon making, yarn spinning, raw silk production, silk reeling, silk thread torsion, silk spinning, weaving, and receiving. In 1990, the technical equipment of the Georgian factories amounted to 834 silk-weaving basins (thread receiver 8390), 738 of them were KMC-10 system (plant machinery) silk-weaving basins, and 96 were Soviet automatic silk-weaving basins. Natural silk fabrics were made using Riut and Nortrop old mechanical looms, considered to be the best for thin tissue production, as well as modern Soviet micro shuttle wide looms (working width 180, 220, 330 cm). Modern cottonizing, drying, and other measuring machines were installed in these enterprises.

Georgia was producing classical silk textiles (mostly textiles from crêpe² thread): crêpe de chine, crêpe-georgette, crêpe maroken, and crêpe chiffon. Crêpe spun threads gave a textured grain to textiles. Textiles with a smooth surface were also produced. Crêpe satin, which was made by the Kutaisi silk factory until the 1970s, should be mentioned in particular. The material was heavy, with a satin effect on one side, and made using non-spun silk threads; the other surface was made of crêpe threads and had a crêpe effect. Women's dresses for Sukhishvili's dance ensemble were sewn with this material.³ Because of the complexity of the fabric, serious attention was required from the knitter. It should be noted that pure silk jacquard and imprinted materials, made by Georgian painters and designers, were admired at various exhibitions and fashion shows. At the same time, it should be said that mass produced fabrics, in terms of design, coloring, and other qualities could not satisfy or be compared to international standards. A partial reason for this was the Soviet planned economy—its main aim was quantity, not quality. Soviet standard (ГОСТ) requirements were also lower than international ones. From the beginning of the 1970s, viscose and acetate silk fabrics appeared in silk production for the first time and quickly prevailed due to their low production costs. In spite of this, natural silk remained irreplaceable because of its physical and mechanical characteristics and synthetic fiber could not compete with it. It maintained brilliance, brightness, mildness, and airiness after coloring (Chkhaidze et al. 2014, 121).

In 1958, 19,656 million m² of silk was produced in the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic (Khoshtaria 1966, 251). From 1964, the spread of mulberry plant diseases caused a serious reduction in silk cocoon breeding. In 1963–64, humid air and an increasing number of insects carrying infectious diseases spread the illness in western Georgia. As a result, the country lost 80 percent of its silkworm food stock. In 1956, there had been more than 18 million mulberry plants; by 1975 this had been reduced to 4 million. Production of crude cocoons decreased from 4000 tons (1961) to 1700 tons (1975–90) per year and consequently, dry cocoon production also decreased from 1400 to 500 tones. Georgia was not prepared for such events. Instead of conducting urgent and effective measures against the diseases of the mulberry leaf, demands of local factories were met by an increase in imports. In 1961, the import of dry cocoons was insignificant; in recent years, the share of imported raw material increased by as much as 60–65 percent. In 1980, silk production reached 49.2 million meters. Georgian natural silk (chiffon) fabrics were in high demand, not only in the former Soviet

² A crêpe thread consists of several silk thread folds and gets 2200–2400 spin per 1 m

³ The Georgian National Ballet, established in 1945

republics, but also in Europe. However, the poorly planned economy and high growth rate led to a decrease in production quality.

It should also be mentioned that the general economic downturn, the so-called—stagnation period—and later Perestroika, meant that from the beginning of the 1970s silk production in Georgia started to struggle, with limited machinery and lack of improvement at the technical level and in working conditions. The Soviet Union collapsed at the end of the 1980s, the closed circle of the economy was abolished, and all the supply and sale chains, formed over decades, vanished. Georgia, which gained independence and faced a new economic system, the market economy, was not able to maintain its silk production. After two or three years of independence, the sericultural industry no longer existed in the country. Much has been written about the revival of silk production, but nothing specific has been done in that direction over the last twenty-two years.

Today, according to the evaluation of international organizations—USAID and IFC—Georgia retains great potential in the textile sector and is among the most competitive countries on the international market. In addition, the creation of the raw material base needed for silk production occupies an important place in the ruling party's agricultural development strategy and has created expectations of investment in silk production and its development.

There are several reasons why the Georgian manufacturing sector is attractive to foreign investment. The country has a favorable geographic location for exports and a developed transport infrastructure, including roads and ports. Georgia has preferential trade agreements with major export markets: a free trade agreement exists with Turkey and CIS countries. Furthermore, Georgia has been granted Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) Plus status with the EU, US, Canada, Norway, Switzerland, and Japan. Tax free regimes are in force at the local level too: there are free trade zones in Georgia, where manufacturers are free from income and other taxes. In addition, if business is focused only on export, VAT on the imported or exported goods in any region of the country is not required. Customs procedures, compared to other countries, are simple. The workforce is cheap and production costs are low. Electricity and natural gas prices are lower compared to other countries and according to the calculations of the EPI (the Environmental Performance Index), the total cost of an employee (wages, food, transportation, health insurance, and taxes) is on average 250 US dollars and at a maximum of 400 US dollars per month in Georgia. For example, in Turkey, costs are at least 2.5 times higher.

New directions for the development of light and heavy industry, in which Georgia has a significant experience, are on their way. Professional skills,

experience, a developed infrastructure, low taxes for investors, and reliable and relatively cheap municipal services all reduce production costs and bureaucratic barriers, making Georgia competitive not only in the region, but also globally.

It is important that the Partnership Fund's portfolio includes a number of production-related investment schemes. For example, work on the promotion of clothes, yarn and textile production is ongoing.

In the case of large-scale development of agriculture, a real basis will be created for providing a number of sectors of light industry with raw materials. That will give rise to the rehabilitation of the silk thread twisting factories in western Georgia (Samtredia) and eastern Georgia (Telavi). Regarding local natural silk thread and worsted yarn making, the likelihood of restoring the former Tbilisi Maud-Kamvol Kombinat and Kutaisi Silk Manufacture Union has to be undertaken step by step to produce natural silk and wool textiles using local raw materials.

To sum up, the long history of silk production in Georgia shows that Georgian sericulture should be an indivisible part of local agriculture and needs to be restored. Of course, it is not easy and needs a well planned approach. Mulberry cultivation, breeding silkworms from eggs (Grenazh), feeding, and cocoon growth have to be developed, and taken into account by an agricultural development plan; new thread winding, twisting and weaving, and textile enterprises for the industrial processing of cocoons need to be established. All this should be done in accordance with modern requirements, taking into account Georgian tradition, originality, and artistic motifs, to satisfy both domestic and foreign needs. An organizational structure has to be created that will ensure silk cocoon production and gather it from farmers.

An inventory of the sector's enterprises also needs to be conducted, in order to determine the actual situation on the ground. A group consisting of qualified specialists has to be created at the Ministry of the Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia, which will design a recovery strategy for silk production and will ensure its effective implementation.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

PROTECTION OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

FROM PRODUCT TO BRAND: TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING COUNTERFEITING IN THE LUXURY FASHION ACCESSORY SECTOR

VALERIA PINCHERA

1. Introduction

This paper presents a preliminary investigation into the counterfeiting phenomenon within the handbag and leather goods sector by examining case-studies of two of the most well-known and counterfeited international luxury fashion brands: Gucci and Louis Vuitton. The counterfeiting phenomenon has increased signally at both international and national level over recent decades with a growth rate of 1,850 percent between 1994 and 2011 (Censis 2012). According to the World Customs Organization, the international market for counterfeit products covers 7–9 percent of world trade overall and accounts for over 2 percent of the current world economic output. In 2015 the International Chamber of Commerce forecast the global market value of the counterfeit industry at up to 1.7 trillion dollars (Frontier Economics 2011, 5–8). Despite the fact that over the last decade practitioners and researchers in different fields of social science, including economists, business economists, sociologists, law experts, and economic and social historians, have developed an increasing interest in this subject, the study of counterfeiting has not yet become an established field of research. In particular, while many researchers have contributed to investigating the nature of patents and copyrights, the relationship between imitation and innovation and the business, politics and legislative measures of different countries against counterfeiting very few have really analyzed the problems of counterfeiting in relationship to market evolution. In contrast, research on the demand for counterfeit products has increased notably in the last few years—growing demand has played a key role in the development of this phenomenon (Bian and Moutinho 2011).

Through a historical analysis and a mix of marketing and economic history perspectives, this paper tries to identify the market evolution and the competitive dynamics within the luxury fashion industry that have favored the development of counterfeits over the past few decades. This investigation points out how increasing focus on the brand image and the intangible values

of fashion products have stimulated the growth of counterfeiting. This paper is divided into three sections. The first section describes the main features of the market evolution of luxury brands, paying particular attention to demand-side aspects. The second section deals with the luxury business and offers an analysis of the evolution of Gucci and Louis Vuitton, focusing on the transformation of their product/brand relationship and product lines and the changes in distribution systems and advertising campaigns over time. The last section presents concluding remarks in respect of the findings.

2. The market of luxury fashion accessory products

Over the last few decades, academic research on the evolution of market and consumer behavior has highlighted the emergence of a strong relationship between brand and individual/social identity (Belk 1988; Batra, Ahuvia and Bagozzi 2012). Consumers construct and define their social and self-identity on the basis of their brand choices. In particular, in contemporary consumer culture the construction of one's self and social referencing has gradually become central to brand consumption. People use luxury brands as symbolic meanings (for example, uniqueness, exclusivity, prestige, etc.) to enhance their self-conception and to fulfill their desire to conform to an affluent lifestyle and/or to be distinguished from a non-affluent one.

Consumers live in a brandscape universe, in which consumer goods have become the material carriers of cultural/social meanings and values and outward displays of identity are embodied in the signs and symbols of brands (Sherry 1995). This focus on brands as communicators of identity, and the elevation of brands to cultural symbols, has important implications for understanding consumer attitudes towards counterfeit products (Perez, Castaño and Quintanilla 2010). A new stream of research questions the role played by the business strategies of luxury and fashion companies in the development of the counterfeiting phenomenon (Hanzaee and Farzaneh 2012). Recent studies have argued that the main cause of the growth of counterfeiting is the considerable increase in demand for counterfeit products (Bian and Moutinho 2011). Additionally, the evolution of fashion consumption over the last decades has entailed an important structural change to the market as well as to the supply chain. The traditional pyramidal structure of the market has gradually changed into an hourglass configuration, marked by polarization at the high- and low-end market segments (luxury and low cost), as a result of a 'blending' process—the so-called 'mix and match' (Pinchera 2009, 232–36). This market bifurcation, expressed in terms of trading up and trading down, has led to an increase in

luxury goods consumption, as well as of low cost goods. In this upward trend of the luxury market a new group of consumers has emerged: luxury excursionists, whose acquisition and consumption of luxury is occasional—an on and off consumption (Dubois and Laurent 1996). This is part of a democratization process favored by the strengthening of luxury fashion brand strategies, aimed at broadening their consumer audience through greater segmentation and diversification of the offered product range (with entry level products). It is not by chance that the market of luxury personal goods has nearly tripled over the last few decades (even if this increase has slowed down since 2013), both in mature economies, such as the United States and Japan, and in developing markets, such as China. With globalization, in conjunction with a process of ‘accessorification,’ a shift in focus—from the inside to the outside of the body—onto accessories, especially branded handbags, has resulted in increasing attention being paid by luxury fashion companies to the leather goods business, which provides high margins of profitability and suits varied markets and consumer characteristics with its ‘one-size-fits-all’ Products. In 2014, the revenue of Kering’s luxury division, including Alexander McQueen, Balenciaga, Bottega Veneta, Brioni, Gucci, Yves Saint Laurent, and Stella McCartney, generated 53 percent of the company’s overall revenue (Kering 2014). The market growth of original luxury accessories is closely linked to the development of counterfeiting of these products. In 2013, the World Customs Organization seized over 3 billion items of counterfeit goods with a retail value of 1 billion USD, of which clothing and accessories accounted for more than 34 percent of the overall amount (WCO 2014, 64). Luxury goods, especially handbags, both in the US and Europe, represented by far the most counterfeited products in terms of value, accounting for 76 percent and 60 percent respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1. Detained counterfeit products in the United States and Europe 2013 (retail value in % of the total)

	United States	Europe
Sector	Retail value	Retail value
Clothing and accessories	7%	25%
Watches/jewelry	29%	23%
Handbags/wallets	40%	10%
SUBTOTAL	76%	58%

Source: Data processing from the US Department of Homeland Security, *Intellectual Property Rights Seizure Statistics Fiscal Year 2013* and the European Commission, *Report on EU custom enforcement of intellectual property rights. Results at the Eu Border 2013*.

According to the 2012 list of the World Customs Organization, luxury fashion brands are the most counterfeited brands in the world in terms of value, about 35 percent of the overall amount, and Louis Vuitton and Gucci are ranked fourth and seventh (WCO 2013, 87).

Recent studies ascribe the increase in counterfeiting to a combination of various factors, such as the relocation of production to faraway areas causing a loss of control and traceability of the supply chain, the simplification of manufacturing processes, the enhancement of counterfeiting, especially in the leather sector due to increasing (market) availability of technical equipment and know-how, and the rising consumer demand for counterfeit goods, also related to the booming growth of e-commerce channels. Literature on the demand for counterfeit luxury products agrees that the key driver for purchasing them is the desire for the appropriation of a brand's symbolic meanings, including social status and prestige—as a direct result of the market's structural evolution and of branding, manufacturing, and pricing strategies within the luxury fashion business. Counterfeiting logically follows the increasing relevance of a product's immaterial and intangible values (the logo), as the brand becomes more important than the product and its intrinsic qualities.

3. Gucci and Louis Vuitton: a case study

Notwithstanding the increasing number of studies on counterfeiting, academic research into this phenomenon and its relationship to the evolution of manufacturing and marketing strategies within the luxury fashion business is limited. This analysis of the historical development of two leading luxury brands, Gucci and Louis Vuitton, aims to address this gap.

3.1.1 Gucci

The history of Gucci begins in 1921 in Florence where Guccio Gucci opened a workshop specializing in leather riding goods and a small luggage store. During the 1930s, the company expanded with the opening of a new workshop in Lungarno Guicciardini and a second shop in Rome (Pinchera 2009, 295–301). The economic recovery of Italy after World War II marked a new stage in Gucci's evolution, characterized by the first intergenerational transfer of the company, the expansion of production from luggage to bags and small leather goods, the registration of the trademark in 1955, and opening up to international trade. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Gucci brand achieved success and popularity: floral print silk scarf, bags, and the moccasin *horsebit* were cherished by the stars and icons of the international

jet-set, such as Jackie Kennedy and Grace Kelly. In the middle of the 1960s, the company introduced the famous interlocking double G logo, initially utilized for luggage and then for bags and small leather goods. In the 1970s, Gucci ramped up its growth and development, expanding into the markets of the Far East; it also launched its first prêt-à-porter collections and new accessory line products, which it achieved by opening a new factory in Scandicci near Florence (1971) and through numerous licensing agreements for manufacturing and commercial distribution. At the end of the 1970s, the extreme proliferation of retailers (over 1,000 worldwide) and Gucci branded products (over 20,000 articles) started to seriously erode the image of the brand and it became seen as a tacky ‘airport brand.’ In the 1980s, Gucci experienced economic difficulties and a change of ownership; Gucci’s heirs were forced to transfer the firm’s ownership to the Anglo-Arab holding Investcorp in 1993. The appointment of De Sole as president and sole director of the Gucci Group and Tom Ford as creative director marked a new stage in the business, with a reorganization of the corporate structure and a restructuring and requalification of production and distribution chains; there was a complete restyling of product lines and corporate image and restrictions placed on licensing. Advertising and direct distribution became the key parts of the new strategy. The renewal plan was a big hit, making Gucci one of the leading international luxury and fashion brands. Within a few years turnover increased by 300 percent. In 1999 the Gucci group formed a strategic alliance with Pinault-Printemps-Redoute (PPR, Kering by 2013), a multinational French holding, transforming it from a single brand company into a multibrand group through the buyout of numerous luxury fashion businesses, as well as watchmaking and jewelry firms (including Yves Saint Laurent, Bottega Veneta, and Brioni). The new multibrand strategy made the Gucci group the second most important luxury brand group in terms of turnover. The buyout of 100 percent of Gucci’s assets by PPR in 2004 started a new phase in the firm’s history, with the departure of De Sole and Ford and the appointment of a new president, Robert Polet (Patrizio De Marco from 2009) and a new creative director, Frida Giannini in 2006 (replaced by Alessandro Michele in February 2015). Gucci Group, currently chaired and managed by Marco Bizzarri, from December 2014, reported a turnover of €3.5 billion, with about 80 percent resulting from sales in 505 directly operated stores (Kering 2014). This achievement is corroborated by an estimate of the brand’s value by Interbrand, which puts it in fiftieth place in the 2015 rankings, behind Hermès, as the most valuable Italian brand worldwide in any sector for the fifteenth year running.

Gucci currently has over 9,600 direct employees—about 4,000 in Italy with a thousand in the factory at Casellina (Florence); the corporate

headquarters coordinates and supervises the manufacturing process which is outsourced to a network of small and medium-sized enterprises of contractors and subcontractors. Gucci's subcontractor system is divided into three levels: 1) the partner-supplier, who works exclusively for Gucci, provided directly with financing, technological and organizational support, 2) first level suppliers, without an exclusive relationship, and 3) second level suppliers. The entire manufacturing system counts 600 assembling supplier firms, mainly concentrated in the region around Florence, with a total of 45,000 indirect employees. In recent years, control and traceability of the supply chain has been the main focus of Gucci, which signed an agreement in 2004 with trade unions to adopt the Social accountability 8000 and the environmental management system (ISO 14001)—these were successfully carried out in 2011.

3.1.2 Louis Vuitton

The French company Louis Vuitton is one of the oldest fashion houses in the world. In 1854, Louis Vuitton opened his first shop in Paris in Rue Neuve des Capucines specializing in the manufacture of steamer trunks. In a short time the company achieved great success due to a number of inventions and innovations, such as the flat trunk and LV signature gray Trianon waterproof canvas in place of leather. The Trianon trunk became synonymous with elegance and prestige. With increasing sales, in 1859 Louis Vuitton built a factory in the Paris suburb of Asnières sur Seine, which employed around twenty artisans. The high quality materials and finishing of Vuitton's products garnered international fame, leading to the company becoming official vendor to various personalities of the time: the King of Spain, Alfonso XII, and Tsar Nicholas II. Growing success stimulated the spread of counterfeit Vuitton products on the market. In 1888, in order to reduce this phenomenon, Louis' son, George, created the brown and beige Damier canvas pattern with the sign 'L. Vuitton marque déposée.' Between the 1890s and 1930s, George transformed the company into a worldwide corporation, expanding production, developing its international business, and strengthening the brand image. In 1896, he created the celebrated monogrammed canvas, characterized by the LV monogram on a background of stylized stars and blossoms and registered as a trademark in 1905. In the 1930s, George launched new models of luggage bags, which became iconic of Louis Vuitton, such as the keepall bag in 1930 and the noè bag in 1932. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the company's management passed to the fourth generation, which aimed to refashion and adapt the Louis Vuitton production in line with changing consumer demands. By the 1960s, the

company had extended its collections to include women's handbags and small leather goods, made with flexible monogram canvas—it achieved huge success. Notwithstanding its increasing popularity, until the 1970s the company owned only one plant, two shops, and seventeen points of sale. In 1977, with the accession of Renée Vuitton's son-in-law, Henry Racamier, Louis Vuitton accelerated the pace of its growth. Racamier transformed the structure and strategy of the business, changing the family firm into a multinational company through a process of vertical integration, expansion of its manufacturing, and internationalization of its trade in Asia and the United States. In 1984 Louis Vuitton became a public company, evolving into the new holding of LVMH in 1987 with the merger of Louis Vuitton and Moët Hennessy. In the 1990s, its acquisition by Bernard Arnault as majority shareholder and the appointment of Yves Carcelle as president marked a turning point in Louis Vuitton. It became a global luxury fashion brand with the launch of its first prêt-à-porter and seasonal handbag collections under the supervision of new creative director Marc Jacobs (replaced in November 2013 by Nicolas Ghesquière). This development strategy achieved extraordinary results, mainly thanks to the extension of manufacturing facilities and direct retail networks. As of 2005 the company has adopted a new factory format called Pegase, in order to streamline and maximize production efficiency. The new manufacturing system, inspired by the Toyota factory line, substantially reduced processing times and costs and increased production, speeding up the process of product restocking in stores.

Currently, Louis Vuitton has seventeen production plants (seven for leather goods: five in France, one in Spain, and one in the United States), an international logistics center, about 15,000 direct employees, and more than 460 exclusive shops worldwide. In 2014, the turnover of the Fashion and Leather goods division of the LVMH conglomerate, to which Louis Vuitton belongs along with fourteen other brands including Christian Dior, Celine, Emilio Pucci, Fendi, and Givenchy, reached 10.8 billion euros (LVMH 2014). According to the ranking of *Interbrand*, as well as *Forbes*, Louis Vuitton is the world's most valuable brand in the luxury fashion sector.

This analysis of Gucci's and Louis Vuitton's historical development shows various similarities. The main analogies regard their evolution and changes in their corporate organizational structure, as well as a common globalization strategy based on broadening direct distribution and widening product ranges. Within globalization, the achievement of fashion and luxury products has become ever more closely linked to brand image, making these companies increase investment in post-manufacturing phases, such as commercialization, distribution, promotion, and streamlining the manufacturing process. The aim of enhancing business and expanding the

consumer market has led these companies to maximize market coverage through extension of their product lines with entry-level products, giving rise to a new category of accessible luxury. This trading-down strategy allows a shift towards the mass market, but at the same time it has the risk of devaluing the brand image and fostering counterfeiting. In recent years these luxury and fashion companies have also begun a trading up strategy, launching limited edition and customized handbag lines, decreasing the number of models in canvas in favor of leather in handbag collections, offering iconic products of fine leather, and renewing design strategies by recruiting new creative directors.

In the list of the most counterfeited brands, considering the total number of cases in all sectors, Louis Vuitton is the most counterfeited fashion luxury brand, followed by Gucci. Both companies address this phenomenon, through legal means. Louis Vuitton has a special legal department with a team of sixty employees, who work full-time fighting counterfeiting in collaboration with forty lawyers, a network of 250 independent investigators, and an annual budget of 15 million euros. LVMH holdings is recognized as a major player in the fight against counterfeiting and has undertaken numerous lawsuits, including a case against Ebay which was charged with selling Louis Vuitton products without verifying their origins; in 2008 it was sentenced to pay 38.6 million euros in damages to LVMH.

4. Final remarks

The globalization process and progressive spread of the market economy have both helped revitalize the illegal circuits of counterfeiting. An increase in supply is due to a growing demand for luxury goods in the middle and lower classes, who desire to purchase brand products at lower prices.

This analysis of Gucci's and Louis Vuitton's evolution highlights the increasing attention placed on strategies for promoting their brands that have led them being ranked among the most valuable global brands by *Interbrand*. The visibility and popularity of these brands represent their market success, as well as being directly correlated to the frequency of their counterfeiting (Commuri 2009). As has been recently pointed out, the increase in Louis Vuitton's turnover has proceeded in parallel with the rise of the number of seizures of counterfeit Louis Vuitton products (Maître-Perrino 2007, 7–8).

The streamlining of the manufacturing process, intended to expand the market and increase profits, at the expense of qualitative components such as craftsmanship and raw materials, has favored counterfeiting. A process of product dematerialization, engaging new strategies of communication and brand promotion, has made products easier to copy and imitate.

Finally, from this analysis it can be seen that the role of outsourcing is not a factor for companies' vulnerability to counterfeiting, as has already been pointed out in previous studies (Vettori 2008). Louis Vuitton, which is the most counterfeited luxury fashion brand worldwide, turns to external suppliers only for some secondary components of its handbags, such as zippers and handles

It appears to be no coincidence, with respect to the evidence concerning the relationship between an identified brand and product, that in the last few years, the Gucci and Louis Vuitton companies have upgraded and improved the quality of their accessory lines. This is a new strategy that aims to requalify production and elevate the companies' products to a higher market segment.

These preliminary results, although not conclusive, provide interesting evidence about the supply and demand side factors that have favored the development of counterfeiting within the handbag industry in recent years. This has been further corroborated by the recent judgment of the European General Court, which, on April 21, 2015, cancelled the distinctive trademark of Louis Vuitton's chequerboard pattern (le damier) stating that:

“the chequerboard pattern is a basic and commonplace figurative pattern, since it is composed of a regular succession of squares of the same size which are differentiated by alternating different colours ... The pattern thus does not contain any notable variation in relation to the conventional representation of chequerboards and is the same as the traditional form of such a pattern.”¹

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FASHION UNDER UNESCO CONVENTIONS AND CULTURAL RIGHTS PROVISIONS: THE FRAMEWORK AND LIMITATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

LUIGIA BERSANI

Fashion, considered for its social and artistic value, may be considered an element that identifies each age and culture, and for this reason it has aligned with history in all its evolutions. As fashion may represent a cultural value, its legal protection and valorization can possibly be found under international law through instruments related to intellectual property, those related to intangible cultural heritage, and those related to cultural diversity, as well as international instruments related to a specific category of human rights, i.e. cultural rights.

Cultural rights are a special type of human right that arise mainly from Article 27 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and Article 15 of the Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights of 1966. They relate, in particular, to the concept of the identity of persons and, briefly, they include, among other rights, the right to freedom of expression and the right to participate in cultural life.

It may be possible to state that certain UNESCO agreements can contribute to the protection of such rights. The UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the UNESCO Convention of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions are particularly important in the matter of fashion, both as a product of human creativity and expression and, more generally, as the way of dressing or of producing clothes, which may represent particular cultural, social, and traditional values.

The UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage

In particular, if fashion is considered in its meaning of traditional custom, meaning the way one can identify a specific culture, or if it is considered as a traditional handcrafting process, its legal protection under international law could be included in the protections provided by the UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

This convention considers intangible cultural heritage to be those practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, and skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated with them—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.¹

Intangible cultural heritage is manifested inter alia in the following domains: oral traditions and expressions, including language; performing arts; social practices, rituals, and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship.²

The UNESCO Convention of 2003 established the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, which aimed to ensure a better visibility of intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance, and to encourage dialogue in respect of cultural diversity.³

Clothing is, directly or indirectly, one of the most considered elements within the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, as it constitutes an essential aspect of most of the cultural expressions inserted in the list, involving both clothing or textile manufacturing processes and the specific, traditional cultures of communities. Indeed, the way of dressing has always been the result of numerous socio-cultural identity-related values that may be protected as intangible cultural heritage in that they represent specific traditions transmitted from generation to generation and constantly recreated by communities, which recognize them as part of their cultural heritage.

¹ UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Article 2

² UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Article 2.

³ UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Article 16

For example, in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage elements involving clothing handcraft processes, decorations, and the special culture of communities, are registered.

For Hungary the folk art of the Matyń is registered. This is the embroidery of a traditional community that decorates the traditional dress of the region, worn by local people in celebratory events and in folk dancing and singing.⁴ For the Republic of Korea, the Weaving of Mosi (fine ramie) in the Hansan region is registered—a special process of making clothes involving a number of steps, including harvesting, boiling, and bleaching ramie plants, spinning yarn out of ramie fiber, and weaving it on a traditional loom.⁵ For China, the craftsmanship of Nanjing Yunjin brocade is registered: this consists of a special process of weaving in which two craftspeople operate the upper and lower parts of a large, complicated loom to produce textiles incorporating fine materials such as silk, gold, and peacock feather yarn; such a method comprises more than a hundred procedures, including manufacturing looms, drafting patterns, the creation of jacquard cards for programming weaving patterns, dressing the loom, and the many stages of weaving itself⁶ For the Russian Federation, the cultural space and oral culture of the Semeiskie communities (Siberia) are registered; they are a group of so-called Old Believers, a confessional community originating from the time of the Instigation of the Russian Orthodox Church in the seventeenth century. They are characterized, among other things, by old rituals and strong moral principles, and have recognizable handicrafts, dwellings, paintings, ornaments, food and music, and also traditional dress.⁷

The 2005 Convention of UNESCO on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

As stated above, fashion could also find its legal protection under the Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Indeed, this convention applies to the policies and measures adopted by signatory states related to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions⁸ where cultural

⁴ Decision of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee: 7.COM 11.15, Paris 2012

⁵ Decision of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee: 6.COM 13.45, Bali 2011

⁶ Decision of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee: 4.COM 13.11, Abu Dhabi 2009

⁷ *Third session of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee: 3.COM, Istanbul, 2008*

⁸ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 3

expressions are understood as expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups, and societies; have cultural content; and where cultural content refers to the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension, and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities.⁹

The UNESCO Convention of 2005 also protects cultural diversity itself, meaning the manifold ways in which the cultures of groups and societies find expression. These expressions are passed on, within, and among groups and societies. Cultural diversity is manifested not only through the varied ways in which the cultural heritage of humanity is expressed, augmented, and transmitted through the variety of cultural expressions, but also through diverse modes of artistic creation, production, dissemination, distribution, and enjoyment, whatever the means and technologies used.¹⁰

The type of cultural expression to which the UNESCO Convention 2005 refers, clearly includes intangible cultural heritage; it recognizes the cultural content that is preserved along with history, and, at the same time, it also includes, in a more general sense, all the expressions with cultural content, even contemporary ones, deriving from the creativity of individuals, groups, and societies. Therefore the UNESCO Convention of 2005 protects cultural expressions with a value that is both historical and current.

Accordingly, as fashion may be considered both as the result of contemporary creative expressions and as an intangible cultural heritage, its legal protection under international law could be included in the scope of the 2005 Convention.

Briefly, the UNESCO Convention of 2005 seems to have the main objective of preventing the negative effects of globalization and improving cultural potentiality by promoting the circulation of expressions and of ideas that underlie them.

More specifically, the objectives of the UNESCO Convention of 2005 are as follows: to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions; to create the conditions for cultures to flourish and freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner; to encourage dialogue among cultures with a view to ensuring wider and more balanced cultural exchanges in the world in favor of intercultural respect and a culture of peace; to foster interculturality in order to develop cultural interaction in the spirit of building bridges among peoples; to promote respect for the diversity of cultural expressions and raise awareness of its value at the local, national, and international levels; to reaffirm the importance of the link between culture and development for all

⁹ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 4

¹⁰ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 4

countries, particularly for developing countries, and to support actions undertaken nationally and internationally to secure recognition of the true value of this link; to give recognition to the distinctive nature of cultural activities, goods and services as vehicles of identity, values, and meaning; to reaffirm the sovereign rights of states to maintain, adopt, and implement policies and measures that they deem appropriate for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions in their territory; to strengthen international cooperation and solidarity in a spirit of partnership with a view, in particular, to enhancing the capacity of developing countries to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions.¹¹

All these objectives are meant to be reached, pursuant to the convention, through the obligations of signatory states, consisting of measures: promoting cultural expression by creating fertile surroundings for individuals and social groups;¹² the protection of cultural expressions by identifying in their territories the existence of particular cultural expressions that are exposed to the risk of extinction, which are under serious threat, or are otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding;¹³ promotion and understanding of the importance of the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions through education and greater public awareness; encouraging creativity and strengthening production capacities by setting up educational, training, and exchange programs in the field of cultural industries, in a manner which does not have a negative impact on traditional forms of production.¹⁴

Thus, fashion, along with other forms of cultural expression, could come under the above objectives. If fashion is considered to be art, it should be protected—it represents a vehicle of creativity that contributes to dialogue between individuals and social groups and, at the same time, creates new cultural expressions; by contending, more generally, that it refers to specific modes of dress, it represents the expression and recognition by individuals of being part of a specific, identifiable culture or community and, in this sense, the way of being dressed, or the traditional way of creating clothes, may be considered to be an intangible cultural heritage the preservation of which could improve cultural diversity; in both circumstances, fashion could be protected as it can represent an instrument for social and economic growth,

¹¹ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 1

¹² Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article.

¹³ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 8.

¹⁴ UNESCO Convention of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 10.

through the development of clothing industries (which can be considered to be cultural industries), encouraging creativity and, at the same time, building on traditional forms clothing manufacture.

The importance of protecting and developing cultural industries was stressed by UNESCO in the Florence Declaration of 2014. This underlined that the full potential of cultural industries at the core of the creative economy should be harnessed to stimulate innovation and economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all. When cultural and creative industries become part of an overarching growth and development strategy, they contribute to the revitalization of national economies, generate green employment, stimulate local development, and foster creativity. Evidence shows that they provide new local development pathways that build on existing skills and knowledge.¹⁵

The UNESCO Convention and Human Rights

As highlighted above, the provisions of both the UNESCO Convention of 2003 and the UNESCO Convention of 2005 find a limitation in respect of human rights. Indeed, the UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage provides that, for the purposes of the convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights documents; with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups, and individuals; and sustainable development.¹⁶ In the same sense, the UNESCO Convention of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions states that cultural diversity can be protected and promoted only if human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as the freedom of expression, information, and communication, and the capacity of individuals to choose cultural expressions, are guaranteed. No one may invoke the provisions of the convention in a manner that infringes upon human rights and fundamental freedoms as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and guaranteed by international law, or limit the scope thereof.¹⁷

It is clear, therefore, that even if the provisions of these conventions for the protection of cultural diversity intangible cultural heritage are binding for

¹⁵ Florence Declaration, October 2014, Third UNESCO World Forum on Culture and Cultural Industries—Culture, Creativity, and Sustainable Development.

¹⁶ UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, Article 2.

¹⁷ Convention UNESCO of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, Article 2

signatory states, they must always, before executing these provisions, evaluate any potential infringement on the human rights of citizens.

Conclusions

The international protection and valorization of fashion—the modes of dress and ways of producing clothes—could find its basis in the protection of a special type of human rights—cultural rights. Cultural rights are those that relate to the identity of persons, including the right of expression (and of artistic expression) and the right to participate in cultural life.

The protection of these rights is carried out, among other things, by the implementation by states of the obligations established by the UNESCO Convention of 2003 for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and by the UNESCO Convention of 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

Creative fashion, the way of being dressed, and the way of producing clothes could all be considered direct or indirect objects of the protections provided by these conventions. They are the product of human creativity and expression and, at the same time, they may represent an important element of intangible cultural heritage, because of the specific identity values that they represent.

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CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN THE FASHION INDUSTRY: FROM MORAL RESPONSIBILITY TO LEGAL LIABILITY

MARTA BORDIGNON

Introduction

Since the mid-1950s, when the first definition of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) was provided (Bowen 1953), the notion of CSR has developed significantly through several concepts, such as stakeholder theory and related engagement and management tools (Freeman 1984). CSR can be defined as one of the most interesting theoretical frameworks aimed at clarifying the role of business and its impact on society. Over the past two decades, its focus has shifted rapidly from the moral aspects of corporate responsibility to its strategic value, especially as an effective resource for achieving financial objectives and promoting business compliance with CSR principles and standards. Increasing interest among scholars and practitioners in CSR has led to the development of a CSR approach more focused on the needs of balancing social needs and corporate goals. Nevertheless, the debate around CSR and competitive performance is ongoing and no clear results have been reached thanks to a lack of codification of CSR conduct and the informal nature of its practice.

CSR, along with stakeholder theory, supports business engagement in reporting financial and trade strategies, through the adoption of codes of conduct or ethics, not only to shareholders, but to all stakeholders (both internal—employees, joint venture partners, sub-contractors; and external—local communities, business associations, governments, CSOs). In the previous decade, the emergence of grievance mechanisms, voluntary standards, and social sustainability policies has led to an increasing interest in the social dimension of business development and promotion. In this sense, CSR has evolved through the so-called Triple P Approach or Triple Bottom Line (People, Planet, Profit) aimed at including different perspectives on

sustainability and development. However, both the role of the state and of business in this field, and its interaction with international law, need to be analyzed further. It is worth mentioning that CSR is a matter of *soft law* and is company-led; states can play a supporting role through the adoption of voluntary measures and correlated legislation.

Given the increasing number of high profile cases of human rights violations that have occurred worldwide in the fashion and textile industry over the last few years, the concept of corporate responsibility has entered the international stage; further steps are required within all industrial sectors. An inconsistency between the moral responsibility assumed by companies through the implementation of CSR instruments and policies and their refusal to recognize the legal dimensions surrounding their activity has emerged. The existing corporate system of internal audit and certification, for instance, as well as stakeholder engagement strategies, are not sufficient to overcome the human rights abuses that have taken place all along the supply chain.

Against this background, the purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between the adoption of CSR tools aimed at supporting corporate compliance with CSR and human rights principles, and the notion of corporate legal liability, with a special focus on the fashion and textile industry—a significant industrial cluster with a high social and economic impact, especially in relation to labor conditions and environmental protection. The paper is structured into two sections: i) the first describes the most relevant international and EU legal instruments on CSR and gives an overview of the concept of extraterritorial corporate responsibility; ii) the second analyzes the role of CSR initiatives (such as stakeholder engagement) as effective tools for avoiding or limiting corporate liability, through the example of a recent Brazilian case involving a famous Spanish fashion brand. An overall assessment and some final remarks are provided in the conclusion.

Legal Aspects of CSR and Corporate Liability: The International and EU Legal Framework

According to international human rights law in this area, two sets of actors that may be held responsible for human rights violations can be identified: states, which have duty-of-care for a wide range of human rights and individuals, who can be involved in a smaller range of abuses. However, connected to the existence of these two entities is the role played by corporations that can be defined as global actors due to their exercise of economic power over individuals (such as their employees), beyond the political power exercised by states. Over recent decades, companies have become more international due to globalization and have consequently

become more independent from government supervision (Strange 1996, 49-50). If international law provided for a regime of corporate responsibility (companies as duty-holders and thus possibly incurring some sanctions), it would put more incentive, especially on states and the international community, to address business conduct. As highlighted by Ratner (2001), five main methods¹ for developing and applying a corpus of international norms, including business obligations to protect human rights, can be drawn up. The principal participants in such a process include governments, corporations, and NGOs; the starting point of this process is self-regulation implemented by business, for example through the adoption of Codes of Conduct, the endorsement of existing international human rights standards, and the application of CSR policies.

The most relevant initiatives taken at international level on CSR and sustainability are found within the UN framework, such as the launch in 1999 of the UN Global Compact. The ten principles included in this document highlight human rights, labor, the environment, and corruption and have to be endorsed by an enterprise's CEO to facilitate elaboration and promotion of internal sustainability policies and processes. More recently, the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) endorsed the 'Protect, Respect, and Remedy Framework' (2008); three years later the related 'UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights' (UNGPs) were promulgated—the first set of guidelines on business and human rights endorsed by the UN. This framework has three interrelated pillars, which drew on existing standards of international law and corporate practice: protect, respect, and remedy.²

However, the general UN system should not be considered as a catch-all for every issue related to CSR; over the years other international organizations have drawn up commitments to business compliance with CSR and human rights principles, including the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the International Labour Organization (ILO). In particular, the OECD Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises—adopted by governments from 1976 onwards—updated five

¹ The five methods identified by Ratner are: (a) corporate-initiated Codes of Conduct; (b) NGO scrutiny; (c) national legal regimes; (d) Soft International Law; (e) the treaty-process—a binding Code of Conduct.

² The three pillars are based on: i) the duty of the state to protect human rights, including from non-state actors such as business enterprises; ii) the corporate responsibility to respect internationally recognized human rights, including undertaking due diligence and impact assessments in order to ensure compliance with international human rights law; and, iii) the need to have access to more effective remedies for victims of human rights abuses, both of a state and non-state, and judicial and non-judicial nature.

times since then—and included in the OECD Declaration on International Investment and multinational enterprises—are addressed to multinational corporations, small and medium enterprises (SMEs), and their supply chains. They include voluntary principles for sustainable business conduct in terms of: transparency; human rights; employment practices and industrial relations; the environment; bribery and extortion; science and technology; competition and taxation. Furthermore, aside from the eight ILO Core Conventions,³ the ‘ILO Multinational Enterprise (MNE) Declaration’ (1977) addresses: labor and living conditions; industrial relations; employment and training. It applies to governments, employers, and workers’ organizations, and is mainly aimed at encouraging a positive approach by MNEs to social and economic development. Finally, ‘ISO 26000’ is an international unified standard launched in 2010 by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), with a five-year commitment by numerous stakeholders (governments, companies, labor and consumers’ organizations, NGOs) in the field of social responsibility. Different to other well-known ISO standards, it is not certificated because its intention is as guidance for developing an ethical approach to business activities.

In the last two decades, CSR has emerged as an important topic of discussion at European level. This is shown by the adoption of the ‘Communication on a Renewed CSR Strategy 2011–2014’ and ‘Europe 2020’—the European Union strategy for growth and employment (including five objectives to be reached by 2020: employment, innovation, education, social inclusion, and climate/energy—EU Commission, 2011). As far as the communication on CSR is concerned, the document contains a new definition of CSR⁴ that underscores the responsibility of enterprises and constitutes a significant shift away from the voluntary approach to CSR that previously characterized the European Commission’s view. This new definition marks the promotion by the Commission of a new CSR approach, based on the construction of shared values and positive corporate conduct, including social policies. It also stresses that enterprises should have a process in place to integrate social, environmental, ethical, human rights, and consumer concerns into their business operations and core strategy in close collaboration with their stakeholders (EU Commission 2011, Section 3.1). Furthermore, the European Commission has expressly invited European corporations to refer to internationally recognized standards and principles in their CSR policies and has underlined that these standards will be integrated into future EU policies on CSR.

³ ILO Conventions Nos. 29, 87, 98, 100, 105, 111, 122, 138 and 182.

⁴ The new definition of CSR put forward by the EU Commission is the responsibility of enterprises in terms of their impacts on society.

Currently, the primary instrument setting out the EU vision on external policies in relation to CSR is the ‘EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy 2015–2019,’ which calls for the inclusion of CSR and human rights policies into EU action generally. Moreover, in July 2015 the EU Commission released a ‘Working Document on Implementing the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights: State of Play’ (SWD, 2015, 144 final), which referred to EU external policy and, in particular, to the abovementioned ‘Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy.’ It suggests the future inclusion of references to internationally agreed CSR instruments within its stated general goals aimed at keeping human rights at the heart of the EU political agenda. Finally, EU institutions have also adopted regulations concerning CSR, including the ‘Directive on Non-Financial Reporting’ (NFR—EU Directive 2014/95/EU) and the proposed ‘Conflict Minerals Regulation.’ The adoption of the Directive on NFR provides some innovative criteria that all companies active on the EU stock exchange should abide by, such as the disclosure of information related to their management of social, environmental, and governance issues.

Despite the international and European legal instruments described, corporations are not subjects under the provisions of international law, but they should submit to national regulations adopted under the principle of each state’s duty to protect human rights from violations, as stated in the ‘Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ (UN 1948). In this regard, corporations should be held responsible for Human Rights violations both within and outside the territory of the state in which they are registered. For example, domestic legislation related to labor rights, environmental damage, or the extraterritorial dimension of business responsibility where the host-state—the state where the violation occurs—can file a claim against a company. In the EU legal system, for instance, the Brussels I Regulation provides that EU courts can accept jurisdiction in civil liability suits against private entities or persons domiciled in EU territory, but it does not include any provisions attributing the regulation of this issue to member states.

Moreover, the EU system has rejected the application of the principle of *forum non conveniens* (a US doctrine concerning the possibility of a court preventing a case being moved to another jurisdiction considered more appropriate), allowing the courts of EU member states to judge cases involving alleged human rights violations that have occurred abroad. As far as corporate civil liability is concerned, in the EU system and, in particular among member states of the Council of Europe, enterprises can be judged under the ‘European Convention on Human Rights,’ although EU courts do not always apply international law provisions related to claims against businesses. Finally, regarding applicable law, the Rome II Regulation—

dealing with tort liability claims in the courts of EU member states—establishes the law of the state where harm has occurred as applicable, although it theoretically allows the application of home-state law if the host-state is incapable of providing sufficient protection to victims. To date, this last exception has yet to be affirmed and constitutes a barrier to effective remedy.

Other possible constraints faced by victims can arise from the internal structure of corporate groups. Multinational enterprises, as is clear from their denomination, are delocalized and have a presence in many countries worldwide; they are often divided in different legal entities with unbalanced degrees of influence on the management organization, especially related to the role played by parent companies and subsidiaries. For this reason, transnational and multinational companies can avoid civil liability for the illegal activities of each of their constituent components, which poses a legal barrier alongside the lack of due diligence provisions in their company statutes and the difficulties of accessing internal documents on company structure for proving the level of a subsidiary's involvement. In the European Union, these obstacles depend on the law applicable to each case, although the prevalent principle remains one of limited liability, restricting the possibility of seeking reparations for victims of abuses at the hands of subsidiary companies.

Corporate Liability and CSR Initiatives: The Zara Brazil Case

In order to give an idea of the relationship between corporate liability—in terms of the legal outcomes of business activity and its impact on affected stakeholders—and the implementation of existing CSR practices, it is necessary to define the main kinds of CSR initiatives carried out by companies. Following the European Union classification of 2008 (EU Commission, 2008) and the related stakeholder theory approach, it is possible to point to four main groups of activity (Battaglia et al. 2014, 876-77). These include: (a) the category of *environment-related CSR*, implying the adoption of internal audits and the use of environmental-friendly raw materials; (b) *workplace initiatives*, including the adoption of specific codes of conduct and the provision of special benefits for employees; (c) the *community-related approach*, referring to the endorsement of existing international standards on CSR and human rights (e.g. UN Global Compact, UNGPs, etc.) and the implementation of advantageous initiatives for local communities; (d) the *marketplace category* (internal stakeholders), which concerns the realization

of eco-friendly performance along the supply chain or the promotion and marketing of eco-sustainable products.

Given the key role played by both external and internal stakeholders in elaborating and integrating a CSR policy in the business model, a self-regulating mechanism for monitoring the adherence of corporate activity to legal and ethical norms should be established. Compliance with these principles entails the concept of corporate responsibility both from a legal and a moral point of view. This notion is strictly linked to one of *business accountability* as a process aimed at ensuring company integrity through the balancing of social demands, coming from stakeholders, and financial profit. According to CSR provisions, corporate management accountability is a requirement of all involved stakeholders and this implies a complexity of approach in its practical realization. Furthermore, due to the multitude of business actors and the emerging role of business in society, stakeholder engagement and communication strategies remain the most effective tools to address possible legal and social conflicts arising at the local and regional level.

With the aim of examining the correlation between the legal and moral aspects of corporate responsibility, I present the litigation involving the Spanish fashion brand Zara and the Brazilian government, which imposed a fine on the company and added it to a blacklist of corporations accused of labor rights abuses. Despite the 2011 slave labor case involving workshops producing clothes for Zara Brazil and the improvements made by the company in terms of CSR policies and practices, some weaknesses persist (for example, a non-effective monitoring mechanism along the supply chain implemented by the company, especially as regards subcontractors and so-called informal workshops where the risk of serious human rights and labor rights violations is increased). In June 2012, Zara Brazil filed a suit against the Brazilian government contesting the fines imposed by the Labour Prosecutor's Office and the inclusion of the firm on the slave labor blacklist. Zara Brazil argued both against its legal responsibility and the competence of the Brazilian Ministry of Labour in creating the blacklist, contending that the ministry's authority should be limited to issuing penalties based on existing domestic legislation. This corporate effort against the Brazilian government undermined its powers of effectively fighting labor rights violations, such as modern slavery, in all industrial sectors, not just in the fashion and textile industry. At the same time, the company's commitment to human rights compliance—for instance through the adoption of internal action plans aimed at fulfilling Brazilian labor laws—is incompatible with its attempts at weakening a compliance tool implemented by the Brazilian government (the blacklisting), which is a primary source of reference for both government and

companies committed to abolishing forced labor, especially in the fashion and textile industry.

This case demonstrates the limited strength of domestic provisions in terms of legal corporate responsibility, including the adoption of innovative and specific mechanisms, as in the Brazilian case. Furthermore, the litigation also proves the lack of effectiveness of internal tools implemented by corporations (e.g. audit, certification, stakeholder engagement, Code of Conduct, Human Rights Due Diligence, etc.) in addressing human rights violations. Further examples occurring in the supply chain of Western clothing companies, such as the Rana Plaza collapse (Bangladesh) in April 2013, which involved about 30 global fashion brands, are worthy of consideration. These situations reflect an emerging business model based on low-cost production and thus increasing human and labor rights abuses. It is also worth mentioning here the insufficient role played by voluntary measures and *soft law* instruments in promoting business compliance with CSR and human rights principles and standards. In this regard, issues surrounding low-cost production and the avoidance of legal sanctions for human rights violations at domestic and international level should be dealt with.

Conclusion

Despite corporate attention in better complying with CSR and human rights, and the proven link between CSR practice and business financial performance, further steps are required. The case of Zara Brazil demonstrates the need for a more comprehensive approach to this issue especially in the fashion and textile industry, which is often exposed to human rights violations regarding labor conditions and environmental protection. Existing business practices related to the implementation of stakeholder engagement initiatives—including Human Rights Due Diligence and the adoption of Codes of Conduct—can be considered as starting points for a developing a wider consensus on sustainable corporate conduct. However, greater awareness should be promoted among corporations, focusing in particular on a broader communication strategy. As far as legal aspects are concerned, the emerging interest of the international law doctrine on the extraterritorial dimension of corporate liability could entail a more effective commitment by the business community to abide by international and national regulations related to human rights and CSR.

In conclusion, I wish to point to some recommendations that governments and enterprises should take into consideration, including: (i) the adoption by national institutions of legal provisions aimed at reaffirming the strict liability

of companies for abuses along the supply chain; (ii) the development of sustainable business practices, as well as the establishment of grievance mechanisms within the corporate management structure; (iii) and, the endorsement by companies of international standards of human rights and CSR in order to identify, prevent, and mitigate adverse impacts in the supply chain and on all involved stakeholders.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

NEW COMMUNICATION DEVICES AND METHODS

FASHION BLOGGING AND JOURNALISM: TESTIMONIALS AND TESTAMENTS OF OUR TIME

GIULIA ROSSI

‘Fashion blogging: from passion to profession’—with these few words it is possible to sum up the incredibly successful history of the fashion blogger. Today, interest in this subject is at its apex and it is very fashionable to talk about fashion blogging. It is fashionable to talk about, but not really easy to examine from a scientific point of view. Only a little time has passed since the beginning of the phenomenon and it is therefore quite difficult to have accurate data. We can, in any case, frame some general points.

From the first blog in 1997 (about hunting) to the huge numbers of blogs existing today, a little less than twenty years have passed. Over the past two decades blogging platforms have changed significantly. As blogs have changed, so too have their creators—the bloggers. Before beginning to speak in particular about fashion blogging and fashion bloggers, I would like to highlight that the terms used to describe topics such as food, tourism, beauty, and travel, can also be applied to the world of fashion. Some consider fashion to be a niche. Notwithstanding the vastness of the subject, it has a long tradition, especially for Italians. Fashion dominates Italian markets, culture, and tradition. In this text, I give a description of the evolution of this craft over the last six years as regards the universe of Italian communication.

To fully understand the world of fashion blogging, we must center our discussion around the following questions: how can fashion bloggers be defined *professionally*? What are their skills? What kind of study must they follow to succeed in the profession? It is very important to attempt to find answers to these questions, because more and more students wish to become fashion bloggers. For many of them, fashion blogging has taken the place of fashion journalism. Today, bloggers are the stars of the fashion communication world. Young people are not entirely wrong in viewing the world in this way, but they have only a small fragment of a larger picture.

It is imperative that students, from the beginning, understand what the professional field was like before the arrival of fashion bloggers. We must be aware that the entire glittering universe of fashion, in all its aspects (including communication and press offices), was always led by a very few people. A few people with *immense* power. In the past, journalists were always spoiled and pampered by large corporations and not always free to openly express criticism. Fashion brands and their activities have always been hot topics of writing for journalists and, at the same time, of great interest to investors in the media they work for. Fashion/luxury is a key field for editors and they do not want to lose their best investors thanks to independent journalists. Of course not *all* journalists and not *all* editors behaved in this way, but *many* of them did and continue to do so. It has not been easy to introduce an independent press into the old system. For writers and thinkers in the fashion world, the entry door has always been difficult to open.

The arrival of web 2.0, fashion blogs, and fashion bloggers has totally changed the field. The consolidated equilibrium that had previously been known was upended by a revolution of massive sharing and unlimited selection. The few fashion journalists previously admitted to this inner circle had to make space for those that had just arrived. The newly arrived, on the other hand, may have been young, without experience, know-how and contacts, but ... they brought fresh air. These were outsiders who, little by little, became insiders—part of the game. To tell the truth, not all these newly arrived were *real* outsiders. Sometimes they were people already working in fashion (though not specifically in the press and communication area). Most of them were skilled in the use of the Internet and had good ideas.

Let us consider different examples of some of the first and most important fashion bloggers in the world: Scott Schuman from *The Sartorialist* and Tavi Gevinson from *The Style Rookie*. The former, Schuman, was not really an outsider to the fashion world when he started *The Sartorialist* in 2005. He and his French wife, Garance Doré, were one of the most influential couples in the entire world of fashion. When he started the blog, Schuman was about 40 years old. He had the idea of going around the world and taking photos of common people on the streets, capturing ‘authentic’ street style. His fundamental keys to success in this emerging web market were his ideas, know-how, experience, and willingness to follow new paths. Tavi Gevinson (and most fashion bloggers) have a different story. When she started blogging in 2008, she was eleven years old and was playing with her mum’s clothes. She created visionary outfits and posted them on her blog, *The Style Rookie*.

Her online following quickly grew and she became famous. She started going to fashion shows and giving interviews to magazines and television

shows. She even branded her own line of t-shirts for the London brand Borders & Frontiers.

The world of fashion blogging also developed in Italy at this time. The most famous Italian fashion blog, *The Blond Salad*, is run by Chiara Ferragni and was created in 2009. Ferragni's history is quite similar to that of Tavi Gevinson. The main character, Ferragni, became even *bigger* than Gevinson. When she started the blog, she was twenty-two and a student at Bocconi University. As a result of her success, she was included in the 2015 *Forbes* list of the most influential people under thirty in the world (category: Art & Style).

Taking these three success stories as examples, we must look at what is on either side of the spectrum of fashion blogging. To understand these new and different professional roles, we must compare them not only to journalists (whose competencies are different), but above all take a different point of view. As regards this topic, a recent article written by the famous journalist Suzy Menkes left its mark—*The Circus of Fashion* (February 10, 2013, NYT):

“Ah, fame! Or, more accurately in the fashion world, the celebrity circus of people who are famous for being famous. They are known mainly by their Facebook pages, their blogs and the fact that the street photographer Scott Schuman has immortalized them on his Sartorialist Web site. This photographer of ‘real people’ has spawned legions of imitators, just as the editors who dress for attention are now challenged by bloggers who dress for attention.

There is a genuine difference between the stylish and the showoffs—and that is the current dilemma. If fashion is for everyone, is it fashion? The answer goes far beyond the collections and relates to the speed of fast fashion. There is no longer a time gap between when a small segment of fashion-conscious people pick up a trend and when it is all over the sidewalks.

Adhering to the time-honored journalistic rule that reporters don't take gifts (read: bribes), I am stunned at the open way bloggers announce which designer has given them what. There is something ridiculous about the self-aggrandizement of some online arbiters who go against the mantra that I was taught in my earliest days as a fashion journalist: It isn't good because you like it; you like it because it's good.”

Fashion bloggers have little in common with journalists. Bloggers are *influencers*: people who want to influence society. This must be made clear in order to understand this new profession in which finding and recording events might be useful activities, but not *central* ones. We find an analogous situation by looking to the past, to the dandies at the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, taking as reference points Lord Beau Brummell,

Oscar Wilde, and, his legendary creation, Dorian Grey. A dandy lives for art; he has an aristocrat's hedonistic worldview that beauty and sensual fulfillment are the only things worth pursuing in life. The dandies influenced society not only with their outfits, but with their fashion and lifestyle. Life in this case has to be considered a representation of itself, constructed detail by detail, with *nothing* decided by accident. Nothing is *natural* or *neutral*, even if it appears so to us in real life. The masquerade is over, but maybe not for all, especially for younger generations that remain impressed by the success and glittering lifestyle of these people and try to imitate them. Occasionally, building a parallel life on the web can cause huge identity problems.

In our web 2.0 society something similar is happening that we must monitor. In the beginning, fashion bloggers seemed like a breath of fresh air; they offered new possibilities against the old dust of snobbish traditional fashion insiders. Now the mask is off. Or not? Maybe the real question is, *for whom?* The free, funny, and surprising initial stage of the fashion blogging phenomenon is over. Fashion bloggers are now well-known players of the game. They define themselves by trying to interpret what the market wants and establishing a successful online identity. *What identity* is at the heart of the question today? In faking it one can obtain more success; being true to oneself may not bring you that success. The field is full and it is not so easy to emerge from the pack anymore (not only in being successful, but even just being visible). It is a question of identity or consciousness, but often what appears free on the web is not. There is simply a different price to be paid for entry. At the beginning of the web era, people were excited to be free doing things, like writing blogs, that would potentially be visited by millions of users. New bloggers expected to do this without paying anything; to make their voice heard without having to practice journalism. They did not aspire to be *opinion leaders*; they were just people with something to say. It was an exciting and thrilling time, which stimulated many creative ideas. Little by little, however, both laypeople and scientists have come to understand that this disintermediation was false. Nothing is ever free. Online realities like Facebook and Wikipedia are studying, developing, and proposing various forms of sponsorship and advertising pitched to their users, more or less directly.

Considering this evolution, blogging as an institution can be better understood as nothing more than a medium that we may use on different occasions toward various ends. If blogging is to be considered a real job then marketing and profits are part of the game. And earning money demands that editors and bloggers make arrangements with brands and companies, which in turn entails losing the 'fresh air' that they seemingly had at the beginning. Bloggers used to be the first on the scene *against* the old generations of

journalists, differentiating themselves from them and their rules, expressing free opinions, creating extravagant and novel outfits, criticizing brands, and trying to emerge from the masses and become opinion makers in a style contest. The bloggers that were able to do this well became popular on the web with many readers—both on their fashion blogs and related social networks. This phenomenon has not gone unnoticed by the companies that have started to observe these new actors in the fashion communication field and propose commercial contracts to bloggers in exchange for endorsing their products. This is a generalization, not for all cases, but for most of them. As with any job, blogging can be done in many ways, with varying degrees of sophistication and ability. Being a fashion blogger is a job that includes many skills, such as writing, styling, photography, graphic design, and ‘coolhunting.’ It is impossible that one person can have *all* of these skills, so the most intelligent bloggers have learned that if they want to transform a passion into a profession then they have to present a clear idea of what they want and what they are able to do. They must create a team that can cover all the needs of an enterprise like this.

A fashion blogger like Chiara Ferragni does not work alone with her boyfriend taking her photos; she is in constant contact with important professionals that spread her image everywhere, transforming her persona into a character. It is an image that is crafted for a specific target audience that buy specific objects. We should not underestimate this period, which is a key time: it is no wonder that the scientific community has expressed interest in this phenomenon over these last years, not only in speaking about fashion bloggers, but also of fashion influencers on social networks, especially Instagram and Snapchat.

History shows that clothing has always been an expression of *the self*, from ancient to modern times. In the past, shapes, colors, and ways of dressing attested to membership of one social class or another. In medieval times, strict sumptuary laws existed that regulated these aspects of life; during the Renaissance and until the end of the eighteenth century, European courts (especially in France) were trendsetters. Only with the French Revolution and the rise of the bourgeoisie can a powerful change be seen regarding clothing as an expression of the individual self and *not* just of class. This trend developed, especially, in the twentieth century.

In the last ten years, with the triumph of web 2.0, and of social networks as primary channels of communication for younger generations, we can observe an ever more diffused spreading of *the self* in every moment of life. Private spaces and rituals are now public. What does it mean in terms of the identity of those involved? The result is not really a clearer vision of oneself, but a huge confusion about what we are, what we would love to be; how we

appear in real life, and how we appear in digital life. This phenomenon creates identity problems and crises in young people who cannot always distinguish between reality and fantasy—resulting in alienation. Young people often try to imitate the fashion blogger or influencer of the moment. The big mistake of the optimists of the web era has been to highlight the few positive aspects observable at its beginning, but this view can no longer be applied to the entire new system. Blogging give us only a partial view—a partial view that is popular with younger generations, who believe it to be free and open. Younger generations think that they have been given a new means of expression, encompassing their personalities, without considering its darker side. The fact is that people who live constantly connected to the Internet, thinking only of how they are presenting and building their images, can lose their link to reality and the ability to interact with others. It could be said that the expression of the self through clothing has always been an illusion, but this time it has become excessive. It is time for a pause to reconsider the matter, and also to mark the difference between passion and profession. It is not so easy to gain popularity on the web and to then use it as a springboard for genuine work. First of all you need to know yourself very well. Again, it is all a question of identity.

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THE IMAGE OF WEARABLE ICTS: AN EXPLORATION FROM A FASHION PERSPECTIVE

SATOMI SUGIYAMA

Introduction

Fashion, which reflects strong norms about what constitutes appropriate appearance at any particular point in time (Crane 2000, 1) has an undeniably powerful influence over people's choice of clothing and accessories in contemporary society. Given the dynamic nature of fashion and the importance of newness and innovation in fashion processes, the symbolic meanings of material artifacts require constant examination in particular cultural and historical contexts.

Although the majority of research on fashion has directed its attention towards clothing and accessories such as shoes (e.g. Steele and Hill 2013) and ties (e.g. Barile 2012), mobile information and communication technologies (ICTs) have also become a critical part of shaping one's appearance.

Over the past decades, we have seen the development of various styles of mobile phone/smart phone and their decoration (e.g. covers, straps, etc.), many of which are produced by high-fashion brands (e.g. Moschino, Prada, etc.). Given the prominence of mobile ICTs in public spaces, it is not hard to argue that they have joined the array of fashion accessories.

The idea of considering mobile ICTs as fashion accessories is not new. Over a decade ago, some mobile communication scholars noted the increasing proximity between mobile phones and the human body and argued for the importance of considering fashion as an aspect of technology. Fortunati, Katz, and Riccini (2003) pointed to the essential role that fashion plays in the design of technology, particularly because mobile ICTs stay so close to the body, and in expressing taste and fashion (Fortunati, Katz, and Riccini 2003, 5). They stated that fashion is becoming central to the technology as it moves from being portable to being wearable (Fortunati,

Katz, and Riccin 2003, 5). In considering the boundaries between ICTs and the human body, Fortunati (2003) suggested that the human body be considered as a natural and artificial technology, drawing our attention to the aesthetic aspects of technology: “in order to approach the body or to penetrate it, does the machine have to be beautiful?” she asked (Fortunati 2003, 85).

There are some quantitative and qualitative studies exploring the aesthetic aspect of mobile phones in different cultural contexts. Katz and Sugiyama (2006) examined the relationship between the degree to which people are attentive to fashion trends and their mobile phone related behaviors (e.g. timing of mobile phone adoption, frequency of changing to a new device, etc.). This study also explored the imagery associated with mobile phone use. According to this study, which sampled university students in both Japan and the US, early adopters of the mobile phone tended to exhibit higher attentiveness to fashion. Furthermore, heavy users did not associate mobile phones with a fashionable image, while less frequent users did. Sugiyama (2009) explored the aesthetic aspect of the mobile phone, not only in terms of device selection, but also in terms of the decoration and personalisation of mobile phones among young Japanese mobile users, demonstrating how the decorated mobile has become an emotionally imbued personal object that represents one’s identity, social connections, and taste (Sugiyama 2009).

Recent developments in the technology industry and surrounding media hype suggest that wearable technology is a direction in which smart phones are evolving. The idea of people wearing technologies no longer has to be confined to science fiction and can be considered realistic for everyday life.

Wearable ICTs have existed for quite a while—mostly in the form of prototypes in research laboratories that were not available to the general public. Picard (1997) pointed out that the technology for wearable computers existed over a decade ago. At that time, she stated that the prototypes were rather cumbersome, like Steve Mann’s head-mounted wearable gadget WearCam. She suggested that once the design aspects were worked out wearable ICTs could become as comfortable and convenient as wearing a watch (Picard 1997, 228).

Looking at the technological landscape of recent years, the era of cumbersome wearable technologies has passed. Bill Wasik, a senior editor at *Wired Magazine*, wrote about the significance and challenges of wearable technologies at the end of 2013 (Wasik 2013). Despite their technical possibilities, wearable technologies continue to face major challenges in their public image. As Wasik says, beautiful industrial design is not sufficient; the technology has to be fashionable. Wearable ICTs have to satisfy the images of technological advancement and fashion accessory simultaneously. This suggests the utility of examining wearable ICTs from a fashion perspective.

However, academic studies examining the fashion aspect of wearable ICTs remain scarce.

This paper reports on a preliminary exploration of wearable ICTs as fashion accessories. More specifically, it considers to what extent wearable technologies have become fashionable for young people.

Method

Two exploratory surveys were conducted in 2013 and 2015 at an international university in Europe. The 2013 survey looked at general trends in how young people perceive Google Glass. It had a particular emphasis on whether Google Glass was associated with the concept of fashion. Therefore, the survey used the fashion attentiveness scale developed by Katz and Sugiyama (2006); the Cronbach's alpha number for the fashion attentiveness scale was 0.93. Other questions included for whom did participants see Google Glass as a well-suited technology (e.g. friends, parents, oneself, celebrities, men/women, business executives, geeks, tech-savvy people, those in creative industries, fashion leaders, etc.) and whether they could imagine themselves wearing a wristwatch type ICT. The online survey was administered in May 2013. Seventy-six students filled out the survey. The majority of the survey participants (84 percent) reported that they knew what Google Glass was.

The 2015 survey was similarly structured but asked about smart watches, such as the Apple Watch and Samsung Galaxy, rather than Google Glass. This was to reflect the development of wearable technologies and the public discourse of the time. Forty-nine students filled out the survey. For this survey, the Chronbach's alpha number for the fashion attentiveness scale was 0.91.

Both surveys are quite limited and preliminary with a convenient sampling method and therefore should be treated as such. The results will hopefully stimulate some thoughts on the imagery and imagination that young people have of emerging wearable technologies. Combined with some theoretical discussion, this paper seeks to highlight some potentially illuminating aspects of wearable ICTs.

Google Glass: Who is it for?

Google Glass was one of the highest profile emerging technologies of 2013. Google started their Explorer program in 2013 and a promotional video was widely disseminated through various media outlets. The 2013 survey was conducted in light of the attention given to Google Glass in the technology

industry, as well as among the general public. The survey asked participants to list types of people for whom they considered Google Glass a good fit. Sixteen people left the question blank and 60 people listed one or more items. In total, 81 items were listed. To analyze the responses, an excel spread sheet was created and the frequency of the appearance of certain key words/themes was counted. The key words were generated based on a preliminary analysis of the data and the research focus of fashion and images of wearable ICTs. According to the results, celebrities, scientists/scholars/researchers, business, and technology/innovation were associated with Google Glass. Participants also associated Google Glass with their immediate social contacts such as friends and male family members. Association with those working in the technology industry may be even greater if we consider the potential link to gamers and nerds/geeks. Interestingly, only one respondent listed 'wealthy people' and no one listed a fashion-related word. It is also noteworthy that one of the most frequent responses was 'no one.' This suggests that many saw Google Glass as something unfamiliar and strange.

There are several insights that can be made from these results. Firstly, one of the predominant images stems from the functional features of Google Glass. The idea is that wearing a gadget like a smart phone on the face would be convenient for busy business people and those who play sports/engage in outdoor activities.¹ In fact, when the survey participants were asked if Google Glass was designed for business executives, 41.3 percent of them responded positively. The second observation is that Google Glass is perceived as distant from, as well as close to, participants' everyday environment. For some, it was something that celebrities or no one would wear, while others could imagine their friends, family members, or even themselves, wearing it. The different degree of psychological proximity to Google Glass among the participants was noteworthy. Third, Google Glass, despite its beautiful product design, had not made it into the category of fashionable accessories. In addition, the key word analysis found no relationship between the level of fashion attentiveness and interest in wearing Google Glass, and only 24 percent of survey participants responded positively to the statement that 'Google Glass is for fashion leaders.' Unlike the early period of mobile phones, Google Glass did not seem to appeal to fashion-attentive young people. Instead of being associated with a fashionable image, Google Glass was associated with a tech-savvy image with almost 70 percent of survey participants agreeing with the statement 'Google Glass is for tech-savvy people,' which was the most prominent association found in the survey. Combining the association of technology with gamers, and nerds/geeks,

¹ The latter might have been triggered by Google's own promotion.

Google Glass could have developed an association with a technology-oriented subculture, rather than a group of fashionable people who tend to be a step ahead, but still a part, of the mass movement of tastes (Blumer 1969/2007). Considering that around 40 percent of survey participants associated Google Glass with geeks (39.2 percent) and those working in the creative industries (42.7 percent), the link to fashion may have been buried within technology/media oriented subcultural fashion trends.

Apple Watch: Who is it for?

With Google Glass disappearing from public view and Apple Watch coming onto the market, what is the imagery associated with smart watches? The 2015 survey focused on Apple Watch and other smart watches, reflecting the trend and sentiment surrounding the public discourse on the wearable technologies of the time. Although the sample size was small, some interesting observations can be made.

In response to the question ‘List a few people for whom you find Apple Watch fitting,’ a total of 44 items were listed. The most prominent response was that Apple Watch was a good fit for a family member (i.e. father, mother, brother, uncle). If the response ‘friends’ was included, a significant number of survey participants associated Apple Watch with someone they knew or were close to. The next most prominent response was ‘tech people,’ including ‘tech-savvy people’ and ‘tech enthusiasts,’ followed by ‘business people/CEOs,’ ‘athletes,’ and ‘no one.’ It is noteworthy that only one person listed ‘celebrities’ and no one listed anyone linked to fashion (e.g. fashionista, fashion-forward people, etc.).

Figure 1 shows survey participants’ image associations with smart glasses and the smart watch. The survey used statements like ‘I can imagine X wearing smart glasses’ or ‘I can imagine X wearing a smart watch’ and a 5-point Likert scale (strongly agree to strongly disagree). The question about the responses themselves was phrased as ‘I am interested in wearing smart glasses’ or ‘I am interested in wearing a smart watch.’

As Figure 1 shows, just like the survey findings in 2013, a fashionable image was not associated with smart glasses or the smart watch. In line with this finding, no relationship was found between the level of fashion attentiveness and interest in wearing the smart glasses, the smart watch, or Apple Watch in the 2015 survey. Relatively higher associations for both types of wearable ICTs were found for tech-savvy people, geeks, and those working in the creative industries. This is consistent with the trend identified in the 2013 survey on Google Glass.

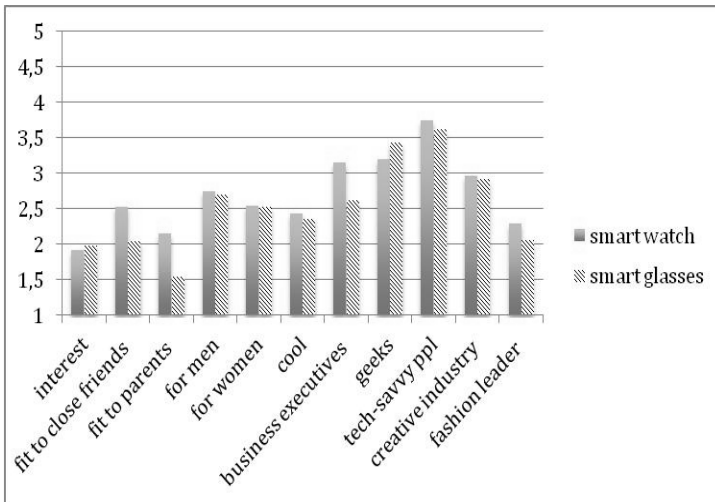


Figure 1. Image Associations (2015)

Comparing the results on smart glasses and the smart watch in the 2015 survey, it appears that it was easier for participants to imagine their friends and parents wearing the smart watch rather than smart glasses. A perceived association with business executives was stronger for the smart watch compared to the smart glasses. These findings are not surprising as Google Glass did not make it into the mainstream consumer market and has been phased out.²

No Kind of Smart Watch

Further exploration of the data from 2015 revealed potential directions for making the smart watch more appealing to fashion-attentive youth. The level of fashion attentiveness was found to be related to the level of interest in the smart watch if the participant's favorite watchmaker made one³ or if their favorite clothing brands made accessories for the smart watch.⁴ Furthermore, those who agreed with the statement 'I wear a wristwatch as a fashion

² Various technology websites report that Google Glass will come back for more specialized markets (e.g. hospitals, factories) in the near future. For example, see Finley (2015).

³ $N = 47$, $r = .415$, $p = .004$

⁴ $N = 47$, $r = .322$, $p = .027$

accessory' were more likely to be interested in the smart watch if their favorite watch maker made one⁵ or if their favorite clothing brands made accessories for the smart watch.⁶ This relationship was not observed when they were asked about their interest in the smart watch without any qualification about watch makers and clothing brands.

Conclusion and Future Directions

Although the findings reported here are limited due to the size and nature of the data, they still offer some insights. First, it appears that wearable ICTs have not gained a place in the public consciousness as a fashion accessory. Despite some marketing efforts to cultivate a fashionable image for these technologies (e.g. Google Glass' past collaboration with Ray Ban and Diane von Furstenberg in 2014; Apple Watch in fashion-forward department stores/shops such as 10 Corso Como in Milan and Isetan in Tokyo), their image as a fashionable accessory was not observed at all in the data from spring 2015.

However, it appears that accessories for smart watches or smart watches from iconic watchmakers potentially make a difference to those who are attentive to fashion. This trend has already been picked up on by the relevant industry: the watchmaker Tag Heuer launched an Android-based smart watch called Tag Heuer Connected in November 2015 and the luxury fashion brand Hermès collaborated with Apple in producing Apple Watch Hermès in October 2015. Both of these products were released after this study was conducted.

Despite their wider availability and continuing development, it is apparent that wearable ICTs have not yet entered the everyday life of mainstream consumers. Domestication theory (Silverstone and Haddon 1996) draws our attention to the tension that exists between the familiar and the strange and claims that new and unfamiliar object needs to be 'tamed' to fit into our everyday life. It would be worthwhile to see if familiar watchmakers and fashion brands entering the market of wearable technologies help facilitate the domestication process of these new products and cultivate more distinct symbolic meanings generally for wearable ICTs. In order to cultivate a symbolic meaning for a material object, the object needs to be situated within the symbolic system of goods. For wearable ICTs, the role of cultural intermediaries will be critical as fashion-attentive consumers do not blindly chase a new piece of technology, particularly if it is attached to their own

⁵ N = 49, r = .329, p = .021

⁶ N = 49, r = .324, p = .023

body and has high visibility for onlookers. The clothed body should be considered as a unit of communication (Calefato 2003) and wearable ICTs will be a part of that clothed body.

At the same time, it is important to keep in mind that the wearable ICTs in question are distinct from clothes and other fashion accessories because they allow us to communicate with others who may be physically distant from us. In this sense, wearing ICTs is much more than wearing a second skin; it also means extending other human sensory systems, such as hearing and voice (McLuhan 1964/2002). Furthermore, there has been considerable concern regarding wearable ICTs (and other prevailing digital media) and privacy. The essential functional aspect of wearable ICTs and its various consequences will play a significant role in the process of its domestication. The present issue is a moving target: one that is moving extremely quickly. This paper marks a preliminary effort in capturing the images associated with some of the prominent wearable ICTs. Given their complex identity within the symbolic system of goods, these issues should be examined from a broader theoretical perspective incorporating theories of lifestyle and consumption; privacy and policy; and big data, among others.

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CREATIVITY AND BUSINESS: THE LOCALIZATION OF *MADE IN ITALY*

LUISA SALVATI AND LUANA COSENZA

1. The Benefits of Enterprise internationalization¹

In an interview conducted by *Corriere della Sera*² (April 27, 2015), Miuccia Prada claimed that *Made in Italy* was made famous all over the world through her creations; but she underlined the importance of being international as well: “because if you’re just Italian, you are cut off from the world. If you are not international, you don’t exist.” With this affirmation, the Italian fashion stylist brought up a current issue regarding the need for enterprises to internationalize themselves. Internationalization here means the process of adapting exchange transaction modality to international markets and paying attention to different factors, such as language and culture; the knowledge and use of foreign languages are crucial to an enterprise’s success and its business communication (European Commission 2008).

In particular, for Italian brands providing multilingual websites in order to expand the client base for the marketing of products on a global scale is a necessity to do business in foreign markets; today, language is a factor affecting enterprises and managerial processes in global trade exchanges such as: contacts; mechanisms of control and coordination; and processes of integration and organizational structures. European directives in the field of languages and business underline the extent to which the knowledge and use of foreign languages are crucial for the success of an enterprise and its business communication. Indeed, intercultural communication plays a pivotal role in the world of business and companies unable to work with the language and the culture of the customer will under-perform in export markets unlike

¹ This article is a work of shared reflection by the two authors. Luana Cosenza developed paragraphs 1, 2 and 3; Luisa Salvati developed paragraphs 4, 5 and 6.

² Carzullo, Claudio, *Miuccia Prada: «Essere solo italiani non basta più»*, http://www.corriere.it/moda/news/15_aprile_27/miuccia-prada-essere-solo-italiani-non-basta-piu-c4c92bc6-ed01-11e4-8e05-565b17b54795.html

their more linguistically able competitors (Feely and Harzing 2003; Marschan et al. 1997).

For these reasons, in the European Union, important research has focused on the impact of foreign languages on job opportunities and international business relationships and has outlined good practices carried out by enterprises in support of their internationalization.

According to the Eurobarometer report, *Europeans and their languages* (European Commission 2012), Italy is ranked last for knowledge of foreign languages at all levels of its social structure. These intrinsic limits within Italian society impede our country from keeping up with the rest of Europe, with governments that recommend the knowledge of at least two foreign languages, and with the rest of the world. These difficulties in Italy seem to have specific historical causes that have led to a form of monolingualism—this is reflected in business too (Vedovelli 2010). In view of this, the European Commission established the website ‘Languages Mean Business’³ in 2011 in order to promote innovative language management strategies within European companies, including small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs). Specific measures suggested include: applying a wide range of language management strategies, such as investing in language training and employing native speakers; using language technology and working with translators, interpreters and cultural mediators; revising recruitment policies and development strategies in HR management; and setting up individual language competence targets for employees related to their specific tasks and responsibilities (European Commission 2008). Two studies published on this website showed that a significant number of contracts were being lost by European enterprises due to their lack of language and cultural skills, especially with regard to those languages of growing importance in the global economic panorama—according to the survey data, large companies have a much stronger need for global language speakers, such as Spanish, Chinese, Arabic and Portuguese (Project ELAN: CILT 2007). The results show that some companies have already learned from their past communication problems, realized how crucial language management is, and have implemented wide and innovative language strategies (Project PIMLICO 2011).

³ This website no longer exists.

2. Internationalization and Localization: Aims and Strategies

Today, *internationalization* is used alongside the term *localization*, meaning the “process of modifying a website for a specific locale” (Yunker 2002, 17). In this context the term *locale* refers to a group of people who share a language, a writing system and other properties, which may require separate versions of a product. Website localization poses new challenges for translators and translation studies. According to Esselink (2000), translation is a part of localization: localization is the overall task and translation is part of that process through image adaptation or setting up a language gateway. Moreover, the translated object—web pages—is a new kind of multidimensional source material and the translation of web material constitutes a new type of multilingual service. In general, the aim of website localization is to internationalize a marketing strategy, satisfying both reader and client: the reader wants to read the web page in his/her own language and does not expect to be offended by any linguistic and semiotic factors; the client requires localization according to what the company wants to achieve through its new website version (Sandrini 2008).

Building a multilingual website involves a lot of work; for international companies and organizations, the communicative intention of their website is closely related to their international marketing strategy. The international marketing strategy decides on image campaigns and advertising and sets the goals of the new website for a foreign market or for a foreign readership. This strategy defines what the new website should be like in its new language version, including corporate image and branding. A website is a useful vehicle to reach new foreign customers and partners (Nauert 2007).

Translating websites involves issues and decisions at a number of different translation levels (e.g. cultural adaptation, information sequencing of hypertext segments and language use). Furthermore, the website may contain different types of asset: digital assets such as texts, pictures, multimedia files like audio and video streaming; application assets and transactional assets—information about transactions (e.g. shopping baskets, sessions in e-commerce); community assets, i.e. dynamic content in forums and chat rooms created by web users themselves (Sandrini 2008).

Thus, the problem of translating websites revolves around the adaptation of highly specific cultural content, which has so far been dealt with in an intuitive way; this often leads to culturally specific gaffes or a failure to achieve the intended effect within the target culture.

Regarding the websites of international companies, Lockwood (2000) has identified three main strategies for the management of multilingual and

multicultural content, which are *de facto* strategies employed in organizing a global website. Lockwood distinguishes three different approaches:

1. The ‘monarchist’ approach with central control over the content; content is translated and only occasionally adapted. The result is a website not sensitive to local markets;
2. The ‘anarchist’ approach involving multiple local sites without coordination, each using a different design and interface (in this case there may be high costs and no corporate strategy);
3. The ‘federalist’ or subsidiary approach, which integrates global, regional and local content (GRL). Global content is produced centrally, but translated and used internationally; regional content is also translated and used in a regional context while local content is produced locally in the local language without the need for translation (Lockwood 2000).

In the monarchist approach, translation is prominent: the whole website is translated. The methodology involves the translation of web pages in line with traditional translation strategies. The anarchist approach rarely involves translation because the content is produced independently and locally. Only in the federalist or subsidiary approach does localization become relevant: global and regional content is adapted/localized/translated, respecting cultural and linguistic differences, in order to reach different countries and clients.

3. The survey: localization strategies for business goals adopted by Italian brands

Although English is known by many people, customers are more attracted to texts written in their own language, which are considered more reliable and potentially more successful in selling a product or service (eg. in e-commerce). According to a survey, more than half of people make purchases online only when the relevant information is given in their own language (De Palma et al. 2006).

Our survey aimed to describe the localization strategies adopted by Italian brands in order to modify their websites for specific locales according to their business goals. The corpus analyzed is composed of forty multilingual websites of some Italian brands, from SMEs to multinational corporations related to fashion.

The first phase of the survey was the identification of languages into which Italian enterprises chose to translate their websites. According to the results (see Figure 1), thirteen languages are used by Italian brands in order to

present and then sell their products online; all websites of the corpus are in Italian and English reflecting the fact that English represents the language of global business.

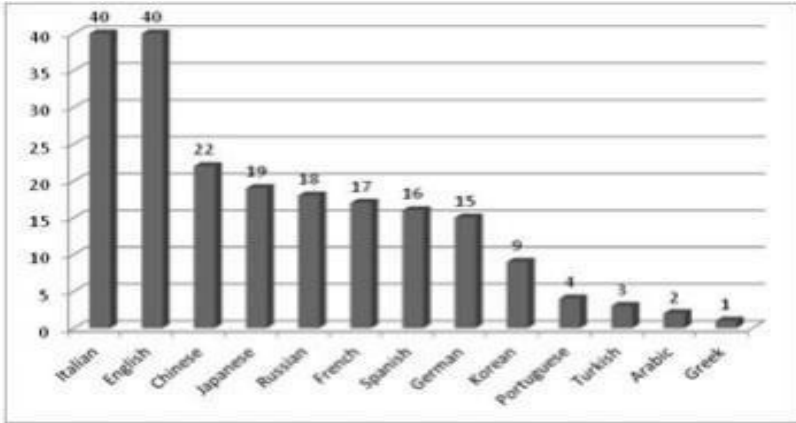


Figure 1. Languages used by Italian brands in order to present and sell their products to foreign clients (from our database).

Although English is the most relevant foreign language of our corpus, many languages for new markets were identified, such as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Arabic, etc. This data confirms the trend of taking into account the languages of potential buyers (even if they are typologically distant) reflecting the new typology of clients and revealing an awareness of the power of language in business contexts (see Figure 2).

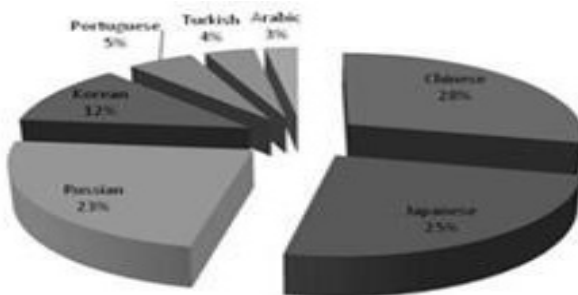


Figure 2. Language trend of potential buyers (from our database)

After this language mapping, the second phase of our research focused on localization activity management in order to identify the strategies and approaches used by Italian fashion brands to reach their clients. We chose to analyze two important brands: Fendi and Benetton.

4. Case study 1: The Chinese version of the Fendi website

A voyage of artisan traditions and innovation through 90 years of history has made Fendi a unique and unparalleled brand. This well-known Italian fashion house is introduced in the presentation section of its website through a video in English, to target a broad audience, while focusing on Italian aspects connoting the company: Rome, with its famous monuments; the craftsmanship of tailoring; ‘la dolce vita.’ Established in 1925 by Adele Casagrande and Edoardo Fendi, craftsmen furriers from Rome, in the 1930s and 1940s the fame of this small Roman shop went beyond the national borders of Italy; today the company has about 200 stores around the world. Its website, as well as being translated into English and German, has three specific versions for the Chinese, Korean and Japanese markets.

In this paper we will analyze the Chinese version of the Fendi website, as a case study of a localized and adapted website; it is an example of a website where, in addition to the translation of all content into different languages, changes are made to comply with the conditions and special conventions of a foreign country, including the choice of images, the layout of text and images, the arrangement of the navigation instruments, etc.

The first aspect that differentiates the Italian version from the Chinese version is the structure of the website itself: in the Italian version the navigation bar is on the left-hand side of the screen; in the Chinese version, it is on the top of the screen, following typical Chinese website design (see Figure 3):



Figure 3. Chinese Version of the Fendi Website (from www.fendi.cn)

Each linguistic element has been translated or transcribed into Chinese; the brand name and the Italian names for individual collections, as well as the brand colors of gold and black, have not been changed in the Chinese version. This is in order to highlight the international character of the

company and, at the same time, the strength of the *Made in Italy* characteristics of the fashion house.

The titles of the videos, which appear on the website to advertise Fendi fashion shows, are translated into Chinese; their contents, however, are in English, a choice that was also made for the Italian version. This choice can be justified by a number of reasons: the difficulty of translating the varied contents into different languages; an awareness that English reaches a large target audience; the knowledge that in the video, extra-linguistic elements, such as the image used to represent the products, are more eloquent than any linguistic description. In other words, the videos are tools to present clothes and accessories: whether a potential customer understands their description or not does not affect their value.

As regards the products, there is no noticeable attempt to adapt to the target market: there are no specific fashion lines for Chinese consumers and the products are the same for Chinese and Italian clients. The clothes and accessories are worn by western models in the Chinese version of the website; this is in order to conform with a Chinese preference for a Western model of beauty.

Although the products have not been localized, we can see the application of localization strategies through social networks; these are different in the Chinese version to those found in the Italian version, to comply with the tastes and trends of eastern markets: sina blog is used instead of Facebook, Twitter and Google Plus; Youku replaces Youtube; barcodes for mobile phone applications allowing one to find the nearest store are used, because of the absence in the Chinese version of a specific platform for e-commerce.

5. Case study 2: The Japanese version of the Benetton website

The *Benetton* Group was born in 1965 in the little town of Treviso, in Veneto, a north-eastern region of Italy. Benetton ethos is one that sees fashion as part of a global village where young people of every race live. In the company's words, it travels at the world's speed, overcoming geographical, political and ideological boundaries; it is famous not only for its products, but also for its provocative commercial and social advertising campaigns. Today the group is one of the best-known fashion companies in the world, with a presence in major economic markets and a network of around 5,000 stores. The *Benetton* website is translated into Korean, Spanish, French, Japanese, English, Portuguese, Russian, German and Turkish; here we specifically analyze, as a second case study, the Japanese version.

The main structure of the Benetton website does not change in the transition from the Italian to the Japanese version: in both versions the navigation bar is positioned horizontally in the upper part and the organization of the layout is the same (see Figure 4).



Figure 4. Japanese version of the Benetton website (from <http://www.benetton.jp/>)

The name of the brand and its characteristic colors, green and white, remain in the Japanese version in order to underline the strong brand identity of the company and its international profile. The Italian names of the collections, as well as the titles of advertising videos, are all translated into Japanese, and in some cases into English, while the contents of the videos have been left in Italian. We are also led to think that the strategy of web content localization is not deemed necessary since the content is primarily driven by its imagery, that is, by the product for sale (see Figure 5):



Figure 5. Japanese version of the Benetton website (from <http://www.benetton.jp/>)

The most interesting aspect of the adaptation of the Japanese Benetton website is the use of Japanese models and photos and magazine covers depicting Japanese celebrities with Benetton clothing. This is called product endorsement, which, in Japan, is carried out by Japanese celebrities—Japanese clients not only do not identify with the standard Western model of beauty, but they also appreciate the product if it is used by a famous personality.

Finally, from a commercial point of view, in both versions of the website, the same social networks are used—Facebook, Twitter, Google Plus, Youtube—and an e-commerce platform is present specifically for the Japanese market with the linguistic elements fully translated into Japanese (excluding the brand).

6. Conclusions

The localization of websites goes beyond the mere translation of texts. In many cases the contents are specially adapted to the local culture where the product is being marketed—a tool available in one's own language is easier to use and increases the likelihood of purchasing a product or service.

The corpus analyzed in this paper shows that in most of the websites the localization strategy involves translation of all content into different languages.

Both case studies show that the changes produced by website localization on a synchronic level can produce a change on the diachronic level regarding the ways of offering fashion goods; website localization can involve product localization as well as selecting clothes and accessories according to functional targets by choosing models and spreading the brand through different social media channels.

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EXPLORING GRASSROOTS
FASHION STORYTELLING:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRACTICES
AND STRATEGIES OF ITALIAN
AND CHINESE BLOGGERS

LEOPOLDINA FORTUNATI,
MANUELA FARINOSI AND YAO NIE

This paper explores how grassroots fashion storytelling has developed in the second wave of the fashion blogosphere. We argue that only by historicizing the phenomenon of fashion blogging is it possible to make sense of its real social meaning over time, despite the rhetoric that still surrounds it, even in the scientific literature. The research we present here enables us to show how fashion blogs currently present themselves in Italy and China and to really understand the discontinuity that has been created between the first and the second wave of the fashion blogosphere.

**The first wave of the fashion blogosphere
and its three main tropes**

In the last decade, which saw the first wave of the fashion blogosphere, the way in which fashion was produced, communicated, and consumed changed deeply thanks to online social media platforms. Many amateurs began to create blogs in order to convey fashion in words and images by taking existing genres and combining them into new formats—the approach of amateurs combined with the reproduction of familiar features from the established fashion media (Rocamora 2012). Fashion blogging can be described, writes Marwick, as “an international subculture comprised primarily of young women who post photographs of themselves and their possessions, comment on clothes and fashion, and use self-branding techniques to promote themselves and their blogs” (2013, 1). Since their

appearance, these blogs have established themselves as a central platform for the creation and circulation of fashion-related news and information. The phenomenon of fashion blogging has added a lot to the fashion narrative and has led to the emergence of what may be defined as ‘grassroots fashion storytelling.’ In the first instance, fashion blogs, allowing regular people to become part of the international fashion conversation, were hailed by fashion scholars for ‘democratizing style’ (Allen 2009; Pham 2011; Fortunati and Farinosi 2014). Even mainstream media has described the fashion blogosphere as a space for expressing democratic engagement, where women who do not fit into the stereotyped feminine fashion model (rich, thin and tall) can enjoy a powerful form of self-expression (Khamis and Munt 2010). In this first wave of studies on the fashion blogosphere, three main tropes were formulated—the first was the equality trope (Duffy 2013), which was based on, and in turn strengthened by, a larger discourse about the power of the Internet to democratize communication and foster collaboration. According to Duffy, the fashion blogosphere offered users an alternative to mainstream fashion media and opened up spaces antithetical to the rigorously patrolled fashion world (Pham 2011).

The second was the authenticity trope in which fashion blogs were overwhelmingly seen as more ‘real’ than the content of mainstream magazines. The bloggers’ use of casual, immediate language and the prevalence of street fashion photography were perceived as creating a customer intimacy that differentiated them from more traditional market relationships. According to Marwick, authenticity was the key to attracting followers. She claims that the online image that bloggers created of themselves was an important factor in successful blogging—readers were looking for an accessible person they could identify with (2013).

The third, equally pushed by mainstream media, was the counterculture trope, concerning amateur content creators (Bruns 2008). Fashion blogs were seen as contributing substantially to overcoming the traditional hierarchical structure of the fashion system and reshaping traditional cultural and media production (i.e. women’s magazines and fashion industries). Myers has described these signals as an “intervention [...] into traditional media production hierarchies” (2012, 1024).

Although in this first phase, blogs and social platforms played an important role in bridging the gap between the assertive world of the fashion system and the lived experience of fashion with its new culture and agency of fashion consumers, they have so far received little scholarly attention (Berry 2010; Khamis and Munt 2010; Palmgren 2010). What is more important is that the three tropes have been able to capture the social meaning of the first wave of this new phenomenon, but they were unable to provide an effective

framework to understand the nuanced cultures and political economies of the second wave of fashion blogging.

The dividing line in fashion blogosphere history concerns the fact that, at a certain point in time, the fashion industry started to pay more attention to the most famous fashion bloggers and to court them by sending invitations to attend fashion shows. Before analyzing the structural transformations undergone by fashion blogs in the second wave, let us briefly sketch how the fashion blogosphere developed in China during this second wave of the fashion blogosphere.

Background: the Chinese fashion blogosphere

According to the *35th Statistical Report on Internet Development in China*, the number of microblog users in China dropped by 31.94 million in 2014 to 249 million by the end of the year (China Internet Network Information Center 2015). These numbers may give an idea of the potential influence of this phenomenon on the international fashion system.

Over the last few years, the Chinese fashion sphere has been characterized by a perception of increasing tensions between Western culture and traditional Chinese values, as well as between the characteristics of international fashion and their adoption into the Chinese context. Several NGOs operate in this area and powerful, rich people are joining these organizations because they want to create a new image of Chinese people that is more confident in its 'Chineseness' (Chu 2012). This new cultural movement tries to combine the education of people regarding traditional Chinese beauty with an appreciation of Western fashion design. It interprets and proposes a specific traditional lifestyle in which *tai-ji* harmonizes with luxury jewelry made with traditional Chinese craftsmanship styles and techniques.

This movement is driven by successful luxury buyers who started it while pursuing Western big brands. By rethinking traditional culture and rediscovering traditional beauty, they have adopted a new aesthetic perspective, which combines the uniqueness of Chinese tradition with Western design. One of these tradition-reviving organizations is Shuyuan China (<http://www.shuyuanchina.org/>). Every year, this foundation organizes many events related to traditional Chinese culture, such as free courses on calligraphy, *tai-ji*, traditional musical instruments and Kun opera. One of the aims of this new cultural movement is to show that nowadays a social education of fashion is needed in China. The Cultural Revolution destroyed much of China's historical legacy and tradition, especially those linked to the elegant and beautiful lifestyle of the Chinese elite. Collectivist education did

not allow people to engage with fashion—this would have been understood as superfluous in respect to the Maoist mode of dress. Moreover, Chinese people suffered historically from a lack of materials to make clothes, as well as the impossibility of expressing a personal aesthetic; they had to adhere to a certain prescribed identification, coherent with their belonging to a specific social group that each had a unified dressing style.

At the time of Chinese Economic Reform in 1978, younger generations were growing up and were educated in an environment lacking in tradition. Coming from a purely local and collective experience, they were suddenly exposed to globalization. With their own historical references lost, Chinese people received many proposals and suggestions from Westerners, which were consequently unfamiliar and hard to understand and evaluate. Considering that in the market there was little information about fashion and dressing style, apart from limited knowledge of some major brands, Western fashion represented a radical challenge for Chinese people. Even now, they generally lack a proper cultural background to understand and recognize the Western concept of beauty, not to mention its adoption in a way that can be considered meaningful to Westerners. In this context, Chinese people have been thrown into a globalized emptiness and arrived in the middle of nowhere.

To fill in the gaps on the current fashion debate on the practices and strategies undertaken by Italian and Chinese bloggers in the second wave of the fashion blogosphere, we posed the following research question: how is the grassroots storytelling of fashion developing in contemporary social media in Italy and in China? The rest of this paper is organized in the following way: the next section is devoted to clarifying its aims and methods and this is followed by a section dedicated to illustrating the findings of research carried out in Italy and China. The last section focuses on a discussion of the results and offers some final remarks.

Aims and methods

The aim of this contribution is to investigate at a cross-cultural level the phenomenon of grassroots fashion online storytelling from a sociological perspective. In particular, we analyze how online grassroots fashion discourses have developed in two countries that are culturally distant: Italy and China.

In Italy, we focused on the four most-followed fashion bloggers on Facebook: Chiara Ferragni (theblondesalad.com); Veronica Ferraro (thefashionfruit.com); Nicoletta Reggio (scentofobsession.com); and Irene Colzi (ireneccloset.com). Applying qualitative and quantitative methods, we

analyzed the bloggers' online strategies and activities for two weeks, both at a discursive and visual level (Goffman 1959; Ball and Smith 1992). We not only monitored their blogs, but also their social media practices. In addition, we conducted a qualitative analysis of the content they produced and shared online. Moreover, we applied virtual ethnography (Hine 2000) to study their practices through their different social media accounts (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, YouTube and Google+) in two different years—2012 and 2015.

In China, we selected the four most-popular Chinese fashion micro-bloggers—Gogoboi, Pomegranate Granny, Hanhuohuo and Yuxiaoge—and we carried out a two-week (May 4—May 17, 2015) ethnographic observation of the activities of these bloggers. In addition, a qualitative content analysis of their published posts was conducted. This double approach enabled us to reconstruct the most popular Chinese online fashion discourses. With the design of this study, our purpose was not to compare the Italian fashion blogosphere to the Chinese blogosphere, but simply to explore if it was possible to identify some common trends in grassroots fashion storytelling in the two countries.

Findings

Italy

A first finding of the Italian analysis is that fashion bloggers are now adopting a *multi-platform strategy* (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, etc.—Table 1). They use an array of social platforms to cover their everyday life and the events to which they are invited and/or they promote. Activating several platforms increases their followers and acknowledgements from other bloggers, advertisers and even the mainstream press. In short, once a blogger has acquired a large audience through repeated displays of good taste, this audience begins to attract the interest of the fashion system. This, in turn, provides the blogger with greater social and economic resources, further augmenting her or his audience (McQuarrie, Miller and Phillips 2013).

A second finding is that the fashion blogging phenomenon has *grown considerably* in the last few years (see Table 1) and as the readership of fashion blogs has grown, so has their influence on the fashion industry. An enormous increase in followers, from 2012 to 2015, occurred across all the social media platforms considered.

Table 1. The increasing number of social media followers of the four most popular Italian fashion bloggers from 2012 to 2015.

	Facebook	Twitter		Instagram		Pinterest		YouTube		Google+		
2012	2015	2012	2015	2012	2015	2012	2015	2012	2015	2012	2015	
Theblondesalad	2 30.196	1 061.260	1 15.049	2 41.828	3 83.901	3 779.597	6 .598	3 7.066	0.913	1 6.933	4 - -	1 30.372
		(+ 361%)		(+ 110%)		(+ 883%)		(+ 462%)		(+ 330%)		
Thefashionfruit	2 2.366	1 988.277	1 2.044	2 6.359	9 .878	19 7.457	1 .257	2 .388	-	77	2 - -	6 0.745
		(+ 8790%)		(+ 119%)		(+ 1899%)		(+ 90%)				
scentofobsession	1 3.404	14 6.129	3 .513	1 2.395	4 .846	11 0.530	7 14	3 9.029	-	13	7 - -	3 9.518
		(+ 990%)		(+ 253%)		(+ 2181%)		5366%)		(+)		
Ireneccloset	1 2.654	32 9.497	4 .606	1 4.22	4 744	81 .794	9 99	5 .275	-	.658	2 - -	9 6.579
		(+ 2504%)		(+ 209%)		(+ 1624%)		(+ 428%)				

The third finding is that there is *increasing commercialization* of the fashion blogosphere, which is becoming progressively colonized by fashion houses. Very often, the outfits presented by the bloggers have wide appeal to the mainstream fashion system. The bloggers wear designer clothes, which are in most cases very expensive and often given for free by high fashion companies, like Dior, Louis Vuitton and Hermes, or by e-commerce websites, such as Asos, Zalando and Luisa ViaRoma. Therefore, these bloggers do not necessarily come up with new ideas, personalized styles or trends to recommend, but are often influenced by other bloggers’ or by fashion magazines. Numerous posts are witness to the bloggers’ attendance at fashion shows and fashion weeks in major world cities (New York, London, Paris, Milan, Tokyo), at the openings of new shops, nightlife events, and at new product launches. Bloggers are able to participate in these events thanks to the invitation of mainstream brands who pay for everything (such as flights and hotels) in exchange for a little advertising on their blogs aimed at a specific target market—fashion lovers.

creativity and commerce, transforming blogs, in many cases, into market-driven entities.

The fourth finding is that the *rigid hierarchy* historically present in the mainstream fashion system is now re-emerging in fashion blogs. Under the more democratic structure of communication between bloggers and followers, the same power mechanisms that characterized the pre-Internet fashion system is being restored in the relationship between bloggers and followers.

Finally, the fifth finding is the frequent use (as in 2012) of *visual communication* in fashion blogs where posts tend to show the pictures of a blogger's everyday outfits and discuss events taking place in their life (e.g. fashion shows, birthday party, holidays, travels) (Rickman and Cosenza 2007).

China

A first finding that emerged is that the main tools adopted by bloggers in China are microblogs (i.e. Weibo) and specific mobile applications, such as WeChat. These two tools are very popular in China (see Table 2).

Table 2. The followers and page-views of the four most popular fashion Chinese microblogs in 2015.

	Gogoboi	Pomegranate Granny 石榴婆(love16 po)	Hanhuohuo 韩火火	Yuxiaoge 于 小戈
Weibo followers	3,864	4,453,514	4,024,419	135,998
Last WeChat post page views				40,717
	100,000+	100,000+	[No WeChat account]	

WeChat enables users to take part in a variety of activities, including voice and text messaging, photo sharing, searching for people nearby, and shopping. It has around 600 million monthly users and any organization, company or celebrity can register an official account to push feeds to subscribers and interact with them. Furthermore, public accounts represent a source of profit as users with hundreds of thousands of followers on their public accounts can earn up to 100,000 *yuan* a month by making regular updates, writing articles endorsing certain products, and sharing their

personal interests. Many fashion bloggers started their public accounts on WeChat, where they accumulate a high number of followers, as well as business contacts offering to place ads on their accounts.

Therefore, while western fashion bloggers adopt a *multi-platform strategy*, in China the most important finding is that the fashion blogosphere has migrated from a *web-based platform* (Weibo) to a *mobile application platform* (WeChat). Table 2 shows the numbers of followers on Weibo and the number of viewers of the last WeChat posts of the four most-popular Chinese fashion bloggers—Gogoboi, Pomegranate Granny, Hanhuohuo and Yuxiaoge—in 2015. As we can see, only Hanhuohuo exclusively used Weibo, while the other three have all also adopted WeChat. Even if Yuxiaoge and Gogoboi still frequently use Weibo, their fashion-related content is concentrated on WeChat.

Our ethnographic analysis of the fashion content in these four microblogs is based on all the published posts concerning fashion in 2015: Gogoboi (forty-four Weibo posts and fifteen WeChat posts); Pomegranate Granny (one Weibo post and sixteen WeChat posts); Hanhuohuo (twenty-four Weibo posts and no WeChat posts) and Yuxiaoge (eighty-two Weibo posts and twenty-five WeChat posts).

Another important finding in relation to China that emerged from this research, and which echoes the Italian findings, is the clear *commercial soul* of the analyzed Chinese bloggers. All of these bloggers come from a profession connected to the fashion system: Gogoboi is an assistant to a fashion editor; Pomegranate Granny is a journalist; Hanhuohuo is a stylist running his own fashion ‘Fire Bible’ and a guest host for a TV program; Yuxiaoge is the executive editor of *Harper’s Bazaar China*. Their communication merges with branding activity in many ways. Scrutiny of these blogs highlights the extent that fashion bloggers are now part of an integrated marketing strategy. Gogoboi intertwines commercials with the content of the posts on his blog and, in addition, he manages the official micro-blog account of Louis Vuitton. In Pomegranate Granny’s blog, commercials are separated from the content and presented at the end of the daily post preceded by the label ‘promotion’ (推广). She also manages the official micro-blog account of L’Oréal Paris. Hanhuohuo generally forwards posts directly from fashion brands, showing himself variously as a model or as a fashion editor, and using the brands’ products to make new matches. Finally, Yuxiaoge expresses an unobtrusive branding strategy, but clearly helps to push *Harper’s Bazaar China* promotions.

As in the Italian case, the Chinese fashion microblogs are characterized by the frequent use of *visual communication*, but, even if all four blogs present a mix of personal style, street style and editorial style, it is worth

highlighting that their presentation of ‘self’ differs. In particular, Gogoboi resorts to self-modeling only occasionally; Pomegranate Granny rarely publishes her photos, in contrast to Hanhuohuo, who usually posts his photos; finally, Yuxiaoge uses self-modeling only occasionally and likes to post her unique-styled ‘selfies.’

By scrutinizing these blog posts, another finding that emerges is the existence of various tensions in the relationships between mainstream and grassroots discourses. An example is represented by the polemics between fashion bloggers and Suzy Menkes, the famous British fashion journalist, who has described blog content as “shallow and unprofessional” and has accused bloggers of having “compromise[d] their independence to trade with capital [...] by engaging in eye-catching satire, by teasing celebrities public appearances to draw attention” (New York Times Chinese Version, March 18, 2013). The ironic response from Gogoboi was:

“Your distinguished editor shall not mingle with us low ranked fashion bloggers. When I was an editor, I would not even look at a blogger. Posting some Ad or PR contents has no difference from advertisement in magazines, and the only difference is that my writing is better and not so pretentious. You sent people to apologize to me right after you criticize me in your article. I know I am famous; you want to borrow some fame? You are welcome!” (Gogoboi Weibo, 2013).

Finally, the third specific theme that emerged is the tension that has developed between the colonization of Western fashion and the autochthonous, local production of original fashion content. In this case, Gogoboi, Hanhuohuo and Yuxiaoge convey original content, while Pomegranate Granny posts comments mainly translated from English websites. The analysis of this tension enables us to highlight how in China, grassroots storytelling is characterized by a specific focus on cultural appropriation and fashion education.

Discussion and final remarks

This study shows that the strategy of historicizing the phenomenon of fashion blogging is an important one and helps us to understand that with the second wave of this phenomenon its features have radically changed. While in the first wave the main tropes centered on equality, counterculture and authenticity, in the second wave the main characteristics have become, in both Italy and China, technological diversification, commercialization, and a preference for visual communication. In addition, in the Chinese fashion

blogosphere a specific tension between the colonization of Western fashion and the autochthonous production of fashion content was registered.

Over this short period of time, the discourse on fashion emerging from the blogosphere has changed radically. The result is that nowadays fashion blogs tend to appropriate—rather than resist—fashion system infrastructures and traditional media industry logics. They have become increasingly popular and achieved a pivotal role in promoting and driving new fashion trends, but, at the same time, they have also become an integral part of the fashion industry (Bruzzi and Gibson 2013). Even if Italy and China are two countries that are culturally very distant, we observed similar practices and tendencies in the adoption of online platforms by bloggers and in their engagement with followers (i.e. contests, giveaways).

We argue that only by historicizing the phenomenon of fashion blogging was it possible for us to make sense of their real social meaning over time, despite the rhetoric that still surrounds them even in the scientific literature. The online media practices of these bloggers deserve to be studied further in order to achieve a better understanding of the phenomenon and of its impact on the fashion system. Future research could focus on the development of a project design that enables a true comparison of Italy and China.

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A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO FASHION BLOGS: IDENTITY-BUILDING AND NARCISSISM IN A POSTMODERN SOCIETY

JULIE RENÉE BRUHNS

Introduction

In 1967, the French Marxist theorist Guy Debord wrote the following in his book *The Society of the Spectacle*: “the spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images” (Debord 1967). Even at this early stage he expressed his concern for a society driven by the powers of mass media and consumption. The spectacle has become that of a social life lived through images and there is no longer a distinction between real life and its representation, as the idea of ‘being’ is created through having and the appearance of having. In light of this observation, this study will address the influence of fashion blogs in our society from a theoretical point of view.

Technological development has expanded the possibilities of using new mass media and this has been an important factor in the democratization of fashion. In the twenty-first century, blogs have become the vanguard for independent media; they are more versatile in nature, allowing the author’s personal style and opinion to be expressed. Today’s technology has presented us with endless opportunities to communicate through media and physical and social interaction has become secondary to a life led through images on the Internet.

Theories

This paper will investigate the concepts of identity-building and narcissism in relation to private fashion blogs. It draws on relevant theory in the fields of narcissism (in relation to self-staging) and identity-building and the work of Sigmund Freud, who addressed the matter of idealization in

connection to narcissism. Freud concluded that all human infants go through a phase of primary narcissism where they believe that they are the center of their universe. To garner attention and love from its parents, a child will act accordingly to what it thinks its parents value. The child incorporates these values and forms an ‘ego ideal,’ which holds the regulations for good behavior and standards of excellence to which the ego can aspire. Freud called this situation secondary narcissism because the ego itself is idealized (Sandler, Spector Person and Fonagy 1991, 3–32). Heinz Kohut also explores this issue in his theories on self-psychology where he attempts to understand individuals from within their subjective experience and outlines his interpretations of the understanding of the self as the central agent of the human psyche. In order to understand self-psychology, concepts such as empathy, self-object, mirroring and idealizing must be addressed. However, Kohut presents idealization in childhood as healthy narcissism and mirroring as a way to cope with reality. If this does not take place the child can remain dependent on others to provide it with self-esteem (Hoyt 2011).

Erving Goffman addressed our understanding of the individual in his studies on human behavior in social situations. He uses theatrical performance as a metaphor for how humans in everyday social scenarios present themselves and how they relate to others as a way of controlling the impression they give. He compares this performance to that of an actor presenting a character to an audience (Goffman 1959). In connection to this, Jean Baudrillard addressed the theory of hyper-realism in his text *The Hyper-realism of Simulation*. He concludes that the influence of the media, in its public signs and symbols, has destroyed our culture to an extent that reality as something separable from signs has vanished. Consumer society has formed and changed authentic experience to the extent where reality can only be recognized when it is re-produced in simulation. ‘Truth’ and ‘reality’ are interpreted/manipulated to an extent that culture can no longer distinguish reality from fantasy (Poster, 2001, 166–84). Panopticism, the self-regulating society, and the *gaze* in the theories of Michel Foucault (Lyon 1993, 653–78), Jacques Lacan (Leader, Groves, Appignanesi, 2005), Guy Debord (1994) and Laura Mulvey (1975, 6–18) are also be addressed.

Blogs

Fashion blogs began to appear at the beginning of the new millennium and since then they have become influential in the fashion world; by 2008 there were around eight million blogs. There are different forms of fashion blogs: official corporate brand blogs; professional stylist and celebrity blogs; and personal fashion blogs. Here I focus on private fashion blogs as a cultural

phenomenon of our time. The study fashion blogs is of importance as it may help us understand more about social and individual identity, and about culture and society as a whole.

Blogs have a 'hypertext' nature (a text which is accessed through a computer or other electronic devices), making them a space where margins can be brought to the foreground. The fashion blogger-sphere presents objects and subjects from printed magazines, which takes the discourse out of its original media and into a new one. Bloggers often generate content different to that of the printed media: bloggers are not only users, but also contributors to fashion. As hypertext does not hold a monopoly over fashion media, the traditional voice and authority of fashion experts are being decentered—their authority has been displaced by a shifting of focus onto other media, such as blogs. However, blogs are not necessarily a new technical invention, but more a transformation of vision that has influenced the world and its social order. What is new about fashion blogs is their changing approach regarding who holds authority over fashion. Previously, fashion was centered on designers, experts, and fashion capitals; today there has been a shift in fashion authority putting fashion blogs, as a form of media, in a powerful position. The relation between fashion blogs and the fashion industry has led to a fashion remediation, where the traditional fashion media still assumes a powerful position as an indicator of how fashion should be presented, and this is seen in the ways fashion bloggers imitate the poses and angles of professional models in fashion magazines. Fashion magazines, as a body of media, still dictate the canon for fashionable looks. In private fashion blogs you often see fewer professional photos, but there is an increasing tendency for even private fashion bloggers to try and imitate the visual presentation of fashion magazines. It is clear that the fashion blog phenomenon has contributed to a shift in the contemporary field of fashion media and fashion bloggers are now considered the freshest trend makers. However, new and old media do not exclude each other, but feed into each other. This forces us to see them as co-dependent rather than rivals, leading towards a constructive redefinition of each genre (Bartlett, Cole and Rocamora 2013, 155–64).

The democratic approach of blogs as media makes sure that they differ in layout and context, as they are most often used as an expressive tool to communicate one's identity. Platforms such as Blogspot.com and blogger.com include a ready-to-use template, which makes the blog approachable to anyone with a computer and Internet access. The word blog is a contraction of weblog, which literarily refers to keeping a record on the World Wide Web. A blog is an Internet site where individuals regularly publish their thoughts on a particular subject, gain followers and have other

people comment on their posts, making it an influential platform for communication and the sharing of opinions and experiences. When focusing on fashion blogs it is safe to say that most of them address the individual blogger's private, everyday life communicated through the lens of fashion consumption. A common characteristic of these blogs is that they are primarily: an expression of personal creativity; a documentation of individual experience; and a sharing of practical knowledge. The author displays new purchases, the rediscovery of old trends, and combinations of these to create a new personal style showcased on their body. Due to the fact that private fashion blogs are continuous and dedicated to everyday life exhibited through fashion consumption, they become a space for identity construction. The computer screen becomes a mirror in which the (usually) female blogger gazes upon her self-portrait. The fashion blog also becomes a platform that expresses a panoptic gaze where women are exposed as being an object of spectacle (Rocamora 2011, 407–27).

Identity

The British sociologist Mike Featherstone analyzes our postmodern consumer culture, which has declared war on uniformity and stable fashions, and sees it as moving towards a culture based on the plenitude of information and the spread of images that will never stabilize (Featherstone 2007). Historians Stuart and Elisabeth Ewen also express this thought in their book *Channels of Desire*: “within contemporary consumer society there is no fashion, only fashions’... No rules, only choices... (today) everyone can be anyone” (1992, 186).

The idea that anyone can be whoever they want has contributed to the degradation of a society dominated by class hierarchy and today's technologies have given fashion bloggers the ability to present their identities exactly as they desire. Fashion blogs have also become an important influence on fashions and trends. This neo-liberal discourse divides cultural critics: some think it promises a future moving towards freedom and personal choice; for others it threatens fashion's status as a maker of cultural identity (Warner 2014, 109–10).

The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard held that the border within postmodern media in relation to what is fantasy and reality has degraded leading to what he calls ‘hyperreality.’ In semiotics and postmodernism, hyperreality involves an inability of the conscious to distinguish reality from a simulation of reality, especially in technologically advanced postmodern societies. Baudrillard goes so far as to say that there is no fixed identity in postmodernity. There are only pictures of the self, which therefore become

the self—a self that does not really exist. As a genre, self-staging and diary blogs serve the same purpose, at least in terms of exposing identities. These images are uploaded so that friends and followers can see them and thereby gain an impression of who one is or who one wants to be. Pictures are staged so that they may be assigned a specific narrative meaning, in order to convey all kinds of experiences in the best possible way. In this way, the individual stages him or herself and through these images shows a desired identity. Jean Baudrillard is difficult to place in relation to other psychological approaches related to identity because he believes that there is no core to one's self, only that which we portray. He stresses that you are what you present and so his theory is important in understanding the fashion blogger phenomenon (Østergaard Zaar et al., 2008).

Identity should be seen as a process of becoming, rather than the immobility of being, and the different techniques and technologies portray an ongoing story about the self. One way to display your identity is through fashion and dress, using today's technologies as the medium for this display. This self-expression is accelerated by the ever-changing communication that the technology of a blog creates. When an individual uses a blog for identity-building it often takes the form of a diary—a genre highly suitable for identity-construction. As Anthony Giddens states: “autobiography—particularly in the broad sense of an interpretative self-history produced by the individual concerned, whether written down or not—is actually at the core of self-identity in modern social life” (Giddens 1991). The form of diary has changed from a private tool for self-reflection to a public diary, in the form of a blog, where private matters are exposed. Self-reflection and identity-building have become a public process and blogs allow individuals to create an ongoing story about themselves for the public to follow. Private fashion blogs shaped as diaries deploy the concept of ‘technology of the self,’ which clarifies the blog's functions as a tool of identity-building. According to the Pew Internet Project Survey (2006), 77 percent of the individuals questioned used their blogs as a way of expressing their creativity. But blogs are not only about this creative self-expression; they are entwined with personal stories narrated through the practice of creative fashion as a technique of the self. Private fashion blogs are both about sartorial fashion and getting to know the person behind the blog. When the blogger posts private stories they are mostly followed by personal photos where the blogger makes some kind of fashion statement—there will therefore be a comment about what he or she is wearing and where to buy it. In this way, fashion consumption goes hand in hand with personal stories, which give it a certain feeling of intimacy, credibility, and personal recommendation. When writing a fashion blog it is important to use both images and written text, especially

the photographic self-portrait, which has become an important and powerful tool to explore, document, and affirm one's identity (Rocamora 2011, 407).

The construction of an image is both a matter of subjectivity and objectivity. In the psychoanalytical theory of Jacques Lacan, the *gaze* can be described as a nervous state of mind, which appears when the individual realizes that they may be being watched—the individual becomes less autonomous when it realizes that it is a visible object. This belief is connected to the theory of the mirror stage, where a child acknowledges its own visual reflection in a mirror and thereby its external appearance. The concept of the gaze relates to the essential duality of watching and being watched, which makes the gaze pre-existent. The presence of surveillance through modern technology has an influence on everyday life and the way in which we see ourselves.

When addressing the gaze it is important to separate the male and female gaze. The gaze presented in visual media is generally shown from a white, heterosexual, Western man's point of view, through which the female figure is sexually objectified. Therefore the male gaze is an integrated power-system in our society that identifies from whose point of view the world is shown. Theories related to this concept are presented by feminist film theorist Laura Mulvey, who introduced the concept of the male gaze as a gender power asymmetry in her text *Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema* in 1975. Here she argued that women were objectified in visual media because heterosexual men were the ones controlling the cameras, automatically locating the audience in this perspective. In this way, women look at themselves through the eyes of men, which only makes them the object, and not the subject of the gaze. However, this changes in female private fashion blogs. These are made by women for women and this changes the concept of the gaze and makes space for a female-on-female gaze. The outfits shown on private female fashion blogs have often moved away from the classic male gaze and show unexpected juxtapositions, color clashes, holes, asymmetrical cuts—a general anti-stereotypical definition of sartorial femininity that expresses a new and alternative aesthetic not dominated by the male gaze.

However, the idea of objectifying women is so ingrained in our culture that female bloggers themselves assume the role of an object while also assuming the role of the subject. Today's technological possibilities enhance the blogger's opportunities to upload photos onto the Internet where they act as a digital screen for self-reflection and the acknowledgement of identity. The blog creates an opportunity for creating an ideal identity through the selective choosing of photos and comments. Easy-to-use technical tools for photo-retouching have made it possible to present one's body the way one sees fit: thinning thighs, arms and stomach; removing wrinkles; changing the

light and color, have all become tools for creating the ideal display of one's identity. It is important to mention here Michel Foucault's theory of panopticism and power/knowledge, which deals with self-regulation in a society of surveillance. According to the theory of self-regulation individuals change their behavior as if they are under constant surveillance. The private female fashion blog becomes a mirror, a space for flattery and surveillance, by one's self and others. This behavior can be seen as a form of panoptic control that the computer mirrors and submits to the male gaze. This becomes a tool for self-surveillance and reflection in order to assert the self. When using the theory of Guy Debord in relation to the spectacle, it becomes clear that the female blogger becomes a part of the spectacle—social relations between people are mediated through the use of images in a panoptic approach.

Narcissism

The need for the individual exhibition of privacy in the media due to narcissistic tendencies is a widespread claim. The cult of the self in new media like blogs, Facebook and Instagram actualizes narcissism as a concept. The narcissism theory is a classic psychological personality perspective, which has its origins in the psychoanalysis of Freudian theory. Freud's theory of narcissism distinguishes between primary and secondary narcissism. Primary narcissism is the condition all people experience in their early childhood; in secondary narcissism Freud regards the libido as targeted towards oneself, the real ego, and the narcissist is unable to turn it against others. This means that the narcissist resides in its own body as an object of love.

The psychologists Heinz Kohut and Glen Gabbard address the theory of narcissism in a way that divides the narcissistic personality into two types: hypersensitive/hyper-vigilant and nonchalant/oblivious. A hypersensitive personality type bases its self-esteem and justification for existence on the reactions of its environment and thereby projects its own grandiose ideas onto others. To use the terminology of Kohut, this is in accordance with the idealization of the object of self. However, this idealization is extended to include more than the object of self, such as putting emphasis on appearance in all aspects through the self-staging of what the individual believes other individuals admire. The motivation for the staging of the self can be found in the individual's perception of others' grandiosity. This form of narcissism can be traced back to the idea of the development of an ego ideal-seeking narcissistic. According to Kohut's theory on grandiose exhibitionism, the oblivious narcissistic personality type projects its own grandiose ideas onto

the ego. The libido is directed towards the self and is reflected in the narcissistic personality-type's desire to constantly be at the centre, whether at the expense of others or not. It becomes a defence against feelings of inferiority and emptiness, and therefore becomes about seeking recognition and acknowledgement of one's identity (Østergaard Zaar et al. 2008).

When studying the theory of narcissism from a social psychological perspective it is important to include the sociologist Erving Goffman who argues that identity is based solely on 'theatrical outplay' between humans. In his book, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, he uses the imagery of the theatre in order to portray the importance of relations in human social interaction. He states that when an individual comes into contact with other individuals, they will try to control or guide the impression of others through changing their setting, appearance and behavior. In this way social life is as an ever-changing performance between actors and spectators where the actor alters their personality accordingly to what they believe the spectator wants (Goffman 1959).

The personality of the individual is social and changeable and appears in the meeting between the performance of the individual and the acceptance of the audience. It becomes about governing impressions through performance and self-staging to the liking of the audience. This approach outlines very well the on-going and ever-changing positions that a private fashion blogger will take in order to assume a fashionable personality (Larsen 2009). To address the intra-psychic understanding of identity, and to consider it from the basis of an inter-psychic perspective changes how one looks at narcissism. Here narcissism is understood as a fundamental human condition that occurs in the search for recognition and affirmation. The core value of our being starts from nothing, a form of non-existence, and in this connection narcissism becomes central to the development of personality: the individual is nothing without others and one does not exist without others' acknowledgement—this is what makes the individual go from being nothing to being something.

Weakened authority, lacking a sense of historical time, and the fact that individuals exhibit themselves through social media may seem like disjointed attributes. However, their connection can be found in the subject's narcissistic attempt to escape anonymity through the desire for fame. This ensures that they will be remembered when they die. In a world where authority is reduced, one's claim to celebrity becomes a form of authority. This is why more and more people choose to display their private life and nature in public—to become famous and gain eternal life. If you understand these ideas in relation to Freud's theory of narcissism, where he sees narcissism as equal to the love of the self, it is natural that narcissistic

individuals desire fame and wish to exhibit themselves in public. However, the desire for fame may also have a more existential motivation than that of a self-centered quest to be bigger and better than others in the attainment of a grandiose ideal. Especially if one moves away from an understanding of narcissism as being equal to love of the self and towards an understanding of narcissism as about self-doubt and the search for recognition and acknowledgement. Therefore recognition and acknowledgment become about being seen: “only when others know who I am, then do I exist!” (Lundmann 2006, 155). To achieve this visibility and thus the acknowledgement of one’s existence, it is of the highest importance to stand out from the crowd. This is achieved through adopting a narcissistic position. The hypersensitive individual will focus on what others think about him or her in order to know how to stand out and thereby adapt to gain recognition. The nonchalant individual must excel in order to make him or herself noticed. Many do not master a specific skill or talent and therefore their uniqueness is found in the display of their private life. This becomes the only tool to make the individual seem interesting and stand out. Through the exhibition of privacy in public an affirmation of one’s existence occurs.

Modern life is mediated by many electronic images, which act as a mirror to the presentation of the individual to the outside. With this development, narcissistic individuals can acquire yet another mirror to reflect themselves so as to become even more aware of how they should appear publicly to obtain their much sought-after recognition and affirmation. Staging of the self is, for this reason, central and society becomes like a ‘show society’ (Lasch 1982, 56). The narcissistic hypersensitive position within private fashion blogging becomes about self-promotion through vain self-monitoring and the attempt to address the outside world’s wishes and ideals; this might be reflected through a nonchalant narcissistic position that distinguishes the individual from others. Consumption and lifestyle come to play a crucial role in self-staging—a semiotic consumption that is not strictly about a product’s material value, but the symbols it sends out (Lavrsen 2008).

Self-staging related to blogging, Facebook, Instagram etc. can, in a narcissistic interpretation, be understood as a search for recognition and acknowledgement through the Web’s endless possibilities for self-promotion. Narcissism, self-presentation and self-exhibition via the media are all very closely related, but does that mean that all performers in the media act according to a narcissistic quest for recognition and affirmation from the outside world? Not necessarily: a survey conducted by AOL in 2005 showed that 50 percent of American bloggers used their blog as a therapeutic tool—the concept of a private diary becomes a public blog dedicated to the development of the individual’s identity (Rocamora 2001, 408).

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THE WEB PORTAL 'MODA DEL NOVECENTO': A RESOURCE FOR ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

VALENTINA UGHETTO

In lectures, the meaning of 'archive' has always been linked to an idea of a document storage used to store the 'memory' of a set of practical activities in one safe, unitary, defined place. This is still true today and will remain so in the future. However, the many technological and cultural transformations of these last few years have brought about a need to come up with diverse forms of documentation. Inventory techniques have changed, the fields of information subjected to archive description have increased and therefore research on routing methods and document recovery has multiplied.

The increase in the variety of document domains, once mainly limited to legal or administrative areas, has expanded the very notion of an archive in an unpredictable manner, broadening to excess the variety of data to be filed. The Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Activities and Tourism [Ministero of dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo (MIBACT)] has recognized the importance of fashion as an artform and more broadly as a wider discipline that includes a combination of anthropology, economics, history, techniques and tradition. The archives accredited by the ministry possess the important certification of historical interest by MIBACT itself and by their own local and regional authorities. Fashion can be studied through documents collected by museums, by foundations, in archives and in libraries.

This complex operation is to be carried out through the open information system SAN, an extensive, capillary information system that can connect a vast range of data (except for sensitive information) to the Internet. These data include an extraordinary document history stored in the state archives and by the many bodies that preserve historical documentation: towns, regions, public agencies, families and individuals, in addition to dedicated portals. All the elements that are part of this system are connected to each other, allowing for a diversified and vast search. The fact that the information

is all in one place, which eliminates the need to go to multiple locations to obtain information, is an enormous advantage, underscoring the importance of accessibility for of our civil and historical heritage.

The web Portale degli Archivi della Moda [Portal of the Archives of Fashion] is an application for the area SAN (Sistema Archivistico Nazionale/National Archival System) that is linked to other online portals: enterprise archives; music archives and archive networks; genealogical and anagraphical search archives; paper binding archives; multimedia historical Mediterranean archives; the land registry and historical cartography; architecture archives; and a portal dedicated to Giuseppe Verdi.

The Portale degli archivi della Moda streamlines the data to render it simple and accessible to a vast and not necessarily specialized public. The information contained in the data sheets records the history of fashion personalities, the relevance of the documentation, and the option to access it. This project was strongly supported by the director, Isabella Orefice, and realized by ANAI in collaboration with institutional partners, such as the Direzione generale per le Biblioteche and the Istituti Culturali ed il Diritto d'Autore, as well as the Direzioni generali per l'Organizzazione, gli Affari generali, il Bilancio and il Personale del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali e del Turismo (MIBACT). This online project contains the general history of fashion, with linked data sheets, images and bibliographical iconographic and audio-visual data.

This great amount of data highlights the vitality, fervor and personality that characterized the twentieth century and inspired Italian fashion. The overall purpose is to make new information available, to involve the public by linking to shows and seminars, and to keep up interest in every aspect of fashion by putting it at the disposal of all those who have a desire to further their interest.

The Italian administration has been the first in the world to create this tool; it can also be used as a *lemmario* for the filing of dresses and of single accessories/components, which can be accessed not only from within the updated web portal itself but also on cds and printed publications.

The world famous *lemmario* has helped to improve the understanding of the data, highlighting the quality of this project. Realized by the Istituto Centrale dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione (ICCD), the *lemmario* is an instrument of the VAEC (Vestimenti antichi e contemporanei) and is edited by the institution itself. The Portale degli Archivi della Moda del Novecento, which can be found on the web with a logo designed by Alberto Lattuada, is divided into different sections: the *Portale* (portal); *Soggetti aderenti* (members); *La moda ieri ed oggi* (fashion of yesterday and today); *Protagonisti* (protagonists); *Percorsi* (paths). The

Percorsi section includes an in-depth analysis of the Italian fashion system as a cohesive entity that has made fashion one of the most important facets of the Italian economy.

The Portale degli Archivi Della Moda allows access, through different search options, to a range of contents, from the description of company archives to the visualization of its internal subjects (products, drawings, sketches, photographs).

A description of the project and its development from the past until today

This project was presented for the first time on January 12, 2009, in the redolent location of the Sale Bianca of Patti Palace during the Pitti Uomo 75 event. The presentation was attended by many illustrious persons, such as the Direttore Generale per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici della Toscana, the Direttori Generali per gli Archivi e i Beni Librari, and other fashion personalities. This occasion was used to recall the first fashion show ever organized at Palazzo Pitti on a hot Florentine summer day. In July 1952, the organizer, Giovanni Battista Giorgini, invited national and international authorities to introduce Italian fashion at Palazzo Pitti in Florence; the designers were Carosa, Fabiani, Marucelli, Simonetta, Noberasko, Fontana, Veneziani, Shuberth, Pucci and Gallotti. The event was only open to invited guests making it more exclusive than French fashion shows of the time where tickets were sold.

Italian fashion is a prominent artistic and economic sector and has been at the forefront of international taste-setting since the early 1950s, thanks to the work of stylists, ateliers, tailor shops, fashion houses and the producers of fabrics and accessories. The presentation of the several decades of Italian fashion is a priceless endeavor of great economic and civil value—fashion has greatly contributed to the formation of national identity. The archives, besides being an inexhaustible source of creativity, are also the preservation of the historical memory of Italian fashion, a unique and inimitable asset and a gold mine of ideas from which to draw on to keep alive the values of exclusivity and authenticity, which have been the keys to success of Made in Italy.

The archives and sources documenting the history of Italian fashion are the distinguishing element of this fashion portal. Born through the commitment of the participating institutions and members, the portal has evolved with the know-how of professionals and the experience of users.

The Portale degli Archivi della Moda del Novecento is organized into the following sections: *Soggetti aderenti* [members], all those who have helped

to develop the documentation of the fashion archives; *La moda ieri ed oggi* [fashion of yesterday and today], the history of fashion divided into dedicated data sheets each with their own images and captions; *Protagonisti* [main characters], eighty-five biographies of stylists of the past; *Percorsi* [paths], which includes dedicated insights into the Italian fashion system and the combined and coordinated elements that render fashion one of the most important sectors of the Italian economy (industrial and sartorial production, commercial distribution, training of creative and managerial talent, the spreading of fashion and its lexicon, all the themes that have been explored). The *Documenti di Archivio* [archive documents] that accompany each path underline the specificity of the Italian fashion system and its strong roots in the culture and history of our country. The sector is divided into: *Mostre Esposizioni* [archive exhibitions], organized by archive institutes, fashion houses, and cultural agencies; it provides information on the activity and archive heritage of the fashion world, including conventions, seminars and other events regarding the history of fashion. *Dossier Biografici* [Biographical dossiers] are in-depth documentation tabs on several personalities and on specific subjects regarding the history of fashion. *Dossier a Tema* [Thematic documentation] was supervised by Elisabetta Merlo and includes interviews and informal conversations with several fashion personalities. The subject matter found in *Eventi and Interviste* [Events and Interviews], is mostly drawn from events organized by ANAI for the Archivi della Moda project. We can benefit from the portal and also from the library that informs us about the origins of the portal itself. We can also connect to OPAC SBN, from which it is possible to search the libraries and to access the anagraphical sheet of each single library. Furthermore this section includes the *lemmario* and the vocabulary extracted from the *lemmario*.

The news section includes all the latest news of the fashion world. *Multimedia* is an informal presentation of all the image documentation that can be found in the fashion archive (data sheets on garments, accessories, shoes, sketches). Each snapshot is correlated to an archive reference and can be accessed by touching the lower right mouse key—*Apri Scheda* with its own descriptive card. It is important to note that in the left hand dropdown menu we can find *Circa*, which offers two search options. The first is a simple search similar to Google—using a term to bring up a complete list of subjects (fashion houses, families, people, institutions etc.), archives, conservation elements and of the digital data connected to them all.

The second is an advanced search that allows the cross-referencing of different parameters, such as the names of fashion houses or stylists, different document types, and chronological periods. By selecting either digital *Prodotto* or option there is the possibility of skimming through multiple

choices; the search method is based on the *schede di approfondimento* (in-depth cards). The first sheet has information regarding the subject and the following are consequential and specifically deal with the *soggetto conservatore* (conservation subjects) and the archives. The *soggetto produttore* is an archive of the subjects who created the documentation. For example, Fashion House Litrico. The *soggetto conservatore* is often connected to the *soggetto produttore*, but it also stores other archives from external sources. For example Litrico also has the documentation of Centenaro Fashion. The *Complesso Archivistico* (General Archive) is an array of all the documents that have been filed.

Internally, The portal includes 171 *soggetti conservatori*, 317 *Complessi Archivi*, 2200 digitalized products, 25 thematic subjects dedicated to the most significant aspects of Italian fashion, and 634 digital objects such as movies and photographs from state archives, including Istituto Luce, RAI Teche and Fratelli Alinari. The fashion portal can be considered as the first mapping and preservation of the historical record found in all the archives spread throughout the nation. This makes it possible to insert new additions and updates in the spirit underscoring the *Sistema Archivistico Nazionale* (SAN), of which the fashion portal is one of many projects. This project goes beyond the simple label of Made in Italy by illustrating the subject in all its aspects in order to divulge, preserve and promote it.

In the future, all this data will be put online with those of other nations creating a global, virtual archive, where information can be accessed as one's imagination wishes. The advantages brought about by this endeavor are great: it will enhance the value of the past and give rise to new ideas.

There is still much to do in order to implement the existing documentation—from what has already been catalogued to new instances in the digital fashion world. The data that has been verified up to this point is a valid aid in supporting the original source material, never forgetting that direct experience is irreplaceable. In my opinion, the portal is a unique mapping instrument for scholars and has as yet unexpressed potential for future research.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MADE IN ITALY

THE CONTRIBUTION OF ELIO FIORUCCI TO THE FASHION INDUSTRY

MARIA ROBERTA DE ROBERTIS

The 1960s was a decade of important generational change. Millions of young people poured onto the streets in the West to manifest their political ideals, their social distress, their dissent, their desire for change and their rejection of any kind of formalism. This climate of ‘breaking with the past’ also affected the fashion system. The new and nonconformist ways of dressing adopted by young people influenced the fashion industry. One of the fashion sector’s greatest interpreters of these changes in the cultural climate was Elio Fiorucci. He was not only a stylist but also an artist, a philosopher, a communicator and a keen observer of the needs and desires of young people. This article is dedicated to the contribution of Fiorucci to the fashion industry. After a brief review of the historical context in which he began his activities, this study will focus on the evolution of his contribution from the 1960s until today.

The historical context in which the contribution of Fiorucci takes place

Protests by the young was a peculiar characteristic of the 1960s. It arose as a reaction to the conventions of the industrial and consumerist society that had developed in the postwar period in America and in Europe. The new generation belonged to the so-called baby-boom generation. They were born after the war and their childhood and adolescence had seen a period of great economic and technological development and increasing prosperity. In this context, they began to feel constrained by a society which, although economically and materially advanced, appeared to be lagging behind in terms of culture and expression. As such, the young people of many western states began to express their dissent. Authority was contested in all its manifestations: school; university; family; bourgeois education with its hypocritical rules; religion with its taboos about sex; politics and war. The protest was particularly directed against American intervention in Vietnam.

Pacifist and anti-militarist ideals were a unifying element among the youth of the Western world. Students engaged in occupations, demonstrations and meetings, to which governments responded in many cases with arrests and repression; this also led to extreme situations, such as May '68 in France and the Prague Spring.

The hippie movement contributed significantly to this development. This movement arose in the mid-1960s in California, in the footsteps of the Beat Generation of the 1950s. The hippies were pacifists, rejected dominant behavior and values, practiced a community lifestyle and were fascinated by Eastern religions and culture. They gave rise to a youth counterculture, which was characterized by: new musical styles (Beatles, Rolling Stones, Doors, Jimi Hendrix, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, etc.); new practical and colorful fashion, designed exclusively for young people; an alternative youthful press; use of drugs as a means to defy authority and consciousness expansion. Their costumes spread rapidly in Europe, giving rise to various groups: the English teddy boys, the French blouson noir and the Italian capelloni.

In Italy, the youth movement had a more political character. Its peculiar feature was the alliance between students and workers, resulting from the fact that the economic boom was not accompanied by an appropriate increase in the level of social and economic welfare among the lower classes.

Forms of protest until then unknown occurred: schools and universities were occupied and demonstrations organized, in many cases leading to clashes with the police. In conclusion, a desire for renewal and modernity, in a society that did not seem to be in step with the changing times, fed a climate of protest and contestation and this characterized the 1960s and most of the 1970s.

Elio Fiorucci's contribution to the fashion industry

In an international context marked by the youth culture revolution, new protagonists emerged in the fashion industry. A new generation of stylists interpreted the changing taste of young people and their rejection of traditions and conventions. They redefined fashion standards, adapting them to the needs of younger consumers—jeans, leggings, high collars and loafers were opposed to traditional jackets, pants with pleats, shirts with cufflinks, classic suits and shoes.

Mary Quant's mini dress and Twiggy's teenage body became symbols of the 1960s feminine 'look,' while young Londoners grouped themselves as Mods and rockers, and the hippie look arose in the United States.

On the heels of the successes achieved in the previous decade, Italian fashion consolidated its international reputation by adapting itself to the new

times and new demands. Among the stylists who spread the name of Italy abroad, Elio Fiorucci played a prominent role. He was a true pioneer in his research of trends and a careful interpreter of the demands of a changing society.

Elio Fiorucci was born in Milan in 1935. The last but one of five brothers and with little desire to study, he started working when he was just seventeen in the slipper shop of his father where he soon began to show his creativity (Tinaglia 2013). In 1962, full of new ideas, he opened his own shop, undertaking a path in which he, with all his creations, interpreted the profound changes that characterized society. His contribution to the fashion industry can be divided into three periods: the 1960s; 1970s–1980s; and from the 1990s until today.

The 1960s: youth protest

After a trip to England, Fiorucci decided to start a new practice with similar characteristics to those of London and in step with the trends of Pop Art. Pop Art was born during the 1950s and exploded in popularity in the 1960s. It arose as a reaction to the crisis in figurative art and, in particular, to the excesses of abstract expressionism. The protagonists of this new wave were a generation of young artists driven by a desire to search for new ways of interpreting the reality of mass culture. These ways were identified in the use of the commercial objects promoted by advertising and the new idols of movies and television. This new artistic movement developed from the encounter between art and mass media culture. As mass art, produced in series, it had to be easily understandable for the greatest possible number of people and, therefore, it had to be in a defined, reproducible and impersonal form.

The artistic contribution of Andy Warhol is a clear example of this new artform. He developed art from a unique object into a serial product, as seen in his Campbell soup cans or bottles of Coca Cola.

Pop Art also inspired the stylist Elio Fiorucci as he began his ascent to the top of the world of fashion at the age of twenty-seven. He took colors and styles from Pop Art and subjected them to his personal interpretation in order to express the great cultural and sexual changes that had accrued in the world of youth, reflecting a real revolution that neither the miniskirt, cigarette pants nor tight-fitting T-shirts could describe. In 1962, he published in *Amica* images of beautiful rubber galoshes in vivid colors, giving vitality to an object in itself banal—one of the most effective stratagems of Pop Art.

In 1967, Fiorucci opened a multi-product store selling not only clothes and accessories, but also gadgets, curiosities, food and drink in San Babila,

Milan. This shop quickly became a reference point for young people, who could find all the novelties of Carnaby Street and the British and American hit parade, in a context in which the concepts of ‘total look’ and ‘life-style’ were not yet known. Furthermore, the store—inaugurated by Adriano Celentano, who arrived to do so in a pink Cadillac—had a revolutionary feature for those times: it presented itself as a modern concept store, where customers could move freely, explore and choose. In fact, the goal of Fiorucci was to eliminate the boundaries between product and consumer and this was reflected in the characteristics of the store.

The shop had large windows, so as to allow viewing of the interior from the street; it was on the ground floor and had no steps in order to be on the same level as passersby. Once inside, one found eccentric clothing, T-shirts with stars, stripes and optical designs, and colorful pants. It was an explosion of color, accompanied by rock music, strong scents and exotic and ethnic objects—on the pages of *Espresso*, Camilla Cederna described the store as: “the biggest, craziest and most extravagant” (Fabbri et al. 2011, 58).

In his Milanese store Fiorucci was able to combine two oppositional trends: Pop Art and hippie culture—a culture he had himself joined. In the summer of 1965, he went to Ibiza and for some time was a member of a hippy colony. As he said in an interview published in *Panorama*, they were:

“a new tribe of gypsies, cosmopolitans, who had a vision of the world of an absolute break with the past. Also in clothing. They were using threadbare, patched and broken jeans. It was a shock.’ Really, the stylist entered fully into the spirit of the hippy culture that he described as: ‘a revolution that arrived directly into the heart and the belly of the people to remain there for decades as an icon, memory, ideal path of knowledge and unique example of the absolute joy of life and creativity” (Pollini 2008, 8–10).

Fiorucci visited a number of eastern countries at the end of the 1960s to live the hippy experience and discover novelties for his shops. He imported colored clothes found in the local markets of India, Afghanistan and China. Combining elements of Pop Art and hippie culture, Fiorucci institutionalized the concept of lifestyle and stocked his stores with clothes and objects that perfectly reflected the desire for freedom among young people.

The main rule of hippie fashion was to have no rules: to bring together contrasting and different looks, like old West style clothes, Indian and eastern accessories, and silks and beads. In this context, the slogan used by Fiorucci—Free For All—was perfectly suited to the thought of the age (Fabbri et al. 2011, 42). Without renouncing kitsch articles, reflecting the dictates of Pop Art, the stylist added elements of sensuality. In this regard it is significant that he was one of the first to discover the female form, primarily

the 'B-side.' This is shown by the numerous advertising posters of those years, with photographs, not quite vulgar, of his tight jeans or a female swimsuit of a tanga design, from the back. This sensuality is also present in the trademark chosen by the designer, two Victorian and Raphaelesque angels, graphically adapted by the architect Italo Lupi. Indeed, seen from the correct perspective the graphical outline of the angels, the hair and clouds of cherubs delineate the contours of a woman's mouth.

To conclude, in Fiorucci youth protest became a cultural phenomenon and this rebellion found in fashion a way to oppose bourgeois conventions.

1970-1990: Fiorucci in the world

In the 1970s, Fiorucci's success continued and crossed national borders: in 1975 he opened his first store in Kings Road, London; in 1976, he opened another store in New York, on 59th Street, near Bloomingdales—a cult location and a meeting point for the greatest exponents of the New York art community; in 1979, in Los Angeles, in the neighborhood of Beverly Hills; and in 1983, in Paris, where Madonna herself attended and performed. His stores were social and trendy spaces: places of art, music and food.

Fiorucci maintained close links to the art world and was always aware of the importance of international relationships. Andy Warhol launched his *Interview* magazine at Fiorucci's; the stylist and his staff were called to organize the Grand Opening of the most famous nightclub in New York, Studio 54. Fiorucci produced costumes designed by Antonio Lopez—an already famous artist and illustrator of the covers of the *Interview*—for the dance company of Alvin Ailey; he also collaborated with Kenny Scharf, a protege of Andy Warhol and creator of the colorful character Squirt. Klaus Nomi, mime and lyrical singer who invented the image of David Bowie in *The Man Who Fell to Earth*, performed in his stores. In 1981, Fiorucci adorned T-shirts, blouses and sweaters with the characters of Walt Disney. Those clothes were so successful that he earned a mention in Disney's Golden Book. However, the most striking event was in 1983, when Keith Haring fully covered his store in San Babila Place in Milan with graffiti.

The imagery of Fiorucci was significantly marked by his friendship with Andy Warhol. They shared a taste for neon colors, simplicity and the search for an accessible iconography. Warhol had turned the dollar sign, \$, into art and like him Fiorucci used simple and often childish subjects, such as the angels of his trademark. His T-shirts were painted with flowers, fruits, animals, people and playful icons like Mickey Mouse; while the image of the foot was represented by exaggerated footwear wedges, lacquered colors and mignon fruits. All these correspondences with Pop Art made Fiorucci's stores

places much loved by Andy Warhol, as shown by the records of the artist in his diaries: “Wednesday, 12/21/1983. Went to Fiorucci, it’s a fun place. It’s all I ever wanted, all plastic” (Fabbri et al. 2011, 60).

During this period, now full of international experience, the production of Fiorucci was enriched with exotic products: jewelry with glass beads imported from New Mexico, in 1974; espadrilles and bags from Ibiza, in 1975; ballerina shoes from Asia, in 1976. In 1982, moreover, Fiorucci mingled Lycra, launched by Du Pont, with denim, creating the first stretch jeans and, in 1983, after the success of the Flashdance movie, he was the first stylist to launch ‘the body,’ leggings, and sweat bands onto the market.

On the national front, in 1974 Fiorucci opened a second store in Milan, in Via Torino. It was a big store with three floors, furnished according to a revolutionary and multisensory formula; it had three water fountains and spicy aromas, a space dedicated to performances, and a restaurant, where, together with clothing, home accessories, books and music were sold.

With ‘Te alle 5’ the shop was embellished by an antique market, destined for the sale of used clothing.

Since the 1990s

The last twenty years have been years of intense creativity for Elio Fiorucci. In 1990, the Fiorucci brand was bought by the Japanese company Edwin International, a leading maker of jeans in Japan founded and led by Shuji Tsunemi. Fiorucci began his artistic and creative collaboration with the company and diversified his products through various licenses not only in Italy, but also in Europe, Asia and the Americas.

In this period the work of Fiorucci has been characterized by a further evolution, once again in step with the changing times. The years of the hippies and Pop Art are long gone and the need to fight for a freer and more transgressive society had subsided.

In the 1990s, a Japanese cultural phenomenon, known as *kawaii*, entered Western culture. The word indicated a way of being pleasant and lovely, but also different, imperfect, original, special and weird. From this aesthetic category derived a fashion that mainly affected the world of young people and their way of dressing, decoration, speaking, writing and behaving. It became trendy and everything was *kawaii*: objects that were not only cute, but also small, funny, innocent looking, childlike and usually in colors loved by girls—white, pink, blue, and violet. One of the key symbols of the *kawaii* style is undoubtedly the cat Hello Kitty, first drawn by Yuko Yamaguchi in 1974 as Sanrio’s mascot.

In Italy, Elio Fiorucci was among the first to realize the potential of the *kawaii* phenomenon and, by the late 1990s, in his Milanese showroom T-shirts and accessories with many references to childhood along with Hello Kitty merchandise could be found. Always in step with the times, in 2003 Fiorucci created a new clothing line—Love Therapy. This was a line of clothes and accessories that adopted another declarative symbol in the form of a colorful gnome that came in seven different colors. With this new line Fiorucci tried to transmit a positive view of life, offering clothing, accessories and objects that, thanks to colors, materials and shapes, could generate an optimistic atmosphere. Even the slogans accompanying his products had this mission: ‘Love makes life magic’; ‘Have a nice day’; ‘Look, there is an angel next to you.’ Fiorucci introduced a specific line for those between 0 and 16 years, so that clothes and objects that they wore could help to create a climate of peace and happiness amongst the young. Children, animals, gnomes, dwarves, elves, and other fairytale characters appeared on dresses, shirts, suits, and accessories. Thus, the ‘therapy of love’ of the 2000s replaced the frank sexuality that had historically marked the brand in the years of youth rebellion.

In 2004, Elio Fiorucci introduced a new creation with which he sought to return to his original dream: exalting femininity with a simple pair of jeans. These were ergonomic sexy jeans: jeans designed to ‘stretch’ the legs and streamline the figure, creating an aesthetic balance of perfect proportions.

But the creativity of Fiorucci did not stop—he was ready to adapt to the needs of a society in constant movement. In 2000, large global chains such as Zara and H&M, arrived, which were capable of producing trendy products quickly and at low cost. It was the beginning of a new era: the era of fast fashion.

The big chains attracted huge numbers of customers, including ones that in the past had only frequented luxury boutiques. The new status symbol was not the luxury brand, but the ostentation of one’s own ability to mix leading brands with common pieces.

Fiorucci, who had by now sold his store in San Babila to H&M, was, once again a pioneer. In 2005, he signed an agreement with OVS Industry to produce the Baby Angel line, which had the slogan ‘to be glamorous you do not have to spend a fortune.’ This line was distributed in several pop stores, helping Italy to fend off the Spanish and Swedish advancement in trend-setting (Fabbri et al. 2011, 71).

In 2011, thanks to the idea of product diversification, Fiorucci began working with Ikea on the realization of a project to create a pocket store offering modular solutions for small spaces and the creation of a concept store with furniture designs for larger environments. The first results of this

collaboration were seen in 2012, with the inauguration of the first Pocket Store in Capri, in a characteristic building located in via Roma 34, and with the inauguration of a Concept Store in Bari.

The Concept Store was distributed over two floors and designed as an apartment in which the products of the designer were exposed in a setting that combined his fantasy with Ikea's minimalist and democratic furniture: the shower was transformed into a cabin; ice cream cones into lamps; the kitchen island into cash; and pillows into computer keys. This combination brought customers into a world of colors and fantastic and paradoxical objects, where they could find clothes, bags, accessories, shoes, sunglasses, gifts and all that had characterized the historical brand of Fiorucci.

Other stores were opened later and all were an expression of the philosophy of a designer who never looked back, but was always ready to reinvent fashion in step with a changing world.

Later, Fiorucci launched a new line, Art Therapy, trying to give life to a pop trend combining the language of art and fashion. In other words, his basic idea was that art should reach a wide audience, turning the work of young artists into accessories that were not only beautiful to look at, but also pleasing to wear. The result of this vision has been a collection of scarves made in collaboration with Lia Bosh, a young Neapolitan artist, and the company Como Lisa Spa, which specializes in textile printing, particularly in silk.

Conclusion

It is generally recognized that clothing is a sort of language and works as a set of signs. It is a distinctive element of social and political conditions and groups. People dress, not only for necessity, but also to distinguish, to conform, to display and, more or less consciously, to communicate.

Fiorucci was one of the first designers to understand the importance of clothing as a social language and dress as an instrument; he converted street styles into fashion trends with products that were interpreted in a language of colors and chromatic and innovative details. In his opinion: "fashion is one of life's aspects and art is an expression of man" (Feroletto 1999, 24).

It is no coincidence that Fiorucci has been able to interpret all the major changes that have accompanied society from the 1960s until today: from the years of great youth protests to those of giant global chains producing low-cost clothing in record time.

From the life and professional experience of Elio Fiorucci emerges, however, not only the image of a designer who has been able to interpret and adapt his creations to the continuous transformations of a changing society,

but also the image of an eclectic figure—philosopher, artist and communicator. His features included great humanity and optimism, which can be deduced from his worldview: “I like to imagine a world where everyone loves one another. It is important to be beloved as well as to recognize and reciprocate every expression of affection” (Gorza 2015).

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NAPLES IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALIAN FASHION: STORIES, LEADERS, PROJECTS

ORNELLA CIRILLO (*)
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1. Stories and Leaders (*)

In the history of Italian fashion, which was traditionally centered on Florence, Rome and Milan, Naples has also played a leading role, thanks to the work of some outstanding local personalities. This has been possible, not so much through the creative activity of those who left their hometown and moved to the capital city seeking fame—like Schuberth and Sarli—or to Florence—Pucci and Ferragamo—but rather thanks to those, such as Livio De Simone, Mario Valentino and many other tailors, who have invested in their city, contributing greatly to the role of the city of Naples in the larger frame of Italian fashion.

This research project, which has been conducted at the Seconda Università di Napoli (SUN) for many years as part of the laboratory named FA.RE., aims to recognize the contribution of the city of Naples to the geography of Made in Italy, and to acknowledge the skills of those to whom the history of international fashion owes a debt—they have not yet received the recognition that is due to them. Such rediscovery, while reviving our memory, aims to push forwards towards the future through renewed project models and experimentation based on the sharing of knowledge and the need for innovation in Neapolitan companies.

Our story begins in Naples in the late nineteenth century where significant experience in the production and sale of clothing and accessories was to be found. Thanks to their innovative spirit, the Mele brothers made their presence felt in the big department stores in the heart of the city, following the European model of *Rinascete* in Milan (Picone Petrusa 1988, 87–94). Naples was also the city where, after the unification of Italy, fine tailoring had started to develop in the ateliers for men run by Raffaele Sardonelli,

Filippo De Nicola, Luciano Lombardi and Luigi Caggiula (Tagliatela 2010, 15–16). A truly Neapolitan tailoring style dates back to the 1920s, when the fathers of tailored styling first came on the scene, the most outstanding being

Antonio Caggiula, Salvatore Morziello, Renato De Nicola, Gennaro Rubinacci, Angelo Blasi and Vincenzo Attolini. It is they who would teach the necessary skills to the master tailors of the mid-twentieth century. The reference model for this former group was the British one, but the Neapolitan climate, in its colors, light and way of life, was completely different to that of London: the heavy fabrics, smoke gray color, and rigid, padded structures, which did not respond to the needs of local clients, needed to be modified. In order to obtain leaner and softer lines, the Neapolitan tailors reinvented shapes, weights and colors, removed padding and shoulder pads, and chose lighter materials with brighter and more brilliant colors. It was a real clothes revolution and resulted in the elaboration of a now classic item—the tailored Neapolitan jacket. Gradually spreading to a wider public, including artists, journalists and industrialists, it triggered, in turn, progressive recognition of Naples at a European level and the beginning of a high quality profile manufacturing sector in male garments (shirts, gloves, ties and accessories) (*Highware* 2010).

Visibility was achieved by Neapolitan sartorial production not only thanks to the famous people who wore the garments manufactured in the city, but also to the many national events, including the exhibition ‘One hundred years of fashion in Naples,’ which took place in 1959 in the Royal Palace, and the ‘Festival of San Remo men’s fashion,’ where the attending Neapolitan tailors, after careful selection, received unanimous approval and official recognition (*Cento anni di moda a Napoli* 1959–60, 33–45; Tagliatela 2014, 390–91).

Neapolitan fashion matured in the thriving Italian creative season of the 1950s, when the activities of important fashion protagonists of Made in Italy bloomed—Livio De Simone, Fausto Sarli and Mario Valentino; they imposed their presence on the international stage during industry events, which led to their later participation in Giorgini’s fashion show in Florence.

1954 was the year of the big launch for Sarli and Valentino and also the year of the ‘Congress of fashion, textiles, clothing’ held at the Mostra d’Oltremare, according to the wishes of the Mediterranean Centre of Fashion and Crafts. This had been created in 1953 to allow Southern Italy to become part of the vast movement created around Italian fashion and, therefore, gain new markets (Centro Mediterraneo 1954, 5–15). The event, sponsored by the Mayor of Naples, Achille Lauro, together with the main city institutions, was meant to promote industrial development and local handicrafts for the benefit of the Italian Fashion Press. It included a shoe and glove exhibition, a show dedicated to ‘sea crafts’ and, especially, the Festival of Italian Fashion and

Textiles, through which fashion houses (Giovannelli Sciarra, Ferdinandi, Schuberth, Faraoni, Capucci, Sarli, Marucelli, and Sorelle Fontana) were promoted to representatives of a large number of foreign manufacturers. The name of Fausto Sarli stood out in the competition for best pattern drafters held on that occasion. From 1948, he had been working under the guidance of Schuberth—who had left Naples for Rome in 1938 (Giordani Aragno 2007, 33–36). Since then Sarli had emerged in the national context and after only two years (1956) he was invited to hold a fashion show in Palazzo Pitti with the collection ‘Casanova.’ In 1959 he went to Rome, attracted by the large number of clients involved in show business and in 1960 he opened an atelier in Naples, which left after a decade of intense activity in order to move to the capital (Giordani Aragno 2007, 42). It was a significant event, which added to the focus on local creative and production skills in the promotion of Italian fashion.

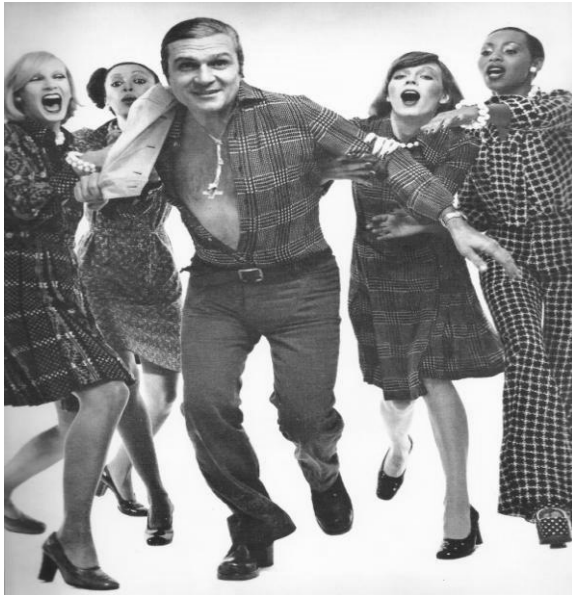


Figure 1. Livio De Simone in a picture from the 1970s

In the same year in Rome, where events celebrating Italian creative talents followed one another, Sarli represented Naples in the fashion show organized by SIAM, along with Livio De Simone and Mario Valentino. The latter, an expert shoemaker who had trained in his father’s workshop and later in Paris

at that of André Perugia, presented the coral sandal—a flat shoe in which three strands of beads adorned the foot like a jewel. Thanks to this creation he got on the cover of *Vogue France*. The occasion became a prestigious springboard into the foreign fashion scene and he was noticed by a top executive of I. Miller Shoe, the only US company that manufactured luxury footwear, with whom he worked assiduously until 1966, although he never severed his ties to his hometown. It was here, in 1963 in the heart of Sanità, that he invested all the profits from his fruitful collaboration with the American company, providing important continuity to the material culture of the neighborhood in the processing of hides for the production of gloves.¹ His choice was not motivated by personal interest, but by an unconditional loyalty to Naples and a constant desire to create wealth through a clever exploitation of the artistic and cultural resources of the city. Mario, distinguished himself in the city as a man capable of powering production and processes in the fields of art and industry through fruitful collaborations with Joe Colombo, Lucio Amelio, Andy Warhol, Robert Mapplethorpe, and Helmut Newton (Cirillo 2014).

The transformation of the production plant brought with it an improvement in product quality and diversification, so much so that since 1968 the rather elegant women's shoe production of the early years has been enlarged with a choice of bags and clothing. At the dawn of the 1970s, the Neapolitan entrepreneur realized that the soft, thin leather he was so familiar with could also be used to make pants, aligning his interest to that of the best tailors in Europe (Balenciaga, Galitzine, Courreges) who were redesigning their pants to launch them as a decidedly female garment (Grandi, Vaccari and Zannier 1992, 80–81). The leather produced extended beyond the world of footwear to the apparel industry. In this way, a material traditionally used for professional garments and only in neutral colors, like brown, black and beige, became a product suitable for the manufacture of an evening gown, rejuvenated with new colors (blue cloud, cookie, pink, taupe).

These first attempts were followed by the boom of the 'all leather look' that saw the full acceptance of the mechanisms of fashion design. It all started in 1972 when he commissioned Karl Lagerfeld, who had already collaborated with him in the design of shoes, to create his first clothing collection. The experience lasted until 1987 and these years saw the regular contribution of other French creative talents, such as Muriel Grateau, Marie France Acquaviva and Claude Montana, and Italians such as Giorgio Armani and Gianni Versace. This was an entrepreneurial venture that, thanks to the expert assistance of Franco Savorelli and Walter Rolla, led Mario Valentino to

¹ The data related to the story of Mario Valentino are taken from documents preserved in the Historical Archive of the company.

achieve recognition in the early 1980s and be included in 1982 among the Magnificent 10 of Italian fashion (together with Biagiotti, Versace, Krizia, Fendi, Ferre, Armani, Missoni, Soprani, and Coveri).

This stylistic change was a very important step for the company, as it emphasized its experimental and innovative attitude; it involved an ‘osmotic’ exchange of expertise between its founder, his wife Bianca, and the factory technicians and designers who assisted them in the design of the collections (for men and women)—the leather dress, by its very nature, requires manual as well as tailoring skills. The first collection of dresses, with the collaboration of Lagerfeld, was classic in style, but renewed by inserts of soft and shiny suede. In 1977, the design was entrusted to Muriel Grateau who followed the trend of the moment—the fashion of layers using sloppy and oversized clothing. She chose tunics and amphora-shaped trousers, Tartar headgear, large cloaks and long gowns inspired by the folk themes of Russia at the time of the czars. She also used an almost primitive processing with unsown edges and visible stitching. She launched the first reversible sheepskin coat, with identical coloring inside and out (in ruby, topaz, and sapphire), which, when matched with clothes of similar style, helped to spread the ideal of the luxury nomad woman presented on the international catwalk. Between 1978 and 1979, with Marie France Acquaviva, Mario Valentino followed the trending preciousness of contemporary fashion by launching a line of clothing using suede for the underwear, including deerskin in openwork lace and reindeerskin characterized by the *trompe l’oeil* effect of a pinstripe lining.

Research into the creation of fabrics brought about a great revolution in the so-called leather Tessita. This was a type of manufacturing process that increased the value of the items in its use of large amounts of leather and required the expertise of the shoemaker with experimental techniques and semi-handmade dressmaking procedures. This modern innovation, fresher and more delicate than homogeneous leather, was interpreted by Giorgio Armani between 1981 and 1984. He was inspired by Western and folk themes in creating long skirts, blouses with two-colored sleeves and unusual short jackets with the motif of the fake vest; he used the emblems typical of the male wardrobe, over-sized dusters, jackets, pants and blouses, enhanced by a sophisticated combinations of materials, such as fallow deer and reindeer processed to look like velvet or hemp, or warp suede with flax or woven braided motifs. The Italian designers of this season were actively engaged in unprecedented experimentalism with fabrics textures and wefts used routinely for other purposes (Grandi, Vaccari, Zannier 1992, 149–50).

When the creative work was entrusted to Gianni Versace (1985–87), Mario Valentino introduced printed effects, on both large and small scales, and folded the skin into tiny pleats for collections marked by a line that

emphasized the waist and bloomed upward. The shapes were softened and feminized; brilliant flashes of red, green and onyx appeared, while black remained the dominant color.

The diversification of his products, which started in the early 1970s, corresponded to a major expansion. He opened a network of shops in major Italian cities, as well as ones in New York (1971) and Paris (1972), which were located in the most shopping famous streets and managed by prestigious designers. Major media investment and the use of modern communication gave the brand recognition and social credit at international level: the black and white drawings of Brunetta, the impressionist watercolors of Eula and the explosive sketches of Antonio Lopez were followed by important photographic campaigns. From 1975, the publicity shots of Franco Rubartelli, Bob Krieger, Richard Avedon, Robert Mapplethorpe, Roberto Carra, Oliviero Toscani, Helmut Newton, and Mimmo Jodice, spread communicated messages and showed how Mario had acquired an ability to identify exceptional collaborators.

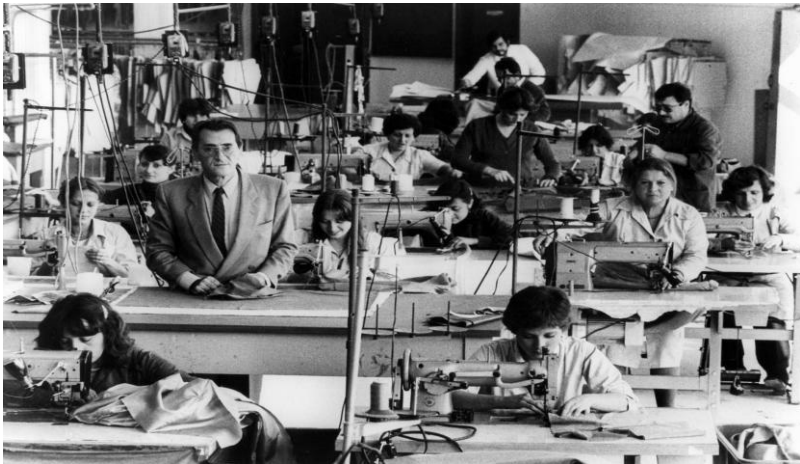


Figure 2. Mario Valentino in a picture from the 1970s

Like Mario Valentino, Livio De Simone stayed true to Naples and his Mediterranean roots, setting up an independent company for decorative fabrics in Melito. Here he interpreted the process of creating clothing according to artistic principles. In fact, he casually landed in the world of fashion—driven by artistic curiosity he joined the Concrete Art Movement (Ranzo 2005, 38).

Journalists of the 1960s called him ‘ the Master of the new pictorial forms’ and he expressed his interest in the visual arts, with calculated vagueness, with a:

“canvas that models of the Neapolitan aristocracy were made to wear. In a process halfway between art and fashion, he favored inaccurate traits, irregular shapes and backgrounds mixed with quotes and bizarre expedients, in a chromatic scale that deliberately included all possible colors” (Liberti 2005, 69–79).

After designing fabrics for Emilio Pucci, his creations were shown at the Pitti Palace in 1957 where his simple garments, involving unusual combinations of polychromatic geometric figures, won the acclaim of the international press (Liberti 2005, 71). From then on his products were diverse, with fabrics for dress shirts, sarongs, tunics and the ‘total beach look,’ as well as for interior design. His collection of furnishing fabrics, called LIVIO DE SIMONE ID, consisting of cushions, curtains and upholstery, displayed all the hallmarks of a versatile designer. He consistently and transversally applied an experimental pictorial language to clothing, objects and furnishings, starting a new trend in Italy (Liberti 2005, 81–84).

The fashion shows of Rome, Florence and Milan, and the nearby Caprese catwalk, which, along with Maremoda Capri became a coveted stage for all the actors of Made in Italy, gave international visibility and prestige to these Neapolitan interpreters of Italian fashion. The idea of launching the island as a center for European fashion began in the early 1950s. In 1951, Livio De Simone and Emilio Pucci organized a pioneering fashion show at the Quisisana precisely for this purpose. The desired effect was not seen until 1967, when De Simone himself, in the context of the booming Italian fashion phenomenon, along with Rudy and Consuelo Crespi, Sergio Capece Minutolo, the Chamber of Commerce and the Provincial Agency for Tourism of Naples started a full decade of events called Maremoda Capri (Esposito 2015, 119–38). With the aim of developing the international market in beach clothing and promoting Italian designers, the event had the indisputable merit of taking place on an island much loved by the international jet set—it helped push tourism growth and at the same time provided further opportunities for emerging brands in ready-to-wear Italian fashion to present themselves to the public.



Figure 3. Livio De Simone parade in Maremoda Capri in 1970

The fashion shows, spectacular performances with dancers like Bob Curtis and Norma Jordan and set designers like Gavin Robinson and Enzo Trapani, which took place in the Carthusian monastery and the gardens of Quisisana, were accompanied by the exhibition handicrafts and beach accessories in Palazzo Cerio, where they were exposed to a cosmopolitan but refined clientele: fabrics painted by Maria Alampi, sandals by Canfora, bikinis by Heitel Cosentino, and jewels created by Olimpia Aprea, in a word all the best products of refined craftsmanship in Capri and Campania. The story that we have carefully reconstructed on the basis of original documents tells of busy festival seasons and success (until the entry onto the scene of Milanese competition), where the Neapolitans Sarli, De Simone—who were regulars from the beginning—and Mario Valentino—from 1972 onwards—always played leading roles, winning the Tiberio d’Oro—the coveted award instituted by the event—several times. The catwalks showed off their daring experiments: De Simone’s gold printed lace in 1970 and 1972; the silvery and moon-like material made of intertwined pearls of Sarli in 1969; silk crepe adorned with printed sun and seagull motifs for godet skirts presented by Sarli in 1972; Valentino’s deerskin water repellent swimsuit of 1975 (Santangelo 2012–13).

The Maremoda fashion show contributed substantially to making the shirt a separate and important item of clothing thanks to the innovation Valsarno, Ken Scott, Clarmont’s, and Rubinacci. Since 1968, the so-called Linea Capri, made up of shorts, sailor pants, billowing shirts, leather sandals, small scarves tied around the neck, long metal chains to the belly or worn on the back, has been presented, making the unisex trend increasingly fashionable and also promoting the island’s boutiques (Nina, La Parisienne, Lucy, Chantal, The Campanina, Heitel Cosentino, and Sonia De Lennart).

The event provided the Gulf of Naples with a great competitive edge in clothing and gave it the power to attract tourism in the interests of several sectors beyond fashion. It has left an important legacy in the many local craft activities and in the wider framework of Made in Italy.

2. Projects ()**

The development of new products in the fashion industry is usually born of a methodology that reflects the creative templates of the 1990s with the designs of the stylist. In particular, the creative work of the designer is strongly linked to cultural phenomena in the contemporary world, but it sometimes struggles to keep up with the problems connected to the value of brands on the global market. The Listening Design method applied to the development of new products has proved successful for the innovation needs of the sector while being respectful of the cultural identity and values of the brand. The role of universities in the production areas identified by Richard Florida as part of the ‘innovation engine,’ is as one component in a complex strategy capable of creating strong connections between local development and intellectual property in the ongoing generation of innovative procedures. These strategies work better with historical brands, which require more than a single designer’s creativity due to the complexity of their identity. For all the abovementioned reasons, the DICDEA Department of the Seconda Università di Napoli (SUN) has activated FA.RE. Fashion Research Lab, a creative laboratory aimed at experimenting and cooperating with fashion oriented enterprises in Campania. The ultimate goal is to highlight the huge cultural resources in the area and to kick off constructive collaboration.

2.1. Two events aimed at bringing out cultural resources: ‘HandIndustry’ and ‘Mediterraneo di Stoffa’

Two of the first projects created to bring out these cultural resources in the clothing and apparel industry of Campania are: the 2009 project on Neapolitan men’s high tailoring carried out together with the Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana; and the event exhibition—Mediterraneo di Stoffa—launched by Livio De Simone in 2005 with the support of the Fondazione Mondragone in Naples (formerly the textile Museum of the Regione Campania).

The first event stemmed from the TA CAMP project and was dedicated to the research, training and promotion of the production chain in the apparel sector in Campania. It was officially launched with the Hand-Industry exhibit that ran from 28 to 31 January 2010 at PAN, Palazzo delle Arti Napoli, and

the International Conference, Fashion Mind, which focused on research and training in fashion with the contribution of several international scholars. My contribution to research into the luxury industry in Campania, which goes by the title of HIGHWARE and is published by CNMI, focused on the multiple actors in men's tailoring in Naples—an international leader in this sector.

The TA CAMP experience was a precious and meaningful one and reinforced leadership in this sector thanks to its endorsement by the Camera della Moda Italiana; this helped to bring together various players with the idea of creating a system.

Attolini, Rubinacci, Kiton, and Isaia are just a few of the Neapolitan men's tailoring brands exhibited at the PAN [Palazzo delle Arti di Napoli] in a setup that highlighted the excellence of their manufacturing—a quintessential characteristic of Made in Italy. The support of video installations with footage shot in the enterprises by video makers at the FA.RE. laboratory was pivotal to the success of the initiative. The seven-fold luxury tie by Marinella was broken up into different parts so as to show the complexity of its craft and the collars of the shirts by Barba were exposed in their minimalist essence alongside a paper pattern of the same shirt highlighting its *hand made* quality.

This project is proof that in moments of great difficulty institutions can play a major role in the safeguarding of heritage and the stimulation and support of alternative patterns to increase competition and promote excellence both domestically and at an international level.



Figure 3. HANDINDUSTRY exhibition at PAN [Palazzo delle Arti Napoli], 2010, Naples.

Another event that deserves mention is the exhibition *Il Mediterraneo di Stoffa* curated in 2005 by Roberto Liberti, Elena Perrella and Patrizia Ranzo.

It focused on the story of Neapolitan enterprises, which are unique, and had a special focus on the Livio De Simone brand. “I am a painter, I am not a tailor” (Liberti e Ranzo, 85) is how Livio likes to describe himself; he ignores the logic of style and industrial production and brings his pictorial genius to fabrics, texture, and color, eluding the standard principles of tailoring. He used brushes and paint brushes to create wearable clothes that showed off an iconic Mediterranean tradition with as many colors as possible. His Greek roots emerged in the eclectic chromatism of fabrics made up of sea animals, big flowers, fancy geometric elements, and Roman matrons inspired by the red figure vases of Magna Grecia.

He created the Neapolitan boutique focused on cotton and jersey and then used his assistants to help the work come to fruition. The reproduction of his art on fabric was based on two basic formal principles: ‘what you see is what you get’ and ‘let the white come out.’ These were rules that brought out the designs of irregular shapes coming from the mind of an artist. Thus, with a mixed technique that combines pictorial art and silkscreen practice, funnels, spatulas and prints would rapidly appear on the surface of the fabric creating ambiguous shapes and forms. A rich archive full of inventions and tools helped Livio’s genius come alive on the fabric. This is the heart and soul of the enterprise, which is now led by his daughter Benedetta—a colorful world that was the object of a book and exhibition at the Fondazione Mondragone di Napoli. Many designs from the original notebooks, cherished by the De Simone family, later appeared on outfits exhibited at the Fondazione Mondragone and also represented Livio De Simone I.D. Interior Decoration—one of the first examples of brand extension from fashion to interior design for an Italian brand.

The event was carried out under the patronage of the Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli, FA.RE Lab., CNMI and AltaRoma, and demonstrated the importance of using the cultural resources of Italian fashion alongside experimentation and research in a university with the aim of promoting products connected to the brand. This kind of experimentation can easily be repeated in other Italian regions with unknown brands.

2.2 The Mario Valentino project: Bianca capsule collection

In collaboration with Mario Valentino SpA, the epitome of Made in Italy in Campania, the FA.RE. Lab of the DICDEA Department at SUN launched a capsule collection in September 2014 during the Vogue Fashion Night Out in Milan. Students from the Innovation Design course— following the fashion ecodesign curriculum—with the support of the FA.RE lab research

group,² experimented on creative templates aimed at supporting the exchange and promotion of an innovative process with a specific design objective.

Thanks to research led by Ornella Cirillo on Mario Valentino and with the support of Mario's son Enzo Valentino and his niece Bianca, who wished to bring the great heritage of the house and its cultural resources to light, there is now a monograph curated by Ornella Cirillo, which focuses on the history of Mario Valentino, and a capsule collection by young creative designers who were tasked with giving the historic brand a modern, contemporary twist. The capsule collection consisted of five outfits, which revisited sixty years of work, bringing back the themes and the character of the house with the addition of a modern flavor for the new collection. The capsule collection BIANCA displayed the end results.

The archives of the company were of great help in tracing the character, trends, silhouettes, colors and stylistic details for the collection. The storehouse provided a huge number of hides, nuances, textures, and the artisans that were interviewed gave an extraordinary amount of information about procedures, which was beneficial for the young designers during their research.



Figure 5. Capsule collection BIANCA DXIXMV photo by Raffaele Mariniello

The end results, stemming from this research, highlighted the experimental spirit of the Neapolitan brand and some old staples: the *shorts*, which were key to the brand during the 1979 and 1981 catwalks in Milan; the

² The project was undertaken by the FA.RE Laboratory of Department DICDEA-SUN. Research team: Ornella Cirillo, Roberto Liberti, Patrizia Ranzo, Mara Rossi, Maria Antonietta Sbordone, Giulia Scalera and Luigi La Rocca.

trouser-boots, from the 1970s; the color mango-orange, which characterized some of the most successful outfits made by Mario Valentino between 1975 and 1976; and the summer sandals of the Mostra della calzatura included in MareModa Capri in September 1975, which made a comeback in the chromatic selection of the collection. The references animated the authenticity of the strategy in order to guarantee a bridge between the past and the present. The multidisciplinary approach of the people involved made the research work much more interesting (Cirillo 2015, 173–80).

BIANCA is not only a tribute to the first woman active in the enterprise—Mario’s wife who was specifically interested in women’s wear—but is also a reference to an essential and sophisticated collection aimed at creating a new beginning for this historical fashion brand in the Campania region. The final outcome represents an experimental project that actualizes some of the characteristics of the Mario Valentino brand, such as luxury, excellence and modernity, with the joint venture of the students and the house during the events of the Vogue Fashion Night Out in Milan last September and the following event held in Naples in the Valentino showroom in May 2015. The final experience allowed the students to interact with experts, journalists and the general public and demonstrated innovation and experimentation thanks to the research work carried out by university students, research workers, scholars and enterprises in the fashion industry in Italy.

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ITALIAN FASHION AND JAPAN DURING THE 1970S

LAURA DIMITRIO

Introduction

At a conference like this, based on the connections between history, society and fashion, I decided to speak about a topic where fashion has played an important role in the history of cultural and economic relations between two countries—in this case, Italy and Japan.

Over the last 150 years, Japan has cyclically exerted influence on Italian fashion. In the late nineteenth century, for example, Italian and French women began to wear housecoats imitating the shape and decorative motifs, such as chrysanthemums and swallows, of kimonos (Fukai 1996, 37; Dimitrio 2004, 10–14).

More recently, in the 1980s, the Italian fashion designer Ennio Capasa worked in Tokyo for two years as an assistant to the fashion designer Yohji Yamamoto (Capasa 2014). Back in Italy, in 1986 he opened the fashion house Costume National, whose cool and chic style was clearly influenced by Yamamoto's minimalism.

Analogously, in the garments created by the Sardinian fashion designer Antonio Marras, starting in the 1990s, it is possible to find echoes of the style of some contemporary Japanese fashion designers, especially Kenzo. Marras has declared his admiration for Kenzo's ethnic syncretism several times (Mancinelli 2006, 71) and his accord with Kenzo's creative style was such that he held the position of artistic director for the Kenzo fashion house from 2003 to 2011.

Conversely, Made in Italy fashion has achieved—and is still achieving—remarkable success in Japan. As Claudio Giunta described in his recent book *Il paese più stupido del mondo*, in which he describes his experience as a visiting professor in Japan in 2009, the admiration Japanese people have for Italian fashion is so deep that it is comparable to a cult. When he asked his Canadian friend living in Tokyo: “Shinto, Buddha, Confucio... Ma in che

cosa credono alla fine i giapponesi?” she replied: “In Prada. Credono molto in Prada. Alcuni in Gucci” (Giunta 2010, 37).¹

In the light of this mutual appreciation, the main aim of this paper is to investigate the influence of Japanese culture on Italian fashion in the 1970s—it was in that decade that the phenomenon acquired special relevance.

After a brief description of the historical context, which will explain why the 1970s was so important for the relationship between Italy and Japan in terms of fashion, some of the Italian fashion designers influenced by Japan will be presented. Some of them, such as Mila Schön and Ken Scott, were inspired by traditional Japanese fashion and by the kimono. Others, such as Laura Biagiotti and Gianfranco Ferré, were inspired by the contemporary Japanese fashion designers Kenzo and Issey Miyake. Finally, the purpose of this paper is to explain the reasons for this special bond between Italy and Japan in the field of fashion.

The historical context: the success of Japan during the 1970s

The end of the Second World War saw Japan defeated and devastated. However, thanks to economic support provided by the United States and economic programs set up by the Japanese governments, Japan became the protagonist of an extraordinary Japanese economic miracle starting in the 1950s—to paraphrase the title of Hubert Brochier’s 1965 book *Le miracle économique japonais*.

Japan flooded international markets with a huge quantity of goods: televisions, cameras and radios for example. While the Japanese economy was growing, Europe and the United States began to feel an increasing curiosity not just towards the Japanese economy, but also towards Japanese culture, which was little understood. As proof of this special interest in 1970 the French philosopher Roland Barthes published his famous essay *Empire of Signs*, a meditation on Japanese culture.

In the same year a group of Italian Japanologists collected their studies on contemporary Japan in a book: *Giappone. Un’ipoteca sul domani* (Giovannini et al. 1970) and the Italian ethnologist Fosco Maraini, a connoisseur of Japanese history and culture, published the monograph *Japan: Patterns of Continuity* in 1971 (Maraini 1971).

In the meantime, on the Japanese side, a sort of revanchist wave was occurring. Representatives of some Japanese cultural and productive fields,

¹ My translation: “Shinto, Buddha, Confucius ... But in what do Japanese people believe?”—“In Prada. They strongly believe in Prada. Someone in Gucci as well.”

designers for example, wanted not just to show Japanese economic progress off to the whole world, but also to remind people of the history and richness of Japanese millenary culture (Hiesinger 1995, 16–17).

After the Second World War, Japan progressively began to exert a form of soft power abroad. Over time, Japan came to be associated not only with the technological products it exported, but also with refined artistic forms of expression, such as fashion, which became a subject of study and imitation (Tsutomu 2008, 128).

Japan had the chance to confirm its status as a world power at the World Expo Exhibition of Osaka in 1970. This Expo saw 62 million visitors and boasted revenues of 680 billion yen (Bouissou 2003, 140).

Fashion, which is by its very nature a mirror of the times, reflected widespread interest in Japan. As had happened at the end of the nineteenth century—when Japan, after a long period of international isolation, opened up to the world and the phenomenon of *Japonisme* in arts and fashion began in Europe²—in the early 1970s, a *New Japonisme* began,³ including fashion. European and Italian women's fashion magazines, where many articles on Japan and its garments had appeared at the beginning of the 1900s, once again became interested in Japan.

The cover of the Italian edition of *Harper's Bazaar* for June 1970 showed a model with her hair coiffed in the style of a Japanese woman of the Edo period, and featured a highly significant title: *C'è il Giappone nell'aria*—There is Japan in the air. In 1971, the Italian edition of *Vogue* devoted the entire June issue to Japan and its fashion.

Italian fashion designers influenced by traditional Japanese garments

In Italy, between 1970 and 1971, various fashion designers, such as Mila Schön and Ken Scott, dedicated part of their collections to Japan. They presented clothes inspired by the kimono, a traditional Japanese garment, re-interpreted in a Western style. They also used fabrics with motifs, such as butterflies or clouds, which were considered typically Japanese.

The Mila Schön fashion house was founded in Milan in 1958 by Carmen Nutrizio Schön (1916–2008). Her collections were successful in both Italy and in the USA, particularly because of their linear cuts and impeccable

² The term *Japonisme* refers to the process of discovering and assimilating Japanese culture in some Western countries, such as France and Italy, between the end of the nineteenth century and the 1920s.

³ For the definition of *New Japonisme* see Lehmann (1984, 758).

tailoring. The Mila Schön house, up until the 1970s, had never designed clothes displaying Japanese or any other oriental influence. But in 1970, even Mila Schön was taken in by the passion for Japan.

The garment of Mila Schön's that paid the greatest homage to Japan, and which was a success with the foreign press, was a narrow, sleeveless evening dress with a v-neck, made of pale pink silk fabric.

This garment was adorned by a big white butterfly on the left. A white kimono-coat, with printed designs of large pink butterflies and a collar very similar to the collar of traditional kimonos, called *eri* was paired with the dress (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. Mila Schön. Long glittering kimono-coat in pink and white butterfly shadow print reversing to pale pink matt crêpe. Worn over a sleeveless narrow dress with a high v-neck, in bias crêpe reversing to a satin butterfly design.

Fabric Bini. Source: *Harper's Bazaar*, London, September 1970, p. 72.

Fashion designer Chino Bert, who worked for Mila Schön from 1963 to 1973, designed some short, daytime kimono-dresses for the same collection. As can be seen in Figure 2, Chino Bert provided these kimono-dresses with high belts, which reference the *obi*, the high waist-band of the kimono.



Figure 2. A drawing of a kimono-dress by Chino Bert. Mila Schön, collection Spring-Summer 1970. Courtesy of Mila Schön Archive.

In the meantime, Japanese buyers became interested in Mila Schön's garments and, starting in 1973, the fashion house began to export a considerable number of clothes to Japan (Gatti 2009, 276). Between the 1970s and 1980s, the number of clothes exported to Japan grew enormously and relations with Japan were also strengthened thanks to a Japanese trading company called Itochu that, in 1986, acquired 40 percent of the shares of Mila Schön. In 1993, this company acquired the entire house (Gatti 2009, 336, 348). Since then, Mila Schön has been owned by a Japanese company.

According to Loris Abate, who ran the house together with Mrs. Schön from the beginning of the 1960s until the end of the 1980s, in the beginning Japanese buyers were not interested in garments designed with an oriental influence, but in more Western-style clothes.⁴ Furthermore, Japanese buyers loved dresses by Mila Schön because the simple, non-showy style of the Schön collections was in tune with the taste of Japanese women, who demanded little glitter and an absence of opulence.

Besides Mila Schön, another fashion designer who paid tribute to Japan in the early 1970s is Ken Scott (1919–91). This fashion designer of American origins, starting in 1962, began to produce prêt-à-porter clothes under his own name, featuring bright colors and floral motifs—this later became a symbol of his style. Ken Scott paid noteworthy homage to Japan in his Fall-Winter collection of 1971–72, which he named 'kimonomania.' Despite the fact that the collection's name showed a clear reference to the kimono, Ken

⁴ Interview with Loris Abate on April 4, 2014. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Abate for his kindness in sharing his memories about working with Mila Schön.

Scott did not just venture into the usual reinterpretation of the kimono, as other designers had done before him. He also presented garments which, in their cut and decoration, imitated some aspects of Japanese culture little known in Italy at that time.

In this regard, it is interesting to look at the dress presented in the press-release for that collection. As can be seen in Figure 3, it is an outfit made up of a jacket with a long, wide, divided skirt. This outfit is inspired by the *haori* jacket and the *hakama* trousers, which are typical Japanese male formal wear. As for the motifs on the fabric, the jacket is characterized by printed faces of Kabuki Theater actors—a form of popular Japanese theater where the actors have heavily made up faces.

In the 1970s, Italian fashion presented kimono-style clothing not only for elegant and evening wear, but also for daytime beach wear. In 1974 for example, the fashion designer Nino Lo Pinto designed long, white beach-kimonos decorated with peacocks or herons, birds often depicted in Japanese art, for the fashion company Anna Paola R (*Vogue Italia*, June 1974, n. 272, p. 113: ‘i kimoni non sono fatti solo per la sera ma anche per la spiaggia’—‘kimonos are suitable not only for the evening, but also for the beach’).



Figure 3. Drawing in ‘kimonomania’ press-release, collection Fall-Winter 1971–72 by Ken Scott. Courtesy of Ken Scott Archive.

In 1978, some years later, Renato Balestra produced short kimonos, on which circular motifs were printed, as beach robes (one of them was published in *Vogue*, Italian Edition, April 1978, p. 283). These circular motifs

were very similar to the *mon*, which are Japanese family crests. In the past, the *mon* were painted, printed or embroidered onto the clothes of upper-class Japanese to identify their family allegiance. These *mon* were often made up of circles that included stylized drawings of plants, flowers, animals or abstract themes (Wichmann 1981, 299).

It is interesting to note that in those years children's fashion, which often mirrors adult fashion, was sometimes characterized by happy, colorful kimonos to be worn as beach robes (see for example the 'Kimono Japan Look' presented in the Italian Edition of *Vogue Bambini* of February 1973, p. 72).

Italian fashion designers influenced by contemporary Japanese fashion designers

During the 1970s, Italian fashion designers, as well as French ones, were inspired not only by traditional Japanese garments, but also by the styles of the contemporary Japanese fashion designers Kenzo Takada and Issey Miyake. Both Kenzo and Miyake moved from Japan to Paris, where they started to produce their prêt-à-porter clothes at the beginning of the 1970s.

To quote the title of a book by sociologist Yuniya Kawamura, *The Japanese Revolution in Paris Fashion*, they sparked a revolution in Western fashion (Kawamura 2004). This revolution consisted in creating comfortable, over-sized and unstructured clothes.

It would be too simple to state that the over-size fashion style was invented by Kenzo or Miyake. Instead, it is necessary to go back to the hippies to trace the origin of 'maxi' fashion, which began to appear in Western countries at the end of the 1960s. It was Kenzo and Miyake, however, that developed the idea of larger clothes conceived according to Japanese style.

As Kenzo himself said: "J'ai délibérément cherché à créer des formes non structurées, non définies, à introduire une ampleur nouvelle, différente, en m'appuyant sur la technique du kimono" (Saïnderichin 1989, 34).⁵

Miyake gave great importance to *ma*, an archetypal concept of Japanese culture that defines the idea of something 'in-between'—a time between two actions, a space between things, a relationship between two people. In this case it is the space between a person's body and his or her own clothes. In this regard Miyake stated: "I learned about space between the body and the

⁵ My translation: "I deliberately tried to design garments without any structure, without definition, and to introduce a new, different fullness, using the techniques of the kimono as a reference point."

fabric from the traditional kimono ... not the style, but the space” (English 2011, 4 and 20).

In Italian fashion magazines of the 1970s, Kenzo and Miyake were defined as pioneers and some Italian stylists were inspired by their large, essentials-only style. For example, the stylist Laura Biagiotti, whose passion for white clothes is well known, launched a collection of large clothes with flounces or outfits whose linear cut and width reminded one of Miyake’s clothes in 1977 (See Figure 4).

The Italian fashion designer Gianfranco Ferré loved dresses by Miyake and by Kenzo, in which he could find “l’armonia dei rapporti geometrici puri,”⁶ as he declared in an interview in 1976 (Gianfranco Ferré. Un architetto stilista, *Vogue Italia*, January 1976, p. 88). The large overalls he designed in 1976 reflect the influence of the large overalls Miyake often produced from 1975 onwards.

Lastly, some Italian companies that produced prêt-à-porter fashion, such as Deni-Cler and Alma, presented large tunics for their Autumn-Winter 1978–79 collections, which imitated similar garments designed by Kenzo in 1978. Such garments by Kenzo were called *tuniche abate* by Italian magazines, because they were similar to the cassock worn by abbots.



Figure 4. On the left, a large flounce-effect cotton dress by Miyake. Source: *Vogue Italia*, January 1975, p. 54. On the right, a large dress with flounces from 1977 by Laura Biagiotti. Source: *Vogue Italia*, October 1977, p.101.

⁶ My translation: “The harmony of pure geometric relations.”

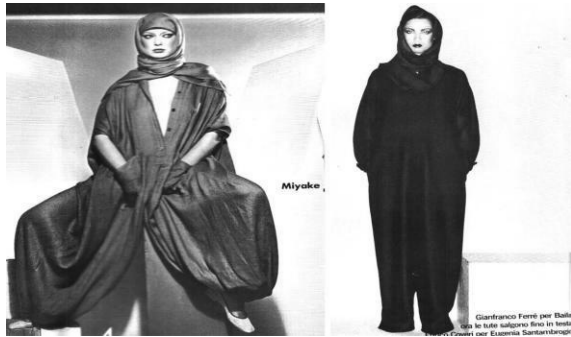


Figure 5. On the left: one of the large overalls Miyake produced from 1975 onwards. Source: *Vogue Italia*, January 1976, p. 63. On the right: a large overall made of brown fabric designed by Gianfranco Ferré for Baila in 1976. Source: *Vogue Italia*, July–August 1976, p. 128.

Conclusions

In conclusion, it is reasonable to state that the 1970s were crucial years for the success of Made in Italy fashion in Japan, but also for the influence of Japanese culture on Italian fashion.

As was mentioned at the beginning of this paper, this phenomenon happened in the 1970s because Japan was in the international limelight during those years. The country was leading the international scene thanks to its economic success and Western fashion reflected the widespread interest that Italy, France and the United States had in Japan.

Western fashion looked enthusiastically at Japan because it recognized elements of fundamental inspiration for its own renewal, both in traditional Japanese garments and in the Japanese fashion of the 1970s.

The first element is closely linked to the comfort of the clothes. From the late nineteenth century onwards, in Italy and the west, the kimono was considered a comfortable and easy-to-wear garment, because it was worn without a corset.⁷ Also, the oversized clothes Kenzo and Miyake designed during the 1970s were considered very respectful of the female body, unlike Western garments, which were often close-fitting and emphasized the features of the body.

⁷ But actually, as Bernard Rudofsky pointed out in his book *The Kimono Mind*, the kimono “could be counted among the least comfortable types of female dress. As far back as 1887 the empress condemned the wide obi as unsuited to the human body ...” (Rudofsky 1986, 44).

Another highly appreciated element in Japanese fashion was the linear shape of the kimono. Even clothes by Kenzo and Miyake and, later in the 1980s, garments by Rei Kawakubo and Yohji Yamamoto, have essential lines and communicate, through their sober colors as well, an idea of refinement and understatement. It is no coincidence that Kawakubo and Yamamoto were considered fundamental to the success of the movement of minimalism in fashion during the 1990s (Walker 2011, 69–81).

Linearity and purity are typical values of Japanese culture that are appreciated not only in fashion, but also in other fields. More generally in the West, Japanese aesthetics is highly appreciated since it is perceived as being based on these principles of purity and simplicity (Richie 2009, 20).

In this regard, it is interesting to read what the Italian writer Goffredo Parise wrote in his novel *L'eleganza è frigida* in 1982. This novel is set in Japan and the author presents several aspects of Japanese culture he noticed during a journey. At a certain point, while describing Japanese food, the protagonist's thoughts are as follows:

“da quel primo approccio con il Giappone si avvide immediatamente che, per quanto raffinata, la cucina cinese risultava quasi grossolana in confronto ai sapori giapponesi. Gli parve, così, da quello che aveva visto fino quel momento, che il Giappone, nel suo insieme, fosse una derivazione della Cina, ma una derivazione estremamente perfezionata e portata ai più alti gradi termici dell'estetismo. ... quel cibo era frutto di estetismo: mentre la disposizione dei bocconcini era perfezionismo”⁸ (Parise 2008, 21).

Fosco Maraini, in his essay on Japan, *Ore Giapponesi*, regarding his stay in Japan in 1957, expressed similar admiration for the refinement of Japanese culture in his description of Japanese houses: “semplicità, purezza, eleganza, un leggero tocco di ascetismo, ecco la casa giapponese ...”⁹ (Maraini 2012, 51).

However, as Italian scholars of Japanese art Rossella Menegazzo and Stefania Piotti recall in their recent book *Wa: The Essence of Japanese Design*, the cultural and artistic identity of Japan is far more complex and features not just a sober side, but also a rich and decorative side. The latter is

⁸ My translation: “From that first approach, he immediately noticed that, though elegant, Chinese cuisine seemed almost shoddy in comparison with Japanese flavors. It seemed, from what he had seen up to that moment, that Japan, in all its aspects, was a derivation of China, but a derivation that had been perfected and brought to the highest degree of aestheticism. ... That food came directly from a sense of aestheticism while the arrangement of the pieces was perfectionism.”

⁹ My translation: “Simplicity, purity, elegance, a light touch of asceticism, this is a Japanese house.”

exemplified in art, for example, by the great screens with their gold background and brightly coloured motifs, or the polychromatic pottery and porcelain of Kyoto, Imari and Nabeshima (Menegazzo and Piotti 2014, 135).

In 1944, the anthropologist, Ruth Benedict, was commissioned by the US government to carry out research on Japanese society and wrote that Japan appeared to be a nation of amazing contrasts (Benedict 1946, 2). She entitled her work *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* since she considered them to be the symbols of the two opposing side of Japanese culture: the chrysanthemum representing the Japanese cult of beauty, grace, and asceticism, while the sword represented the violent soul of Japan.

However, going back to fashion, in this field and in certain artistic aspects as well, Italy and the West, when faced with the complex identity of Japanese culture, absorbed more of its sober and reserved side than of its rich and decorative side. Similarly, in Western, and specifically Italian, fashion, the sober spirit and the more showy traditions co-exist.

Made in Italy fashion, which was highly appreciated in Japan, is equivalent to the sober, essentialist side of Japanese culture. Mila Schön is an example of this style, along with Giorgio Armani from the 1980s onwards (and also today the intellectual and chic style of Prada and Gucci). On the other hand the Versace fashion house, for example, with its opulent and baroque style, did not achieve similar success in Japan.

To conclude, it is possible to say that, in fashion and in art, Japanese and Italian culture have found a common ground on which to build reciprocal esteem: a cult of beauty based on the search for purity and essentiality.

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THE FURORE OF ITALIAN FASHION IN RUSSIA

YULIA SINCHUK

Made in Italy, as a synonym for charm, is a label that is famous throughout the world; Russia is no exception. Italian fashion has always represented style, quality, elegance and taste for Russian consumers. That is why Italian fashion companies are the main suppliers to the Russian market. And it is not just about big brands, small and medium-sized companies specializing in the production of high-quality luxury products also sell well in Russia. Brands such as Prada, Gucci, Dolce & Gabbana and many others have built strong commercial and cultural relations with Russia.

Made in Italy also attracts consumers as a philosophy and lifestyle. Russia has always looked to Italy with great interest. Italy's most famous names are not only the heritage of Italy, but of the world, and Russia was one of the first to follow its jewelry, art, music and literature. It always looked at Italy from a positive point of view, especially in the last century when Italy was still an agrarian and non-industrial country.

Nowadays, the Russian people are unanimous in their view that Italy is rich in history and culture, as well as being industrially and technologically developed. 98 percent of Russian customers identify Italy as the cradle of design innovation and creativity and as synonymous with a lifestyle that pays attention to the needs of individual well-being. The positive historical view of Italy among the Russian people contributes to Italy being one of Russia's major cultural and commercial partners.

Cooperation between Italy and Russia

Today, Italy is one of the most important partners of Russia, with close bilateral cooperation in almost all fields. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were re-established in 1924 and relations intensified in the 1950s with the first ENI agreement for the exchange of Soviet oil for Italian goods. The Russian-Italian relationship is officially based on the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries of December 14, 1994

and on the Action Plan, which was signed on February 10, 1998. Both countries have developed a privileged relationship and this explains why Italy often acts as a bridge between Europe and Russia.

Development of the Russian market: Russian fashion in the 1960s

Let us look back to the first half of the 1960s when the Soviet Union was still behind the Iron Curtain and tried to meet consumer needs solely through domestic production. At this time foreign fashion was banned. In those days it was often said: 'there is no fashion in the Soviet Union, just light industry.' All of the clothes worn were designed by state fashion houses with strict control on their compliance with Communist ideals; they were produced in state factories spread across the country. Nevertheless, to pay tribute to this production, many garments were of excellent quality and were often down through successive generations.

The range of goods in stores was fairly limited: a couple of summer dresses, a couple of winter ones, one model of gloves and maybe two for boots. With a centralized and planned economic system, light industry was based on state orders. Manufacturers did not worry about marketing their goods as the launch of new products, sales, advertising, and distribution were the responsibility of the Ministry of Trade.

The USSR suffered from a terrible shortage of garments and the growing needs of consumers for goods produced by light industry were exclusively satisfied through imports from other socialist countries.

During the 1970s, we can observe an economy that was mainly concerned with the development of heavy industry and the production of intermediate goods. This caused significant difficulties in the processing of goods into a final product and led to a rough economy with deep contradictions at the managerial level.

Thaw

After the improvement of relations with Europe, with the first man sent into the open space highlighting Russia's scientific and technical progress, social life in the Soviet Union began to change. During this period more and more foreign films were shown on television and the first news came from abroad. In 1957, Moscow greeted guests to the first World Festival of Youth and Students, an event that attracted many foreigners to the Soviet capital. In 1959, Moscow hosted the first International Film Festival. Additionally, athletes and Soviet filmmakers who were authorized to travel abroad and

brought foreign garments home for their families and friends. During this period, despite the lack of garments in the Soviet Union, famous actors appeared on television often dressed in clothes of Italian brands. The Soviet people no longer maintained as strict a lifestyle nor wore dull colors anymore. Shops started to accumulate imported garments and Soviet women were finally able to read foreign fashion magazines, which also provided sketches for sewing new dresses.

The black market

A desire to build a new, stable everyday life and an interest in goods produced by light industry awoke in the Soviet people. Light industry still lacked importance in comparison to heavy industry and production was very poor. This resulted in the growth of a black market for foreign branded clothes. It was a real windfall to get a rare garment of an Italian or French brand as these came into the country only via personal contacts. It was prohibited to sell such goods on the black market: they brought the risk of a long period in detention and property confiscation with. Moreover, all European currency was banned in the USSR. On July 1, 1961, a decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR that increased the penalties for the violation of the rules relating to foreign currency transactions was signed. This decree also covered Soviet citizens engaged in black marketeering, i.e. the illegal business of buying items (mainly clothing) and currency from foreign tourists for further sale on the black market. Nevertheless, smugglers always found ways to get foreign clothes through, as they were so strongly desired by Soviet citizens and were often exchanged with tourists for Soviet souvenirs or tickets to the theater.

The Berezka shop and the spread of fashion at the state level

It was at this time that the first pioneers of fashion at the state level appeared. At first, only single-brand shops were established—Berezka, was one of these shops. It was the first to sell clothes of Italian and French brands that could not be found in regular *ruble* stores. This network was created primarily for diplomats and persons authorized to travel abroad, so as to reduce the negative impact of the growing black market in the USSR. It also aimed to reconcile any foreign currency that remained after a business trip abroad.

Italian fashion in the 1980s and 1990s

After the collapse of Communism the situation in the country changed significantly. Russian citizens wanted to keep abreast of fashion and French and Italian companies became pioneers of fashion in the post-Soviet market. Italian fashion was always noted for its elegance and cheerfulness, united with a sense of the carefree. With its ability to offer understated luxury to the Soviet people, compared to the excesses of American fashion, Italian fashion was actively promoted in the early 1990s.

The 1990s saw the first Italian brands on the post-Soviet market. GUM (State Universal Shop) became the first luxury fashion store to open in Moscow in 1993. A commercial company, Trading House Moscow, was the first to offer brands, such as Chanel, Gucci and Jil Sander, to Russian women. It is worth noting that today Moscow has more than 90 shopping malls.

The Italian vogue and geopolitics

The year 2000 saw the adaptation of Italian brands to the Russian market. With the help of their Russian partners, Italian companies designed a model of business development according to the goals of each brand and the needs of Russian customers. Nowadays, there are three major companies involved in this process in Russia: Bosco, Mercury Trading and Crocus Group.

Mercury Trading, founded in 1994 by a Russian entrepreneur, is called TSUM today (Central Universal Shop). Mercury represents many brands on the Russian market, including Gucci, Prada, Dolce & Gabbana, Bottega Veneta, Valentino, Cavalli, Versace, and Pucci. Founded in 1991, Bosco di Ciliegi has over 100 single-brand stores of clothes and accessories and 90 percent of the brands are Italian. In 2002, the owner of the Crocus Group, or more exactly Crocus International, gathered together a huge number of boutiques, from Armani Collezioni to Missoni and Versace, in the Crocus City Mall, with an area of more than 62,000m². Today it is evident that despite the continuing economic crisis, Italian companies are aware of the potential of the Russian market and of the opportunities it offers. The Russian market for luxury fashion is a growing market, mainly dominated by imports from Europe (up to 80–95 percent of the market). The best represented brands are those from Italy.

Statistical data 2011-2015

In 2011, the Russian fashion market registered an increase of 10 percent, ranking the country in sixth place among European markets. According to

statistical data, in 2012, the volume of the Russian fashion market was estimated at about 40 billion euros. This result has put Russia in ninth place in the ranking of world markets, the most important for the fashion industry.

As of 2013, the Russian market remains the most important market in the clothing sector for Italy outside the European Union with an export value of 962 million euros. Italy ranks second after China, but before France, Turkey and Germany, as a supplier of apparel and accessories to Russia. Italian fashion exports to the Russian Federation registered a moderately positive trend with an increase of 3.2 percent (the total growth of Italian exports amounted to 8.2 percent). At the global level, Russia ranks sixth in the consumption of goods Made in Italy; the market quota taken by Italy is 6.86 percent. The position of Italy in the Russian market is felt in all sectors and Italian goods are widespread in Russia: this presence of Italian brands is around 50 percent. The presence of Italian brands is also growing in major cities outside Moscow (Ekaterinburg, Novosibirsk, Omsk).

In 2014, after economic sanctions were implemented against Russia, statistics pointed to an 8 percent decrease of the sale in luxury goods in Russia over the first nine months of the year when compared to the same period of 2013. Despite the crisis, demand for Italian fashion goods remains.

During the first 10 months of 2014, textile goods, clothing, leather and accessories imported into Russia decreased by 15.2 percent. Despite this decline from January to October, imports still amounted to 1.7 billion euros, 1 billion of which was represented by clothing, 576 million euros by leather and similar goods, and 145 million euros by other textile products.

Conclusion

Today, Russia is a country with promising characteristics for growth in many sectors, especially in trade. The Russian market, supported by government policies, aims to attract foreign investment. The market is growing rapidly compared to the European market and therefore offers an excellent opportunity for solid capital investment and business development. It is worth noting that, conceptually, the success of Italian fashion is based on the classic characteristics of the Italian way of life: attention to individuals and to their needs; the rhythm of life and strengthening of human relationships; respect for culture and love of tradition. Today, Made in Italy is synonymous with economic success, long-term cooperation, and love and loyalty to the most demanding Russian consumers.

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ROME: AN ARTISANAL APPROACH TO FASHION

MICHELA FASANELLA

In the last few years, a new generation of designers has started to explore different scenarios away from the established paths of Made in Italy. Rediscovering the old values of craftsmanship and limited production, an increasing number of small brands are now focusing on artisanal techniques to find their own place in a saturated market.

Rome is an important location for this new artisanal wave and the historically significant names of the Roman *Alta moda* are now sharing the spotlight with an interesting group of up-and-coming labels. These brands work locally in manufacturing and supply, but think globally in the promotion and sale of their collections, using social media, international fairs and online shops.

The focus on artisanal culture and craftsmanship grew with the economic crisis that affected Europe in the last decade, as an attempt to master the aesthetic and productive values that lie at the roots of Made in Italy. Around 2010, as more labels were appearing, they were invited to take part at fairs and events organized by Altaroma—like the project ‘Artisanal Intelligence,’ a platform for showcasing different up-and-coming labels with an artisanal approach during Roman Fashion Week in the same setting as more established brand names. These events have created a buzz around new Roman designers, providing good visibility and connecting them to private customers, buyers and the international press. Rome’s current initiative is based both on exploiting existing creative crafts and on finding new talent (Menkes 2015).

These brands are often founded by designers who have studied in fashion schools and have the ability to create appealing products with contemporary concepts; their collaboration with Italian manufacturers and suppliers guarantees the quality of artisanal craftsmanship and materials. Their collections reflect the Made in Italy label in terms of taste and manufacture while being more affordable than the big names of the established fashion system. As the designers often take their inspirations from worldwide social

trends, their target customer is also international and it is not uncommon for them to explore overseas possibilities through the use of the Internet, social networks, press and international fairs. Starting their small companies on a tight budget, they often face difficulties in meeting the minimum quantities per order requested by textile companies and manufacturers for small production runs. The fact that they can only afford to make (and sell) a limited number of products—clothing, accessories or jewellery—increases the price of samples and production, so that product prices often end up being uncompetitive for an unknown brand in a competitive market. Most brands decide in this case to turn this weakness into a strength by producing only one-off items or limited edition garments with a strong artisanal identity.

Each brand develops a sales channel according to what suits its style and budget best: some of them open their own shop while others take part in international fairs with the aim of getting orders from physical stores worldwide; many others open an online shop section in their website or sell to a niche group of private customers.

Along with pioneer brands coming from other Italian cities, they work with a new concept of shopping, taking some elements from the sartorial tradition of ateliers, but bringing a contemporary approach to creating, producing and selling fashion, outside of mass-market production and the commercial empires of the established big names.

The fast pace of industry in the last decade, together with globalization and the outsourcing of the production process in Western countries, has generated a new consciousness around the exclusivity of traditional craft techniques. As Silvia Venturini Fendi, chairman of Altaroma, wrote in the *Artisanal Intelligence* book, the important aim is analysing, rediscovering and improving traditional arts and crafts:

“I strongly believe that the industrial boom has generated an intense desire of customization and exclusivity, bringing back under the spotlight all those ancient crafts and their immortal techniques as the only possible answer to quench the urge for uniqueness and individuality. The new challenges the creatives have to face are more and more difficult. I am convinced that a high level of creativity coupled with high-quality production standards can make a difference. This difference lies precisely in the manual excellence of the Italian artisanal tradition; the very essence of *Made-in-Italy*” (Silvia Venturini Fendi in *A.I. Artisanal Intelligence*).

It is not surprising that Italy has taken the lead in this context thanks to its strong heritage of craftsmanship and creative value, both of which are acknowledged worldwide. Furthermore, this solution is seen as a promising way to escape the economic impasse faced by the country over the last

decade, as many young people have struggled to find their own place in a difficult job market. Infusing new strength into the artisanal path offers a good opportunity to renew the value of Italian craftsmanship and generate new job opportunities.

As Venturini Fendi continues in her writing:

“This industry is highly specific and a flagship of our country and encompasses a further interesting aspect of being able to offer new job positions to the young generation that today has to survive in a more and more competitive professional world. I think of it as an immense microcosm of arts and crafts destined to shake up an industry that requires new stimuli and energy. By cherishing and passing on the know-how of our tradition and by bringing it to the next level with experimentation, *Made in Italy* production will surely find its place as an actor in the international fashion panorama” (Silvia Venturini Fendi in A.I. Artisanal Intelligence. AltaRoma).

In the same book, Nunzia Garoffolo—founder of the blog *Fashion beyond fashion*—points to the ethical aspects of artisanal production:

“Craftmanship, a precious resource of *Made in Italy* production, known mainly by those who work in the fashion industry, is still a field that needs to be explored, promoted, known and appreciated. Arts and crafts support conscious consumerism, they are based on that ethic of uniqueness and multifunctionality that is against the dogmas of fashionism and homologation. Today, niche craftsmanship has become the new dandyism, searching for quality, and often confined to the field of demi-couture. Niche craftsmanship offers new opportunities to communicate and offers the key to new synergies with Italian industries that are the flagship of contemporary *Made in Italy* production, encouraging investment from abroad. Consumption, but first of all production, are the imperatives, even at a time of upheaval due to the global financial crisis, enhancing the importance of buying locally, promoting *Made in Italy* products, channelling sales into an international dimension and supporting ethical and conscious consumerism, which can make the difference to the long term economy of the country” (Nunzia Garoffolo in A.I. Artisanal Intelligence).

A focus on local production based on traditional techniques, therefore, acquires the relevance of ethical choice in its promotion of an ethical consciousness on the part of the customer’s purchasing behaviour. Buying an artisanal product means supporting local manufacturers and, at the same time, developing a critical approach towards the mass production of garments made in countries where workers rights and safety are still seriously lacking.

If we see the use of clothing and accessories in the social context, as a way to express our beliefs, values and personality (as Roland Barthes

explained extensively on the subject), we can therefore assume that a conscious customer is happy to endorse the kind of manufacturer whose prices are not based on the denial of workers rights.

Ethical themes are gaining an increasing relevance in the minds of consumers, generating a cultural phenomenon that could not have been foreseen only a few years ago. Social media platforms, like *Fashion Revolution*, are pointing the finger of responsibility towards customers by encouraging them to make good choices. In April 2015, this non-profit organisation created an interesting social experiment in Berlin, hoping to raise awareness about the actual cost of buying clothes for a cheap price. They placed a vending machine in the street, selling T-shirts for just 2 euros, grabbing the attention of many passers-by. When they inserted the coin, a video appeared on the screen, showing people working in factories for 16 hours a day, earning just 16 cents an hour. After seeing the video, shoppers were not so happy with the offered bargain. This was a powerful message, showing that people are ready to give up a purchase if they are faced, directly, with the implications of a cheap price.

The answer to this increasing awareness is therefore in the hands of a new generation of brands embracing a policy of transparency and quality. The focus, though, is not only on ethics and manufacturing. Design is of huge relevance in a brand's identity and it is interesting to note how many up-and-coming brands refuse to follow trendy approaches in their collections, preferring to choose a more individualistic style. They often place themselves out of the fashion system arena, which remains very closed off to small companies, and try instead to create and fill small niches in the market.

Many brands showcased on the platform *Not Just A Label* (a global online community connecting independent designers to consumers) make locally produced garments with a sustainable approach in line with the slow-fashion movement. Their beautifully crafted items, made according to the traditional local techniques of many countries, have a huge impact on creating a new concept of fashion. In March 2015, the influential trend-setter Li Edelkoort strongly criticised the fashion industry, declaring that "fashion is dead: fashion is insular and is placing itself outside society, which is a very dangerous step ...and de facto makes it old-fashioned" (Edelkoort 2015).

She also addressed the cosy relationship between fashion houses and magazines and bloggers that ties editorial coverage to advertising budgets: "The new brands will never get editorials in the magazines because they don't buy advertisements And then marketing of course killed the whole thing as it's governed by greed and not by vision. There's no innovation anymore because of that" (Edelkoort).

She also pointed out the dangers of fast-fashion in the perception of consumers, who have become seduced by cheap, disposable clothes:

“Now that several garments are offered cheaper than a sandwich we all know and feel that something is profoundly and devastatingly wrong. But worst of all is the symbolism of it all. Prices profess that these clothes are to be thrown away, discarded like a condom and forgotten, rather than being loved and savoured, teaching young consumers that fashion has no value. The culture of fashion is thus destroyed” (Edelkoort 2015).

Luxury designers are today often requested to focus solely on sales by a brand’s marketing team and their creativity is often squeezed out in order to deliver six collections a year, so it is not surprising that they struggle to develop fresh visions for their collections. Raf Simons, whose departure as the creative director of Dior in October 2015, provides an example. He spoke about the pressure that designers experience in the current fashion system. In his interview with Cathy Horyn for *System* magazine, he revealed that the structure of the collections, in a big fashion house like Dior, is not conducive to creative contemplation. In this changing scenario, Edelkoort predicts that couture will make a comeback:

“After all, it is in the atelier of couture that we will find the laboratory of this labor of love. Suddenly the profession of couturier will become coveted and the exclusive way of crafting couture will be inspiring to others” (Edelkoort 2015).

The new generation of small brands, whose artisanal products and contemporary designs can meet the needs of the new conscious consumer, have the chance to reach their target online, an opportunity that local artisanal brands of the past did not have. Independent designers today fill the gap between ateliers and online platforms, developing new ways of selling worldwide, and reaching foreign markets that were not accesible until a few years ago without a traditional retail network.

Rome, which is the city where the creative headquarters of many famous brands are based, took the helm of this new artisanal approach in the national landscape, while Milan retains the podium as the national capital of pret-a-porter. The Eternal City, which can often be lazy and complacent about its timeless beauty, has been surprisingly rejuvenated by the fresh energy of a new entrepreneurial fashion wave, creating an interesting bridge that connects tradition to the challenges of the future market.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

FASHION DETAILS: FROM HATS TO BUTTONS

FASHION AND POLITICAL IDENTITIES: THE SYMBOLISM OF HEADWEAR IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

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Typically, the processes of politicization in European societies over the course of the nineteenth century were marked by the growing ability of different social classes to mobilize. Group identification underpinned the creation of the period's sociopolitical movements. The sense of forming part of a community and sharing its objectives and demands set out a shared path of political identification. In this paper, we reflect on the importance of two symbols of visual identification and political affiliation in the major popular movements of contemporary Spain: the republican Phrygian cap and the Carlist beret. We will also take into account the dialectic characterizing nationalist movements in the outermost regions of Spain, for example, in the Catalan and Basque cases, which saw the adoption of visual symbols of reaffirmation exemplified in the Catalan *barretina* and the Basque *txapela*.

Processes of modernization and social identification

Processes of modernization and social identification took central stage in the theory of social scientists in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Building on the pioneering work of Ginzburg (1979) and Davis (1982), research proliferated and a growing number of international gatherings brought together historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists to share a variety of approaches. This, in turn, sparked joint projects of great interest (Caplan and Torpey 2001; Moatti 2004; Crettiez and Piazza 2006; Noiriel 2007; Kaiser and Moatti 2007; About and Denis 2010). The overriding concern of these gatherings was to analyze the phenomenology of social identification and its use by political authorities for the purposes of control, reflecting a historical shift that has been honed and refined by contemporary scientific and technological knowledge. These studies have

made it very clear that processes of identification take into account a multiplicity of factors: identification establishes a person's particular characteristics, showing his or her individuality and unique character. In other words, identification distinguishes people as individuals, differentiating them from one another, but it also places them recognizably in relation to others. This is the area that we will focus on from the perspective of group formation and the creation of bonds among individuals taking part in social movements (Casquete 2006). An essential element is that members of a political movement need to be able to recognize one another as members of the same community in order to feel the bonds of active solidarity (Elias 2003). Similarly, the ritual and ceremonial behavior that political communities express in marches, mass rallies, parades, and other commemorative displays are fundamental elements for the building of an *esprit de corps*, which is essential to the creation of any identity or imagined community, be it political or national, etc. (Hobsbawm 1959; Hobsbawm 1989; Mosse 1975; Anderson 1991). In this context, attention must be given to the impact of ritual on the formation of political communities, especially rituals understood as all those symbolic behaviors that are socially standardized and performed repeatedly (Kertzer 1989). Specifically, symbols are elements of political sociability and community identification because any object, event, occasion or the like can become the vehicle of a message—of a conception that the symbol itself encapsulates (Geertz 1973).

Our paper examines the symbolic element of headwear in the political cultures of some of the foremost political movements of contemporary Spain, giving special attention to political cultures developing within social movements and in the working classes from the end of the nineteenth century through the first third of the twentieth century. This period enables us to analyze the origins of mass political movements of nationwide significance in the laboratory of the history of contemporary Spain (Cruz and Pérez Ledesma 1997): the democratic and republican movement on one hand and the conservative, loyalist, royalist Carlist movement on the other, but also encompassing the emergence of nationalist movements at the periphery of the state, in the Basque Country and Catalonia, among others.

Spanish republicanism and its symbolic identification

Of all the popular movements of contemporary Spain, republicanism was surely one of the main protagonists in shaping a fundamental political culture up to the start of Spanish civil war. Over the period 1868–1931, republicanism represented the most widespread option of the Spanish left and enjoyed broad support from the subordinate classes. It offered a world view

based on a notion of social redemption bound up with the establishment of the republic and a set of cultural practices that included the organization of popular sociability, leisure time, and campaigns to expand literacy and spread culture, as was demonstrated by the creation of republican centers throughout Spanish territory (Duarte 1997; Duarte 2004; Gabriel 1999; Gabriel 2007; Peyrou 2008).

It was in 1868 that the movement spread throughout Spain after the coup d'état that precipitated the fall of Isabel II. This marked the beginning of a new historic period, the Democratic Sexennium of 1868 to 1874 when the proponents of republicanism mushroomed in number. Although there were striking differences between the champions of federalism and the advocates of centralism—with some intransigent and others benevolent; some democratic while others were socialist—the republicans all had shared notions of national sovereignty, universal suffrage and civil liberties (of religion, education, association, speech, etc.); these coalesced on February 11, 1873 with the proclamation of the First Spanish Republic. Though short-lived, the republic came to represent, in subsequent years, a crucial milestone in history and a thwarted chance for redemption that might have been won if only the republic had not been cut short by reactionary forces.

Various authors have described the utopian component of Spanish republicanism, as well as its reception among the working classes as a participatory system able to structure society along more egalitarian lines. Such contradictions, when it came to applying ideas to reality, would necessarily develop into profound differences between the proponents of a direct, grassroots democracy and the supporters of representative democracy. Our interest, however, is a reflection on the socialization of republican symbology, especially an element as characteristic as the Phrygian cap, which was adopted by the subordinate classes to spread republican ideas in Spain. The power of this headwear harked back to Ancient Greece, when freed slaves received what became known as the cap of liberty; this practice was later adopted by Republican and Imperial Rome. During the Renaissance, the cap of liberty resurfaced and in subsequent periods it was put to use in the Naples revolt of 1647; the Glorious Revolution in England of 1688; and again a century later during the American Revolution, which led to the independence of the United States of America. Nevertheless, the most famous example comes from the French Revolution of 1789: the Phrygian cap of the French revolutionaries was first a fashion and then an institution during the years of the Terror and Thermidor (Benigno 2010). From then on, the Phrygian cap remained as a symbol of freedom, secularism, rebellion, and patriotism: it was taken up in the struggles for independence in South America and it was integrated into the national coats of arms of several

countries, including Haiti (1807), Argentina (1813), Bolivia (1826), Colombia (1834), and Paraguay (1842).



Figure 1. Allegory of the Proclamation of the First Spanish Republic from Fuenterrebollo. Available under public domain licence at Wikimedia Commons

During the Democratic Sexennium, the Phrygian cap rose to popularity in Spain, which also became acquainted with the socialization of the wealth of French republican symbolism, beginning with the symbolic depiction of the republic as a woman with the bearing of a Roman matron in the style of the French Marianne. Her attributes were the aforementioned Phrygian cap, the Masonic triangle, and the revolutionary wheat sheaf. Even so, it must be noted that in May 1873, two months after the proclamation of the Spanish First Republic, the academicians commissioned to draw the new country's coat of arms refused to incorporate the Phrygian cap. They voiced a number of arguments for this. Firstly, the Phrygian cap lacked historical authenticity in their view because it did not represent the freedom of the Ancients, but originated in Asia. Secondly, they found it aesthetically unappealing because of its flamboyance. And lastly, in their most forceful argument, it was associated with the Terror of the French Revolution and they rejected it because of its undisputed symbolic value in that context (Orobon 2005).

The wishes of the men in charge of the new coat of arms, however, were unable to halt the immense force of the Phrygian cap among the more left-

wing sectors of the Spanish populace. It is worth recalling that this element was already a well-established revolutionary symbol: during the Liberal Triennium, a professor at the University of Oviedo caused a great scandal when he cried out, “Long live the Republic!” while wearing a Phrygian cap on his head (Sánchez Collantes 2009). It was during the Sexennium, however, that the Phrygian cap became widespread, commonly making an appearance at republican demonstrations of the period; it was to be a fixture in the decades that followed, ultimately becoming immortalized on April 14, 1931, when the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic was met by festive popular demonstrations at which there was no shortage of Phrygian caps among the crowds in the squares.

Carlism and its symbology

The other major popular movement, which stood in opposition to the construction of the liberal state, was the Carlist movement. The development of Carlism can be broken down into three broad phases. The first, which we may identify as its first steps, was characterized by a rejection of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and the introduction of liberalism to Spain. At the time, the defense of the altar and the throne became a counter-ideology in opposition to liberal revolution. The decade of 1830 witnessed the beginnings of the Carlist movement, properly speaking. Immediately, it developed foundation myths that were strongly counter-revolutionary and deeply Catholic. One example of this is the oft-repeated propaganda image of the Catholic volunteer and the blunderbuss-wielding priest. Right from the outset the political culture of Carlism also thrived on guerrilla leaders like Cabrera and Zumalacárregui: the death of the latter on the front line served as a prime example of the sacrifice made by other volunteers who were revered as martyrs of the movement, just as the early Christians had once been. The second phase of the movement, which corresponded with its heyday, took place during the Democratic Sexennium. At that time, particularly during the war of 1872 to 1876, many of the earlier symbolic elements of identification, such as the beret and the daisy (the Spanish name of the flower—*margarita*—was also the name of the first wife of Carlos VII) became widespread, as did the defense of the pope and of all the elements of Roman Catholicism. The third phase was the restoration of the monarchy, with Carlism launching publications and embedding itself structurally in society through setting-up centers of sociability (Canal 1997; Canal 1999; Anguera 1999; Toledano 2001; Toledano 2004).



Figure 2. Carlism Caricature of 1870, Tomás Padró (1840-1877)? for *La Flaca* (1869–76) (by Rockger21)—*La Flaca* Journal.

Carlism took shape in parallel to the republican movement. It did not appear explicitly as a party, but rather as a community with clear family roots in which children, generation after generation, took the baton from their parents. Of course, the Carlist community was at loggerheads with liberal society and it defined itself in terms of the bonds between subject and ruler, as well as membership to the universal institution of the Catholic Church. It took the view that revolution contributed to the breakdown of social harmony: parties, parliamentarianism, and elections added a degree of conflict that put the natural order of society in jeopardy. This was the meaning of the Carlist Communion, the name they themselves gave to their party and which, by definition, could not be like that of the liberal parties, but was rather a kind of ‘people,’ a distinctive nation with its own leaders, embodying in its internal relations the type of society it desired.

Characteristically, the political culture of Carlism included a very particular cult of history: the movement’s memory was constructed out of key dates, exemplary people, and the remembrance, in certain cases, of canonical texts and writings. A calendar was put together featuring the saint’s name days of the royal family, religious holidays, and reminders of certain events from the Carlist wars (1833–40, 1846–49, 1872–76). This was a battle waged against liberalism and republicanism and the prize was memory, with the distinctive features of local politics thrown into the mix. Among the most important dates was, without doubt, the tenth of March, which was considered the national day of the Martyrs of the Tradition (the Forty Martyrs

of Sebaste or the Holy Forty), and it played a role similar to the first of May or the proclamation of the republic for other ideologies.



Figure 3. Leslie Ward. *Vanity Fair*, 29 April 1876. Caricature of the Carlist pretender, Charles VII aka Carlos, Duke of Madrid. The caption read—Legitimacy.

They also held in deep regard both the martyrology of all the Carlists fallen in battle and the pretenders to the throne of Spain, the most beloved of which was perhaps Carlos VII himself, military leader in the Third Carlist War. Lastly, Carlist symbology played up the role of the beret and the daisy, the protective patches of cloth bearing the inscription *detente bala* (or ‘stop, bullet’ in English) worn near the heart, the scapulars used by volunteers during the war, and the religious and aristocratic iconography on display in the salons of Carlist circles and associations. Taken together, these were all factors of political integration and they facilitated group membership. The Carlist Wars, it has been argued, saw the beret taken up generally as a

distinctive element of the loyalist movement and it spread most widely in the Basque Country and Navarre. Nevertheless, there is some disagreement on the subject. The Basque writer Unamuno wrote that the beret was introduced from *le Midi* in France around the outbreak of the First Carlist War, in 1833, by liberal volunteers. On the other hand, loyalist volunteers also wore the beret and General Zumalacárregui was the man who made it famous. According to traditional iconography, the general's beret was broad, white and had a tassel that fell over his temple. Other authors, however, have argued that the beret of the Carlist commander was not white, but red. Despite the dispute over the color, the heritage and traditional historiography have handed down to us the first political and sociological attribution of the beret as a distinctive, yet unifying element in a society immersed in profound change. At the time, the beret genuinely came into its own as a representative element of the Carlist insurrectionists. Ample proof of this can be seen in its banning by Baldomero Espartero in 1838. Convinced of the ills caused by the use of the beret, which tended to sow confusion and alarm as an insignia of the Carlist troops, Espartero issued a decree prohibiting the use of the beret by everyone, soldiers and civilians alike. Failure to comply carried penalties that ranged from a fine for first-time offenders to prison for repeat offenders. To ensure that the Carlist side well understood the decree, local authorities were urged to broadcast the news as widely as possible (Macías 2006). In the end, the red beret became a hallmark of Carlism and of counter-revolution in general. This is further shown by the fact that it was made an official part of the uniform of the Spanish Falangist party (known as the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista), Francoism's one-party structure that was created amid the Spanish Civil War by the unification decree of April 1937 and included the Carlists. From that point onwards, the red berets and the blue shirts of the Falangists became a symbol of the new Franco regime.

From political symbol to sign of identity: the Txapela and *Barretina* in Basque and Catalan nationalisms

If the red beret became an unmistakable political symbol in the Spanish Civil War and under Francoism, another beret, this one made in Bilbao, has become one of the most clear-cut symbols of Basque nationalist affiliation. This beret is known widely as the *txapela*, a word originally meaning 'cap' in the Basque language, although it has gradually come to have a more limited meaning, referring to a specific kind of beret. The origins of Basque nationalism date back to the end of the nineteenth century and the shocks of economic, social, and urban modernization and industrialization in the region

of Biscay and within Basque society more generally. If there was a consistent legacy from the culture of the *fueros*, or regional laws, a legacy shared by liberals and traditionalists alike, though for different reasons, the Carlists were to have the greatest influence on the formulation of Basque nationalism. Notable among them was Sabino Arana (1865–1903), the man who put together an ethnic national theory in which race was the basis of the nation. Arana also defended the Basque language as a distinguishing element to separate the Basque community from the Spanish immigration that had arrived in the Basque Country with the industrialization of the territory at the end of the nineteenth century.

Influenced by the ideas of Arthur de Gobineau and by his family's pro-Carlist Catholicism, Arana saw the immigrant population as inferior and immoral (Agirreazkuenaga 2004; De Pablo et al. 2012). In this context, despite Arana's objections to industrialization and its adverse effects on traditional Basque society, it was precisely the mechanization of the production of berets, or *txapelas*, that spurred on the *txapela*'s development and spread among Basque society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. New production techniques sharply lowered the cost of berets relative to other types of men's headwear. Its use became so widespread that the Basque press featured a steady stream of advertising from the beret factories. There was also a degree of differentiation between the factories in Biscay and those in Gipuzkoa in terms of taste and production. With the rise of Basque nationalism in Bilbao at the close of the nineteenth century, the berets also acquired a new political look. The nationalists championed the use of fuller berets than the Gipuzkoans did, and the Bilbao-style berets, as they became known in common parlance, achieved wide distribution throughout Biscay, although the residents of Tolosa never adopted them, preferring instead the berets manufactured in their own town.

Nowadays, the *txapela* has receded into the background, but even so its social recognition as a quintessentially Basque article of clothing still remains. It is worth noting that it has become established in recent decades as a trophy or award for champions (*Txapeldunes*) in any competition held in the Basque Country. Similarly, it is a symbol of welcome to distinguished visitors, and the vast majority of sporting associations and groups of friends use embroidered berets as a sign of group identity (Macías 2006).



Figure 4. Man wearing a txapela
http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Netsurf11_-_Rodin.jpg

The politicization of the *txapela* has a suggestive parallel in the Catalan *barretina*. The Catalan nationalist movement was undoubtedly much richer ideologically than Basque nationalism, because it encompassed a broader heterogeneity and included the largely pro-autonomy republican sector, heir to the theoretical contributions of the federalist Francesc Pi i Margall; the intellectuals of the Catalan Renaixença; and conservative and Catholic sectors, many originally Carlist (Balcells 1996; Termes 2000; Casassas 2009; Casassas 2014). The synergies between these sectors and the vital forces of the Catalan economy gave the final push to the politicization of the movement in question, which created a political culture with its own symbols and structural elements at the close of the nineteenth century (Anguera 2008; Anguera 2009, Cattini 2015). Of these elements the *barretina* stood out because of its high visibility. It was a red cap that proved extremely easy to see from a distance. It should also be noted that the *barretina* had a long history. It had even given its name to a peasant rebellion in the seventeenth century—the Revolt of the Barretinas—but by the mid-nineteenth century, it had fallen into decline as headwear. In 1865, Jacint Verdaguer appeared at the Jocs Florals (Floral Games) to collect a poetry prize dressed in the style of a peasant and sporting a red *barretina* on his head. In the eyes of the intellectuals of the Renaixença, Verdaguer’s youthful image was living proof

of a popular Catalan culture that was vibrant, noble, far removed from the customs of the city, and still untainted at its core. Quickly, the *barretina* became more than a piece of headwear. It started to appear at a variety of Catalan nationalist rallies. At the start of the 1880s, the crowds wore the *barretina* as a symbol of protest in demonstrations against free-trade policies and against legislative attempts at homogenization that sought to quash Catalan law.



Figure 5. Jacint Verdaguer (1845–1902), Catalanian poet and wearer of the *barretina*.

At the same time, the *barretina* gave its name to the flagship weekly publication of the Catalan nationalist movement and it appeared on the heads of characters symbolizing major journals of the movement in the early years of the twentieth century, such as *Cu-Cut!* and *Patufet*.

According to the Catalan writer Avel·li Artís Tisner (1912–2000), it was the cultural current of Noucentisme that sounded the *barretina*'s death knell, reducing it to an artifact of folklore (Anguera 2009). Nevertheless, young Catalan nationalists still donned *barretinas* during the pro-autonomy campaign of 1918–19, as well as wearing ribbons of the Catalan flag on their lapels. This was to show their backing of Catalan demands for self-government and they did so at some risk to their personal safety given the violence being meted out by members of the Spanish Patriotic League (Balcells 2010). In a move towards the new symbolic demands of mass society, the cartoonist Valentí Castanys came up with a character to symbolize the supporters of Futbol Club Barcelona (known popularly as Barça), a sporting club identified with Catalan nationalism. Castanys' popular figure, created in 1922, was called Avi Barça, or Grandfather Barça in English, and he had a white beard that showed his advanced age. In addition

to his beard, he very often, though not always, wore a *barretina* (and to this day he continues to do so): his *barretina* remains a hallmark of his Catalan identity. During the Spanish Civil War, the *barretina* and the Phrygian cap were also blended together, specifically in the campaigns of the Generalitat (the autonomous government of Catalonia), which created a mascot for the revolution, ‘the littlest one of all,’ a child defender of the republic who was dressed in workers’ overalls and wore a cap that was half *barretina* (a symbol of Catalan identity) and half Phrygian (an unmistakable symbol of republicanism). This small figurine became one of the most prominent icons of the revolutionary conflict of 1936–39 and it was a resounding success for the propaganda office of the Generalitat, which sold more than 200,000 copies (Pascuet and Pujol 2006).



Figure 6: http://www.comissiodeladignitat.cat/img/contingut/foto2_g.jpg

Today, the *barretina* has fallen into disuse in daily life, much as the *txapela* has in the Basque Country. However, just as the *txapela* does in the Basque Country, the *barretina* persists as a symbol of identity and makes appearances at celebrations and protests alike, not to mention traditional dances and Christmas Nativity scenes.

Conclusions

Clearly, fashion expresses social constructions associated with the tastes and social values of a period and, even more clearly, specific choices of apparel ultimately generate group identities of a highly diverse nature.

Obviously, some items can be quite useful to express an affiliation with ideological, generational, identity-based, or social groups—identifications that can sometimes co-exist in tension with the global processes of cultural homogenization tending towards standardization. The processes of modernization at work in contemporary society have forced some articles of clothing to fall into general disuse, though they once had purposes associated with the tastes of earlier periods, such as the various kinds of headwear that were deeply rooted in Spanish society from the second half of the nineteenth century through the early years of the twentieth century. This paper has examined the symbolic functionality of various types of headwear and how they were adapted to different historical moments. Looking at the four cases analyzed from a contemporary perspective, we can see that the Phrygian cap and the red beret of the Carlists have lost nearly all of their socially recognized symbolic functions. These two cases reflect headwear identifying the individual with an ideology. Conversely, while the *txapela* and the *barretina* are no longer routinely worn, they do continue to play an important role as symbols of regional and cultural identity. They are used repeatedly at specific events and political demonstrations and they retain an undeniable social recognition. As noted earlier, the symbolic role of articles of clothing can vary over time and items having no apparent meaning can unexpectedly acquire meaning, or even undergo the reverse process. A relatively recent and rather intriguing example comes out of the Breton revolt in France in late 2013 against an eco-tax on large vehicles: in the street protests, the protesters wore red caps that took on a political value because they had been used as a symbol during protests in the seventeenth century. Suddenly, an article of clothing typically worn only by a few old farmers became transformed into a social symbol fought over by various political groups.

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THE SYMBOLISM OF STRIPES THROUGH HISTORY

LJILJANA STOŠIĆ

In Western medieval culture, striped suits or striped details on clothes were considered to indicate an infidel or heretic (a Jew, Muslim, or Oriental); a sinner; a dishonorable man or apostate (Cain, Delilah, Saul, Salome, the Prodigal Son, Judas); village fool; street crook; adulteress; juggler; musician; witch doctor; executioner; freak; or a man suffering from an incurable or infectious disease. In other words, stripes were used to mark people that were to be avoided and kept at a safe distance. This type of representation first appeared in secular miniatures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and, subsequently, in Gothic frescoes. Strictly relying on symbolic forms and structures, Western medieval culture sought to represent as different anything that conflicted with accepted social norms and religious beliefs, marking such elements with stars, circles, polka dots, squares or lozenges, as well as narrow or wide stripes and gaudy colors.

Instead of striped clothes, Romanesque and Byzantine art favored striped backgrounds consisting of two to three wide, or several narrow, stripes intended to discreetly enclose a biblical event in a protected and consecrated, sacred space. Rows of archpriests, priests or deacons, whose strip-like *epitrachelia* and *oraria* symbolized the grace of the Holy Spirit and angel wings, form a distinct group of images. They are meant to remind us of the cross carried by Christ on His shoulders on the way to Golgotha, as well as of the will of God, which should be carried out quickly and dexterously at every opportunity, as befitting the servants of the Lord. Fragments of frescoes from 1190–99, discovered in the Church of St John, founded by Prince Miroslav at Crnča, a village by the Bijelo Polje on the Berane road (Montenegro), feature striped fabrics that emphasized the body while also having their own visual value. These are the cloths that appear in the Nativity of Christ—the scene either shows the newborn Savior already swathed or midwives preparing to wrap Him after a first bath. Only a few years later, in the frescoes of the Serbian monastery at Studenica (1208–1209), the heads of the holy hymnographers of Arab origin were adorned with exotic striped headbands.

Judging from these early examples, as well as from some other instances (Hosios David, Dečani), Oriental striped fabrics found their place in the art of the Christian East as a distinguishing mark of holy characters considerably earlier than in western European painting, without being assigned negative secular meanings.

In Serbian medieval painting, gold stripes appear mainly as borders on white cloths in the Crucifixion, Dormition of the Holy Virgin and the Holy *Mandyllion*. These make up the bedding of the Holy Virgin's deathbed, the perizoma or loin cloth wrapped around Christ's hips then tied in a knot, and the cloth (*Mandyllion*) imprinted with the *acheiropoieton* (not-made-by-human-hands) image of Christ. Starting from the Ottoman period, and particularly since the sixteenth century, these sacred fabrics were increasingly adorned with Oriental stripes. This also applies to the Holy Mandyllion, which was believed to have the power to protect against visible and invisible enemies and from sudden death. Stripes were sometimes featured in the *Mandyllion's* counterpart—the Holy *Keramion* (Holy Tile), i.e. an *acheiropoieta* image of Christ imprinted on a tile (such as the late seventeenth-century *Keramion* from the *Skete* of the Holy Trinity at Spasova Voda near the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos). Both *acheiropoieta* images of Christ are considered evidence of the Savior's temporary stay on earth and his belonging to the realm of the transcendental and eternal. Nevertheless, these images also bear unambiguous associations with their origins in Asia Minor and the Orient and serve as evidence of an early Christianization of the local population in these areas (cf. the legend of King Abgar of Edessa).

During the Renaissance, in the West, stripes gradually ceased to be a sign of the evil, sinful and negative. It was probably with the influence of the Crusades and epidemics of plague that striped patterns covering entire fabrics, or just their borders, began to be perceived as an expression of constant movement, life and fickle fortune, bearing previously unimaginable connotations of such concepts as ceremony, exoticism and freedom (e. g. Martin le Franc, *Allegory of Destiny*, a mid-fifteenth century manuscript). What persists to this day are the visual accent and the perceptual supremacy of striped patterns. The artist who went farthest in rendering the subtlety of the striped fabric in which Christ's dead body had been wrapped was Sandro Botticelli during his religious phase stirred up by his friendship with Savonarola. In his *Pietà* (1495–1500), held by the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum in Milan, the tragic drama of Christ's death is expressed through the play of draperies enveloping all of the participants depicted in superhuman pain. In this painting, striped fabrics in direct contact with Christ's calmly reclining

naked body stand out and capture one's attention with their tactile gentleness, subtlety and beauty.

During this period, painters often used striped patterns to emphasize, make associations, classify and juxtapose. The dynamics and rhythm of stripes anticipate an event and indicate a transition from one state to another. This does not apply only to religious, but also to secular scenes in which the world of the 'white' man meets that of the 'black' man. Western European painters believed that stripes had been adopted from the East and, accordingly, they often used striped details on the clothes of dark-skinned characters (Andrea Mantegna, *Camera degli Sposi*, 1465–74) or white men in their immediate vicinity (Paolo Veronese, *The Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573), in order to make a contrast. In his most famous self-portrait (1498), held by the Prado (Madrid), the young Dürer is shown in an eye-catching, almost troubadour-style black-and-white striped suit with a cap, highlighting his artistic self-awareness and male beauty. As opposed to horizontal stripes, which appeared on the dress of peasants and servants—from maids and cup-bearers to messengers and falconers—as a hangover from their negative reception in western European medieval culture, vertical stripes were considered to be more sophisticated. Starting with Balthazar, the only dark-skinned Magus who came from the East to visit the newborn Christ, vertical stripes adorned the dress of aristocrats and rulers (Jean Clouet, *Portrait of Francois I*, 1525–30), who held themselves in high esteem and sought to perpetuate the image of themselves as men of vigor.

During the seventeenth century, men's striped garments, such as sleeves, sleeveless vests and trousers (Michelangelo Caravaggio, *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, 1599–1600), were fashionable in Spain. Nevertheless, women's striped cloaks (Francisco de Zurbarán, *St Dorothy*, 1640–50) were equally remarkable. In the 1710s, Jean-Antoine Watteau, as a true representative of the French *âge galant*, eagerly depicted his male and female characters in suits, long gowns and capes adorned with vertical stripes in pastel colors, highlighting the rustling delicacy of silk and velvet. In his frescoes painted in the mid-eighteenth century, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo garbed swarthy pages and oriental-looking ambassadors in striped turbans and vests (*The Banquet of Cleopatra*, Palazzo Labia, Venice). At the same time, stripes appeared in the form of vertical grooves on pilasters and columns in the most sumptuous and beautiful palaces of the time, such as Schönbrunn in Vienna and Sanssouci in Potsdam. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, stripes have shifted from representative attire to the lining, calling for social and moral change in the sense of being and remaining strong and was in this manner that around 1740, Hristofor Nefarović portrayed the Bishop of Buda, Vasilije Dimitrijević, who was known for his arbitrariness, impulsiveness,

and love of money (the portrait is presently held in the Bishop's Palace at Szentendre).

In the Age of Enlightenment, stripes pervaded everyday life. Apart from ceremonial dress, they spread to underwear, socks, bedding, including mattresses and pajamas, as well as towels and kitchen napkins. In the late nineteenth century, they reached ocean ships and prisons as distinct and recognizable uniforms. After the French Revolution, the red-white-blue *tricolore* flag became a symbol of independence and freedom. Only a few decades later, stripes would also pervade hospital rooms, swimming pools and beaches (beach chairs, umbrellas, towels, swimwear, sandals, bags), and they would become common as a favorite motif in children's clothing (from bibs to breeches), the dress of bank clerks (narrow stripes), and that of notorious gangsters (the wide stripes on the suits of Al Capone and his followers). Apart from idlers, stripes were readily adopted among the young, athletes (athletic suits of local and national teams), as well as all those who loved and led a healthy life (for example, the sportswear brand Adidas, and those who enjoyed casual entertainments (lollipops, candy canes, peppermint, chewing gum).

The Messmer-NeĀaroviĀ *Stemmatographia* (1741) features a number of flags, which are entirely or partially striped (Austria, Hungary, Greece, Pannonia, Ragusa—Dubrovnik). The coats of arms of many aristocratic Venetian, Ragusan and Serbian families were also striped. Nowadays, the national flags of the USA, Greece and Cuba abound in stripes. No matter whether they worked in the areas to the north of the Sava and Danube Rivers or in the southern regions of the Balkan Peninsula, the last Late Byzantine and the earliest Baroque painters of the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century enriched their artistic traditions with elements of contemporary stylistic features. They not only garbed Biblical characters—such as the Holy Virgin, Jesus Christ, Adam and Eve, the Holy Trinity depicted as angels and St John Damascene—in decorative striped fabrics that were in direct contact with the body, but they also used them to dress and define them, highlighting their sacred symbolism. While gravitating towards Venetian or Oriental cultural spheres, Serbian artists painted striped patterns to illustrate the fabulous fortunes of the Persians (Teodor KraĀun, *Esther before Ahasuerus*, 1774) or depict the radiant otherworldly mandorlas that created a strong energy field (Petar RafailoviĀ, *Descent into Hades*, around 1760).

The icon of the Holy Virgin *Glykophilousa* (1723), painted by an unknown Greek artist, is an extraordinary work of art. It is an indirect copy of Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* (ca. 1516) and is presently held by the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens. This painting, rendered in three

primary colors—red, blue and golden yellow—also has a striking three-colored striped frame. The lower right corner features a small half-length figure of the deceased Venardos Anninos, who was killed by lightning at his home at the age of thirty-five. The icon was commissioned by the Anninos family immediately after the funeral and the young man is shown in white robes praying to the Virgin of Consolation. The three-colored striped frame marks the boundary between sacred and real space. As a reflection of the desire for resurrection and eternal life through the Virgin Mary, who sacrificed herself and who helps in the salvation of those who suffer martyrdom without guilt, in the Greek painting, Venardos Anninos replaces the little St John the Baptist, who in Raphael's painting prays for himself and for the Savior. In the work of the anonymous Greek artist, painted two centuries later, the stripes that in Raphael's painting adorn the Virgin's robe and headdress are shifted to the icon's frame, thereby highlighting its funerary function.

As a renowned portraitist, Miloš Golubović painted the wedding half-length portraits of Milan and Ljubica Grol (1934); they are shown facing one another, as if placed in an open diptych or a medallion. In doing this, he assumed the same approach as seen in a series of portraits of his family, where he obsessively repeated the motifs of a woman and children, while interweaving personal and allegorical subjects related to the portrayed subject. Ljubica Grol is shown meditating with her hands folded; she rests her head upon them above a bunch of letters, placed next to her husband's books and family photos; she is shown in her warm and soft peignoir with blue stripes on a white background. Although realistically depicted, with freshly applied lipstick, her image is not that of a living woman. The half-open eyes that are about to close show that at the time she was painted the lady had been in a deep and eternal sleep for five years. The striped peignoir of Mrs Grol was obviously an expression of her husband's desire to have her back in his home, at least as an illusion. For this reason, the portrait was probably painted after an earlier photo that was dear to him.

Edvard Munch's *Self-Portrait: Between the Clock and the Bed* was painted just a few years before the artist's death in 1944. This masterpiece is also one of his last paintings. Painted in Munch's solitary house near Oslo, where he spent the last twenty-eight years of his life, this self-portrait is that of a Lord's servant who is readily waiting for his last moment. The dial of the clock is not shown because it is not known when it will finally stop. Munch is relaxed and garbed in festive dress; he is sitting in his immaculately clean home, where everything is in place, including his earlier paintings hanging on the wall. The ascetic and rather hospital-like bed is neatly made and covered with a striped blanket. It seems as if the painter wished to show that he would

die when his time came, and would readily step into eternity, similar to the image of the Holy Virgin on her deathbed in Byzantine art.

Psychologists and sociologists agree that the most common types of ties, along with polka-dotted ones, are those featuring stripes. According to them, they indicate tidiness, diligence and the reliability of the wearer. This must be known to public figures from political life, as they wear and change them so often. Ties less commonly feature horizontal or vertical stripes—stripes in ties are usually diagonal. Unlike Americans who wear ties with diagonal stripes running from right to left, Europeans mostly wear ties with stripes in the opposite direction. Bow ties may also be striped and this type is considered particularly chic. The stylist Añok Murti does not recommend combining a striped suit and tie with a striped shirt. The most famous Belgrade-based fashion designer of ties, Neven Vrgoč, who has been specializing in tie design for more than thirty years and has gained worldwide renown, claims that ties give strength and power and reveal a desire to be noticed. This is a fashion accessory that—being worn on the most delicate and the most exposed part of the body—attracts, reveals, anticipates, and shows one's inner personality, but also protects what is most sacred and precious—the soul.

Striped dresses and other parts of women's clothing come back into fashion from time to time. This summer, sailor stripes are the latest fashion craze. Fashion designers recommend that they be freely combined as imagination may dictate. A single striped detail is enough to refresh an entire outfit and stripes reduce the need for additional decorative accessories. Stripes are suited to all occasions—they are eye-catching and emphasize feminine attributes. Due to their potential to create an optical illusion, they are also used to emphasize individual parts of the body. They can also conceal flaws. It is an old and well-known sartorial rule that vertical stripes elongate the figure, while horizontal stripes make it look fatter than it really is.

Designers recommend the use of striped details in the interior design of apartments and houses, as it takes a single striped detail to change the usual appearance of a room. For example, in order to make a bedroom look different, it only takes the covering of a single wall with striped wallpaper or putting a striped blanket on a bed. In a dining room, such details may be combined with floral, polka-dot and tartan designs. Striped patterns are particularly recommended for carpets, rugs, curtains, chairs, sofas, beds, decorative pillows and lampshades. Striped patterns are perfect for every home and are considered to be permanently fashionable due to their remarkable visual appearance.

The logos of many great international car manufacturers feature stripes as a sign of speed, streamlined design and reliability (Buick, Volkswagen, Cadillac, Morris Mini, Porsche, Rover, Seat, Citroen, Suzuki, Fiat). The visual identity of the well-known sports equipment manufacturer Adidas also relies on stripes. Races in athletic stadiums and swimming pools take place in separate striped lanes. When, in the late 1960s, the multi-colored striped Signal toothpaste was launched, it was a sign that others should follow its example—Signal toothpaste was more successful due to its attractive design. From that moment on, teeth brushing became for many a real pleasure, rather than a boring duty. It was another confirmation of the extraordinary qualities of stripes, which set into motion everything they touch by leaving an impression of continuous movement.

More recently, stripes have been used to indicate potential danger, as well as prohibition and permission, as in the case of zebra crossings. The guide stripes for blind people also consist of multiple parallel lines to be followed; however, they are not mandatory, but only recommended. Warning traffic signs with diagonal red and white stripes are placed before a road narrowing due to maintenance works, at an intersection with a railroad crossing, and before toll booths to tell drivers that they should reduce their speed and stop. Nowadays, land transport is unimaginable without stripes and multiple lanes in one or two directions. Until recently, the transmission of electrical power was carried out via a system of stripe-like high-voltage wires supported by poles. While the use of stripes among humans is associated with fast movement, in the animal world they ensure that zebras and tigers have either good camouflage or easy visibility, depending on whether they are moving through bushes or across open space.

Stripes may also be used to protect an area—one pulls striped blinds up or down, especially in rooms reserved for rest and sleep. Apart from protecting against urban light, they act as a protection against external noise, cold, rain, snow, heat and the rays of the sun. Safety barriers and fences that surround houses and divide public and private spaces are constructed using vertical, horizontal or diagonal stripe-like elements.

The barcode is a fairly recent way of marking all legally manufactured products by thirty black and white lines of different widths and lengths. The code is read by special laser sensors whenever a product is to be identified. The identification code contains information about the country of origin, the manufacturer and the product type, as well as a control number, which includes the price and expiration date. In order to speed up the process of purchasing, in future, barcode readers will be able to identify all items from a consumer's basket at one go. Barcode readers have so far proved very successful in reading codes, even at an angle or when a label is partially

damaged. By reading a barcode, an item is automatically removed from stock and another, identical item is ordered.

In most western European languages, the verb *strip* has a double meaning: along with its basic meaning, this word implies deletion, removal and elimination, in terms of expulsion or exclusion from a list. Latin words such as *stria* and *strigilis* are derived from *stringo*, which has multiple meanings, including *attach*, *tie*, *lift*, *take off*, *strip*, *cut off*, *rip off*, *deprive* and *denude*. The association of stripes with prohibition and punishment, and especially of long-term exclusion from society, has never been coincidental. Acting as a kind of barrier, passage, gate, filter or defence against evil powers and diabolical creatures, stripes were visualized from rather early on as a warning and they became sort of protective cages, remaining so even today.

Here, this story of the specially protected and forbidden striped area will end temporarily. All handwritten or printed lines of text in a book, tables and columns, since the earliest woodcut books to today's daily newspapers, official gazettes and encyclopedias, are unique striped entities. The rows of shelves in public and private libraries upon which books are, most commonly, lined vertically, but also horizontally and diagonally, are also in the form of stripes. The same pattern is repeated in rows of drawers for storing various items. In a world of chaos, stripes always bring system and order, classifying everything and everyone into a particular zone, level or sphere; the classification may also imply a hierarchy. Stripes are there to underline and emphasize, while it is a person's task to take a side by choosing between good and evil.

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THE ORIGINS OF BUTTONS ‘MADE IN ITALY’: FASHION AND INNOVATION IN THE ITALIAN MANUFACTURE OF FASTENING ACCESSORIES THROUGH THE CENTURIES

BARBARA BETTONI

In the twentieth century Italian buttons earned notable success on international markets. These products, characterized by high quality materials and a strong attention to design, are the result of a skilful combination of culture and technology whose roots lie in a long-standing tradition. This paper aims to highlight the stages that have led Italian buttons to become famous throughout the world. The following pages highlight the evolution of the Italian manufacture of buttons in the European setting of the early modern era and early nineteenth century. The focus is thereafter directed towards more recent cases and the developments that have characterized the production of fastening accessories between the second half of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, especially in the northern regions of the Italian peninsula, which contributed to the success of the Italian interpretation of these products on international markets.

Why study buttons?

Buttons are everyday objects. They are often small and used in the wardrobes of men, women and children. Their simplicity is only superficial because in reality they are the result of a long history. As Anglo-American scholars have highlighted, in looking at the subject of ornaments designed for people and their clothing, with particular reference to the Renaissance period, the button is a complex object (Mirabella 2011, 1–10). Its complexity is connected to the intrinsic characteristics of the European version of this product (Egan and Pritchard 2010, 272–80). Unlike buttons with a purely decorative function, which made their name previously in Eastern civilizations, the European button, which spread across the West over the course of the late Medieval Ages, is the result of three ingredients. Firstly, its

functionality: it helps to join parts of a garment together. Its usefulness is, however, also accompanied by a decorative and symbolic function. Besides decorating the clothing and the person, the use of buttons can also reflect social hierarchy and gender relations. The button is, moreover, characterized by its variety: this multiplicity is found not only its forms, but also its materials and joining methods (Read 2010, 13–130). A variety of these ingredients were subject to gradual change over the centuries. Over the course of time, the button took shape, in effect, as the result of both process and product innovations. Its usefulness, decorative function and variety were mixed in varying proportions according to fashion and technological innovation (Bettoni 2013, 25–28, 60–65).

The peculiarities of Italian button manufacturing and its evolution over the course of the early modern era

In terms of button manufacture, the Italian setting was already well-known in the Renaissance period, and was characterized by the excellent products created by the best jewelers who had their headquarters in large urban centers (Venturelli 1996, 22–25; Cellini 1568). Italian button manufacturing tended, in the early modern period, to be strongly interdisciplinary (Bettoni 2014, 684–87) and involved a range of craft sectors, from glassmaking to textiles (Garzoni 1589, 481, 490–91, 906–909). This manufacturing required, furthermore, skills in the production of metals other than gold and silver and of non-precious materials too. The wood production sector was also involved in button manufacturing. This material was used for the construction of the internal structure of the button—the core that acted as a support to the spherical cap in the buttons made with thread, fabric, wire and metal alloy (Griselini 1768–78, 3: *ad vocem*—bottonajo).

It is rare to find in the archival sources from this era craftsmen called *bottonai*, who were skilled only in the production of buttons of different materials. The specific and exclusive craft of making buttons was only for particular types and took place in compliance with rules set out by the system. These recommended that buttons made with a certain type of material were only produced by those craftsmen who, within the framework of several jobs, were authorized to handle that type of material and thus had the tools necessary to mold it (Bettoni 2013, 28–37).

This complexity, which makes the study of the origins of this Italian example particularly interesting, was emphasized in the course of the early modern period when the array of products expanded (Bettoni 2013, 69–72). The original creations for which Italy distinguished itself over the course of the Renaissance became, in the following period, less competitive. They

were, in this case, mainly precious buttons, which, by nature, were created more for the person than the garment. This type of button was often listed in the inventories of movable goods together with jewels—items destined to be passed down from generation to generation and applied to various types of clothing (Venturelli 2003, 94–99; Levi Pisetzky 1964, 2: 136–39). This type of product was integrated over time with a series of products using non-precious materials. However, this characteristic was offset by the trend towards specificity, both functional and decorative, of the product in relation to the clothing. The lower intrinsic value of the product was compensated for by strong attention to the appearance and visual effects that colors and combinations of dyes and materials could produce. The exclusive relationship of the button to clothing was thereby reinforced and, from this period on, the button began to be used as an accessory. It was a product at a competitive price that satisfied a continually expanding group consumers. Also, losing a button no longer meant a major loss. It could easily be replaced as buttons began to be produced in small series (Bettoni 2015, 185–88, 196–201).

The period following the Renaissance was a phase in which the original catalogue of products was adapted to the requirements of a developing European market. Old-type products had to be integrated with buttons that had a strong accessory function with regards to clothing and this period in Italian button manufacturing seemed full of struggles over craft ownership of the sectors involved. Due to its interdisciplinarity, it is difficult to define in this context the specific knowledge of the craftsmen involved in the production of buttons. These difficulties were emphasized in the production of metal buttons. New products produced with cheaper metal alloys, but well molded, were shiny and tended to be mistaken for more precious products made of gold or silver (Bettoni 2015, 192–201).

The impetus to adapt the array of products to fashion within the Italian setting led to the development of original results. By experimenting with innovative processes, craftsmen active in the glass sector and in that of the production of thread buttons began to introduce buttons that had a good level of functional and decorative specificity (Bettoni 2014, 700–702; Bettoni 2015, 186–87). The adaptation and progressive integration of the catalogue of products in metal was slower and more gradual and was the result of a period of incubation and the learning and reinterpretation of production techniques from France and England. More bitter was the conflict between precious old-type products and newer products, in which the true nature of the material used for production was often masked by a coating or varnish.¹

¹ See, for example, for Turin: *Materie economiche, Commercio, Professioni Arti Manifatture* (categoria IV: dorerie, m. 2, bottonai, 1753), Archivio di Stato di Torino,

Towards the definition of a button entrepreneur

Italian craftsmen who produced buttons of the metal type, observed, studied and tried to reinterpret what had been tried out in France and England between the end of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century (Bettoni 2014, 689–99). This resulted in the development of a new awareness of product quality. The emphasis was now on the importance of color, coating and design, rather than just the nature of the material used (Bettoni 2015, 196–201). From this period on, it is also possible to observe the emergence of individuals highly skilled in the production of buttons, who acted as real ‘button entrepreneurs.’ This phenomenon was manifested, above, all in the northern regions of the Italian peninsula, predominantly with privileged manufactories where the mediation of French craftsmen was fundamental.² This process culminated in the middle of the nineteenth century in Milan where the button began to become attached to the names of a few entrepreneurs who were successful in selling their products on both the domestic and international markets.³ The new entrepreneurs of the button were particularly favored by fashion. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, fashion contributed both to encouraging a greater incorporation of buttons into women’s clothing and to draw a distinction between male and female fastenings, triggering a phase of ‘button-mania’ (de Buzzaccarini and Zotti Minici, 28–29).

These new enterprises dedicated to the manufacture and trade of buttons, and of similar products, had their headquarters in Milan.⁴ If, in the early part of the nineteenth century, production focused mainly on metal buttons, sometimes in combination with that of toys⁵ and the engraving of coats of arms, by the middle of the century, it was the centralized production of buttons, produced with different substances, that spread. This new production was primarily mechanized, however, the use of modern machinery was often counterbalanced by the ample, and unpleasant, manual labor supplied by women, without which one could not do in some production stages (Bigatti 2009, 277–311).

Turin. For the Venetian mainland see: V Savi (b. 378, 22 dicembre 1772), Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice.

² dicembre 1772), Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice; for Milan, see Atti di governo, Commercio, p. a. (b. 222, 1781-1791), Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan.

³ See Registro ditte, scatola 569, bobina 228; scatola 664, bobina 251; scatola 616, bobina 239; scatola 470, bobina 201; scatola 703, bobina 260 e scatola 100, bobina

⁴ See footnote 3

⁵ The word ‘toys’ in the eighteenth century discourse means also fashionable luxury or semi-luxury items

Entrepreneurs like Cella, Canesi, Nessi, Lertora, Robbiati, Taccini and, the most well-known, Ambrogio Binda, while engaged in the production of different types of items for the fastening of clothing and accessories in huge numbers, were also contributing to the production of a high quality product directed also towards the international market.⁶

A new method of producing buttons

The Milanese entrepreneurs developed according to the new European industry standards influential in Italian button manufacturing; for example, in Ambrogio Binda's factory, a new model of mechanical production based on English practice was adopted and used especially for the making of fabric buttons.⁷ A few entrepreneurs, in the second half of the nineteenth century, also tried to introduce a new type of button production, which, until then, was only practiced abroad, particularly in Germany. This phase coincided with the period when some of the Milan entrepreneurs tried to transfer their factories outside Milan to places with easily available low-cost energy, easily reachable by rail.⁸

The new method imported from Germany was based on the production of a material classifiable as waste. The first substance from which these buttons were to be made was extracted from the corozo nut. This fruit, originating in South America, was mainly used for ballast in the trans-Atlantic ships that docked at Hamburg. The new method was geared towards supplying the market with an industrial product called a 'fruit button' or 'vegetable ivory button' (Lanfranchi 1993, 59). The area where this type of production was first tried out in Italy was that of Palazzolo on Oglio, a small town located near the Oglio River, in the province of Brescia, on the border with the province of Bergamo.⁹ Palazzolo on Oglio and some neighboring villages became key players in an extraordinary development destined to last for the entire twentieth century. Over the span of just a few decades, this area acquired a district-type structure and was transformed into what we call today the 'button valley.' This is still today the area where the majority of Italian production of high quality buttons and the machinery to produce them is concentrated (Bettoni 2013, 202–209). Piacenza was another small town

⁶ See footnote 3 and for Binda's case Registro ditte, scatola 431, bobina 191.

⁷ *Registro ditte*, scatola 431, bobina 191, Archivio Storico della Camera di Commercio di Milano, Milan.

⁸ See for example the Taccini's case in *Registro ditte*, scatola 703, bobina 200, Archivio Storico della Camera di Commercio di Milano, Milan.

⁹ *Dattiloscritto di Paolo Gentile Lanfranchi sulla storia della famiglia (metà XX secolo)*, Archivio Giovanni Lanfranchi s.p.a., Palazzolo sull'Oglio.

where, shortly afterwards, this new method for the production of vegetable ivory buttons began to be practiced (Paraboschi 2000, 9–18).

Initially, the Italian industry of vegetable ivory buttons depended on the German model for the supply of the raw material, the importation of machinery and the mediation of specialist dye-chemists (Bianchini 1980, 16–17; Lanfranchi 1993, 59–67). This relationship of dependency also arose as Germany became the main market outlet for buttons produced in Italy.¹⁰ This trend was, nevertheless, counterbalanced by the attainment of very high quality manufacturing and an extension of the catalogue of the new type of button products in Italy. The innovative method imported from Germany between the end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth century was combined with a repertoire of technical knowledge, mainly in style and design skills, developed at local level over the course of a long tradition of handmade production of similar items. The result was a first-class product available in a variety of shapes and colors, and resistant to washing (Lanfranchi 1993, 63–67; Friso 1914, 3–9).

In November 1900, Giuseppe Lanfranchi, who was by trade a machine operator in the button factory of his family, sent a report to the Milan Chamber of Commerce concerning a visit he had made to the Paris Exhibition.¹¹ In his writing he praised the quality of the products coming from Germany and Bohemia. Their excellence was caused, in large part, by the success of a staining procedure based on advanced chemical processes. The shapes of the German and Bohemian products did not stand out particularly in innovation and invention. He also noted how the success obtained at the Paris Exhibition by the company *Manifattura Bottoni*¹² proved the high level of know-how of Italian button makers, although the opinion of consumers did not yet fully favor the Italian product on the international market. In Italy, the button was made with the same machines used in Germany, but also perhaps by better workmen. The problem that remained was gaining the trust of consumers, which was still in favor of Bohemia and Germany.

In the early part of the twentieth century, button products in Italy with the new German method acquired aspects of originality that made them capable of winning over new markets (Friso 1914, 3–9). The success of vegetable ivory buttons relied on workers having the ability to mold the material in an excellent way and to use a vast array of dyes and colors, which became an

¹⁰ *Archivio storico camerale*, Posizione 9, Commercio Estero, 1924, b. 61, fascicolo 5, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia.

¹¹ *Registro ditte*, scatola 189, n. 9017, 17 novembre 1900, Lanfranchi Giuseppe, Archivio Storico della Camera di Commercio di Milano, Milan

¹² This company came from Palazzolo sull’Oglio.

essential ingredient for the outcome of the final product (Lanfranchi 1993, 63–67).

Buttons—Made in Italy

This combination of well carved and molded materials and chemical dyes became, from the 1920s, the fundamental ingredient of a new catalogue of dyed, stained and varnished accessories produced with materials other than the corozo nut (Lanfranchi 1993, 59–67). These were natural substances or materials derived from chemical processes. In button valley, the production of corozo buttons was augmented, in the period between the two wars, by the production of trocas shell buttons.¹³ Trocas is a shell used to imitate the precious mother-of-pearl creations already made in button valley. The production of galalith buttons also began, with the raw material in this case being a plastic composite obtained from formaldehyde-treated casein. In Italy this material was widely used in the manufacture of buttons to imitate vegetable ivory. The recourse to these new materials was justified by the complicated procurement of corozo nuts in the period following the first global conflict. Galalith buttons were produced through mould making. Unlike those in vegetable ivory, the size of which depended on the diameter of the corozo nuts (Paraboschi 2000, 17–18), they could be cut out into various sizes and with wide diameters. The material was less resistant and more expensive than corozo (Enciclopedia italiana, 7: 593–94). It was, nevertheless, immediately preferred for its ability to offer, by allowing a rapid adjustment to the decrees of fashion, a rich collection of samples of fantasy buttons designed for women, and horn and claw imitations designed for men (Lanfranchi 1993, 63–67).

At the end of the 1930s, the production of buttons along Brescia's button valley was joined by the production of zip fasteners. This competitor to the button was imported from Milan to Palazzolo on Oglio by one of the main button production companies working with corozo and galalith in the area.¹⁴ This company, which abandoned the production of buttons in the late 1950s, remains a global leader in the production of high quality zip fasteners today. During the period between the two wars, the first producers, still in the Brescian area, returned with advanced machinery suitable for the production

¹³ *Registro ditte*, fascicoli n. 838, 20219, 25046, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia; and *Imberg.db*, fascicoli n. 864, 850, Fondazione Legler, Brembate di sopra, Bergamo. *Imberg.db* is a data-base collecting data emerging from Bergamo's Chamber of Commerce Registro ditte

¹⁴ *Dattiloscritto di Paolo Gentile Lanfranchi sulla storia della famiglia (metà XX secolo)*, Archivio Giovanni Lanfranchi s.p.a., Palazzolo sull'Oglio.

of buttons—from the cutting out of the raw materials, to the production of spherical caps and the assembly of the various button components.¹⁵

After the Second World War, the activity of the factories, perceived by now as being traditional to button valley, resumed. The manufacture of corozo buttons, which was already designed for a niche market and for high-end consumers, was again joined by the production of galalith and, especially, trocas shell and mother-of-pearl buttons.¹⁶ The production of synthetic resin buttons was also tried out, mainly in the province of Bergamo.¹⁷ A few companies directed their activity towards the provision of dyes adapted to this new type of product in an attempt to introduce specialization in the production stages of synthetic resin buttons.¹⁸

In the second half of the twentieth century, the manufacture of buttons in Italy was directed towards increasing the production of high quality items rather than that of medium quality buttons, which were subject to greater competition with producers in other countries. Buttons made with natural substances, vegetable and animal, were demanded by sought-after consumers and high-class tailors. The production of synthetic resin or metal press-studs and snap fasteners, where the functional element is predominant, was boosted by the birth of mass-produced clothing. The progressive establishment of zip fasteners and velcro on various clothes has also encouraged the revival, mainly since the 1970s, of eccentric buttons as decorative elements. This involves both buttons that surprise with their shape and size, and buttons made with a variety of special materials. They can come in the shape of multi-material buttons, whose first creation, produced with recovered materials (cork, corn cobs), dates back to the period between the two wars (de Buzzaccarini and Zotti Minici 1995, 55–65, 71–72), or of jewel buttons, produced by craftsmen on commission and sold in workshops that still exist in Milan—‘button jewelers’ (Bettoni 2013, 202, 229).

¹⁵ See also *Registro ditte*, fascicoli n. 19219, 16666, 24904, 25022, 19780, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia.

¹⁶ *Registro ditte*, fascicolo n. 81421, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia.

¹⁷ See *Imberg.db*, n. 67351, 67513, 64954, 47312, Fondazione Legler, Brembate di Sopra, Bergamo.

¹⁸ See *Registro ditte*, fascicolo n. 82925, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia.

Final reflections on the evolution of the Italian manufacture of buttons over the last twenty years

Over the course of the last twenty years, the number of companies involved in the production of fastening accessories in button valley has decreased. Production was affected by competition from the Far East, which hit Italian products of medium and medium to high quality, and the shattering of the synergy between manufacturers of buttons and manufacturers of the machines to make them, which in the long-term had supported the district structure of button valley. This conflict today is mainly due to the fact that the manufacturers of machines to make buttons export huge numbers of them to Eastern countries, which are considered the principal competitors to local production (Paraboschi, 46–51). The majority of the national production of buttons and the machines to make them continues, nevertheless, to be concentrated in the middle valley of the Oglio River.¹⁹ The button entrepreneurs, fearing competition with one another, have individually developed survival strategies to withstand periods of crisis. The button makers have directed production towards very sophisticated and high quality creations to be sold in small quantities. The products that are still able to win over the market are made of materials used in an original way like chiseled wood, quartz and silicon (Bettoni 2013, 239–41). This can also involve materials that form part of the older history of the district (corozo nuts) and of production where the long-standing handmade traditions of Italy are clear.²⁰

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²⁰ See for example Berbrand's case—a company devoted to the production of high quality buttons, jewels, and floor tiles using mother of pearl: *Registro imprese*, fascicolo 437306, Archivio della Camera di Commercio di Brescia, Brescia

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THE CURIOUS CASE OF THE GOLDEN COIF: IS IT PROPER FOR THE POLISH KING?¹

ANNA WYSZYŃSKA

The Berlin Staatliche Museum currently stores the painting *Adoration of the Magi*, the authorship of which is ascribed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach. A large-scale scene, it is traditionally connected to the lost triptych from the Church of the Pauline Fathers at Skalka in Cracow where it supposedly served as the middle panel. Although the painting depicts a very popular motif in the religious art of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, the artist, no doubt making use of popular graphic patterns, decided to depict a large number of characters. They do not so much take part in the event as surround it, creating a unique and diverse background to the biblical adoration.

The issues raised by Kulmbach's work have been discussed repeatedly by Polish and foreign scholars and the presumed connection to the reconstructed triptych has also introduced the question of artistic sponsorship during the rule of the penultimate king of the Jagiellonian dynasty—Sigismund I the Old (1507–48). Various questions have been raised relating to everything from its imagery to the personages of the patrons. There was even an attempt to identify particular individuals depicted in the scene—according to one researcher, the man standing sideways (first from the left) and conferring with St Joseph and another man in Orientalized garments could be a crypto-portrait of the king himself. Although that hypothesis is rendered invalid due

¹ This article is a contribution to the study of the iconography and function of garments in depictions of Sigismund I the Old, which is the subject of my PhD dissertation. It is also an elaboration of the text on garments in the portraits of Sigismund I the Old, which appeared in the volume devoted to art at the Jagiellon court where the complete bibliography for the subject is included (*Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów*, edited by Marek Walczak and Piotr Węcowski, Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2016 [forthcoming]). I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to the Lanckoroński Foundation for enabling my scholarship stay in London, without which the completion of this text would not have been possible.

to insufficient evidence, a question remains: why was the man in the coif assumed to be Sigismund I the Old?

Traditionally, it would be more likely for the king to be depicted as one of the magi and not a character who, while interacting with St Joseph, takes no part in the main proceedings. Curiously, that line of interpretation was influenced by the garments that were—and still are—connected to the person of Sigismund I the Old: a broad, fur-lined coat and a golden male coif (Muczkowski 1932, 12; Drecka 1957, 30).

This case of mistaken identification of one of the characters as the Polish king in Berlin's Staatliche Museum's *Adoration of Magi* clearly shows that the garments are a crucial element in the reception of a character and that dress plays an important informative role in a character's image: *clothes make the man*; or rather, in this particular case, *clothes make the king*.

At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, there emerges a noticeable trend in portraits of European rulers—elements previously connected to the private sphere of life (also in the arts), gradually infuse official depictions. Rather than presenting the monarch in ceremonial garb and with all regalia, it became more popular to feature them wearing fashionable clothes sewn from expensive fabrics. The change is also visible in the cycle of court life where ceremonial proceeding witnessed an influx of new types of clothing. The increasing interest in garments amongst the nobles, and the bourgeoisie advancing quickly through society's ranks, is best visible in *trachtenbuchs*, which became wildly popular in the sixteenth century (Taylor 2004, 6). What decided the worth of a garment was no longer just the quality of materials or the skill of the seamstress—the cut and style gained significant importance too.

At the same time the previously sharp divide between the garments of particular social classes became blurred and although the highest strata attempted to stall the imitative attempts of rich townspeople and others through new cuts and styles (the court remained the herald of newest fashion trends) and new sumptuary laws, it was all in vain. The presence of this phenomenon in all the courts of contemporary Europe may be shown by the changing of rules, like the ones on the use of garment textiles at the court of King Henry VIII (Hayward 2009).

Numerous cultural and social transformations also influenced the changing role of clothes in terms of a person's image. The king was no longer recognizable only in his coronation garb or adorned with the regalia exclusive to his elevated position. While the first examples appear as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century (an unusual portrait of Sigismund of Luxemburg in a furry hat, which has traditionally been attributed to Pisanello, or the portrait of John VIII Palaiologos, whose headdress inspired many

artists) (Wyszyńska 2014, 335–36), and it is undeniable that these were already important steps in transforming the image of the monarch. The most revolutionary was the portrait of emperor Maximilian I.

Friedrich Polleroß has remarked that it is the clothes that influence the character of portraits featuring Maximilian I; he is depicted either as a ruler (in coronation garb or with the regalia), or as a private man or politician (usually in a richly ornamented, fur-lined coat and with relevant attributes or artefacts, e.g. a roll of parchment) (Polleroß 2012, 104). Do the garments of the last of the Jagiellons fit into this frame? This has been confirmed by Karolina Targosz who remarks on a certain relaxation in the norms regarding the royal dress code for weddings (Sigismund II Augustus, the successor of Sigismund I the Old alternates between Spanish fashion and the garb of a hussar) (Targosz 2007). On the other hand, it can be clearly seen in the case of depictions of Sigismund I the Old, where garments become a royal attribute, determining his image in contemporary culture and distinguishing him from other European rulers.

Similarly to the divide in the portraits of Maximilian I, we can split official images of Sigismund I the Old into two groups—*traditional*, royal garb with regalia, and *private*, in rich but secular garments. As pointed out by Barbara Miodońska (Miodońska 1970, 7), images belonging to the first group are inspired by Maximilian's depictions and are present on the six-groschen coin of Sigismund the Old, as well as in various graphics—the family tree of Jagiellons and the woodcut illustration in *De Sigismundi regis temporibus* by Decjusz (1516 edition). A later and separate example of that type of depiction is the monarch's image from a full-page miniature that opens the *Catalogus archiepiscoporum gnesnensium. Vitae episcoporum cracoviensium* (Warsaw, National Library, rps BOZ 5), created in the workshop of a Cracovian illuminator, Stanisław Samostrzelnik. Straddling the line between official and private depictions is the woodcut portraying the king, which was published in the first edition of the Seym Charters of 1524. The ruler was still depicted facing to the side and in a pose influenced by the imperial depictions of Maximilian I; although he holds the scepter in his left and the orb in his right hand, he no longer wears ruler-exclusive garments, but a garb that renders the whole depiction a little less formal.

In spite of all of the above, it is still difficult to point to the earliest depiction of Sigismund I the Old featuring the clothes that created his best remembered image in our culture. Our attention is directed towards graphic depictions or medals attributed to Hans Schwarz and dated from the 1620s (in the newest monograph on Schwarz, Richard Kastenholz questions this medalist's activity in Poland) (Kastenholz 2006, 35, 365; Stahr 2008, 22). In contrast, researchers list a small (24x18 cm) profile portrait of Sigismund I

(National Museum in Poznań), attributed, most likely mistakenly, to Hans Suess von Kulmbach and dated rather loosely to the 1510s (it is also known from later copies, e.g. by Christophoro dell Altissimo). The type of garments worn by the monarch is repeated in other works and later copies and consists of a male coif, often (though not always) decorated with gold netting and an embroidered emblem above the forehead. Apart from that, Sigismund I wears a rich *szuba* coat of patterned cloth with a broad fur-trimmed collar covering the shoulders. From under the *szuba* peeks a white shirt of thin wrinkled material with a decorated standing collar and a thin ruffle circled with a sort of (usually) golden decorative tape. It is difficult to figure out what kind of garment is worn on top of the shirt, although the majority of researchers assume that it is a *sayan*. Another rendition of this likeness of Sigismund I is a miniature from the so-called Prayer Book of Sigismund I the Old (London, British Library, Add MS 15281), the authorship of which is attributed to the Cracovian illuminator, Stanisław Samostrzelnik. The codex is roughly dated to 1524, and depicts the ruler in an unusual iconographic take—private, but very bold—receiving communion from the martyred Christ.

The most interesting element, however, is the coif worn by Sigismund I in all these depictions. As noted by Janina Ruszczycówna, it is not an element solely characteristic of Polish court fashion and frequently appears in other portraits. This question deserves further investigation, as the general claim of the researcher that coifs and *szubas* were “a fashionable piece of clothing of the contemporary European elites, popular especially in German countries” (Ruszczycówna 1976, 26) is not informative enough from the perspective of the history of clothing.

Male coifs appear in many monographs on the history of clothing, but unlike their female counterpart they have yet to be broadly discussed by scholars. In iconographic sources, male coifs began to appear roughly from the final quarter of the fifteenth century onwards (apparently most commonly in the south-east German lands), and their increasing popularity, later expanding to the art of Lesser Poland and Bohemian, can be more or less pinned to the 1540s. As their popularity dwindled, they were much more often presented as a headdress of an older man, possibly as a sign of certain habits. In its basic form the coif is not assigned to a single social class. It seems, however, that it is an element of clothing that can be said to have been ennobled (it apparently developed among the bourgeoisie and then gradually moved upwards to feature in portraits of noblemen and royals). It is nevertheless difficult to explicitly state its origin or point to the exact elements that were the basis for the development of this particular type of headdress.

Difficulties are encountered even at the level of the name itself. The term most often (though not always) used in German is *Haube*, *Haarhaube*, or, in some cases, *Goldenhaube*. This is the name featured in written sources, including German anti-exuberance laws from the end of the fifteenth century. Jutta Zander-Seidel, among others, makes note of a source mentioning that in 1491 Wolf Behaim paid a “2 pfund 10 pfennig fine fur ein seyden gestrickte haubn” (Zander-Seidel 1990, 229). Scholars point out that *Hauben* feature in inventories, checks, and legal documents throughout the sixteenth century. However, one cannot assume that this term relates to only one type of headdress—the Nuremberg Kleidenordnung of 1583 mentions a previously unknown piece of clothing, described rather elusively as a “polnische Haube oder Mütze” (Lehner 1984, 119). In comparison, in Polish it is unanimously listed as *czepiec*. The greatest disparity can be found in English, which uses such broad, general terms as ‘headpiece,’ ‘hat,’ or ‘cap.’ In relation to the female variation of the coif, the term ‘bonnet’ is also in use—accurate in that it hints at certain formal similarities between the male and female headpieces, especially in the early stages of their development. Jutta Zander-Seidel claims that the “bonnet loses [its] traditionally female gendering in the first two decades of the sixteenth century” (Zander-Seidel 2010, 42), which is without doubt true. Yet, in my opinion, although the form of these headdresses was similar for women and men, their coordination with other elements of clothing and, more importantly, their meaning and connections were radically different. For the purpose of this article, I lean more towards using the term coif, which seems more appropriate for the male headdress in question. Maria Hayward defines a coif as ‘close-fitting linen cap, often covering the ears’ (Hayward 2007), referring thus to the ‘under-hat’ popular in the Middle Ages and often worn under proper caps and hats. Coifs, initially white and made of linen, at the end of fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century were oftentimes sewn from other, much more expensive materials. The headdress I describe as part of the dress of Sigismund I the Old does not cover the wearer’s ears, but it is nevertheless close-fitting, covers all of the hair and was worn under hats, barrettes, or Milan bonnets (also by women), which is particularly apparent in numerous iconographic sources from western Europe and later German art.

First and foremost, we should note that in the period discussed we encounter two basic types of male coif. The first one consists of a close-fitting band and rounded head, often decorated above the forehead with an embroidered emblem or a brooch. It is typically sewn from a textile with metallic thread and adorned with embroidery, pearls or golden netting. In depictions it is this type that serves as the under-hat for hats or barrettes (as was the case in portraits of Henry VIII or Charles III, Duke of Bourbon),

although art from Lesser Poland features this variation only rarely. The second type of male coif assumes a largely similar shape, but it does so through a certain method of layering or tying of the cloth (reminiscent of a female torse rather than a turban), that is later pinned over the forehead and the back of the neck. Such a solution appears, for example, in the scene of the Last Mass of St John, attributed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach, and various miniatures of the so-called Balthazar Behem Codex (Cracow, Jagiellonian Library, rkps 16). This type seemed more popular among the bourgeoisie, while the former rose through the ranks and eventually achieved the status of royal garment.

Any attempt to trace the origins of the coif in Sigismund I the Old's court should perhaps start from an attempt to pinpoint the earliest depictions of such headdresses in portrait art. Notable, though sadly isolated, examples include the surviving depictions of Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria (died 1501). In a portrait by Jan Polack, roughly dated to 1480, he is depicted wearing a large, rounded bonnet, similar in form to a female headdress. The constant presence of the bonnet in the margrave's wardrobe is further confirmed by other, later works, such as *St. Anselmus Frag' und unser lieben Frauen Klag*, f. 1v, (Munich, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek Cgm 134), where the bonnet assumes a slightly different form, more popular in male fashion. Although the decision to present oneself in elements of private clothing was no longer new by the end of the fifteenth century, the choice of the bonnet as an official headdress is unusual, to say the least.

It appears that both types of coif made their way to Lesser Poland by different routes and at different points in time. The first to be noted in iconographic sources is the tied-coif, appearing, for example, on the tomb of Casimir IV Jagiellon, in the Łaski's Statute, the Erazm Ciołek Pontifical

(Cracow, Princes Czartoryski Library, Ms. Czart. 1212. IV) and in the Balthazar Behem Codex. It was mostly worn by rich townspeople, but perhaps also members of the court—this coif is notably paired up with expensive, fur-lined *szuba* coats, which denote the higher social status of the wearers. The best example are the depictions from the Łaski's Statute and the miniature of the coronation of the monarch from the Erazm Ciołek Pontifical.

The matter is significantly complicated in the case of the golden coifs (in the form worn by Sigismund I the Old). It is hard to agree with the hypothesis that the headdress arrived in Poland via foreign trade routes (often mentioned are the connections between the Bonner family and Nuremberg), and permeated the court so deeply that as early as the 1510s it was already an almost inseparable element of the official image of Sigismund I. Firstly, the headdress in question would have had to change its form within Polish borders—from the tied-coif to the beret-coif. Such a claim seems absurd not

only in the light of the aforementioned depictions of Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria, but also due to numerous portraits and studies by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, Albrecht Durer and Hans Baldung Grien, among others.

The art of Lesser Poland, from the beginning of the sixteenth century seems to confirm the hypothesis of the sudden appearance of golden coifs in Cracow (as opposed to a long tradition with gradual changes in form). Their story begins with the images of Sigismund I the Old and only later does it appear in depictions with elements of portraiture—e.g. Andrzej Wielogłowski in a tablet painting with St Nicolaus, St Andrew, and St Catherine from Tylmowa; numerous medallions; and finally, the images of the Szydłowiecki family or Olbracht Gasztold as founders in a number of paintings. The trend of the male coif in Lesser Poland's art is relatively short-lived, lasting only until the end of the 1530s—later on, the coif appears infrequently, worn most often by nameless background characters. The coif disappears from portraits nearly simultaneously with the change in the image of Sigismund I the Old, who in his final years was pictured in a furry hat with ear covers (interestingly, this image did not become iconic for the Jagiellon monarch).

The hypothesis originating in written sources on a tradition of coif-wearing amongst the sons of Casimir IV Jagiellon, is impossible to verify. The description quoted by Muczkowski (and repeated in numerous subsequent works), of the king walking while wearing a coif in his youth (Muczkowski 1932, 122) seems erroneous—and even if it is not, the garment mentioned is most likely a different type of headdress. An interesting piece in this context is a medallion of Ladislaus Jagiellon, the brother of Sigismund I the Old, which was displayed in Vienna in an exhibition devoted to Ferdinand I, catalogue no. II.16 (Seipe 2003, 334). Although the image, attributed to an unknown German medalist, is devoid of individual characteristics, the largely schematic garments of the monarch are generally reminiscent of depictions of Stanislaus I. This brings up the question of a possible connection. If we assume that the authors of the catalogue are right in dating Ladislaus' medallion to 1515, the year of the arranged double marriage between the Jagiellons and the Habsburgs, and cast aside the 1511 dating of the Sigismund I portrait attributed to Hans Suess von Kulmbach, as proposed by Morka, who connects that artwork with the ruler's matrimonial plans (Morka 2006: 452–453), then the depiction of the King of Bohemia and Hungary should be considered their predecessor. Whether we accept or reject such a theory, the similarity of garments worn by both monarchs poses the following question: was this type of dress so popular in the contemporary Jagiellonian courts that it was used in depictions of both Ladislaus and Sigismund I; or is it a type they both took from the court of Casimir IV Jagiellon? It should be noted, however, that the second theory forces us to

drastically move back the date of the garment's presence at court by several decades and settle its place of origin within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland—an idea which, as stated before, finds no confirmation in iconographic or written sources.

After discarding the theories of an established tradition of coif-wearing in the Jagiellon court and the king adapting the headdress from the bourgeoisie, another issue is the idea of a takeover of the coif from the margraves. While considering such a possibility, one must once again turn towards German lands and focus primarily on court fashion at Sachsen and Brandenburg (possibly extending the research area to Bavaria as well). If we disregard the unprecedented and isolated case of Sigismund of Bavaria, it should be noted that around 1500, in the areas listed above, golden coifs appear very frequently in depictions of the richest townspeople. One such early example may be the double portrait of Jakob Függer and his wife, Sybilla Artzt, painted in 1498 by Thomas Burgkmair or Hans Burgkmair the Elder. The clothing in this artwork, as frequently emphasized in literature, would become Fugger's trademark throughout his life and an important element in all his later depictions by Hans Burghmair the Elder and Albrecht Durer. It is worth noting that in the case of this rich banker, the forms of the coif also evolve and change overtime. But Fugger's headdress was not a rarity. Richly decorated coifs and coats accompanied Hieronymus Rudelauf and Christoph Scheurl, while the headpiece often appears in Cranach's *Ill-matched Couples* of the 1520s and 1530s, where it most likely serves to highlight the wealth of the depicted elders.

Speaking of a certain ennoblement of the male coif, understood as the gradual promotion of this type of garment into the higher strata, one is bound to list the images of Frederick III the Wise, Henry III of Nassau-Breda, and two peculiar portraits of Siegmund von Fraunberg, Graf zu Haag and his son Leonhardt, created around the time of their death in 1511. Although they depict two different forms of the coif, they once again direct us towards Bavaria.

At the same time it is necessary to closely examine the depictions of Casimir Hohenzollern, Margrave of Brandenburg, son of Frederick I of Ansbach and Bayreuth and Sophia Jagiellon. In works by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, Lucas Cranach the Elder and Albrecht Durer, he is consequently depicted wearing a golden male coif. While analyzing perhaps the most interesting of the three (by Hans Suess von Kulmbach, dated to 1511), Agnieszka Gašior noted the unique iconography expressed through the garment as presenting hard evidence of the self-creation of one's image through the deliberate choice of particular elements of clothing (Gašior 2012, 190–95).

The dawn of the sixteenth century saw the Hohenzollerns become the closest diplomatic associates of the Jagiellon court, but also drivers of cultural exchange (for example, Mikołaj and Krzysztof Szydlowiecki employed artists recommended by Albrecht Hohenzollern). Is it therefore possible that the male coif appeared in depictions of Sigismund I the Old because of the relationship to the house of Hohenzollern? Sigismund I was not only related to the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg (in 1479 his sister married Frederick I, father of Casimir and Albrecht), but his advisors were also on very friendly terms with that family. Casimir Hohenzollern himself was present during the marriage of Sigismund and Bona Sforza in Cracow in 1518, as the representative of Emperor Maximilian I, and was honored with a place directly beside the King of Poland during the feast that followed. Perhaps it was then that his headdress sparked Sigismund's interest?

At the same time, if we take for granted the dating of the Hans von Kulmbach portrait as 1511, and thus the earlier use of the coif in images of Sigismund I the Old, one can refer to images of the father of Casimir, Frederick I, husband to the Polish king's sister. This case makes significant the depiction from the Altar of the Magi in Heilsbronn (Gašior 2012), dated to the very beginning of the sixteenth century, where the founder and his family are depicted in the side panels. The margrave is featured in early Maximilian style armor and a golden coif not unlike the headdress popularized in images of Sigismund I the Old (the rounding and rise above the forehead; the embroidered emblem). It is also worth paying attention to the images of Frederick's sons, especially the older Casimir, who also dons a coif. Did he take on this fashion from his father?

Finally, we ought to consider the symbolic meaning of the coif in images of Sigismund I the Old—if there indeed is any. Did wearing, or rather being presented in such a headdress signify certain political views or an allegiance to a certain faction? The miniature opening the *Catalogus archiepiscoporum gnesnensium. Vitae episcoporum cracoviensium*, which according to Barbara Miodońska does not simply present the court and clergy, but rather pro-Habsburg political allies (Miodońska 1983, 96), depicts the king's advisors in golden coifs—perhaps with a certain intention in mind?

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

MAISONS DE MODE AND INFLUENCES

THE AESTHETICS OF KITSCH: FROM VERSACE TO PRADA

VALERIA NOFRI

‘Too much good taste can be boring,’ Diana Vreeland, the celebrated fashion editor of *Harper’s Bazaar* and *Vogue America*, used to say. Good taste is something linear and fundamentally appropriate from a formal point of view, but if it does not catch the attention of the eye, it tells us nothing new. Above all, it is useful to be reminded that: “good taste is not something innate, but something socially determined,” as Pierre Bourdieu stated in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Good taste is something a person is habituated to in the society in which they live and, as a consequence, they tend to consider it as something right from a social point of view. Nevertheless, good taste, as well as bad taste, are two concepts strictly dependent upon time; they are fleeting concepts as “beauty (as well as ugliness) is not an intrinsic quality of things: it exists only in the mind of the beholder” (Dorfles 1976, 21), and people’s minds are always socially and culturally determined by society and history.

At the other end of the spectrum there is the eccentric and uncommon, which captures the eye and rouses one’s curiosity. Bad taste lures and repels at the same time, something Kant would have explained through the sentiment of the sublime. Bad taste, or kitsch, has that sense of both attraction and repulsion, similar to being punched in the stomach—a burst of elements that convey curiosity and disgust.

It is common to use the word kitsch as a synonym for bad taste, eccentricity, and excess in a negative sense. This German term means waste or, in dialect, concoction, but in its aesthetic sense it has always referred more to the world of art than that of fashion. Reading the following definition of kitsch: “simple imitation, an artistic and banal *pret-a-porter* for mass consumption” (Calò Scudero, 2009, 70–73), it seems appropriate to underline that it can refer to the field of fashion too. In order to continue this analysis we follow the assumption that fashion can be considered a form of art, without slipping into a worn-out debate on its artistic merits.

To return to kitsch, it has only been since 1860 that the word has been used in its aesthetic meaning, defining a phenomenon double bound to early industrialization and the rise of the European bourgeoisie. The deepening of its meaning is thanks to the intellectuals Clement Greenberg and Theodor Adorno; Greenberg juxtaposed the expression with the phenomenon of the avant-garde in his 1939 essay *Avant-garde and Kitsch* while Adorno, in the context of *The Culture Industry*, placed it alongside a discourse on mass production. At the turn of the century the expression, kitsch, indicated the corruption of a work of art, which almost always presented vulgar traits corresponding to the aesthetics of an uncultivated audience.

During the 1970s in Italy, the term was used as a synonym for bad taste and it included all those forms of non-art, sub-art, and pseudo-art, which constituted the aesthetic diet, or rather the anti-aesthetics, of the triumphant bourgeoisie (Dorfles 1976, 7–8). Fashion, as we know it today, and kitsch are outcomes of the same artistic revolution and it is appropriate that the word kitsch can now refer to fashion as well as to art.

At the bottom of this meaning of kitsch is a critique of mass production, carried on since the Industrial Revolution, to satisfy the cultural needs of a wider, less cultivated audience. Kitsch has distinguished itself for its pretensions to authenticity, which, at least in theory, should not suit it—what allowed the phenomenon of kitsch to rise is what Benjamin called ‘technological reproducibility.’ Industrial progress during the twentieth century, has led many intellectuals to question the relationship between the original and the copy, or copies, and the absence of an original. The concept of technological reproducibility subverts the status of art, putting into doubt its particularity and authenticity. This process led Benjamin to speak of the loss of the aura of the work of art. He never used the term kitsch, but his attention was focused on kitsch objects—imitations, often vulgar, of other objects that maintained an intrinsic value thanks to their being unique.

Many intellectuals felt that these transformations in culture were negative, but it is worth remembering that the processes that led to kitsch opened the doors of culture to the great mass of the public. It is impossible to deny that in many cases kitsch has assisted in a debasement of art, but, at the same time, it is indisputable that the production of kitsch has allowed the rise and development of mass culture. Gillo Dorfles in his *Kitsch: antologia del cattivo gusto*, has observe that cultural industrialization, when extended to the world of artistic images, has led to an obfuscation of the traditional distinctions between different socio-cultural strata; mass culture has acquired peculiarities distinct from elite culture and has made kitsch art both triumphant and ubiquitous.

The term kitsch has changed its meaning over time. From the twentieth century avant-garde and modernism, to Pop Art and Arte Povera, the work of art has distanced itself from past ideals of beauty and given objects value without taking into account their aesthetic qualities—what was considered kitsch before is now considered art. This is a phenomenon we also encounter in the history of fashion, where elite fashion creators dictate the laws of style and good taste through the most extreme eccentricities.

It is now uncommon to describe a work of art as kitsch to articulate an aesthetic and ethical judgment—it has become far more common to describe a fashion item in this way. A garment, an accessory, even furniture or an attitude can be kitsch, but we rarely hear of kitsch as an aesthetic category relating to art, except perhaps in the academic field. Fashion, in everyday discourse, has appropriated the concept of kitsch, stealing it from art and the word is now closer to a synonym for ‘trash,’ rather than its original historical meaning.

If it is easier to grasp the meaning of kitsch, as an adjective with negative connotations, to describe a person, a garment or the style of a designer, trying to apply its historical and aesthetic meaning to contemporary fashion is a lot more complicated. Is it possible to find in contemporary fashion any element allowing the use of kitsch as an aesthetic category and not just as a pejorative adjective? If Greenberg and Benjamin could have known the fashion system as it is today, what would they have seen? The historical context is different: we have developed from a mass society to a globalized society and the fashion world is now characterized by accelerated production rhythms.

The circulation of images and information on the web is immediate, with global reach, and big fashion shows are streamed online. Those variables provide the backdrop for an unlimited number of designers, creative directors, and an undefined numbers of brands: everything can be found in fashion because almost everything is allowed.

Given the fact that the historical context has changed deeply, particularly when compared to that time when the notion of kitsch was first applied to art, is it possible to trace a similitude in today’s relationship between brands and the mass market? According to Diana Vreeland ‘imitation is always a compliment.’ Creative and marketing directors would surely agree. This happened with the imitation of works of art and with the nineteenth- and twentieth-century romantic literature, which can all be described as kitsch and made available to the masses; it is possible that brands like Zara and H&M have enacted a similar process to let audiences with less spending power dress fashionably.

Kitsch, as a synonym of bad taste and trash, violently entered the vocabulary used to describe fashion at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s.

With an aesthetic vision of a strong and sexy woman who was not afraid to wear loud colors and showy decoration, the work of Gianni Versace has often been defined as kitsch.

The so-called kitsch of Versace is linked to his experimentation, in cut and fabrics, and to his inspirations, to the point that Richard Martin, curator of the Metropolitan Costume Institute, wrote:

“nobody has taken prostitution into fashion as he has. But, at a closer look, it is more apt to link the kitsch aspect to the commodification of his works of art and his reinterpreting fashion styles of the past with flamboyant fantasies and excessive decoration, creating a chaotic harmony. Nobody like Versace reinterprets the harmony of Greek peplums through animal prints, gold buckles representing his Medusa logo and feminine cuts; he reinterprets the harmony of Greek dress, good taste *par excellence*, through fabrics and cuts belonging to the chaos of the modern world, and to a low culture considered synonymous with bad taste.”

The many artistic quotations in Versace's work hint at the high consideration Versace had for his products. He never tried to isolate his creations and did not fear to treat them as products that had to be supported by a marketing strategy and a business mentality; nevertheless, he always did it according to his fashion. A clear example of this can be found in his refined advertising campaigns shot by photographers such as Richard Avedon, Irving Penn and Herb Ritts.

In the following decade, we can witness the spread of an oppositional style movement: nineties minimalism. Queen of the decade was Miuccia Prada. Gian Luigi Paracchini, in his latest work on Prada, describes her as follows: “she is always like a backbeat drummer. With her anarchist rhythm she manages to unsettle certainties, rules, harmonies; Miss Prada is the voice out of the choir that everybody, relentlessly, cannot help but follow, adore, imitate.”

In opposition to Versace, with Prada we are involved in an auto-definition of bad taste. In the exhibition *Schiaparelli & Prada: Impossible Conversations*, curated by Andrew Bolton and Harold Koda, of the New York Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Baz Luhrmann, Miuccia Prada states: “all my life is working against the cliché of beauty and the necessity, the obligation of being sexy, of being beautiful.” The Milanese designer declares she has nothing against beauty, but she can best appreciate it only when it is a conscious choice; she goes on to say that

she is famous for having introduced the concept of ugliness into fashion, but she thinks this concept is very narrow because her aim has always been to present normal everyday life on the runway, even if, sometimes, this can mean inserting elements of bad taste. Bad taste is a part of life as much as good taste. According to Hermann Broch, an Austrian writer who has devoted himself to the concept of kitsch and bad taste, there is no work of art, not even recognized masterpieces, without a drop of bad taste.

Miuccia Prada has an innate aesthetic sense and the amazement one so often feels at her shows derives from the mix of opposites; to a journalist asking if fashion is frivolous or not she answered that compared to philosophy of course it is, but frivolity is not necessarily a bad thing. What she likes most is the mix of the serious and the frivolous, and innovation and amazement are the results of this mix between good and bad taste, keeping always in mind that the definition of these concepts is linked to a common social understanding of them.

During the twentieth century, in terms of art, kitsch was considered evil, at least according to authors like Hermann Broch. In today's reality and in our fashion system, can we still think of kitsch and bad taste as evil? I will answer the question by borrowing Gillo Dorfles' words about the relationship between art and kitsch: "contemporary art has to deal with kitsch and accept an oscillation down towards the lows of taste, but from the insertion of low elements new creative forms can stem, that will bring them back to the genuine realm of creativity.

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EASTERN (WESTERN) INFLUENCES ON WESTERN (EASTERN) FASHION

MARIA CRISTINA GIORCELLI

A Few Preliminary Remarks

In a globalized world, clothes travel. As Jennifer Craik has remarked:

“western fashion systems relentlessly re-invent otherness, by references to the past ... to non- and pre-industrial cultures The western fashion system poaches from other systems and cannibalizes diverse influences in reconstituting new techniques of dress and decoration” (Craik 1993, 36).

Today, with tourism flourishing and the constant search for a relaxing and intriguing otherness, ethnic garments (from India, China, Japan or Mexico; from Islamic areas and sub-Saharan African countries), whether authentic, second-hand or imitation, are worn—or added as accessories to all sorts of styles of clothes—for the most varied reasons: for nationalistic pride, for signaling a certain exoticism, for spicing up dull apparel, or for the wearer’s desire to look cosmopolitan. In effect, “exotic looks are all the more effective as techniques of display” (Craik 1993, 17). The way we look has indeed become a semiological statement, not simply an aesthetic one; it is a complex and personal act increasingly undertaken by the individual to affirm his/her identity.

Until the middle of the twentieth century, immigrants from non-Western countries to the West almost always abandoned their ethnically specific outfits; today, on the contrary, the expression of national identity through clothes is a matter of distinction and political assertion. Colonization is partly responsible for this behavior—while it existed in its overt form, clothes were often a weapon in the struggle between the colonizers and the colonized: the former used Western clothes to impose their authority and the latter used indigenous clothes to resist this imposition.

On the other hand, the adoption of ethnic costumes by non-members of a particular ethnicity may also have various meanings. For Alison Lurie, the

ethnic apparel of Eastern countries carries social implications for the Western wearer. It can signify a predilection for “social welfare and/or express counterculture interests” (Lurie 1981, 94), together with a propensity for vegetarianism, yoga, organic food, homeopathic medicine, ecology, astrology, and Eastern religions. Moreover, as Giovanna Franci has maintained, this search for the ethnic other may indicate a desire for authenticity and the celebration of whimsy over conformism (Franci 2005, 105–22). Ted Polhemus claims that “this search for the other entails conceiving him/her as a theme-park where [a] particular matrix of desire, belief and dreams ... can be perfectly realized” (Polhemus 2006, 269). By playing with one’s identity, one makes use of the other—celebrating it one season and capriciously discarding it as *passé* the next—in order to try and forget the irksome realities of one’s everyday life (Polhemus 2006, 270). In this melting pot of *kitsch* and *bricolage*—of multiculturalism and multi-ethnicities and the de-contextualization and re-contextualization of the other—there is the real risk, however, of being a part of a globalized production system that impresses with its casual style while exploiting the lives of thousands of human beings in the developing countries of the East—Bangladesh being a prime example.

How the East Has Looked to the West

From the point of view of the Western world, we should not disregard that which has come from the South, especially from the Maghreb and certain African countries (we need only think of the political questions and meanings entailed in the installations by the Anglo-Nigerian artist Yinka Shonibare, in which African textiles—the so-called Dutch-wax ones (which themselves draw inspiration from traditional Indonesian fabrics)—are married to Western-style costumes of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century worn by headless mannequins)¹ (Colaiacomo 2005, 179–95).

To keep to our theme, however, we will first briefly enquire into how the East has regarded the West. We will thus consider how Western fashion has been absorbed in the East. This has happened mostly by incorporating Western elements into (and interweaving them with) local traditions as far as patterns, textiles, and cuts are concerned. For instance, according to a Western scholar, Arlene MacLeod, if in some Islamic countries women go against tradition by working outside the home and wearing Western clothes, they also adopt traditional element of dress such as the veil as a way of

¹ Shonibare is a sculptor with a background in costume design.

accommodating old values while meeting new demands (MacLeod 1992, 533–57).

The anthropologist Alex Balasescu, discussing the use of the veil in Islamic countries today, maintains that too often in the West—where multiculturalism and cultural particularities are generally praised—the veil is seen as a sign of subjugation on the part of women, and never as a conscious opposition to the dictates of Western fashion or as a beautifying element (Balasescu 2011, 1–6).



Figure 1. Yinka Shonibare, *installation* (2001).

We should also keep in mind what happens in other parts of the world: in India elements of Western fashion have been incorporated into saris that feature new designs, new fabric weaving and dyeing processes, new embroidered elements, and new colors. The dignified beauty of an Eastern tradition has thus been combined with elements of fashion from the West. Noreen Khan claims that, being a modifiable garments, saris “are clothes that can take in both East and West, that don’t involve [Indian women] in a choice between two different worlds, and that mirror their own confidence in presenting themselves on their own terms as Westernized Asian women” (Khan 1993, 61–74).

In addition, we should not forget that some of the most admired designers in the West come from the East, for example, the Japanese-born but Paris-based Kenzo Takada, as well as Rei Kawakubo, Yohji Yamamoto, and Issey Miyake. We can also count among them the Cyprus-born but London-based Hussein Chalayan; Thakoon Panichgul, who was born in Thailand, but is based in New York (he designed the floral dress worn by Michelle Obama on

the evening her husband accepted the 2008 Democratic nomination for president); and the Chinese-born Masha Ma who returned to Shanghai in 2013 after graduating from Central St. Martin's College of Art and Design in London. These are just a few of the best known designers who have either inventively matched their traditions with Western habits or have had a great impact on Western artists, as with Kenzo's incorporation of different patterns (in his case the floral motifs typical of the kimono) into Western clothes or Kawakubo's austere, deconstructed garments. During the 1980s, her dresses, primarily in severe colors—black, dark grey or white—used materials that were often draped around the body and—challenging the established notions of beauty—featured asymmetrical shapes together with frayed, unfinished edges and holes. She exercised a great influence on the Belgian designer Martin Margiela, with his outsized proportions and linings, and with his seams and hems displayed on the outside. As for Masha Ma, she has recently declared: “my traditions come from both the East and the West. That's the new China” (Ma, *Time Magazine*, October 6, 2015).

While adapting features of their national vestimentary traditions to Western fashion and giving rise to new styles based on a sort of *metissage*, some of these Oriental designers have also perfected things that had previously been presented, without great success, by Western designers. This is the case with Miyake's late 1990s A-POC method (an acronym derived from A Piece Of Cloth), where the finished garment is woven into the bolt of cloth—a method based on Sonia Delaunay's 1920s *tissu patron* invention—or with his 1989 pleating technique that developed (with the use of modern technology) what had been first devised by Mariano Fortuny (Figure 2)² (As we shall see, however, before Miyake, the Italian designer Nanni Strada had experimented with and put into practice similar concepts and processes in 1986).

Many of these Eastern designers have added a number of accessories to their textile creations : for instance, exotic perfumes.

² Not by chance, a book dedicated to him was entitled *Issey Miyake: East Meets West*.

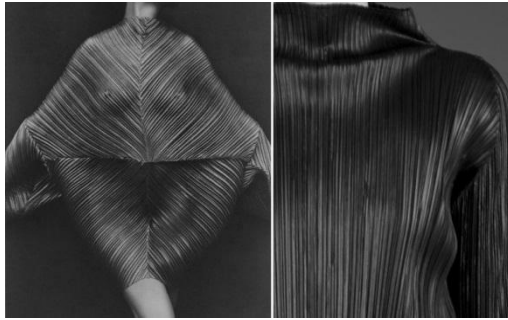


Figure 2. Issey Miyake, *Pleats Please*, 1993.

How the West Has Looked to the East

In recent years, the prevailing trend in Western fashion has been to mix-and-match. Given the nomadic character of fashion, designers have finally understood that fashion—and thus modernity—does not belong exclusively to the Western hemisphere. As the anthropologist Joanne B. Eicher has observed, “ethnic dress in the late twentieth century cannot be analyzed without acknowledging the phenomenon of world fashion, for ethnic dress and world fashion are interrelated” (Eicher 1995, 296).

Indeed, the use that a number of Western fashion designers have made of Eastern clothing is very interesting, both in their interpretations and their re-inventions. In the West, attention to other styles of dress probably started in the sixteenth century with the catalogue of descriptions and designs of exotic clothes published in Venice in 1590 by Cesare Vecellio (1521–1601), a cousin of Titian (Paulicelli 2012, 277–98). In the seventeenth century, for example, William Hogarth celebrated in his paintings what he called ‘the grandeur of the Eastern dress,’ which he saw as the epitome of dignity and authority.

As far as perfumes are concerned, it was probably Napoleon’s conquest of Egypt in 1798 that, through the employment of Oriental fragrances, gave primacy to French perfumes and started this trend of looking towards the East. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, French culture was primed to assimilate diversity and accept ethnic clothes thanks, for instance, to Ingres’s, Delacroix’s, and Gérôme’s paintings with their odalisques, harems, tunics, and kaftans. In literature, a taste for the Orient was sparked by Flaubert’s *Salammô*, which appeared in 1862, particularly because of the barbaric splendor of the main character’s fantastic jewels. And in 1881,

Pierre Loti's *Le Roman d'un Spahi*, with its descriptions of African attire, seduced the French public (Paci 2011, 245–80).³

But let us look at the moment in history when, thanks to the impact of the Orient, the way in which Western women's dresses was cut and sewn changed radically. It was Paul Poiret who revolutionized women's clothing at the beginning of the 1900s with the introduction of tunics, kimonos, turbans, hooded capes, and harem pants. He exposed Western women to a way of dressing that would not constrain their bodies with corsets, crinolines, and bustles, but would free them so as to move at ease. With his fluid clothes, inspired by the costumes of Diaghliev, Poiret became *Le Magnifique* of Western fashion: his Orientalism was so pervasive and effective because he matched exoticism with eroticism. His success, however, was not only due to his exotic preferences, but, above all, to his structural innovations. His greatest contribution to Western fashion was, in fact, his development of the dressmaking technique of draping, which marked a departure from the traditional techniques of Western tailoring and pattern-making. In this, he was influenced by the Orient, favoring clothing cut along straight lines and constructed from rectangles. This structural simplicity represented a crucial moment in the emergence of Modernism and established a new paradigm of modern fashion changing the direction of Western clothing forever. Poiret also produced perfumes, which, to emphasize his Oriental inspiration, had names like *Persian Night* and *The Minaret*.

The dresses made by Mariano Fortuny in the first two decades of the twentieth century were along similar lines. Born in Granada (Spain), Fortuny spent time in Paris before settling in Venice from where his garments and fabrics spread out to the world. He was influenced by ancient Greek costumes (his Delphos tunic was famous), Arabian and Oriental motifs, and by elements of Art Nouveau and the English Aesthetic Movement. He also devised a new way (still somewhat mysterious) of pleating fabrics, which he patented in 1909. As described by Guillermo De Osma, garments in silk were first cut and sewn by hand, then the fabric was dampened and heat applied by using copper or porcelain tubes (De Osma 2015, 148–56). The fabric's memory would hold the pleats and its texture acquire an elastic quality, so that garments would cling to the curves of the body. Marcel Proust often mentioned Fortuny's dresses in his *In Search of Lost Time* and the Italian poet, playwright, and novelist Gabriele D'Annunzio—for whose tragedy *Francesca da Rimini* Fortuny designed the costumes—referred to him in his novel *The Fire* (1900).

³ Some years later, in 1919, Pierre Benoit's *L'Atlantide* still insisted on the marvelous arrays of its protagonist, Antinèa.

After Poiret, in the 1930s, some French couturiers, such as Grès, Rochas, and the Italian-born, but Paris-based, Elsa Schiaparelli, looked to the Orient and referenced the sari in their collections. Schiaparelli in her 1935 Stop, Look and Listen fashion show had saris, which “spiraled gracefully round the body and ... generally worn with scarves ... that either draped over the head or formed loose shoulder panels She displayed a refined exoticism with these saris that were in character with the period’s interest in bias draping, which in its turn reflects art deco’s fascination with geometric lines” (Colaiacono and Caratozzolo 2010, 187–89).

At the end of the Second World War, when fashion resumed its place in the societies and cultures of the West and a spirit of innovation gave it renewed vigor and vitality, many Italian designers became intrigued by the Orient. In the mid 1950s, two of the most talented couturiers of the time—the Milan-based Germana Marucelli and the Rome-based Mingolini-Guggenheim—recreated the Indian sari. These new designs were imbued with a freshness and novelty all of their own, made even more vivid by the use of original Indian textiles (Colaiacono and Caratozzolo 2010, 186). Marucelli, a friend of artists and an art *connoisseur* herself, paid homage to the sari with sumptuous evening gowns made from cotton and silk textiles from Benares interwoven with gold threads. Mingolini-Guggenheim present modernized saris that combined the fluctuating panels of the draping technique with the statuesque solemnity of close-fitting couture. These are all examples of the hybridization of Western with Oriental styles. From the early 1960s onwards, another touch of exoticism was provided by Irene Galitzine, an Italian designer of Russian origin, who invented the so-called palazzo pajamas inspired by the musical comedy *The King and I*, which was set in Thailand. In the late 1960s, the men’s couturiers, Domenico Caraceni and the Brioni house, designed Indian-looking male jackets like the one worn by Pandit Nehru, who had been portrayed as a dandy by Alberto Moravia in a series of *reportages* from India.

After Marrucelli and Mingolini-Guggenheim, other Italian fashion designers like Lancetti, Barocco and Biki resorted to Oriental items to embellish their garments. Meanwhile, in London, the capital of an empire that had comprised several Eastern countries, and itself a city with many people of Oriental origin among its inhabitants, Liberty’s sold chic ethnic Indian clothes. Made by the Anokhi Company, which used textiles from Jaipur, they were the end result of a process involving over ten different printing units and two dyeing units, largely employing workers whose families had practiced such crafts for generations. Whereas in Italy clothes recalling the East signified exotic tendencies and were exploited for aesthetic reasons, in 1960s

London they were a major indicator of a counter-culture—so called beat-culture.

But the genius who re-invented the Orient and remodeled Western fashion was Yves Saint Laurent in the 1970s. Before him, Coco Chanel had cultivated an Oriental taste, especially with regard to her jewelry, often musing—in an admittedly perfunctory way—‘Why does all I do become Byzantine?’

As early as the 1960s, however, it was Saint Laurent who displayed exoticism through the use of brocade textiles, button-front closures, and patchwork skirts. And in 1976—when he called his collection *Ballets Russes*—he aligned himself directly with Poiret’s exoticism. The Algerian born Saint Laurent was seduced by China and Russia, amongst other countries, even though, as a resolutely stay-at-home man, he developed a romanticized notion of the exotic as fashion fantasy (McClendon 2015, 103). The following year he launched his celebrated perfume, *Opium*, which enjoyed worldwide success. I do not know whether its name was due only to its exotic aromas or if it also referred to the so-called Opium Wars waged by Great Britain, with French assistance, in the first half of the nineteenth-century, thanks to which a number of Chinese harbors were opened up to European trade. On the part of the French couturier this was perhaps a way of admonishing the Chinese: in spite of Mao Ze Dong’s firm hold, they would again see Europe conquer the East—this time through fashion. This provocative name (which infuriated the Chinese), was, in fact, quite different from the famous 1925 Guerlain perfume, *Shalimar*, which was based on Oriental scents, but less controversially referenced the famous Indian gardens. Saint Laurent’s Oriental fascination was also visible in his accessories: scarves, belts, necklaces, boots, hats, turbans, buttons, and capes. His exoticism has been defined by Emma McClendon as an “assemblage of carefully devised parts, because, being an extremely cultured man, he used the whole lexicon of items that had been produced by centuries of French art: Saint Laurent ... viewed the exotic through the thick lens of French culture, and used it to transform the look of his clothes through multifaceted *bricolage*” (McClendon 2015, 108, 118).

Other fashion designers have been captivated by the Orient: for instance, John Galliano, working for Dior, created luxuriant gowns inspired by China and Japan in 2002 and in 2007 (Figure 3), and in 2015 Karl Lagerfeld, working for Chanel, attracted as he was by Korea, devised new versions of the Korean kimono and of wide pants cropped jauntily at the ankle.



Figure 3. Christian Dior, 2003 Collection

Taking a chronological step back, and looking again at Italian fashion, a designer of the early 1970s who made extraordinarily innovative dresses based on Oriental concepts was Nanni Strada, whose investigation into the nature of Eastern clothing is a leitmotif of her research (Strada 2012, 27–44). Wishing to free clothing from bodily lines and proportions, she conceived dress as “an object of design and a space to be lived in, rather than a tailored artifact subject to the vagaries of fashion” (Colaiacono and Caratozzolo 2010, 206). In her words, she made “geometric, flat garments, without sizes or linings; adjustable ties, no reinforcements or facings, and above all welded stitching, of the kind used in knitwear, but absolutely unprecedented in cloth tailoring” (Strada 2002, 33). Folded, these highly graphic, two-dimensional garments lay completely flat, like untailed pieces of cloth. She claimed, “I wanted ... to create a garment to be worn the way nomads carry their children, hanging on the body, without any particular need for care or maintenance” (Strada 2002, 79). The depersonalization inherent in these concepts became factual reality through an imaginative use of industrial machines.

The *Ethnological* Collection of 1972 was inspired by the *khalaga*, a type of double dress characteristic of the region east of the Jordan river: “all temptations of folklore are eschewed in the design of this dress, conceived as a multifunctional panel cut out of one piece of cloth to be folded and draped around the body” (Colaiacono and Caratozzolo 2010, 207). Outsized garments, beyond any normal bodily proportion, were Strada’s distinctive features. Long-sleeved T-shirts and gulliver-legged trouser-hose created, when worn, the characteristic draped effect at the wrists and ankles (something similar was done by Kawakubo later on). In 1979, Strada

received the Golden Compass award for bringing forth the world's first machine-knitted seamless dress, which she called *The Skin*. In pursuing such a goal, she radically questioned the link between dress and body. For Strada, the only real structure of the garment was its technological structure: her collections did not inhabit the space of fashion—dominated, at the time, by the practice of stylism—but that of industrial design and production. She worked along architectural lines and looked for a balance between form and function. The age-old, yet flexible, geometry of Oriental dress accommodated Strada's vision. In 1986, she designed her *torchon* dresses, ideal for travel as they did not crumple and following Fortuny's path, she applied her pleating technique to (mostly) linen garments (a few years later Miyake too made ample use of a similar predilection for pleating) (Figure 4). Her 1988 collection, *The Elegance of the Hybrid*, featured designs recalling Scottish tartans and Madras textiles.



Figure 4. Nanni Strada, *1986 Collection*

In the 1990s, it was the turn of Gianni Versace to look to the Orient, and to India in particular. He also made use of the kimono and the sari, weaving exotic styles with Italian tradition and contemporary European trends. An admirer of draping—found also in the tunics of the Greek statues in the Archeological Museum of his native Reggio Calabria—Versace used it for both men's and women's garments. In his women's clothes he reinterpreted old Indian forms (as he himself avowed) in order to renew Western fashion; for instance, he developed the draping process by matching it with his trademark, the safety pin (we may recall his famous black dress in silk and lycra, held together by golden safety pins and worn by Elizabeth Hurley at the preview of the movie *Four Marriages and a Funeral*) (Caratozzolo 2004, 245–67). In this way he married the venerable antiquity (Colaiacomo and Caratozzolo 2010, 211) of the sari to the confrontational symbol of the British punk (Figure 5).

Another Italian designer who, by his own admission, was strongly influenced by the East (Turkey, Japan, China, India, and the Near East) was Gianfranco Ferré. He maintained that “the re-visitation of times and places, the mixing of past and future, of East and West is a key component of the global intelligence’ of fashion” (Ferré 2009, 141).



Figure 5. Gianni Versace, *Safety-pin dress* (1994)

He too considered the practice of matching and mixing as a way to enrich and innovate fashion. He admitted that he was intrigued and stimulated by the asymmetry of Japan, the redundancy-free fluidity of India, and the embroidery of the Near East. The same is true also of other Italian fashion designers, such as Byblos and Etro, and even Roberta da Camerino, whose glorious career culminated in her 1997 Kimono Collection.

Whether demonstrating a lack of inspiration or reflecting the process of globalization affecting all aspects of our life, fashion today captures (or, rather, ransacks) ideas from all the corners of the world. Street style, especially, is imbued with elements that come from anywhere and everywhere—intricately related to various sources and to ethnic items that have metamorphosed into something else, it becomes harder and harder to assess whether this is a form of integration or simply a generic and generalized melting-pot.

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THE BURDEN OF MEMORY: THE EMERGENCE OF THE PAST IN THE ART OF CHALAYAN

FABIO L. GRASSI

This paper investigates the legacy of historical circumstances and personal experience in the work of a great contemporary Turkish Cypriot fashion designer. Born in 1970 as Hüseyin Çağlayan in Nicosia—formally united, but already affected by the tragic clashes between the Greek and Turkish communities—he was sent to England as a little boy. He settled in London, became a British citizen and anglicized his name to Hussein Chalayan. Recently, he has cast off his first name making explicit his wish to be known simply as Chalayan. This is not a question of ease of reading and pronunciation, but rather a political-cultural choice. Maybe it is a psychological choice, or perhaps a cold-blooded and pragmatic choice in an increasingly islamophobic Europe. It could be a choice made in the name of glamour, or a combination of all these reasons (and other possible ones). What is certain is that in Hussein Chalayan's work, the memories of his experience, and his reflections on them, are evident, not to say pervasive. I believe that Chalayan is a genuine artist and a man of culture, i.e. much more than a mere fashion designer, therefore I also think that investigating his personal and cultural adventure provides an intriguing challenge for us. Finally, let me add that all translations from Turkish are mine.

The island of Cyprus experienced an uninterrupted Greek presence from around the eleventh century BC on. Up until 1571 CE, it had a Greek-speaking majority, even though the rulers were often not Greek. In 1571, notwithstanding the battle of Lepanto, it was conquered and annexed by the Ottoman Empire (Motta 1998, 78–102). Ottoman rule over Cyprus did not differ from the form of Ottoman rule in other mainly Christian lands: the Ottomans never engaged in islamicization, let alone Turkification, of the Greek-speaking Orthodox population, but settled groups of Turkish-speaking Muslims on the island.

In the nineteenth century, in the context of the Greek national struggle, the political-cultural elites of the Greek-speaking Orthodox population of the island began dreaming of independence from the Ottoman Empire and *enosis* (unification) with the Greek state, to form a pan-Hellenic bloc. An important turning point occurred in 1878 when the United Kingdom took administrative control of the island under nominal Ottoman sovereignty. The Greeks welcomed this change as a clear step towards independence and *enosis* and were further encouraged by the independence and *enosis* process in Crete (where the Turkish-Muslim minority was wiped out). The British, however, were not impatient to leave an island whose strategic importance was (and is) evident. When the Ottoman Empire entered World War I on the side of the Central powers, the United Kingdom declared Cyprus a British colony. The British government offered it to King Constantine of Greece as a reward for the possible intervention of Greece on the side of the Entente powers (Constantine, who was pro-Germany, refused); however this episode shows that London considered Cyprus a chess piece to be played in a game.

After 1918, the United Kingdom enforced its rule and harshly repressed Greek nationalism, finding a natural ally in the Turkish community, which opposed the idea of a union with Greece and was favorable to the *taksim* (partition) of the island. Here, it should be remembered that in 1923 the leaders of Greece and Turkey had decided that Greeks and Turks could not live together and had engaged in a massive swap of communities. After World War II, the British, who were progressively giving up the territories of their empire, began looking for a sustainable exit strategy in an atmosphere of growing tension between the two communities and a campaign of terror on the part of Greek nationalists against the British authorities.

In 1960, after exhaustive negotiations, Cyprus became an independent state, subject to treaties signed by the UK, Greece and Turkey and provided with a constitution that envisaged a careful balance of power and representation between the two communities. This solution was a reasonable compromise for the moderate components of the two parts and a disappointment for the extremists (especially the Greek extremists). As usual, moderation and a will to coexist prevailed among the common people. Indeed, one has to keep this in mind: in Chalayan's art and in his verbal statements there is always an expression of sorrow, even of anguish, at the impossibility of dialogue with the other, as well as a troubled investigation of what it means to be Turkish and (at least sociologically) Muslim in a place like Cyprus. One does not find any grudge held or hatred towards the Greeks; on the contrary, there is a nostalgia and longing for the old multicultural Cyprus, as noted by Bayraktar-Aksel:

“The clashes on the island that started in the 1960s and continue up until today are basically as a result of ethnic conflicts; however this does not mean that the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities were mutually exclusive. The ethnic *métissage* on the island—even though it is rejected by the essentialists—has evidently been influential on Hussein Chalayan’s work. In an interview given to Hint Magazine (2009) he acknowledged the role of the—*mixed geography* of Cyprus on—*[his] genetic pool consisting of so many different cultures*, hence his hybrid-self, which made him search in his work—*finding out what we really consist of*” (Bayraktar-Aksel 2012. Italics in the original).

This is a nostalgia and longing that involves the whole of the old multicultural Ottoman Empire:

“I have come from one multi-ethnic place, Cyprus, to another multi-cultural life in England. And here, there is a sense that immigration has happened much more recently. In Cyprus, immigration has happened over such a long period of time. We’re really children of the Ottoman Empire, which was a very hybrid empire. The sultans were marrying Russian, Italian and Polish women. In the harems, women were exclusively non-Turkish, so already there was a hybrid culture happening then. Perhaps that will happen in England, too, in a few hundred years” (Interview in Hint Magazine 2009, quoted in Bayraktar-Aksel 2012).

From the very beginning the agreed compromise proved not to be viable. In 1964, the United Nations had to send a peacekeeping force (the oldest UN peacekeeping force still present in a territory). Further international negotiations between the two communities were unsuccessful. In 1967 a right-wing military junta seized power in Greece. This change of power in the motherland had contradictory effects: it encouraged right-wing Greek Cypriot nationalists and it induced the leader of the community and head of state, archbishop Makarios, to abandon the principle of *enosis*, while the Turkish community waited suspiciously under the protection of the international force.

On July 15, 1974, Greek extremists staged a coup d’état and deposed Makarios. In retaliation, on July 20 Bülent Ecevit, a moderate leftist Turkish prime minister, after an unsuccessful appeal to the UK, ordered a unilateral intervention. This was successful and caused the collapse of the junta, the end of the dictatorship and the re-establishment of political pluralism in Greece. On August 14, Turkish troops extended their occupation, disregarding the peace talks already in progress. In this way, Turkish action, which thus far had been fully legal and had had positive consequences, became more questionable. In these dramatic few weeks thousands of Greek and Turkish

Cypriots were killed, wounded or went missing, and two hundred thousand were displaced. The clear outcome was a reciprocal ethnic cleansing; an outcome that in Turkish eyes had to be accepted.

In May 1983, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the withdrawal of all occupying forces from Cyprus. On November 15, 1983, the Turkish Cypriots unilaterally declared independence. Since then only Turkey has recognized the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. However, Turkey has never asked other allied countries to recognize the TRNC, showing that Turkey itself considered this unilateral independence a transitory step. For the international community a single and united Cypriot state exists, whose government since 1974 has been Greek, while the Turkish community is subject to a heavy embargo.

In 1987, Turkey formally applied for membership of the European Community. In 1990, Cyprus (for Turks—the Greek administration of Southern Cyprus) formally applied to join the EC as well. The European issue was added to the negotiations. Under the UN General Secretary Kofi Annan's presidency, extensive new talks unfolded between the two parties. In March 2004, they signed a definitive peace and reunification treaty, to be submitted for the approval of the Greek and Turkish communities. Meanwhile, the European Union accepted Cyprus as a member on May 1, 2004, together with nine other states. The EU did not put the acceptance of the Annan Plan as a condition. This encouraged the Greek community to refuse a plan that, having been signed by the two parties, was obviously a compromise. Indeed, in the referendums held on April 24, 2004, 64.9 percent of Turks voted in favor of the plan against only 24.1 percent of Greeks. As a consequence, since 2004 the world has been witness to an unusual official situation: according to the international community, a part of the territory of the EU is occupied by a power, Turkey, whose accession to the EU was approved by the EU in principle in the very same year.

In accounting for the personal, cultural and (in a broad sense) political background of his art, Chalayan wisely focuses on the way his background must *not* be seen in his actual pieces of art:

“My inspiration comes from anthropology, genetic anthropology, migration, history, social prejudices, politics, displacement, science fiction and, I guess, my own cultural background ... [Fashion] can be informed and inspired by political aspirations but to actually make it literally carry it is, in my view, often contrived” (Jones 2013, 108, 115).

I feel that we cannot but agree with Chalayan. Nothing is more risky in art than political art; no success in art is attainable without deep and sincere personal involvement, but no greater political efficacy has been achieved by

artists with openly political works. The magic and effectiveness of Chalayan's art is the magic and effectiveness of all true artists, who, far from delivering speeches and sermons, make one feel that there is something important in their work, forcing one to think, to search, and to refine one's views in pursuit of it.

The keyword here is displacement. We can argue that four kinds of displacement are present in his art. The first and most obvious relates to the history of Cyprus itself: the two communities found themselves exiled in their own land. It goes without saying that not everyone was forced to flee, but everybody experienced at least a spiritual displacement, the beginning of a new, strange balance based on mutual seclusion—a balance that only extreme nationalists could enjoy. But in Chalayan's life, a specific journey of personal displacement, due to the troubles of his family, has been a key factor. The third kind of displacement is by no means less important: it is the displacement of a person who comes from a secular family (the majority of Turkish Cypriots were generally secular) and finds himself living in a non-Muslim country, somehow driving an urge to discover and question his existence as part of a religious community.

The fourth displacement, maybe less strong, yet present in some of his works, is the displacement of a person whose motherland is in the Mediterranean, but whose national identity and mother tongue are rooted in the nomadic past of Central Asia.

Again, some excerpts of two important interviews are revealing. The first one was given in 2010 to Yuko Hasegawa, chief curator of the Museum of Contemporary Art of Tokyo (MOT):

"I've moved between very different cultures, back and forth, from a young age. And my experience when I was eleven to suddenly having to share the house with my step-sister and brother. So, these strangers suddenly came to the house. I think from a young age I was exposed to some alien situations that were very unusual for a young child. And I think it's made me very open and also very curious ... I think that in my case, racially we're not Eastern, racially we're European but we have the Eastern influence through language and obviously religion. We are not religious, but we have that cultural influence. And I think that also, a lot of my curiosity lies in wanting to know about the movements of peoples. How people move from one place to another. And I think because in the Ottoman Empire there were so many people cross-marrying, that in a way the mixture is already in us. ... Also the fact that I come from a divided island, which means that I couldn't go to the other side for 30 years, these affected me. So there's the curiosity of wanting to know the enemy. We're the same people but they're supposed to be the enemy. These are other things that fed my curiosity as a child. You know, I would play by the river which came from the Greek side and would find all

these objects that had floated down from this hospital on the Greek side. And then one time, I escaped to the Greek side to do a photographic shoot and we nearly got arrested. It was like being in a film” (Eşkinat 2010, 98 and 100).

The second, from August 4, 2014, was given in Turkish to the journalist Ayşe Arman and published in one of the various sections of the popular Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* (Freedom):

“I am Cypriot. And I am very linked to my childhood. I believe that we all are children behaving like adults. Actually, we always have the same age but we pretend to have grown up. This is my attitude as well. This has been one of the things that forged my personality, to be an islander...

I grew up in the middle of two cultures. My parents divorced when I was a little boy. I had no brother or other close relative. They sent me to a college in England because they wanted me to get a good education. Now I realize I am rootless. I don't belong to any place.

However, strangely enough, as soon as I come to Istanbul a circle of confidence and love forms and I feel like I have some roots. As soon as I come back to England again shock, rootlessness and solitude...

As a matter of fact, now it is not Cyprus in itself that interests me, it is my family being there...

From when I was one and a half to when I was 5 years old I was in England. Then my father divorced my mother, we came back to Cyprus, when I was 8 I came again to England, again from 12 to 16... I was always afar. Splitting so early from your family makes you an independent soul... I look at my works a bit as therapy...

I feel like a Londoner, but in this way: if my brain is in London, my heart is in Istanbul” (Arman 2014).

These expressions of love for Istanbul may be taken for flattery, the interview was given to a Turkish journalist writing for a Turkish newspaper, but they may also be fully sincere. Maybe Istanbul really is for Chalayan the place where his being Turkish is not questioned, nor his being secular, nor his being (sociologically) a Muslim: all aspects that make Istanbul the place where he can have a casual dialogue with the other; in short, it is not difficult to understand why Istanbul can be for him truly the place that reduces his feelings of displacement.

Finally, it is time to mention some of Chalayan's creations. It will be a short survey, because descriptions without pictures can be quite frustrating. His experiential background was particularly evident in some of the early ones. His collection *Between* for Spring/Summer 1998 was shockingly provocative: he dressed models with black chadors of varying lengths and nothing else. The first wore a chador, which covered most of her body and allowed a gap for her eyes. Each veil became shorter and shorter until,

finally, the last one was nude apart from a mask covering her face. In his *Geotrophics* collection for Spring/Summer 1999 he featured dresses that represented the idea of a nomadic existence and a completely transportable environment. This concept was later expanded in the *Afterwords* collection for Fall/Winter 2000:

“Taking notes from horrific family stories on the ethnic cleansing of Turkish Cypriots before 1974, Chalayan showed a collection titled *Afterwords* in Autumn 2000, that referred to flight from war, and the notion that refugees are often left with only the clothes on their backs. In order to explore the definition of home, the collection included garments made from household items: armchair covers, the armchair itself and a coffee table that transformed into clothing before the audience. During the show, runway models were dressed in hidden garments; armchair covers turned into dresses; armchairs were folded into suitcases; and a coffee table was worn as a skirt as live chants of Bulgarian folk songs were performed in the background” (Camilleri-Grygolec).

No unilateral reproach is found in these representations, on the contrary, only a sad appraisal of enigmatic impossibility:

“This issue has also been treated by Chalayan in another work entitled *Temporal Meditations*. In this project, Hussein Chalayan talks about the contacts between othered groups, and points to the intrinsic nature of discourse and the lack of communication between the Turkish and Greek Cypriot communities. The narrative criticizes the alienation and differentiation of the two communities, which are in reality geographically and socio-culturally very close to one another. The displacement here makes the subject recognize his own identity as built of this tension. What is problematic about the conflict is that common spaces and objects are being distinguished for the creation of imagined authentic identities (such as the debate on whether raki/ouzo is Turkish or Greek). Even though these identities seem to be fragmented today, they continue to compose the rich and hybrid nature of our identities. And this richness is represented in the story, which, according to Chalayan, can be found through genetic anthropology” (Bayraktar-Aksel 2012).

Chalayan’s disappointment can easily turn to nihilism: to listen to others is a worthy act, but is it useful to listen to one who is only interested in talking? Shifting from the personal to political, is it useful to listen to those who are interested only in explaining their views?

“At the 55th Venice Biennale in Italy [2013], his piece, titled *Frozen Monologues*, explored the passive act of listening. Chalayan commented: ‘We

spend half of our lives listening to other people. We can become prisoners of others' endless need of talking about themselves. As a result there is a culture of unfulfilled relationships emerging as dialogues are being replaced by monologues.' To mark this condition, a piece was cast to prop the body in a frozen position, endlessly listening to another, while simultaneously aiming to capture the water-like quality of glass, to embody timeless associations of water with comfort, soothing and caring" (Camilleri-Grygolec).

These are creations where the burden of memory is particularly evident, although they are not the only ones in which it can be perceived. In the Week of Fashion held in Paris in September 2014, Chalayan again tackled the issue of the chador, disguising it in secular dresses. The open provocation of the 1998 collection has been replaced by something that might be defined as irony. An irony that could be a safe haven for the mature Chalayan.

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FAST FASHION:
THE GLOBALIZATION OF DRESSING
IN POSTMODERNITY AND THE INDITEX
(ZARA) CASE STUDY

FRANCESCA R. LENZI

Preface

Every new combination of clothing, no matter whether traditional or alternative, is an effect of a thought, of a remake, sometimes in line with or sometimes in opposition to an existing regime. However, it wins the game if it anticipates and influences the time.

The process of globalization has swept up fashion. It has had a strong impact in the turnover of meanings in the symbolic language of dressing. If the end of a certain ethnocentrism—as a result of the displacement of the textile industry and the emergence of new poles of fashion in the South and East of the world—has involved a deep restructuring of stylistic guidelines, then daily apparel has also been overwhelmed by the birth of so-called 'fast fashion,' which we can consider to be a new, globalized fashion mood.

A pioneer of fast fashion is the Spanish group Inditex, with its main brand Zara. Inditex is number one in the field of textile-apparel; in spite of the financial crisis it is still riding a wave of success. The advantage that the Spanish brand has is not only a strong relationship between quality and price, but also the successful realization of fast fashion, in a way that has never been so achieved by any other brand in the sector, such as Benetton.

Inditex's method has two main features. The first is the conception of a very basic piece of clothing, accessible and stylish, which is often an imitation of a model recently paraded on the catwalk. The second characteristic of fast fashion is that from conception to the arrival of the product in stores only two weeks are needed. Everything starts with small quantities and then, thanks to a systematic, daily control, the success of the product is measured (if unsuccessful, production is immediately stopped).

The fast fashion of Inditex and Zara seems to be suited to the new trends of globalized society, able to grow in a mature if not saturated sector, with limited technological content, and most importantly, without resorting to the quicker route of overseas relocation.

The relationship between globalization and fast fashion flows through Inditex/Zara. It gives a real example of the impact of the 'fast philosophy' in the fashion system and its impact, as well as the role of communication and the new global dynamics. Zara embodies the fashion system of this new reality and urges reflections on its sustainability, the importance of communication in the homogenization of social expression, and the disruptive and devastating impact of new generations in search of identities that are uniform enough to be fast and accessible.

Introduction

According to the sociologist Georg Simmel, fashion contains identity dynamics and expresses a double human tension in the need to imitate others and the need to distinguish oneself from others. The first tension involves an identification with a class and is typical of pre-modern societies and those of the industrial revolution, while the second is encouraged in economically developed societies. Dress in capitalist Western societies is a means of affirming membership to various socio-cultural groups and one's personal identity, distinguishing oneself within one's own context of belonging (Simmel 1971).

This perspective seems to have changed profoundly and is in the midst of a crisis. The individualization of identity has become not just a fact, but a task of particular complexity in its lack of reference points. This task falls on the shoulders of the consumer, a new figure that, according to Zygmunt Bauman in *The Society of Uncertainty*, appears only in post-industrial society. In modern society, secularization and the privatization of choice pushes the individual to look for a new sense of the self. However, although freed from the social mould of one's forefathers, one is still a 'pilgrim' moving towards a goal that is defined by bourgeois contours, and this makes one's identity new-in-respect-of-something-else (Bauman 1999). In modernity, despite the pluralization of opportunities from the 1970s onwards, identity is still looked for in a repertoire of typical biographical careers (Berger and Kellner 1973). Quite different is the postmodern individual, who rather resembles a gambler, drunk on the possibility of choices and at their mercy.

For Bauman, the regulatory regime, of the factory and the army of the modern epoch, avoided the modern fear of uncertainty by replacing old structures with a certain fear of deviation from the rules. Once again, in

modern times, with inner stirrings and the will to pursue one's own dreams, Kellner's 'homeless mind' can remain in balance with the pressure of external forces (Berger, Berger, and Kellner 1973).

In post-modern society, however, this regulatory force becomes void; the collapse of institutions, the lack of shared models and the overabundance of conflicting models, together with the personalization of ethics and morals, suggest identities of many possible modalities with which to face the navigation of an uncertain world (Habermas 1989). In this fluid modernity, the consumer of fashion searches for himself in the world, but does not do so carefully and slowly, nor with a long-term purpose. The individual finds himself in the position of the consumer of merchandise, the 'pleasures-collector' or 'sensation-gatherer' (Bauman 1999). A failure and, in some cases, an inability to compete in such processes generates a peculiar fear—the fear of inadequacy. Far from being tied to a defined criterion of conformity, this refers to an inability to acquire the desired shapes and images, and the difficulty of being always on the move, flexible and ready to take on different patterns of behavior: to simultaneously be pliable clay and an accomplished sculptor (Bauman 1999). From this perspective, there is an evident affinity between the privatization of the management of uncertainty and the nature of the market, which serves private consumption.

In a socio-historical perspective, the reward that the old regime of surveillance and coercion offered in exchange for conformity was freedom from the torments of choice and responsibility. The freedom offered by the market is not to think of responsibility or consequences, and to fragment one's lifetime into *episodes* without lasting results. In this way the irresponsibility of the person is released from its obligations (Bauman 1999) and leads to a new form of dependence. The fear of uncertainty elicits a dependence on consumerism. The individual value and criterion for defining human strength and success is measured on the basis of one's ability to shape and change what one receives and the self. The receiver of sensations pursues personal wellbeing, with more than labile limits in the manipulation of their body and identity (Lenzi 2015).

The consumerist conception makes the maximum opening of the bodies of the pleasure-collector to the inexhaustible potential of experience contained in the stimuli of the external world and its continuously received feelings; in this way fashion becomes FAST FASHION.

Fashion and identity: a socio-cultural issue

Both in terms of production and in terms of the symbolic importance that it embodies, fast fashion, fashion that is disposable, is produced in the

connotation of today's consumer identity, projected and exposed by a media and a virtual technology stream, which is gradually swallowing up and substituting for the reality and old loci of identity development (Cianconi 2001).

For Margaret Maynard (2004), fashion is a privileged costume, 'haute couture,' worn to communicate an elitist position through which one can reach a temporary identity. Crane (2000), however, differentiates fashion from everyday and accessible clothing. Since the 1980s, the constant and progressive expansion of the consumption of fashion products of low quality manufacturing, high accessibility, and great potential for homogenization, calls into question these categories and stimulates curiosity about the interpretation of the historical and socio-cultural significance and cultural hegemony of fast fashion.

Crane (2004) makes a distinction between the social and the communicative perspective, clarifying that in the class structures of modern societies clothes functioned as 'closed texts,' with precise meanings known to those who shared them, making them, in this sense, a means of inclusion and exclusion. On the contrary, post-modern clothes are 'open texts,' that is they are interpretable by all, but by each in different ways. Crane identifies in the hat of modern society a mandatory symbol with meaning in its contexts and manners of use; in postmodern society, the T-shirt is the quintessential open text, customizable to the extreme, but without identification in terms of gender, culture, geography, or social belonging.

Fashion has somehow changed its role and become both a mirror and a vehicle for the management of the plurality of identity, rather than for the choice and expression of a single identity (Finkelstein 1998, 41).

Dress is at the heart of the aesthetic post-modern process, which, ultimately, attempts to mediate between different pulls and issues, without actually solving this ambivalence and instability. It carries out a conciliation, simple when compared to other verbal and non-verbal forms of communication, between uncertain and multiple roles of: adults and young people; sons and daughters; and men and women. Contemporary fashion becomes a form of expressing this 'liquid modernity,' which engages this communication at a lighter level, managing it, somehow accepting it, and legitimizing it in an attempt to interpret it, offering places of manifestation and enlarging the boundaries of expression.

ZARA—INDITEX: the expression of fast fashion

"The first Zara store was opened in 1975 by the entrepreneur Amancio Ortega. The market that characterizes the group involves selling knockoffs of high fashion at low prices. Zara is a part of the commercial aggregate Inditex,

which has a turnover of 4.3 million euros, with a growth rate and a recent increase in sales larger than market estimates. The quotation of Inditex, according to Bloomberg, puts the wealth of Ortega in competition with that of the leader of Microsoft. 100% of the company is owned by the group which is based in Barcelona and more than 80% of all sales of Inditex are provided by the 60,000 shops of Zara. In all, there are over 724 shops in 56 countries, in addition to online sales in more than 30 countries. The workforce has increased by 8,500 units in less than a month, of which 1,600 are in Spain, and in the same time period 63 additional stores were opened for a total of more than 6,740 shop units.”

Experts from *Il Sole 24 ore*, June-October 2015

The luck, or ability, of Ortega was to guess that clients, postmodern consumers, regarded dress as a disposable commodity with short time limits, which therefore must be consumed immediately, rather than being kept in the closet. Zara's success is due to several factors, only some of which will be studied here. They all stem from a clear understanding of postmodern social trends and the ability to translate them into functional strategies of production, distribution and promotion.

The driving philosophy of Zara is the strategy of ‘accurate response,’ according to which the response of consumers to innovative products does not require the evaluation of longitudinal data, but only an analysis of the most recent turnover, to make predictions:

“Accurate response helps retailers improve forecasts and redesign planning processes to minimize the impact of inaccurate forecasts. This approach incorporates two basic elements ... it takes into account missed sales opportunities. ... Accurate response measures the costs per unit of stockouts and markdowns, and factors them into the planning process. ... Second, accurate response distinguishes those products for which demand is relatively predictable from those for which demand is relatively unpredictable” (Fisher et al. 1994).

Zara produces and presents a very limited number of new items in some major stores and after two weeks it analyzes their success. They are produced on a larger scale only if the consumer reaction is unequivocally positive. This system lowers the percentages of failure: for new products this is at 1 percent, compared to the average of 10 percent for the sector. However, for this system to succeed, it is necessary to adapt at least three aspects of the production cycle: the exchange of information, the cycle of production/supply, and the type of product.

Behind these efforts, Zara is supported by a company policy that looks to the current conditions not of the market, but of the public, which it refers to under ‘escasez y oportunidad’—scarcity and opportunity.

Considering the concept of scarcity of resources and money as favorable, Zara relies on the buyer’s impulse by turning the shortage of available products to its advantage: the perceived limited availability of a product, made so by the small amount of production and short exposure time of sale, increases its desirability. The company management believes that only by fueling a sense of scarcity and opportunity (as sense of ‘buy now or never’) can choices be directed, pushing customers to buy on impulse for fear of not finding again what one saw the previous week. The company policy of Zara allows the control of the entire production chain and the renewal of parts of product lines offered for sale as much as twice a week. In doing so, Zara relies on uncertainty and the drive to accumulate in postmodern consumers.

The business policy of the Spanish brand is consumer-oriented and it also has a suitable production strategy—‘just in time’ (Goddard 1986). Of Japanese origin, the JIT idea is the basis for many international production systems including that of the automotive company Toyota. Toyota defines it as a marketing philosophy—although other schools of thought consider it a set of management techniques—oriented at eliminating time wastage. It provides for the production of ‘needed’ pieces in the required quantities, at the right moment (Monden 1992, 118), with the aim of increasing profits through cost reduction, limiting waste, and continuously improving existing processes (Castagna and Roversi 1980, 108). The concept of cost is seen in its broadest sense, including not only production costs, but also administrative, financial and sales costs. The compression of the ‘time of supply’ depends on the administration of the entire supply chain, which enables the company to ‘re-assort’ and make changes—the supply chain of a successful Zara product can be modified in two weeks and a newly-created item can be launched on the market in no more than 5 weeks.

However, none of these strategies would be successful if they were not accompanied by a timely and effective chain of information and communication able to grasp the flow of new trends and quickly translate it into new clothes. This is a matter of ‘fashion consciousness.’ Every collection of Zara—for women, men, and children—is backed by a creative team of designers, sourcing specialists, and product development personnel. The dominant strategy in this fashion consciousness includes frequent conversations with store managers and deriving information from TV, the Internet and movies.

The aim is to identify new trends in places like college campuses and nightclubs. Even the children’s collection, Zara young, is based on strategies

and investigation around the perception of fashion and the broader self (i.e. attitudes of the child and of society towards the child).

Insights and counter-current innovations

In the panorama of companies that deal with fashion, two major prototypes can be identified today: the companies of ‘ready-to-wear’ and those of ‘programmed’ fashion. The main distinction between these two styles is the logic adopted by them to relate to and enter the market. The first adopts a drawing logic, or *pull*, looking back to past trends: the production process is done by focusing on existing fashion, catering and fueling existing production processes and complying with already defined requirements. Among the major risks of this logic are obsolescence, a lack of a market, or excessive costs of production and distribution. Programmed fashion is based on a technique of ‘making’ markets, with production based on forecast demand—it anticipates and sometimes conditions or creates the market. It may suffer from low quality products; inconsistency between the brand image and the design characteristics of products; the scarce personality of collections; and the precariousness of production, as third parties may not be able to offer reliable performance. Finally, the application of the criterion ‘*escasez y oportunidad*’ can cause faults in assortment resulting in the dissatisfaction of retailers in the management of supplies.

The logic of ready-to-wear fashion, the *pull* logic, and programmed, or market-making, both seek to identify a more functional formula to achieve a compromise between product innovation and quality. The company policy of Zara, similar in many respects to the one adopted by many companies of ready-to-wear, integrates certain aspects of planned fashion, based on an integrated operational structure that allows one to control the entire production chain and to renew the products offered each week. Zara’s success is reflected in its principles of production resulting based on a combination of the two systems. Zara has the ability to regulate the timing and synchrony of the transfer of information between designers and producers, and to exploit its in-house resources, including the purchase of fabrics and dyes from the companies of Inditex. Its competitiveness lies in the ability to prevent, rather than to compensate for, declines due to the additional cost of manufacturing and distribution. Finally, the internationalization of Zara means that branches are confined to countries with high growth potential and low business risk, such as those in South America and Eastern Europe, leaving the rest of the market to online stores (Vona 2003)—Zara defies most of the conventional wisdom about how supply chains should operate. Unlike many of its competitors in retail clothing, which use outsourcing to reduce production

costs, approximately 60 percent of Zara brand products are made in-house and sold directly through retail outlets.

Zara's operation does not engage in strategies to maximize production: rather than following production models of economies of scale, Zara manufactures and distributes products in small batches. Instead of relying on external partners, it manages all stages from design to distribution. All this has produced a highly successful marketing strategy that is described as the *fast-fashion model*. Zara submits its retail to a strict timetable for placing orders and receiving stock, and puts price tags on items before they are shipped, rather than in each store. It only minimally invests in expensive goods and encourages occasional stock-outs. With regards to distribution, Zara sends trucks across Europe with some pieces, sends them by air to Japan twice a week, and uses factories for a single shift. Zara has invested in the production phase with a focus on local efficiency at the expense of global responsiveness.

The nature of Fast Fashion

The sociologist Georg Simmel, dealing with the fragility of identity, appears to have been describing something like the fast fashion generation and the model adopted by Zara (Simmel 1985). Among the many characteristics he indicates, some are particularly significant for the connection that can be identified, which locates fast fashion not only in a vestimentary, but also in a socio-cultural model. First of all, today's fragility and the Zara model respond to the dichotomy of the postmodern human who seeks activity, movement and stillness; productivity and receptivity; and expresses submission, self-assertion, assimilation and identification. Fast fashion follows the rhythm of modern life, which is nervous, restless, and demanding. The social dynamic of Zara's fashion reflects these movements in the need for mutual imitation; the needs of a vestimentary style that is easy to imitate and low-cost; and to shorten the time needed for imitation and change. Ultimately a vicious/virtuous circle is created in today's fashion that reflects the cycle of identity: the more quickly it changes, the more economies become trends, the more it is within the reach of consumers, and the more rapidly fashion changes.

The nature of this new fashion is precarious and changeable and is in accordance with the dynamic timing of identity. In other words, we speak about fashion only when it disappears with the same rapidity with which it is presented. Whoever captures this, as with Zara, captures postmodernism.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

FASHION AND POLITICS

FROM THE KENNEDYS TO THE OBAMAS: STYLE AND POLITICS OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL COUPLES

VERONICA DE SANCTIS

Like it or not, style matters in politics. The message a leader sends with a cardigan, a pantsuit, or a pair of jeans can indicate not only political ideology or personality, but also set a trend. In this context, American presidents and their first ladies can display the strong link between fashion and politics. Every American president has left his own mark in matters of style, from Harry Truman's penchant for Hawaiian-style sport shirts to Dwight D. Eisenhower's cropped military jackets and Ronald Reagan's custom-made Hollywood glamour. However, it was the simple sartorial gestures of John F. Kennedy and his wife that really shaped twentieth-century American style. John and Jackie Kennedy symbolized America in the 1960s: young, polished and intelligent they embodied the image of the perfect couple, the expectations surrounding the Kennedy administration, and they acted as a metaphor for the American dream. It is with the Kennedys that this paper intends to delve further into the relationship between style and politics.

Special attention has been drawn to the role of the first lady over the years. From the Kennedys to the Obamas, the American presidential couple has communicated through its chosen style and its depictions in the press.

The last years of the Eisenhower administration, from 1957 to 1961, were a time in which Americans perceived their position in the world system as greatly weakened due to competition with the Soviet Union. At that time the Soviet Union was governed by dynamic politicians who aggressively sought success in every field. In contrast to this dynamism, American politicians, mainly because of the president's precarious health, were perceived as less active. There was the perception of an age coming to an end. John F. Kennedy's victory over Richard Nixon in the presidential election of November 1960 signalled a desire for profound change.

John F. Kennedy was the first American president born in the twentieth century. He was only forty-three when he was elected (1961–63) and a

picture of youth and social aristocracy—exactly what Americans were asking for—marking the beginning of a new season. This political change was represented in the person of the president himself. In 1961, Kennedy's confident, carefree style was a radical departure from the dull conservative attire that had defined men's fashion in previous generations. He was the first president to eschew the felt hat and adopt the two-button jacket. He appreciated a high sartorial standard and wore tailored suits made in London. However, it was mostly his casual look that set the trend among gentlemen. He had an Ivy League style: loafers, button down shirts, sports jackets, plain polo shirts without any obvious designer logo, a huge collection of cashmere pullovers worn over crew neck t-shirts and rolled up ankle *chinos* with a canvas belt. Pictures of him with rolled-up sleeves, a shaggy head of hair and Ray-Ban Wayfarer sun glasses remain iconic. This was the JFK style, a look that *Time*, fifty years after his passing, described as “Kennedy's cool factor. His look represented a new fashion era, a convergence between classic elegance and casual style” (Betts 2007). The thirty-fifth president of the United States was an incontrovertible style icon and model of elegance on every occasion, public or private. However, what made him even more unique was the presence by his side of a woman still remembered today for her sober and elegant style, but with a look that revolutionized fashion in the 1960s and made her an unforgettable style icon: Jacqueline Kennedy. Known for her classic good taste and her preference for the most fashionable labels, she left her own mark on style and fashion (Craughwell-Varda 1999).

While most stylish first ladies created trends, none have had a more enduring influence than ‘Jackie’ Kennedy. From her privileged background and her rise to prominence as a political wife, her sophisticated, chic fashion endures as a model of grace and class. She brought a sense of nobility to the role of first lady that had not been seen before. Well educated, she had studied in France and was fluent in French. Her ability to charm government officials with her sophistication brought her international popularity and aided JFK's presidency. While on assignment for the *Washington Times Herald* in 1952, Jackie met John Kennedy, then a congressman from Massachusetts running for the US Senate; she married him the following year. The wedding generated much attention among the media, society columnists, and the political establishment because of the prominence of the two families involved, Kennedy's status as the capital's most eligible bachelor, and the bride's beauty. Her wedding dress was created by Ann Lowe and was an ivory silk taffeta gown with a portrait neckline and a wide bouffant skirt adorned with wax flowers (Santi Flaherty 2004). Jackie's youth and flair for fashion put her in sharp contrast to her immediate predecessors. Only thirty-one years old when Kennedy was elected president, Jackie was

the second youngest first lady and third youngest presidential spouse in the country's history. Television did its part in making Jackie Kennedy a celebrity. During her first year in the White House, two networks produced documentaries showing how she had popularized the pillbox hat, the bouffant hairstyle, and the name Jacqueline for baby girls. More subtly, however, Jackie Kennedy offered a new model of womanliness. Here was a first lady who was acquainted with Europe, informed about literature and the arts, yet attractive enough to compete with movie actresses and sex symbols (Caroli 1995, 228).

Jackie showed an interest in clothes that paralleled her husband's approach to politics. While John Kennedy incorporated phrases about a New Frontier, his wife talked of 'New Beginnings' and the 'best of everything.' Within a week of the inauguration, she had begun her campaign to upgrade the taste of the nation. A dedicated patron of the arts she initiated an extensive restoration of the White House and improved the menu at White House dinners (Watson 2001, 240). The Kennedys announced two important appointments on exactly the same day: Jackie chose Oleg Cassini to design her inaugural wardrobe and the president appointed Dean Rusk as the new secretary of state (Caroli 1995, 227). Cassini designed more than three hundred gowns for her, creating geometric A-line skirts, prominent big button dresses, and, of course, pillbox hats with matching dresses. She liked a wide range of colors, mostly soft, nuanced hues in yellow, light orange and pink, but she also appreciated gaudy colors that set off her dark hair. She was known for wearing bright colors, jeans, turtle-necks, silk headscarves, and oversized sunglasses, in addition to her wide collection of statement jewelry (Beasley 2005, 74). Remembered for her good taste, she also favored *haute couture* like Givenchy and Chanel. Among these, the pink Chanel suit with the matching pillbox hat she wore when President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas, in November 1963, is immortalized in America memory. After the assassination, standing beside Lyndon B. Johnson aboard Air Force One as he took the oath of office, she refused to take off her blood stained pink Chanel suit. This pink outfit became one of the symbols of that day and a fashion icon of the 1960s.

The Kennedys were the American couple who invented glamour and magazine popularity. From the very beginning, the days of the Kennedy family in the White House marked a distinct contrast to their predecessors. Young, attractive and well spoken, Jackie and John were embraced by the public and by the media. Prior to this time, the images of political family life were limited to more formal situations, such as campaigning, the occasional television interview, or official portrait sittings. The Kennedys, however, were often photographed during more casual moments in their lives. These

images helped to create a bond between the Kennedys and the American public.

The presidential couples that succeeded them could not compete with the popularity of the Kennedys. The Johnsons (1963–69), the Nixons (1969–74) and the Fords (1974–77) did not bring anything new in style. While President Johnson, with his traditional suit, did not go down in history for his style, Richard Nixon has been described as “on the wrong side of history”—*Vogue* magazine referred to him as having a “sweaty-guy-in-a-suit look.” As for Gerald Ford, though having modeled during law school for fashion magazines, including *Cosmopolitan*, during his presidency he offered nothing special in the fashion department and their first ladies were also quite different from Jackie Kennedy. Claudia ‘Lady-Bird’ Johnson has been described as:

“both very rich and very frugal. Standing by a difficult man prone to criticize her even in public over such matters as her clothing, her wardrobe was made up of simple dresses matched with *ton-sur-ton* accessorizes. She mostly wore the reds and yellows he liked and wore high heels even though she admitted she hated them. Lyndon’s list of Don’ts included full skirts and T-strap shoes because he thought they made her look fat” (Caroli 1995, 239–40).

First Lady Thelma ‘Pat’ Nixon was depicted as Plastic Pat because of her stiff, fixed smile, perfectly coiffed hair and her staged, unenthusiastic public appearances (Beasley 2005, 110). She was the first first lady to wear a pair of trousers on the cover of a national magazine, an event that reflected a radical change in the way women dressed. She had a sober and conservative style; nonetheless, her wardrobe enhanced her personality. On several occasions she wore colorful outfits, such as the yellow jacket designed by Karen Stark for Harvey Berin, which she wore in 1970 to celebrate her husband’s presidency. Elizabeth ‘Betty’ Ann Ford appeared particularly eager to make her own mark. A former Martha Graham dancer and department store model, she had her own confident style. Her distinctive fashionable look was marked by her colorful scarves and high-neck Chinese-style collars on evening gowns.

She is also remembered for the use of cat eye sunglasses in less formal situations. She was outspoken by nature and a fearless dresser by choice. In many ways a very traditional wife, Betty Ford crossed lines to appeal to both feminists and less independent-minded housewives (Caroli 1995, 266).

When James ‘Jimmy’ Earl Carter defeated Ford, a new style came to the White House. After decades of haute presidential wives, the 1970s recession-era got back to basics. Indeed, the Carters are remembered mostly for their sobriety. A peanut farmer from Georgia, Carter had his own style built on a

one-of-the-people image, which was especially seen in his wardrobe. One of the best examples of this was seen early in his term when he delivered a fireside chat from his West Wing study on national television. During it, he wore an unbuttoned beige wool cardigan, which he had sported earlier that night at dinner, to stay warm after turning down the heat to conserve energy. Carter was using the power of network television to “keep in close touch with the people of our country” (Rawlings 2012). First Lady Eleanor Rosalynn Carter was also very parsimonious. Her events were more informal than those of her predecessors, downplaying the usual pageantry of White House affairs—she did not spend all the funds available to her for hosting and refurbishments at the mansion. She failed to dominate the lists of most admired women or to inspire a following equal to that of the glamorous Jackie Kennedy. Carter’s fashion statements were emphatic exclamation points on the notion that a first lady was more than a fashion icon. Her style was all but flashy; she wore sober dresses during the day as well as during official ceremonies (Caroli 1995, 276).

After four years of a comparatively austere administration, the Reagans (1981—89) re-glamorized the White House and its inhabitants. Ronald Reagan, the dandy from Hollywood, scandalized the press when he wore a gray-and-blue glen plaid suit on a 1982 trip. Not since John Kennedy posed boldly in a two-button coat, defying decades of three-button tradition, had a suit of clothes gained such worldwide attention as the outfit that Ronald Reagan wore to Europe. First Lady Nancy Reagan also gave every indication that she meant to develop a public image very different to that of Rosalynn Carter. Jackie Kennedy’s emphasis on elegance and style, which had gained her so many permanent admirers, coincided with Nancy’s own inclinations. However, Reagan’s elitist approach to living in the executive mansion contrasted markedly to the Carters’ reputation for carrying their own luggage and entertaining informally. The public also perceived the first lady as artificial and excessively materialistic. Nancy brought fashion back to the White House and regularly appeared dressed in sumptuous gowns. During the first inaugural ball she wore a one-shoulder column dress and long white gloves designed by James Galanos. She became famous for her colorful dresses and her signature shade was a crimson dubbed ‘Reagan red,’ a color she described as a picker-upper. However, Washington reporters who had cooperated in making a heroine of Jackie Kennedy treated Nancy Reagan as though she bought her wardrobe from public funds. Returning elegance to the White House did not win her the same admiration that it did for Jackie Kennedy (Caroli 1995, 277–81).

Fashion was not at the center of the agenda when George Herbert Walker Bush won the presidency (1989–93). During his presidency, he kept to a

standard conservative style. First Lady Barbara Bush, at sixty-three, was the oldest woman ever to take on the job. Known as the Silver Fox for her grandmotherly image, combined with pearls and elegant dresses, Barbara Bush was one of the most popular first ladies of all time. So effective was the first lady's presence and popularity to her husband's presidency that she was jokingly referred to as Bush's secret weapon. (Watson 2001, 276). Unlike many of her younger predecessors, she had no intention of changing. She would do anything asked of her, she was quoted as saying, except dye her halo of white hair or go on a diet. Barbara Bush joked with reporters and she warned photographers that they would have a hard time catching her in one of the expensive dresses or elaborate hair styles that Nancy Reagan favored. In fact, although she was thoroughly familiar with the price tags of Arnold Scaasi dresses and Hermès handbags, her relaxed attitude toward style and appearance appealed to Americans who agreed that a wise woman was better spending her time on other matters (Caroli 1995, 290).

When the Clintons moved into the White House (1993–2001) the gap between generations was bigger than is usual between one administration and the next; it was even bigger regarding style. William 'Bill' Jefferson Clinton, forty-second president of the United States, is remembered for his preference for Italian suits, some of them designed by Gianni Campagna and Paolo Maronna, which Bill adorned with colorful ties. However, he is best remembered for his laid-back wardrobe. A fan of Yale sweatshirts and New Balance sneakers, some of his finer style moments, such as the bomber jackets, faded denim trousers, and saxophone performance on the Arsenio Hall Show, remain unforgettable. As for the first lady, the contrast was huge. Hillary Rodham Clinton was one of the highest-profile, most politically active first ladies in the history of the presidency. Headlines described her as the president's first partner. She had so much influence that the press wrote about the 'Billary' phenomenon. However, her influence and activism created controversy among those uncomfortable with such visibility and power (Watson 2001, 280–81). To talk of her clout, on February 2, 1993, Hillary chose to be interviewed by the *New York Times*, which came out with a front page photo of the new first lady glamorously clad in an off-the-shoulder black dress and leaning over a table set for a formal dinner in the State Dining Room. The article delved into her thoughts on menus, entertaining, and other traditionally domestic—and feminine—topics. She made her mark with a classic and rigorous style based on the pantsuit. Nevertheless, on special occasions, she would indulge in designer labels, wearing evening gowns designed by Óscar de la Renta. Her sense of style and her professional competence proved that it was possible to be a both powerful and a stylish woman at the same time (Beasley 2005, 218).

When George Walker Bush moved into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue (2001–2009), style came to a standstill. Though the Bush administration had a fairly rigorous dress code in the White House, the president liked to give the impression that he was a down-home Texas country boy, out in Wranglers in his hours off. One of his more stylish moments was when he wore a designer tie during his first television debate against John Kerry in the 2004 electoral campaign. The tie was designed by Pierangelo Masciadri as part of the collection dedicated to Roman Mosaics.

First Lady Laura Lane Bush, a shy and discreet woman, was very different to her predecessor. She was a perfect Texas housewife devoted to the role of traditional womanhood in pure ‘Bush’ style (Watson 2001, 285). Regarding fashion, she is not known for a modern look, but for her placid style and classic dresses. However, like most first ladies who got the chance, Laura Bush showed increased confidence during her husband’s second term. She entrusted herself to the designer Oscar de la Renta who created numerous outfits for her; among these are the famous cashmere dress and matching coat she wore during the swearing-in ceremony and the sumptuous gown she wore during the second inaugural ball. Nonetheless, she maintained her image of a caring, down-to-earth person (Caroli 1995, 334). In short, she was the anti-Hillary Clinton.

2008 marked a watershed for the United States: Barack Hussein Obama and Michelle Robinson Obama became the first African American presidential couple of the United States. Not only do they represent a social and political watershed, but also a fashion one. There is no comparison with the other presidential couples: young, athletic and passionate, presidential couples before them were much more sober and cold. The president and his wife looked confident and in many pictures the first lady projected something Americans have not seen for a long time in public figures, and certainly not in the White House: a natural sense of style.

Barack Obama himself might be considered a bit *normcore*, a trend characterized by unpretentious, average-looking clothing, such as unbranded jeans, plain sportswear, and chunky white socks. His ‘fashion is none of my business off-duty look’ generated some criticism over his ‘dad’ jeans with white sneakers and socks. First Lady Michelle Obama projected a fashion dimension after the classic and traditional Bush style. A Harvard-educated lawyer and former hospital executive, her willingness to combine professional expertise and a traditional woman’s role signaled something new. In matters of style her combination of choices appeared youthful and new to many Americans. TV commentators liked to compare her to Jackie Kennedy. Both were attractive young mothers and showed a special flair in choosing clothes. However, while the first lady of Camelot ran up huge bills

for clothing and jewelry, Michelle made a point of appearing in outfits from J. Crew, just like those worn by working women across the country (Caroli 1995, 354). Unlike her predecessors, who had permitted media stylists to choose their clothes and supervise their makeup for photo shoots, Michelle Obama insisted on controlling her image. From the very beginning she was determined not to follow any standard regarding fashion. For the 2009 swearing-in ceremony she wore a historic, glamorous, creamy yellow dress and matching coat by Cuban designer Isabel Toledo: felted wool, lace embroidered, and with thin layers of cream silk and cloudlike silk netting. The color of the dress was a very gentle, subtle tone of sage, which Toledo called 'lemongrass,' symbolizing optimism and evoking the idea of rebirth and renewal (Betts 2009). It is a color that is intriguing as it is far from the classical standard of the ceremony where bright red or blue is worn. Obama accessorized the look with a sparkling crystal necklace and green leather gloves and shoes. For the inaugural ball she chose a one-shouldered, draped white chiffon ball gown created by Jason Wu, a twenty-six-year-old Taipei-born designer. During the 2013 swearing-in ceremony Michelle went even further, wearing a Thom Browne custom-made, navy checked coat and dress. Indeed, Mrs. Obama is responsible for the explosive careers of some up-and-coming fashion designers. In choosing little-known designers such as Wu and Toledo, and mixing their clothes with pieces from Gap and J. Crew, the first lady has spurned conventional choices and orthodox ideas (Betts 2011, 99). Moreover, her dedication to fitness and her high energy level all set her apart from previous first ladies. Unlike her predecessors, Mrs. Obama faced an extremely curious and far more intrusive public, one intent on knowing how much she paid for her clothes and how she worked out those bare arms. Daily newspapers, like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, assigned full time reporters to the first lady, and dozens of blogs reported on her every move. The debate on her style remains open: from criticism of her getting off Air Force One in short shorts to the sleeveless dresses that showed her toned arms, which symbolize a confident and disciplined woman. *Vogue* magazine listed Michelle in their top ten list of best-dressed women and she has twice been a cover girl for the magazine. On the 2009 March cover she was photographed wearing a sleek and sleeveless magenta silk dress, simple jewelry, and showing off her sculpted arms (Caroli 1995, 355– 57).

People are in turn attracted or afraid of style; fascinated or suspicious. Somehow having style has come to be associated with the idea that people can be judged solely on their appearance, rather than the content of their character. The reason why Michelle Obama's style matters and exemplifies the power of style is that she is helping to liberate a generation of women from the false idea that style and substance are mutually exclusive. Michelle

Obama used her self-possessed style to set the tone and to define a new etiquette of power. She seemed remarkably unintimidated by traditions that have subjugated women for centuries. As part of a new administration with new ideas and new faces, Michelle had the glamour of Jackie Kennedy, but as a style icon she also spoke to a multicultural, post-feminist, wireless world. However, as the presidential term came to an end, designers and people in general wondered how the new first couple would deal with fashion.

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FASHION AND FASCISM

DANIEL POMMIER VINCELLI

George L. Mosse's studies on the nationalization of the masses, approach fascism and nazism in terms of symbolism, ritual, liturgy and style (Mosse 1970). Considering fashion as the quintessential self-representation of style, the aim of this paper is to analyze when and how fashion and the use of clothes contributed to the development of what Mosse calls "new politics" as a distinctive feature of European totalitarian regimes between the two world wars. The ruling parties (NSDAP and PNF) in Germany and Italy were modeled as modern militias and party uniforms (modeled on military uniforms after WWI) were used for the self-representation of membership and leadership. Mussolini and Hitler dismissed the normal clothes of their civilian life by replacing them with self-styled party uniforms. The two dictators appeared as both party and state leaders on different occasions by wearing different uniforms. This paper tries to find out if there was a coherent strategy in clothing in the imagery of their totalitarian leadership. There are other issues to consider that are related to the relationship between fashion and dictatorship between the two wars. Was fashion and the fashion industry part of this process? How did fashion contribute to the construction of consensus in Italy and Germany? Was fashion a part of the nationalization of the masses? The main hypothesis is that fashion, in theory and practice, was closely connected to the image and role of women in the new model of society that the two regimes envisaged. For the regime, the creation of an Italian fashion was a nationalistic priority in competition with France and other European nations. The competition was political and ideological rather than economic, at least until 1930. In 1932, Mussolini emphasized the need for the creation of an Italian fashion declaring: "it is possible to create an Italian fashion, thus it must be created" (Gnoli 2000). From the beginning of the 1930s, the fascist regime struggled to impose the use of a national fashion. French fashion was still extremely popular among the higher ranks of Italian society. It should be mentioned that during the roaring twenties numerous attempts were made to promote a national Italian fashion system and style. These attempts were motivated by ideological and nationalistic purposes, rather than by an overall economic strategy. The great economic

crisis and world depression of 1929 changed the course of the regime's approach to the fashion industry.

The autarchic economic policy of the regime, aimed at counteracting the economic isolation of the country during the Ethiopian war, fostered the beginnings of an Italian fashion system. In 1932, *Ente autonomo per la Mostra Permanente della Moda* was founded. This state-funded organization aimed at coordinating all public activities in the sphere of fashion. In 1935, during the colonial war in eastern Africa, the regime enacted a law to modify the *Ente autonomo* into the broad and well-funded *Ente nazionale della Moda* (ENM), with more powers and prerogatives. The activity of *Ente nazionale della Moda* was full of weaknesses, offering proof of the regime's incoherence. Between the years 1935 and 1940, the activities of *Ente Nazionale della Moda* and control over the fashion industry became more and more oppressive. After the break out of war the democratic nations and enemies of fascist Italy—England and the United States—used the utility of national programs to promote their own wartime fashion. The Utility Clothing Scheme was a rationing scheme introduced in the United Kingdom by the British government during World War II. In response to the shortage of clothing materials and labor, and due to the requirements of the war effort, the Board of Trade sponsored the creation of ranges of utility clothing that met tight specifications regarding the amount of material and labor allowed to be used in their production. The fashion industry in the Allied countries was redesigned in order to cope with the constraints of war. By contrast, the Italian fashion system ignored the war and was presented as “a tool for the internal front and a symbol that everything was alright and that Italy would win the war” (Butazzi 1980). The history of fashion is crucial to understanding many of the different features of identity-building during the Fascist era. Fashion history outlines the dynamics of national-identity formation, as well as the complexity of the invention and performance of public identity (Paulicelli 2004). According to Paulicelli, a complete social history of the fashion industry and system in Italy shows two competing sides:

“It shows, on the one hand, how the regime used fashion to discipline the social body, especially women's, and to create a national style recognizable as such; and, on the other, how fashion was also an individual act through which the creativity was expressed both of the people working in the fashion industry and of ordinary people who used fashion and style to demonstrate their non-conformity with the diktats of the regime. Pointing out that it was as a result of the debate on nationalism of the pre-fascist liberal period that premises for fascist policy were set, the essay argues that the history of fascist fashion policy is one of continuities rather than ruptures” (Paulicelli 2002).

This dual structure, fashion both as a codifying style and an individual act of creativity and non-conformity, encompasses the whole history of fashion under the regime:

“Fashion, however, has a twofold structure which engenders two different practices and discourses: one leaning towards the law and the codification of manners and style; the other towards agency or the individual freedom to make up and create one’s own image and identity. As we shall see, these two opposite mechanisms coexisted even within the constraints of a totalitarian regime. Furthermore, fashion helps us to gauge how aesthetics and style served, on the one hand, the politics and policies of the regime and, on the other, an individual creativity that shared little or nothing with the diktats of fascist bureaucrats” (Paulicelli 2004).

The relationship between fascism and fashion is full of dichotomies. Even women and the feminine image were represented in an ambiguous and contradictory way. Under the fascist regime, fashion (as a theory and a practice) became part of state policy and, in conjunction with other media, was singled out by the fascist authorities as a powerful driver to mold and discipline the social body in both its public and personal manifestations (Paulicelli 2004). Paulicelli, in her seminal study on the relation between the fashion system and the manipulation of women’s social bodies, graphically outlines this dichotomy. In a fascist parade of 1939, entitled *La Grande adunata delle forze femminili* (A Great Parade of Female Forces), the ambiguous and double-faced policy of the fascist regime towards women and their representation is well illustrated, showing links between fashion, decision-making, and political and social culture. The documentary made by the state newsreel agency, Istituto Luce, described a public parade that had occurred in Rome on May 28, 1939, as a national gathering of Italian women to support the regime and their *Duce*. Women are represented and fashioned both as *fasciste* in black-shirted uniforms and sports clothing, as well as traditional mothers from the countryside wearing regional costumes from all over Italy. The parade is a visual confirmation of the ambiguous, ambivalent and double-sided vision of women in the fascist nationalization process. On the one hand, the regime was tolerant and open to regional differences, on the other, it promoted an image of modern women wearing military uniforms and sports clothing. For the regime, fashion, strictly connected to women’s role and appearance, became a concern of the fascist state. The two contrasting images of women were not at odds. Both the folkloric dresses and the modernizing uniform-like clothes worn by fascist women were part of the same strategy. Another important step was the publishing of the *Commentario dizionario italiano della moda* (Commentary and Italian

Dictionary of Fashion) by the journalist Cesare Meano. The text's aim was "to uniform the social body and appearance in dress, but also and no less to create a national character that would fit fascist ideology and gender representation" (Paulicelli 2002). The *Commentario* on fashion highlights the complex relationship that existed in fascist Italy between fashion and the cultural and social history of the country during the *ventennio*. The *Commentario* had a primary purpose of freeing the language from French cultural and linguistic domination. The French prevalence in the language of fashion was due to the fact that France was the leading country in fashion couture. For Paulicelli, Meano's work goes well beyond the Italianization of language. His main aim is a description of fashion in what Roland Barthes, in his seminal work, defined as "a meaning, and therefore an ideology" (Barthes 1967).

Barthes clearly demonstrated how the fashion system works: "it passes real garments through a series of structures until it finally meets the public with a meaning, a song, which is thoroughly linguistic, thoroughly dependent upon language" (Allen 2003). Barthes clearly defines the relationship between language, ideology and fashion. The *Commentario* of Cesare Meano highlights this relationship by using the language of nationalization to create an Italian culture of fashion. The *Commentario*, as a cultural tool of Italian fashion, displays a close relationship to the nationalistic culture of fascism. The *Commentario* and the activity of the ENM were both part of the regime's strategy to emancipate Italy and free the country from foreign domination in the realm of fashion. The emancipation process was two-fold. On the one hand, there was a cultural aim to create a clearly recognizable Italian fashion; on the other, there was a perceived need to build a textile industry according to the principles of autarchy. The new Italian fashion industry needed to compete with foreign firms in the international market and ensure domestic self-sufficiency. Even this dual strategy was contradictory: fashion was presented as a part of a national identity with its roots in Renaissance Italy, while also being a quintessential part of modernist culture. The relationship between fashion policies and modernism—which is a concept vividly denied by Meano's work—is well illustrated in a visual book from 2009 (Lupano and Vaccari 2009). According to a review of the book:

"The links between fashion and the construction of a national identity, between an autarchic policy and plans for industrial development, are evidenced by the images themselves and their captions. We thus discover that isolation was not really this way, either in word or in fact, and that many autonomous and feminist projects found their way through the constrictions of the regime. On the one hand, totalitarianism and fashion are in many ways diametrically opposed, but on the other hand, it is interesting to note how

many experiments arise from regimes, demonstrating that individual spirit and the circulation of new ideas cannot be wholly repressed by any state. And regimes themselves are not wholly ‘exempt’ from fashion design” (Reinach 2012).

In other words, the visual research of Lupano and Vaccari emphasizes the deviancies and discrepancies between the ideology of the regime and practical (pragmatic) behavior (what Paulicelli defines as “non-conformity to the diktat of the regime”). By a careful analysis of fashion iconography in magazines and newspapers during the *Ventennio*, the two authors point out the “rebellions, the incongruities and the concrete practices that shattered that ideology or took up an original stance with regards to the orders of the regime” (Reinach 2012). This can be seen in the archaist and aesthetic reference to the Renaissance by the ENM and Meano’s *Commentary* hand in hand with the modernist abstractionism sketched in the magazine *Fili*. The sharp contrast between ideology and reality—the modernist style and the historical roots of fashion—is also vivid in the German experience. In Germany, the fashion industry struggled with the French system, competing for German women’s support by emphasizing that “only German fashion” could “do justice to their unique, noble qualities.” An overview of the German fashion system highlights “the ambiguous relationship between propaganda, ideology, official directives and economic realities” (Guenther, 2004). The clash divided the Nazi leadership between supporters of a true German look and those who supported modernism. The two cases demonstrate that fashion and totalitarianism are in many ways diametrically opposed and that fashion retains space for the expression of contradictions and new ideas.

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FASHION IN UKRAINE: BETWEEN THE WEST AND TRADITION

MARCO CILENTO

Ukraine, historically, politically and etymologically, has always been a zone of “boundary” and of a “border.” It is a country full of paradoxes, not only because it is (being much further to the east than it is commonly believed) the center of our continent, but because Russia was born there.

The country has always been subject to bilateral forces that have marked Ukrainian destiny, not only from a geopolitical point of view, but also from a cultural one. In the age-old conflict between Slavophiles and Westerners (those who favored Occidental culture) new interpretive schemes are regularly inserted; recently, these have been linked to the concept of “cultural hegemony” (Gramsci) and “soft power” (Nye). The guiding hypothesis of this paper is : the Western-oriented turning point imprinted on Ukrainian politics by the Orange Revolution and, above all, by the experience of the Euromaidan, has had a similar impact on costume, aesthetic taste and Ukrainian fashion trends. Before entering into this discussion, let us quickly review the main historical passages of the Ukrainian case.

Ukraine: a historical profile

In 882 AD, the Scandinavian prince Oleg conquered Kiev (Kyiv), killed the lords of the city (Slavic tribes, Polyans) and declared, “This city will be the mother of all cities of the Rus’.” The Rus’ were the powerful Viking clan of the city. In a short time, this commercial city, crossed by the wide Dniipro River (which the Romans called Danaper), became the center of a large and powerful empire stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. At the beginning of this nation, its characteristics and contradictions were already recognizable. A major change in the history of Kievan Rus’ occurred in 988 when Prince Vladimir converted his pagan people to Orthodox Christianity. The flourishing kingdom of Rus’ was defeated in 1240 by the Mongol Golden Horde led by Batu Khan. Kiev was totally destroyed and its inhabitants exterminated. Later on, the territory of Rus’ was divided into

three principalities: Galicia, Volynia and Muscovy (later becoming Poland, Lithuania and Russia). The situation worsened after the uprisings of the serfs in the Ukraine, led by the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1596–57) and the Russian-Polish War (1654–67), known as the War of Ukraine, which resulted in significant territorial expansion and the beginning of Russian political and military power in the region. The conflict was driven by the rebellion of the Ukrainian Cossacks against the Poles. The Cossack Khmelnytsky obtained help from Alexis I of Russia, in exchange for his alliance; this relationship was ratified in 1654 by the Treaty of Pereyaslav, uniting Ukraine and Russia. By the twentieth century, the history of Ukraine took a new direction. The Revolution of 1905 and the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 directly involved the country and led to the foundation of the Socialist Republic of Ukraine. This explains why, when the Germans invaded Ukraine in 1941, many people welcomed them greeting them with bread and salt, as ‘liberators’ (there were many episodes of collaboration: 30,000 Ukrainians fought alongside the Germans in the infamous 14th Halychyna Division and some of the cruellest guards in the Nazi concentration camps were Ukrainians). The German occupation was particularly ruthless in its ferocity, not only against Jews, but against the entire civilian population, which were considered complicit in an increasingly strong guerrilla resistance movement. After the war, Ukraine counted 8,000,000 deaths (of which 1.5 million were Jews) and 2 million deported as slave labour (200,000 remained in the West). If they are added to the 7 million deaths from deportation, executions and starvation, we have a picture of the huge cost in lives over fifteen years in that region. After World War II, and until the 1950s, there was a creeping and violent war conducted by the army and Russian security forces against illegal formations of the UPA, the military wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which was founded on October 14, 1942, and led by the generally anti-Semitic Roman Shukhevych. On April 26, 1986, a new tragedy befell Ukraine: the fourth reactor of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant blew up. The number of dead as a direct result of the accident was ten thousand, but radiation affected millions (Russia has always disputed the data provided by Greenpeace and other international organizations). In response to this episode various opposition movements began to develop that joined together as Rukh (the People’s Movement for Perestroika) in 1990. It saw significant results in local elections and paved the way for separation from the USSR. On August 24, 1991, Ukraine declared independence; this was confirmed by popular referendum on December 1 and the concomitant election of the first president, Leonid Kravchuk. Ukraine passed from being a member of the family of Soviet nations to become a sovereign state, beginning a long and difficult path towards democracy. In

1996, the parliament (Verkhovna Rada), imposed a new constitution and in December 2004 Ukraine became a parliamentary republic. The two most recent important events that have led to the geopolitical repositioning of Ukraine are: the Orange Revolution of 2004–2005 (Riscassi, Cilento) and the Euromaidan event (2014)—both anti-Russian and pro-Western in tone.

Trends and cultural influences of the past and the present

As mentioned earlier, for centuries Ukrainian territory was the subject of disputes and debates between supporters of various currents and cultural identities. One of the best known examples of these debates is the controversy of the 1840s between Slavophiles and Westernizers. This great intellectual debate, for the first time, distilled two contrasting interpretations of Russia's past and future.

The Slavophiles, led by writers like Alexei Khomiakov (1804–60), Konstantin Aksakov (1817–60), and Ivan Kireevsky (1806–56), had been brought up in the traditions of European culture and did not question the many achievements of Western civilization. Nevertheless, they were unhappy with the Westernizing orientation imparted to Russian culture since the time of Peter the Great and saw it as damaging to the unity of the Russian nation. In the Slavophile view, Russia had for a long time been following a completely different path to that of Western Europe. European history was predicated on state despotism and the constant struggle between egoistical individuals and antagonistic social groups in conditions of unfettered capitalism. By contrast, Russian society was founded on the collectivist principle of the commune united by the common interests of its members.

The other important element of Russian life was the Orthodox religion. Its precepts had strengthened the ability of Russians to sacrifice their individual interests for the sake of a collectivist good and had taught them to help the weak and patiently bear the hardships of life. As for the state, it had traditionally looked after its people, defended the nation from aggressive neighbors, and maintained order and stability, but it had not interfered in the spiritual or communal life of the people. Slavophiles condemned imported ideas and institutions as alien to the Russian people and called for the revival of Russia's old ways of social and state life.

The Slavophiles' opponents—the Westernizers—were represented by two main strands: the liberals, such as Konstantin Kavelin (1818–85) and Boris Chicherin (1828–1904), and the radicals inclined to socialism, such as Alexander Herzen (1812–70) and Vissarion Belinsky (1811–48). What united this diverse group of thinkers was their rejection of the view that Russia was unique. They firmly believed that Russia should advance further along the

European path of development, which was the only possible way for a civilized country to go. Russia had taken this path later than most European countries—at the beginning of the eighteenth century—as a result of Peter the Great's reform efforts. Naturally, its level of development lagged behind that of the advanced countries of Western Europe. But Russia's progress, in a 'Western' direction, would continue and would lead to the same changes that other European countries had already gone through.

Both the liberal and the radical wings of Westernizers were aware of the establishment in Western Europe of a new socioeconomic order and of its positive and negative effects. The difference in their attitude to the prospect of similar developments at home was that the liberals recognized that Russia lacked the conditions necessary for the establishment of capitalist patterns, and they called for the creation of such conditions.

The radicals, by contrast, found the prospect of the importation to Russia of the European bourgeois system objectionable. In their view, Russia should not simply strive to catch up with the advanced countries of the West by uncritically borrowing their concepts and institutions, but should make a bold leap towards a totally new and principally different system of life—socialism. Belinsky and Herzen saw the predominance of communal land tenure among the peasantry as a peculiarly Russian characteristic that made such a leap possible.

Another useful contribution is attributable to the theoretical development of Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937). One of Gramsci's ideas was the concept of 'hegemony,' or ideological domination. When one ideology, or world view, dominates, it suppresses or stamps out, often aggressively, other ways of explaining reality. Hegemony can contain a variety of ideologies. Some are artificial, theoretical explanations created by academics, political activists, and philosophers. Other ideologies are organic, meaning they come from the lived experience of the common people. Hegemony is constructed out of a culture's way of seeing and believing, and the institutions that uphold these beliefs, like religion, education, family, and the media. Through these beliefs and institutions, society endorses certain ethical beliefs and manners, which the powers that be agree are true, right, logical, or moral. The institutions and beliefs that the dominant culture support are powerful and inculcated in the young, so that alternative ways of envisioning reality become hard to imagine. This is how hegemony is created and maintained.

According to Gramsci, hegemony locks up a society even more tightly because of the way ideas are transmitted by language. The words we use to speak and write have been constructed by social interaction throughout history and have been shaped by the dominant ideology of the times. Thus,

they are loaded with cultural meanings that condition us to think in particular ways—and not to be able to think very well in others.

Ukraine has been a battleground for the confrontation between Russia and the West with two alternative political-cultural models seeking to assert their hegemony. Behind Russia's confrontation with the West lies a clash of ideas. On one side are human rights, an accountable bureaucracy and democratic elections; on the other, an unconstrained state that can sacrifice its citizens' interests to further its destiny or satisfy its rulers' greed. Both under Communism and before it, the Russian state acquired religious attributes. It is this 'sacred state' which is under threat, and Vladimir Putin sits at the apex: "No Putin—no Russia" said a deputy chief of staff recently. His former KGB colleagues—the Committee of State Security—are the Putinist state's guardians, servants and priests, and consider themselves entitled to all its riches. Theirs is not a job, but an elite, hereditary calling. Expropriating a private firm's assets to benefit a state firm is therefore not considered an act of corruption.

When thousands of Ukrainians took to the streets demanding a Western-European way of life, the Kremlin saw this as a threat to its model of governance. Alexander Prokhanov, a nationalist writer who backs Russia's war in Ukraine, compares European civilization to a magnet attracting Ukraine and Russia. Destabilizing Ukraine is not enough to counter that force: the magnet itself must be neutralized.

Russia feels threatened not by any individual European state, but by the European Union and NATO, both of which it regards as expansionist. It sees them as 'occupied by America,' seeking to exploit Western values to gain influence over the rest of the world. America wishes to freeze the order established after the Soviet collapse and remain the absolute global leader, doing whatever it likes, while others can do only what is in America's interests—recently, Putin said "maybe some want to live in a semi-occupied state, but we do not." Russia has taken to arguing that it is not fighting Ukraine, but America in Ukraine. The Ukrainian army is considered a foreign battalion of NATO, and thus American soldiers are killing Russian proxies in the Donbas. Anti-Americanism is not only a reason for war and a pillar of state power, but also an ideology that Russia is trying to export to Europe, as it once exported Communism.

Anti-Westernism has been dressed not in Communist clothes, but in imperial and even clerical ones. "We see how many Euro-Atlantic countries are in effect turning away from their roots, including their Christian values," said Putin in 2013. Russia, by contrast, "has always been a state civilization held together by the Russian people, the Russian language, Russian culture and the Russian Orthodox church"—the Donbas rebels are fighting not only

the Ukrainian army, but against a corrupt Western way of life in order to defend Russia's distinct world view.

Putin's preferred method is "hybrid warfare": a blend of hard and soft power. A combination of instruments, some military and some non-military, choreographed to surprise, confuse and wear down an opponent, hybrid warfare is ambiguous in both source and intent, making it hard for multinational bodies, such as NATO and the EU, to craft a response. But without the ability to apply hard power, Russia's version of soft power would achieve little.

At this point, since reference has been made to "hard power" and "soft power," we shall look at the author who has specified these two concepts, from the perspective of political science: Joseph Nye. Nye differentiates between two types of power. Hard power is "the ability to get others to act in ways that are contrary to their initial preferences and strategies" (Nye 2011, 11). This is the ability to coerce, through threats and inducements (the carrot and the stick). In contrast, soft power is the ability to get "others to want the outcomes that you want," and more particularly, "the ability to achieve goals through attraction rather than coercion" (Nye 2004, 5). Finally, Nye introduces "smart power" as the "balance of hard and soft power" (Nye 2005). He argues that soft power is as important as hard power, and even more so in international politics. Indeed, soft power enables a change of behavior in others, without competition or conflict, by using persuasion and attraction. Furthermore, the use of hard power in the modern era is becoming more costly (both financially and politically), whereas it is possible to say that soft power is "free," in the sense that it does not require substantial resources and has limited consequences in case of failure. He also points out the importance of style: soft power is a matter of seduction and behaviors, such as arrogance, may be counterproductive and entail repulsion rather than attraction. Nye also acknowledges that soft power does not always have positive intentions; for example, propaganda is a form of soft power: "it is not necessarily better to twist minds than to twist arms" (Nye 2011, 81). Therefore, the concept of soft power is close to the Liberal tradition, even if "there is no contradiction between realism and soft power" (Nye 2011, 82). In opposing hard power, soft power does not emphasize military power, but the power of ideas.

Following recent events in Ukraine, Russia's soft power in Eurasia has been challenged from various geographic directions. Western politicians have frequently accused Moscow of "imperialism" by seeking to replace Russia's soft power with direct control. The US-based ideas of democratization and the EU-generated project of "good neighborhood" have acted as potential constraints on Moscow's soft power. China too has played an important role

by influencing the region via the SCO and its commercial expansion into the region. The global financial crisis made China's economic influence in the region especially pronounced. China's trade with Central Asia exceeded that of Russia and Beijing is increasingly successful in tapping into energy reserves and winning new contracts in the region. Finally, the two key Muslim states—Iran and Turkey—have influence over the areas around the Caspian and the Black Sea. They have both tried to capitalize on their Shia and Sunni cultural capital and status as hubs for energy pipelines connecting Eurasia, the Middle East and Europe.

In response to these developments, Moscow has begun to advocate the vision of Russia as a regional civilization in a world of competing cultural visions. In 2008, the Foreign Minister, Sergei Lavrov, became the first official to argue that “competition is becoming truly global and acquiring a civilizational dimension”—the subject of competition now includes different values and development models. Moscow's civilization-ideology is not necessarily anti-Western, even though Russia feels threatened by the West's human rights rhetoric and is concerned with its international policies. Such an interpretation of Russia's civilizational turn is premature as the Kremlin is yet to officially deviate from the standard line of preserving strong relations with Europe and the United States in a global world. Importantly, the recent Foreign Policy Concept signed by Putin into law in February 2013 describes the world in terms of a “rivalry of values and development models within the framework of the universal principles of democracy and the market economy.” Faced with external competition, the Kremlin is preoccupied with reviving the internal foundations for Russia's soft power appeal. By adopting the language of a distinct civilization, the Kremlin is trying to articulate a system of internal values as the latent element of soft power.

Ukraine: fashion and costume after Euromaidan

How did the pro-Western turn in Ukraine after Euromaidan affect fashion and aesthetic style? Since 2012–2013 many luxury brands—Tom Ford, Gucci, Prada, Louis Vuitton, Burberry and Salvatore Ferragamo—have opened mono-stores in Kiev and Ukraine has entered the global fashion scene. In March 2013, Condé Nast Publications introduced *Vogue Ukraine*. However, the magazine was published entirely in Russian, and not in Ukrainian. This demonstrates another authoritarian move—Russian is spoken in the wealthier cities by the educated, middle classes (who speak both Russian and Ukrainian), as opposed to Ukrainian, which is generally spoken by individuals living in poorer villages. In September 2013, international attention was paid to Daria Shapovalova's Mercedes-Benz Kiev Fashion

Days (MBKFD). Shapovalova founded the Kiev Fashion Days in 2010; in 2011, Kiev Fashion Days became Mercedes Benz Kiev Fashion Days; and in September 2013 the event reached a European audience. The event came as a result of Shapovalova's frustration at how Ukraine is portrayed in the international media and she wished to create an event to help showcase Ukraine's creative talent to Europe.

As conflict in Ukraine peaked last year, fashion was weaponized and designers bravely translated their political allegiances onto the catwalk. While the rest of the world's fashion press avoided the conflict, NOT JUST A LABEL (NJAL) took to fashion's front line in Kiev, to stand in solidarity with its home-grown talent. One year on, NJAL is back to assess Ukraine's turbulent terrain and turn the camera on its community of emerging fashion talent in an exclusive short film titled #EyesOnUkraine. One year ago, Ukraine was embroiled in political turmoil, a bloody conflict and a looming revolution, yet Ukraine Fashion Week and the Kiev Fashion Days strove to showcase the best of national fashion talent. While the international fashion press and buyers stayed away, largely due to Western imposed travel sanctions, NJAL joined its stable of Ukrainian designers on the front line. It served as a lesson in how fashion's power could be weaponized as a political tool. A year later, NJAL returned to Ukraine to chart change and see how Ukrainians are ready for the new future of their country—and how they will continue to respond in full, creative force.

Ukraine's creative force struggles today with sanctions imposed on their income, as well as the logistical challenges of creating a collection—in some parts of the country, sewing machines might run for only two hours a day amid electricity shortages, as well as the relentless difficulties in importing fabric. Some might denounce such issues like fashion as frivolous in a country where many are trying to survive, but clothes and the elixir of design have become a symbol of utopian possibility. In 2015, designers and their seamstresses are no longer afraid to go outside and the aesthetic message signaled by Ukrainian fashion talent is one of hope and not war.

From 13 to 24 October 2015, Fashion Week was held in Kiev. The most surprising aspect was the return to the traditions of national costume and style. Some examples of this trend were seen in the work of the designers Lena Ivanova, Olga Navrotsky and Ksenia Schnaider. Describing why she has taken inspiration from national dress, Lena Ivanova felt that patriotism was fundamental to Ukrainian creativity: "we must be mindful of our traditions and try to use something that we have accumulated over the centuries that is really the DNA of the country," she explained, talking from Kiev; "Traditional Ukrainian dress is very diverse and different in the different regions of the country." Ivanova, whose eponymous label

IVANOVA combines traditional silhouettes and prints with modern tailoring, draws influence from the costumes of the Carpathian hill tribes for her collections: “the local population (the Hutsuls) always seem very bright and authentic.”

Contemporary Ukrainian designers often use fashion as an opportunity to express their solidarity. Olga Navrotsky has used bullets and wings alongside slogans aimed at Russian president Vladimir Putin as motifs in previous collections. Ksenia Schnaider, a luxury label, has used the national emblem of Ukraine, the trident, as a motif. But this trend for sartorial protest seems to have shifted with many young native designers choosing patriotism over revolt.

Against the current political backdrop, which still sees daily clashes between government forces and pro-Russian rebels, another Ukrainian designer, Vita Kin, maintains that her collections have nothing to do with politics: “I can’t stand politics, and I don’t want my clothing in any way associated with it,” she says, “my goal is to create bohemian, picturesque and life-affirming clothing that women feel special wearing. I know I definitely do.”

Like Vita Kin, Ivanova sees this new wave of tradition as a chance for Ukraine to reclaim its heritage: “traditions have so many interesting things in them, a lot of energy, that you can learn over and over again and use. We constantly try to reconsider and structure these traditions.”

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

TEXTILES AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUES

GREEN INNOVATION IN THE TEXTILE SECTOR: THE BAMBOO

MARTINA MUSARRA, FABRIZIO D'ASCENZO
AND GIULIANA VINCI

Introduction

Over the last few decades, the textile sector has changed its structure by implementing sustainable methods of production and using natural fibers, sensors and biotechnology. The ecological standard of the sector is increasing, mainly due to the attention placed on the environment and policies of social responsibility implemented by global companies. A fundamental role is played by innovation in the textile sector for ecological improvement, in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and resource use during different production stages. The most prevalent natural material used in this sector is bio-cotton, but over the past fifteen years a new, innovative and natural material has been utilized in production: bamboo. This fiber is natural, breathable and biodegradable (Afrin et al. 2014) and has been introduced into Italian industry. The advantages of bamboo concern its rapid renewability, biodegradability, efficient space consumption, low water use and organic status (Waite 2009). However, there are also some constraints, in terms of the costs and resources employed during processing (energy, water and chemical requirements). This study outlines the strengths and weaknesses of this new material in order to provide an evaluation of the life cycle of bamboo and to analyze the impact of this natural resource.

Technology and innovation in the textile sector in recent years has brought about the possibility of introducing alternative materials to its production and manufacturing processes. These innovations have provided benefits in terms of reduced environmental impact and increased living standards. Textile production today is largely dominated by cotton, even though this commodity has an extraordinary impact in terms of cultivated yields, pesticide and liquid fertilizer application, water consumption, and pollution. In addition, it has had negative impacts in terms of employment

conditions and labor standards in those countries where cotton is produced and processed. The types and mix of fibers chosen during production are closely related to the environmental impact of the textile and clothing sector in terms of the significant amount of water and land used, as well as the use of pesticides and fertilizers, which contribute to terrestrial eco-toxicity and marine and freshwater eutrophication. In contrast, a substantial majority of human toxicity and freshwater and marine eco-toxicity results from the use of the produced materials.

The World Bamboo Organisation promotes the use of bamboo in different sectors as a low-impact substitute resource, especially for the textile sector. Globally, there are more than 1,500 species of bamboo. In botany, bamboo is considered a grass and not classified as a tree for forestry evaluation; as such it is often omitted from discussions regarding potential solutions for reducing climate change. However, international scientific studies increasingly find that bamboo has important roles to play in sequestering carbon in forest ecosystems (ABS 2012). Furthermore, this commodity has a number of strengths from an agricultural and environmental point of view.

Bamboo is fast-growing, has effective carbon sequestration capacity, the potential to restore degraded landscapes over short time periods (generally months), and the capability to be processed and become a real substitute for cotton. Furthermore, thanks to its low water demand, it can bring new income and livelihood options to villages that have been hit by degraded soils and the loss of vegetation.

Our study focuses on the potential of this new commodity through analysing its use in the textile and clothing sector. Our purpose is to study the international textile market in order to better understand possible changes that can be made to this growing market. We first analyze the spatial distribution of commodity cultivation, the location of the factories in which textile materials are processed, and international trade. The main contribution of our study is to demonstrate the strengths of bamboo textile use as a valid solution for cotton. Cotton is a high-resource and high-pollution commodity in its demand for water, soil, pesticides and fertilizers. Furthermore, it also involves a high level of CO₂ production. For that reason, we have decided to analyze bamboo as a potential commodity, the physical properties of which could represent a green substitute for cotton, by optimizing its environmental and social impacts during its entire life cycle.

International trade in the textile and clothing sector

In recent decades, the textile and clothing (T&C) industry has been subjected to tariff liberalization and production has relocated to countries

where the labor costs are lowest, modifying geographical dispersal in terms of production and distribution. The global production network is constructed by the different practices of multinational companies, as well as small and medium-sized enterprises. Following the Uruguay Round Agreements of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), from 2005 textiles and clothing have not been subject to quantitative import limitations on the world market. The Agreement on Textiles and Clothing brought to an end the previous quota system and provoked a rapid offshoring of production, especially to Asia. Asian countries count the highest number of manufacturers and employees, and they play an important role in the international trade system. According to the WTO, Asia alone accounts for 58.4 percent of world T&C exports and more than 70 percent of EU imports of T&C come from there.

In particular, China is the leader in the sector in terms of factories (more than 100,000 manufacturers) and employment (over 10 million people), clustered around shipping ports and logistics centers that shorten delivery times to clients. Recently, the country has faced challenges in the T&C sector, which may compromise its position at the international level: the appreciation of the yuan has caused a rise in labor costs and lower profit margins for businesses.

The second leading country with 5,000 textile and garment factories and 4 million textile workers is Bangladesh—exports in the T&C sector account for 85.9 percent of its GDP. Very low wages and trade deals with Western countries have made Bangladesh the world's second-largest garment exporter after China, with 60 percent of its clothes going to Europe and 23 percent to the USA (UN 2014).

In India, the abundant availability of raw materials and the large domestic market place the country third at international level. The textile sector is the second largest provider of employment with 45 million jobs (after agriculture), and contributes about 4 percent to GDP and 11 percent to the country's export earnings. Furthermore, the country has been in negotiation with the EU in drafting a free trade agreement (FTA) since 2007 (UN 2014).

Pakistan is the fourth largest producer of cotton in the world and 15 million people are employed in the T&C sector (30 percent of the country's 49-million-strong workforce), which contributes 9.5 percent to its GDP.

Other countries in which the T&C sector represents a significant source of economic revenue are: Vietnam with more than 3,800 companies giving employment to 2.2 million people; Cambodia where the garment industry accounts for about 80 percent of total exports; Indonesia which employs 1.1 million people, making the sector one of the most important elements of the country's manufacturing industry. The total T&C market value at the global level is 766 billion dollars; in 2013 this market registered a growth of about 8

percent in comparison to the previous year—four times higher than the average growth for world exports (2 percent). Figure 1 graphically presents, in billion dollars, the total value of the T&C sector in different countries. As we can see, in China (39 percent in clothing; 35 percent in textile exports) and the EU (38 percent), the highest value is registered. The graph confirms that the most important nations in the T&C industry are the least developed countries. The highest growth is registered in India (23 percent), Vietnam (20 percent) and Bangladesh (19 percent), while the lowest growth is in the Republic of Korea (2 percent).

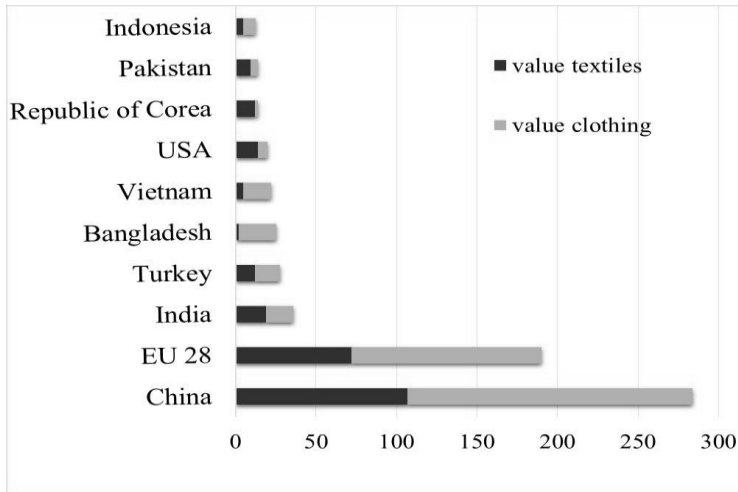


Figure 1. The total T&C market value in different countries in 2013 (billion US dollars).

Bamboo as a new material: industrial employment and growth perspectives

Before the last ice age, bamboo was common in temperate areas; Asia¹ currently has the highest proliferation of this commodity (both in terms of bamboo species and bamboo forest area, accounting for about 80 percent of the global total) with more than 400 species spread over 6.8 million hectares.

¹ China, India, Japan, Myanmar, Thailand, Bangladesh, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines.

In America² and South Africa³ varieties of bamboo are also found, but with a more limited territorial distribution, as shown in Figure 2. Suitable temperature conditions for bamboo cover a large range, from -20°C to 47°C, which makes it one of the most adaptable commodities in the world. Furthermore, the chemical composition of bamboo makes it very hardy—the fibers are composed of cellulose (26–43 percent), lignin (21–31 percent) and hemicellulose (15–26 percent).

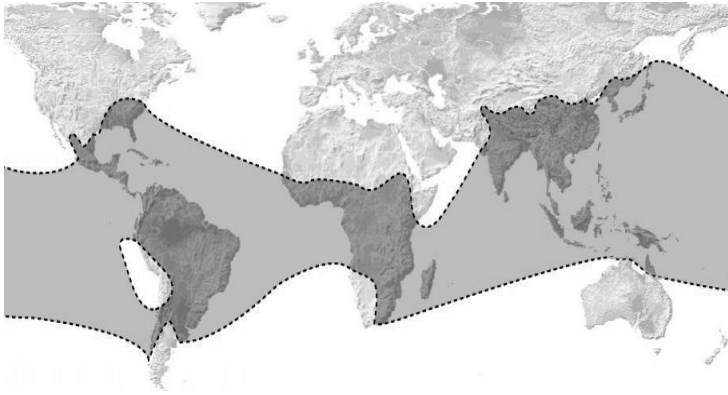


Figure 2. Geographical distribution of bamboo (2014).

The history of bamboo's utilization can be traced back 5,000–6,000 years (Zhaohua 2004). Many countries have implemented programs of bamboo cultivation, because they can play an important role in terms of climate change strategy and the development of local industries. In fact, bamboo is employed in the construction sector, as well as in the textile sector, and its eco-friendly characteristics and efficiency have been recognized by experts, who call it “the timber and new type of textile material of the 21st century” (Wooldridge 2012). Furthermore, the bamboo is being targeted for livelihood development and the alleviation of both environmental and social problems;

² Latin America, Mexico, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela and Brazil, the Amazon Basin.

³ Senegal, Guinea, Libby Elijah, Southern Ivory Coast, Southern Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Rwanda, Burundi, Gabon, Congo, Zaire, Kenya, Tanzania, Ma Ravi, Mozambique, and the east coast of Madagascar, which is the center of the African bamboo distribution from the northwest to the southeast across the tropical rainforests of Africa and the plagioclase zone of evergreen and deciduous forest.

it is one of the few raw materials promoted in the textile industry as a solution to environmental problems related to cotton.

The market for this innovative fiber stands at close to 10 billion dollars and the World Bamboo Organization affirms that this has the potential to double in 2017 (Wooldridge 2012). Due to its potential, investments in bamboo production and processing have been implemented with the aim of increasing the presence of this commodity in the industrial production process. Bamboo usage in the textile industry has great potential, mainly due to its sustainability in clothing production and other textile applications. This renewable resource has biodegradable characteristics and decomposition is not a source of environmental pollution.

For instance, in Sri Lanka approximately 24 million dollars have been invested in bamboo processing in collaboration with international and local institutions (the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, Global Environmental Facilities). The aim of the Sri Lankan Project is to plant 10,000 hectares of bamboo by 2019 in order to generate 150,000 tons of dry bamboo annually and with the expectation of creating 10,000 direct and indirect employment opportunities. Bamboo fabrics are destined for different countries, including the US, UK, China, India and Japan.

The raw material of bamboo can be processed by two different methods in textile manufacturing: chemical and mechanical. In chemical processing, the bamboo leaves and woody shoots are cooked in chemical solvents (sodium hydroxide and carbon disulphide)—the process is called *hydrolysis alkalization* combined with multiphase bleaching. The process is the same as that used in the creation of rayon viscose from wood or cotton waste.

In mechanical processing, enzymes are used to modify the raw material. The woody parts are crushed and natural enzymes are used to break down the bamboo walls so that the fibers can be mechanically combed out and spun into yarn. This material is also called *bamboo linen* and it is natural and sustainable.

The mechanical process is greener because there is no utilization of chemical substances which can contaminate the natural equilibrium of the environment if they are released (Waite 2009). The advantages of bamboo usage as a commodity in the T&C sector can be divided into two main categories, according to the use of the plant and the properties of bamboo:

1. Renewability; biodegradability; efficient space consumption; low water use; carbon sequestration capacity.
2. The unique properties of bamboo textiles come from the bamboo fibers, which are filled with various micro gaps and micro holes and contribute to moisture absorption and ventilation. The material

composition permits transpiration for the skin and has a natural antifungal and antibacterial agent known as Kun (or Kunh), which stops odor-producing bacteria from growing and spreading in the textile.

The global bamboo industry has developed rapidly in recent decades (Liu et al. 2013). Table 1 shows the world bamboo trade, by analyzing different producers and buyers in the market and the value and percentage of their market share. China is the biggest global producer of bamboo and the industry accounted for about 21 billion dollars in 2013, registering an increase of 50 percent since 2010 (13.1 billion dollars). The main bamboo commodities traded on the international market are industrial products, woven products, edible shoots and raw materials (mostly poles).

<i>IMPORT</i>	<i>USA</i>	<i>UK</i>	<i>NL</i>	<i>De</i>	<i>Fr</i>	<i>JP</i>	<i>HK</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Bamboo import (million US\$)</i>	899	125	106	169	169	349	163	475	2455
<i>Market share (%)</i>	36.6	5	4.3	6.9	6.9	14.2	6.6	19.3	100
Export	Africa	Asia	Europe	North/Central America	Oceania	South America	Total		
Bamboo products (million US\$)	29	1554	739	120	8	5	2455		
Market share (%)	1.2	63.3	30	4.9	0.4	0.2	100		

Table 1. Bamboo import and export in US dollars and the market share value (%).

World exports of bamboo and rattan products peaked at 2.6 billion dollars in 2008, before the global economic crisis slashed this figure by a quarter the following year. In 2012, the figure stood at 1.9 billion dollars, of which 539 million dollars (29 percent) were industrial bamboo products, dominated by the rising volume of bamboo flooring, valued that year at 366 million dollars (68 percent of industrial bamboo exports).

Environmental and social benefits

The most cultivated commodity at international level destined for the T&C sector is cotton. Cotton production in most parts of the world is regarded as highly yield and high investment (Liu et al. 2013). Innovation in the sector and improvements in technology have contributed to production growth. Studies conducted by international organizations demonstrate that the expansion in global cotton production negatively impacts on the environment (WWF 2012) because chemical substances are always used during cultivation and contribute to the activity being pesticide-intensive.

A representative example of the pesticides used in cotton cultivation is furnished by India: even though cotton production occupies only 5 percent of total cultivated land, the percentage of pesticides consumed during the production process is close to 50 percent of total Indian pesticide use in agriculture (Roy 2006). These practices have direct consequences for biodiversity loss (destruction of beneficial insects and development of resistant ones); pollution (soil, air, water) and contamination by cotton products endangering human health (Roy 2006). Furthermore, the environmental impact of cotton includes: contributing to climate change; releasing toxic chemicals; high waste volumes destined for landfill; water and space consumption; and the use of non-renewable resources.

For instance, in cotton production the amount of irrigation water used can be as much as 25,000 liters per 1 kg of cotton produced (Zhao et al. 2009). Global water use for cotton is roughly 256 Gm³/yr, i.e. 43m³/yr per capita on average, meaning that the consumption of cotton products amounts to 2.6 percent of the total global footprint (Champagain et al. 2005). Cotton cultivation also causes local water shortages (the Aral Sea in Uzbekistan, the Murray-Darling basin in Australia, the Rio Grande in the USA and Mexico), with related environmental impacts.

Another important aspect related to intensive cotton cultivation, besides its environmental impact, is connected to its social impact. Low wages and low labor standards are perpetuated as cultivation and manufacturing in the clothing industry amounts to significant national income in the least developed countries. The greatest environmental, economic and health impacts occur in countries with weak protection frameworks (Olukosi et al. 2008), which are at the whim of international market demand. For instance, in many European countries prices in the textile sector have decreased, while consumption has increased. Environmental pressures, such as water consumption, pesticide use, pollution related to production, transportation, emissions, and waste, are connected to this growing demand. Nowadays, cotton cultivation amounts to 33 percent of the world's fiber cultivation and it

also contributes to the production of synthetic fibers, such as polyester and nylon. Generally speaking, these production and processing methods use non-renewable resources and toxic chemicals. The Swedish Chemicals Agency has identified more than 1,900 chemicals used during the production of clothing, of which 165 are classified in the EU as hazardous to health or environment.

Bamboo has 1,250 known species that grow naturally worldwide in the tropical and sub-tropical belt and cover vast areas of the globe; the rate of carbon sequestration of bamboo is one of the highest in the world. The plant grows very fast and has a high climate adaptability; it can grow both in forests and plantations (INBAR 2009). According to recent studies (Afrin et al. 2014), bamboos in plantations contribute to the sequestration of carbon, especially if the harvested carbon-matter is turned into durable products. Furthermore, the process of bamboo growth allows it to produce more oxygen than an equivalent stand of trees. This aspect has a significant implication for the reduction of atmospheric carbon dioxide: bamboo stands release 35 percent more oxygen than equivalent stands of trees and sequester up to 12 tonnes of carbon dioxide from the air per hectare per year (E.B.F 2001). The carbon sequestration potential of a managed forest ecosystem also depends on the use of harvested materials; as long as the volume of bamboo production keeps increasing, the bamboo system acts as a CO₂ sink, as the rate of extraction is higher than the rate of carbon release (FAO, 2007). The most valuable qualities of bamboo are: its fast rate of growth, as a consequence of its early maturation; the short rotation required in cultivation, which contributes to lowering the levels of exposure to outside risks such as fire; and flexibility to management change and harvesting practices when facing climate change. Furthermore, by growing on marginal land, such as degraded land and steep slopes, better land can be left for arable cultivation.

When analyzing the social benefits, the annual harvesting of bamboo generates a regular income that gives bamboo farmers a quick return on investment and provides an important safety net (INBAR 2011). Bamboo cultivation and processing could help ameliorate some of the issues in its most productive continent, Asia. In fact, the worst industrial disaster after the *Bhopal gas tragedy*, which occurred in December 1984 at the Union Carbide India Limited (UCIL) pesticide plant, happened in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh on April 2013: the *Rana Plaza Tragedy*. The building containing five factories to which the largest multinational clothing brands outsourced production, collapsed, killing 1,138 workers and injuring over 2,500 people. Before the Rana Plaza Tragedy, another accident occurred in November 2012, the *Tazreen Factory Fire*: a multi-floor fashion-garment factory burned down, taking the lives of 112 garment workers. In the least developed

countries these kinds of accidents are very common; with minimal labor rights and standards workers are not properly safeguarded. This lack of jurisdiction is linked to the actions of Western global fashion brands, the policies of governments and international organizations, and even to the individual choices of consumers.

Conclusions

Different species of bamboo have different properties, and this has consequences for employment in the T&C sector and its production output. This is especially so in regards to the production process of bamboo textiles, which are manufactured either chemically, or mechanically through the use of enzymes (Waite 2009). The two processes, as well as the fibers produced, are different. However, cotton production is a resource-intensive activity, and the output derived from the entire process (cultivation, growing phase and manufacturing) compromises the environmental equilibrium, as well as negatively impacting on employment conditions in the least developed countries.

The growing implementation of new business models based on fewer and more sustainable materials and other resources, on sharing and leasing, and reusing and recycling, likewise point the way towards greater sustainability (Coster 2007). Businesses and civil society have a particularly important role to play in mitigating impacts outside Europe and particular actions in the substitution of commodities can determine the results. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the important potential role played of bamboo in carbon sequestration. This versatile plant offers a charcoal and gas alternative to fossil fuels, is fast-growing, remarkably renewable and grows in dense stands; harvested materials have an array of uses that date from the dawn of humanity and these are multiplying and improving in step with the advance of technology. This commodity can make a valuable contribution to land restoration and forestry strategies in the planet's subtropical belt. The carbon stored in Chinese bamboo forests is projected to increase from 727 million tonnes in 2010 to 1,018 million tonnes in 2050, or by nearly 40 percent over forty years (Erdumlu 2008, 45). Including bamboo in climate change mitigation, adaptation, and land restoration strategies makes national and international plans more effective and brings a range of climate smart options to national and regional climate change strategies.

The use of bamboo in the T&C sector can also contribute to an improvement in labor conditions in those countries where there is little effective employment legislation (Roy 2006). It can improve the living conditions of workers in terms of wages and safety if the process used is

mechanical-enzymatic, contributing to a further reduction in the use of chemical substances in the T&C sector. Further studies should be conducted to demonstrate the effective life-cycle of this commodity by including in the analysis international trade indicators and mapping the environmental impact of the transportation phase, in order to implement effective environmental policies at the international level.

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TECHNOLOGICAL EXPRESSION IN NEW FASHION: 3D PRINTERS

CHIARA LANDI AND MICHELA MUSTO

Introduction

The aim of this brief essay is to analyze the evolution of the relationship between fashion and technology in recent years. Today, the fashion industry seems profoundly transformed as a result of the introduction of new technologies, which have opened up new possibilities of formal and productive expression (Mc Can 2007). One of these innovative factors is the use of machines for rapid three-dimensional prototyping, allowing for a wide expressive ability and extreme precision in realization. The ability to meticulously express oneself and the possibility of creating a digital model have created the opportunity to experiment with various types of modeling, including parametric ones based on algorithms. This design method is a fundamental component of a new design process and is influential in the new fashion-science scene. We are witnessing the advent of technology not just as an integral tool in the design process, but also as a material component of fashion production.

Firstly, we provide an overview on the existing combination of fashion and technology in order to highlight the changes taking place. Following this is a discussion on the evolution of the fusion between technology and fashion before 2000. It is also argued that new means of expression in the manufacturing field have been developed through use of the digital prototyping machine. Subsequently, there is an analysis of the new ways of expressing oneself through design. A case study on experimentation with fabrics and new technologies is presented. The practice of Michela Musto, an architect and fashion designer, is used to present clothes created using a mathematical algorithm through laser cutters and printers for rapid prototyping (3D). The work of Michela Musto highlights the use of new software and digital systems that allow processing of parametric surfaces.

These programs are normally used in architectural contexts, but in this case they have been adapted for the production of clothes in the fashion industry, using unconventional techniques. Finally, the different ways in which technology integrates with fashion are analyzed, highlighting possible future developments in the global market.

1. The beginnings of the linkage between technology and fashion

Fashion involves change based on the continuous innovation of styles and aesthetic taste of the society around us. As a result of industrialization, bourgeois mercantilism has achieved a dominant status and has constructed a fashion system in order to maximize profits and transform this field to its economic advantage. This system reached its apex in the twentieth century with the development of mass production (Sanchez 2007). In those years, the fashion world, from a technological point of view, could be characterized in its utilization of industrial machines for the mass production of clothes and their consequent distribution through the retail system. This led to the creation of a standard of low quality clothes sold at low prices across the Western world. Many years after the birth of the 'pret à porter' concept, the situation changed, causing a kind of democratization of the fashion industry. The birth of postindustrial society has permitted the development of new materials and fibers together with new technologies; this situation has modified the textile industry and, consequently, that of fashion. New technologies have created new shapes and new scenarios: the development of interactive design has not only brought about changes to the textile industry, but it has also caused the disappearance of items and decorations realized exclusively in natural fibers, such as wool or denim. From a sociological point of view, this is a meaningful change because it highlights how closely the social order is linked to the world of industry and how much these two worlds influence each other.

In terms of new technologies, it is important to highlight their influence not only concerning the design and manufacture of clothes, but also the method of their distribution. The birth and development of e-commerce has had a big influence on all market sectors, ranging from stylists to the category of final consumers. Fashion designers, stylists, distributors, managers and retail buyers have created a continuous increase in demand and the habit of 'just in time' purchase through the utilization of the latest generation of software and software applications. The development of new technologies has introduced many novelties to the field of fashion. Today, an increasing number of brands and stylists have decided to take up these new digital trends

in order to better satisfy consumer expectations (San Martin 2010). This tendency is expected to lead to further changes and developments in the future. In the next paragraph the new possibilities of this relationship in the manufacturing field are examined.

2. New possibilities of expression in the manufacturing field

After a brief introduction of the birth and evolution of the linkage between technology and fashion, we will go into depth about the new possibilities of manufacturing and production born in recent years thanks to technological progress. Everything we dress, ranging from clothes to accessories, is influenced by technological innovation and its impact and its benefits on industrial production. One of these benefits is 3D printing that can be defined as a process of making three dimensional solid objects from a digital file. The creation of a 3D printed object is an 'additive' process. In an additive process an object is created by laying down successive layers of material until the entire object is created. There is a substantial difference between this process and the 'subtractive' manufacturing process: in this process material is removed from the original object creating a new one. 3D printing uses a digital model; generally this is created through the use of Computer Aided Design software (CAD) or through the scanning of a real object with a special device. The efficacy of this kind of technology can be evaluated on the basis of different parameters while keeping in mind that there are several processes known by this name and each one of these utilizes different materials. Consequently, each process has different results and a different environmental impact (Navarro 2011; Tumbaco 2012).

In the rapid prototyping field, additive techniques have been widely utilized for decades for production models to render an object in concrete form before starting its mass production.

In recent years, interest shown by the media and others into this new way of manufacturing has increased dramatically. As a consequence, it has come to be known by a wider number of people besides design professionals and engineers, who were previously the only ones interested in this topic (Quinn 2012).

The motivations behind this ubiquity are many: firstly, the enormous technical progress of a particular additive technique, 3D printing, has to be considered. With this special tool it is possible to produce directly and in few minutes items so realistic that further work is not necessary before utilization.

The most diffuse process in 3D printing is based on fused deposition modeling (FDM), which uses overlapping filaments of heated polymers.

More advanced technologies permit one to selectively melt some parts of the material with a laser: the melted parts of the material compose the object being printed while the solid part acts as a support/guide for the protrusions and thinnest parts of the object. By using this technique, the printing is more precise than that achievable with FDM and it permits the use of plastic material and metal alloys, such as steel, stainless steel, aluminum and titanium alloys (Guerrero 2009).

One of the principal fields of 3D printer utilization in the fashion field is for shoe design: the immediate advantage is the realization of a product that is adaptable to the dimensions of the foot. Indeed, feet are quite different and very often their dimensions do not fit properly with standard commercial measurements. In addition to this practical advantage, the most important characteristic of 3D printing is the possibility for engaging in fantasy and creativity and being able to realize one's own singular vision; this is true for both shoes and clothes (Mc Can 2007).

One of the designers to have utilized 3D printing is Francis Bitonti—he designed a famous dress worn by Dita von Teese. During New York fashion week in 2013, this dress aroused amazement because it was the first in the history to have been 3D printed. Another designer, Van Herper, created a dress using 3D technology for her collection Magnetic Movement, presented in 2014.

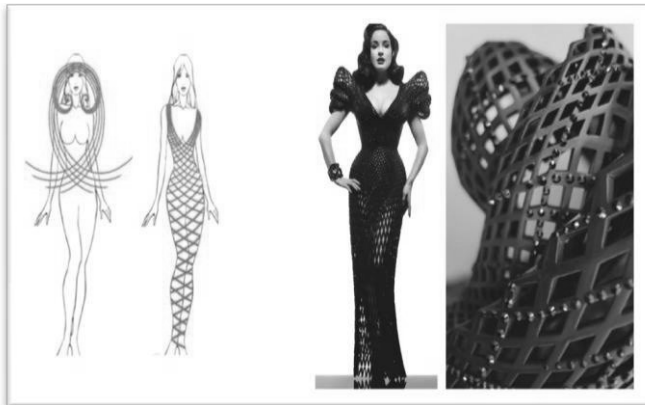


Figure 1. Bitonti and Schmidt for Dita von Teese

In the field of 3D printing, the company 3DSYSTEMS is known for its experimentation and the projects it has realized in collaboration with many stylists. Among these is Kittane, who created a clothing line using

3DSYSTEMS' printers. In the additive manufacturing panorama we should also mention Jessica Rosenn Kranzt and Jesse Louis-Rosenberg of Nervous System, who have focused on printing shoes and accessory. As mentioned above, since the 2000s the subtractive process has also developed considerably: the laser cutter technique has been utilized in particular for design in haute couture. Its use is very easy—a laser is used to cut the material on a very small scale—and the advantages are many: accuracy, precision, material selection, and the possibility of use with different kinds of fibers (cotton, neoprene, leather, silk).

3. New possibilities for expression in the design field

It should be pointed out how design has been favored by these new technologies. Generative design is a technique by which one or more than one concatenated or interconnected elements melt together or intersect creating shapes. Shapes and artwork are realized through algorithmic calculations or special software for combination and repetition according to specified parameters (Seymour 2009). This technique of representation and communication was revisited at the beginning of the 1990s. In 2015, generative design saw a big boom in popularity. With the advent of new software, and of a particular plug-in, it is possible to generate projects developed through this technique with the goal of representing what we see in our minds. Generative design is particularly interesting because it is possible to obtain shapes and illustrations after starting simply from a symbol, a line, or a shape, which, through different elaborations, can lead to a very complex drawing, very often playing on distortions of optical perception. Thanks to generative design, fashion and architecture can now interact (Navarro 2011).

The person who represents this interaction is Jorge Ayala, a Mexican architect and designer. He acquired notoriety after his participation at Google Fashion Design Week in 2013. After studying and working in architecture, Jorge Ayala moved to Paris where he decided to learn about fashion. He rejected the idea of repetitive production based on seasonal fashion: a fashion designer works over short timeframes trying to renew their creations year by year and month by month. By contrast, architects try to create something that will remain with us without being modified for many years. In his office/atelier he uses an interdisciplinary approach combining digital manufacturing with architectural influences. Through the utilization of generative design, Ayala has put his theories about the similarities between fashion and architecture into practice.

Another new trend in the design world is represented by the body scanner, a technology that permits the creation of personalized clothes. The body

scanner is an instrument that, thanks to the optical sensors, is able to measure the body in a noninvasive way. The customer enters a dressing room wearing only underwear and in five seconds thousands of reference points are measured as infrared waves hit the body's surface. Subsequently, the software processes these point-by-point measurements. The most visible result of this philosophy is that a dressing room/infrared body scanner 3D allows one to recreate the size of a customer in a few seconds. The software creates the customer's measurement, which will be saved in an online profile for future purchases. It is also possible for the customer to insert their own size into their online profile without passing through the scanner and having access to customization services.

4. New performance: wearable computing and embedded technologies

Textiles are a fundamental part of human life and new electronics are enabling us to give them a rudimentary form of intelligence, allowing them to sense the environment and respond to it (Ollsson et al. 2011). A wearable computer is a computer that is subsumed into the personal space of the user, who controls it; it offers both operational and interactional constancy, i.e. always on and always accessible (Mann 1998, 22). To be functional, *wearable technologies* use electrical engineering, physical computing and wireless communication networks. The first example of wearable technology was revealed in 1966 by Ed Thorpe and Claude Shannon; it was a pocket-sized analogue computer with only four buttons able to calibrate the speed of a roulette wheel. In 1981, Steve Mann, in order to control his photographic equipment, created a backpack-mounted computer (Rhodes 1998). The rate of development of wearable technology from that time has accelerated rapidly: processing power is increasing exponentially, computers are miniaturizing, and our vision is little by little becoming reality (Seymour 2009). Computer technology and fashion are not as distant from each other as they might at first seem: the thread-up and thread-down system of the weaving process corresponds to the 0 and 1 binary logic of computer circuitry (Seymour 2008). Embedded technologies are now strongly influencing the comfort and aesthetics of wearable fashionable. The incorporation of technology depends on the context of use and the desired interaction between the fashion user and their surrounding environment (Sullivan and Igoe 2006).

New Materials

The worlds of fashion and material sciences are becoming more and more connected. High performance fibers with conductive materials can transform garments into interactive devices that are able to react to stimuli and communicate. Advanced materials offer a range of new capabilities, extending the functionality of clothes and widening their appeal. Scientists and microbiologists have engineered textiles able to react like living tissue, lining the body with a living second skin of bacteria. Their ability to mimic natural processes is affecting the *modus* in which the human body experiences, while their capacity to interact with smart city technologies is influencing the way that urban smart systems are built. The role of the development of materials and fashion fabrics is crucial and has been created according to an ever widening spectrum of costumers. These crossover materials mark a moment in the history of fashion design in which garments are characterized as emerging hybrid forms. Many leading manufacturers already include a variety of technical textiles, tailored to a varied clothing typology. Eco-friendly fabrics, for example, are being produced using low-resource processes that use less water and energy than traditional ones—a must for sustainable fashion design. There are now lightweight shock-absorber textiles and memory-shape ones. Textile innovation and scientific research creating brand new fabrics with high-tech materials and through natural processes are rapidly transforming our world. Fashion will soon be characterized by its technological innovation and its future will be deeply influenced by the materials from which it is made (Quinn 2012).

5. The case study of Michela Musto

In this context it is worth mentioning the contribution of the Italian architect and designer Michela Musto and her work in the field of *technofashion*. She comes from an architectural background and her study of structures and passion for computational design have brought her to engage in great professional collaborations. She has worked as an architect in Paris, Naples and London for avant-garde firms, such as Foster + Partners, which has deepened her knowledge of cutting-edge design and prototyping techniques. This professional experience combined well with research into emergent technologies and biomimetics under the guidance of Michael Weinstock at the Architectural Association School of London. There she had the opportunity to develop a different perspective on generative and emergent design. During her studies at the École des arts décoratifs in Paris with Jorge Ayala and Rem D. Koolhaas, she furthered her research into the relationship

between digital fabrication and computer design with the project H2OShoe for the RE-inventing shoe program, developing a special algorithm that simulated water flow.

Para(metric)-Fashion

Her *rencontre* with Arian Hakimi Nejad and Vahid Eshraghi, both from the futuristic studio of Zaha Hadid Architects of London, turned into a long and successful collaboration: a series of workshops on parametric design and data-driven fabrication processes applied to fashion design. These offered the possibility of exploring and testing a new fashion prototype together with her students, which involved immersion into computer design thinking and an exploration of the associated new design possibilities. Focusing on the use of generative systems and parametric modeling participants created a code-structured garment that materialized their ideas and employed computer-aided manufacturing tools.

The research nature of this workshop into para(metric)-fashion, provided a laboratory to test, study and observe material behavior, fabrication techniques and digital tools as an inspiration to devise novel designs in fashion. Challenges, such as body dynamism, which parametricism had little chance of addressing in architectural discourses, were opened up to a new field of possibilities. Design methodologies in different fields have always flowed into each other and so the proposed tools and methods of parametricism in architecture, along with a distinctive aesthetic sense, can be successfully implemented in other design disciplines. Research in architecture and design should involve experiments in fabrication; there are no obstacles to folding them into the design process itself. In industrial design, research is implicit in the design process; however, research and design are nearly indistinguishable here. Fashion and architecture are both based on the necessities of life and are forms of self-expression for both creators and consumers. Fashion and architecture express ideas around personal, social and cultural identity, reflecting the concerns of the user and the ambition of the age. Their relationship is a symbiotic one and throughout history, clothing and buildings have echoed each other in form and appearance. This seems only natural: they not only share the primary function of providing shelter and protection for the body, but also because they both create space and volume out of flat, two-dimensional materials.

Morphogenetic Couture

From this experience, Michela created new fashion designs in collaboration with the FabLab SPQwoRk in Rome. All the prototypes were exhibited at the Maker Faire Rome Edition 2014 under the name of Morphogenetic Couture. The collection aimed to explore the presence of technology in all its interlaced aspects with fashion design: interactive design with an Arduino board integrated into a dress; the generation of shapes through parametric modeling with algorithm-based design; tests and research into the performative pattern of using laser cutting of balsa wood, with algorithm-based design software, in order to achieve fabric-like behavior. This resulted in three prototypes that display the multifaceted application of this technology: design, interaction and digital fabrication.

Re-Coding Fashion

Re-Coding Fashion in Tehran is the latest workshop Michela has coordinated and contributed to. Approaching fashion design within the architectural discipline poses the question of how a garment can function both as a dynamic adaptable structure as well as a cover for the human body. This project aims to find a system capable of sheltering the body, as well as responding adequately to certain demands for flexibility. Such flexibility needs to be adapted regarding each movement while keeping the whole system clear of chaotic formation. In addition, it must also respond to the variable necessity for coverage and decency.

The system aspired to needs to be comprised of consistent subsystems, which share the same essence, but have been mutated parametrically to respond to various practical demands in each part of the body. This approach has led the project to find a geometrically smart cell able to morph into a number of other cells by changing the embedded parameters to fulfill the different demands of the body.

In searching for a workable smart cell, a series of techniques from folding to cutting and stitching were applied on felt to explore material behavior. In the second stage, the cell was tested in aggregation with others to experiment on the collective behavior of these cells and their potential regarding body topology and dynamism. As a result, the project has developed a cell which can be morphed into different alternatives, providing a wide range of possibilities in following body topology without constraining movement.

Conclusion

New computational modes using computer assisted systems of conception and fabrication have opened the doors to other parameters of production in fashion and design. We have explored the paradigm of the emergence of digital technologies in an attempt to redefine the field and practice of fashion within a new computational and materializing space. The use of a new generation of computer-aided design software enables increasingly detailed exploration of the evolutionary principles that characterize living organisms. The implementation of generative protocols, such as genetic algorithms and organic simulation techniques, is opening up unprecedented fields of investigation. Fashion can generate complex models resting on processes of self-generation of matter and the integration of computational, social, and material variables. The implementation of these processes has radically redefined the conditions for the production of fashion. The use of computer-aided manufacturing and production tools (CAM) and of robotic implementation instruments has encouraged fashion's development of deeper levels of complexity. This emerging proto-fashion is entirely devoted to the materialization of a computational mode where 3D printers are one of the futuristic tools that can be used to express this design. The designer Katya Leonovich incorporated 3D printing into her Spring 2015 line shown at New York Fashion Week. *Vogue* used a 3D printed version of the supermodel Karlie Kloss in an international media campaign. These are the signs that 3D fashion printing, among other emerging 3D prototyping techniques, is here to stay and will spark creative minds to push fashion beyond its limits and into new trends. Together with advanced 3D mapping techniques, parametric design and data-driven fabrication processes, we analyze and question the practice of tailoring with emerging technologies and propose operative strategies that can inscribe the personality of the individual directly into their apparel.

Moving beyond the discipline's borders, fashion designers are currently developing a *modus agendi* at the intersection of design, computer science and biology. The focus on different aspects, quality and performance is necessary to understand the tangible possibilities Fashion 2.0 offers to designers and their customers. The fashion industry is currently developing a holistic approach towards the research and development of novel technologies to engineer textiles and materials. The variety in this field is exceptional. New materials merge with old and new needs drive innovation, while fashion slowly evolves, from environmental responsive fashion systems and 3D printed fabrics to the exciting world of wearable tech. The development of advanced parametric design solutions will engineer mapped

data into vast complexes of interrelated parameters, such as material 3D form finding and performance according to mathematical algorithms. Agent algorithms generate seams that grow around the customized and mapped 3D form so that the data alters the route of growth and adjusts for performance requirements leading individuals in the direction of choosing a ready-to-wear design and then making sensitive tweaks to suit individual tastes and body shapes. Future fashion materials will have to be broader in scope in order to cater for a greater range of applications.

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WEAVING IDENTITY TO ENHANCE THE SUSTAINABILITY OF LOCAL FIRMS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

MERCEDES LUSA MANFREDINI
AND BERNARDETE VENZON

Introduction

“And the land cannot be refuted in its gifts and abundance. Contrariwise, experimentation with pigment is done to it. It is no longer one land, but many lands that end up colouring, with the purpose of inventing, reinventing, and repeating the process in search of style and personality” (Santos 2008, 10).

With the development of new technologies, in their transnational importance and export, as well as the globalization of the market, it seems that today there are no boundaries in the conception of products across countries. Understanding the identity of a territory means knowing how to read the symbols that characterize it. Each of them carries stories and contains clues to know the present and past reality of a place. The symbols that identify textures, wefts, and architecture, including arts and crafts, can be traced down to the gestures of the hands that produce them.

Changes to economic scenarios and the alteration of a territory's competitiveness change the concept of material and immaterial goods. Cities and territories always emerge as important locations of authorship: they become the object and subject of exchange, connected to the modes of production and to the acknowledgment of a culture's values.

Clarifying the definition of identity

The term *identity* has been used with many meanings and in different fields. Its ambiguous nature is highlighted in the use of a series of overlapping terms, such as character, personality, profile, image and

positioning. Additionally, identity at the global, national or local level is treated as a contemporary and political issue in society.

In traditional societies, identity was fixed, solid and stable. In modern societies, however, identity has become mobile, multiple, personal, self-reflective and liable to change and innovation. Nevertheless, identity in modern times is also related to social and other concepts (Lasth and Friedman, 1992). According to Woodward (1997), sharing an identity means to be connected at the most elementary levels: nationally, racially, regionally and locally.

The idea of *cosmopolitan localism* in Ezio Manzini's work (2008), offers another perspective, which balances at the intersection of the local and global dimensions. It is closely linked to the idea of the sustainable improvement of local resources. With that in mind, and in accordance with Manzini, cosmopolitan localism may be seen as the result of a balance between the roots of a place and community and its openness to the global flow of ideas, people, things and money. This balance is very delicate, but it can generate a new sense of place and community, as a node in a global network that generates and regenerates the social fabric and local production.

Experiencing identity

Increasingly, we are invited to wonder at and wander around this no-boundary world. Living and experiencing distant cultures, with their unique iconography and difference to our everyday lives, becomes fascinating. We are delighted by the discovery of novel sceneries, with lifestyles and activities that are different from those that surround us at home.

As individuals in hypermodernity, defined by Lipovetsky and Charles as members of a liberal society characterized by movement, fluidity and flexibility (Lipovetsky and Charles 2004, 26), we are attentive observers of these new cultural texts. We come across new cultural spaces and toast our meeting and appreciation of these spaces of existence. The strength of a place acquires new energy and revitalizes its attendees, celebrating memories, arts and crafts and traditions by rediscovering the essence and roots of its past. In this way, new projects and new ways to be, to live and to create are reshaped. This contemporary scenario has strengthened the search for and construction of values related to identity. Our research project called 'Regional Identity and Social Responsibility as Tools to add Value to Serra Gaócha's Fashion' (2008 to 2010), is aimed at appreciating a local culture in its sense of place, its roots and its local knowledge, and using it as a basis for thinking about the design of fashion products as a significant means of differentiation and adding value in a competitive, globalized market.

This research had the merit of making possible new design applications, to reveal and appreciate the features of local culture and to encourage fashion entrepreneurs to strengthen their product identities, to innovate, to communicate these procedures, and to develop authorial designs. These cultural fragments, skillfully combined, no longer show a simple repetition of the elements and practices of the past, but their rediscovery and valorization in the present. This may enable their reinterpretation through design, allowing the presentation of a new aesthetic vocabulary and the strengthening of local activity. Francesco Morace claims that the *Genius Loci*—a place’s talent—allows the individualization of cultural roots, through which a country, a region and a place, as well as a company, a brand and a product, models its own identity and distinguishes it from others, producing its own history (Morace in Globalização 2007,26).

Recognizing, reinventing and shaping cultural identity

Territorial identity becomes a starting point for any hypothesis about the development of a place. An identity should be selected from the many possible facets that a territory can express. It must be shared by the local community and then recognized, renewed or projected. It passes from a conception in internal consciousness to external recognition. The methodological procedure of territorial design may be summarized in three main stages, which focus on the *personality of a place*: detecting diversity and building identity; reinventing identity and building scenarios of congruent development; shaping and communicating this identity.

From a critical analysis of the value of tangible and intangible assets, the project of identity must undergo a reinterpretation from a perspective of sustainable development. It uses regenerative resources and enlarges on them through the relationship between different levels of organization, such as economics, weaving and production, and the social and cultural fabric. To realize the potential capabilities of a territory, it is necessary to recognize them through an evaluation of that territory that also allows for an interpretation of the intimate meaning of places.

Results

“The fabric is the soul of this region; it has the personality of the region,” Mario Basso stated, in 2012, at the project’s culmination. An example of two different textile companies, established in different periods, but with some common features, is described below in terms of their participation in the project and the search and development of innovative projects using fabrics

with local narratives. This project received guidance from the stylist Walter Rodrigues and from students of the Fashion Design course at the University of Caxias do Sul (UCS). The textile industry of Caxias do Sul started in 1894, when a group of Italian immigrants, from Schio in the Vicenza Province, joined immigrants already living in Galópolis. They founded a textile cooperative called Società Tevere, which was located on the banks of a waterfall, providing energy and giving a unique velvety texture to the wool.

Hércules Galló, who was born in 1869 in the Piemonte Region in Italy, left the wool business that his father had founded in Valesmosso and, at the age of 30, bought the Società Teveres, in Brazil. He changed the company's name to Hercules Galló Wool Fabric. In 1911, Galló travelled to Europe in order to buy new machinery. He met Pedro Chaves Barcellos and, on October 30, in Paris, the society that resulted in the São Pedro Wool Company was established. In 1979, as Brazil was passing through a period of economic imbalance, Chaves Barcellos' family sold the Wool Company to the Halil Sehbe Group, which kept it in operation for over twenty years.

At the end of the twentieth century, it again became a cooperative under the name COOTEGAL. One hundred and eight employees got together and established the Galópolis Wool Cooperative Ltda., which was officially founded on July 7, 1999. This legal status has continued up to the present and the cooperative creates woolen fashion and fabrics for decoration and coatings, and diverse products for the consumer market.

Wool has become a marker of the place and the fabrics made have become the symbol of this land. This vocation came from Europe, but it has been intensively and significantly developed here. There is a search for continuous improvement, to overcome both the geographical boundaries and difficulties, as well as a desire to improve. A number of fabrics for the 2013 Cootegal Winter Collection were developed during the Cultural Identity project.

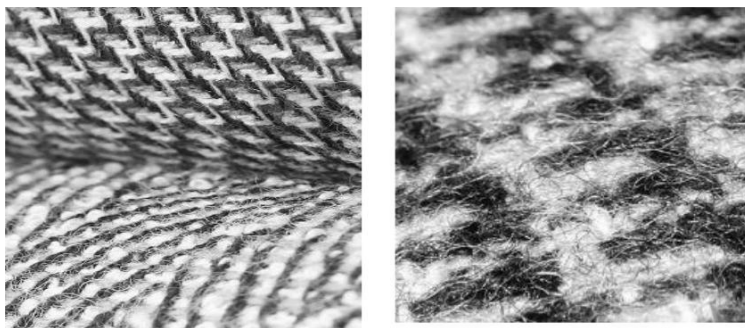


Figure 1. Woolen fabrics produced by Cootegal

The collection received the name *Origins*, due to its proposal to study the company's collections and develop a new perspective on its surroundings, its origin and its history through walking, observing, photographing and discovering colors and textures. The participants looked at themselves and these images and reflections about their existence, and discovered new possibilities in creating the color palette, the weft, the drawings and the texture of the collection.



Figure 2. Fabrics produced by Cootegal from the project

The project ‘Identity at Serra Gaócha’ was a huge challenge for Cootegal: we needed to realize the cultural values, the characteristics, the beliefs and the references of the collection’s development. We mixed products of already known technologies with those we had not worked with before at Cootegal, creating fabrics that emphasized differences, but were at the same time unique.¹

Founded in 1986, the company Sultextil SA is located in an area of 14 hectares, in Caxias do Sul, in Serra Gaócha, Brazil. The company produces circular knitted fabrics and has a complete structure of production—weaving, dyeing and finishing. It uses high technology and has the best raw material suppliers in Brazil and abroad. The company has its own development team that works on creating knit fabrics with different compositions, textures, patterns and colors, resulting in products with particular identities. The creative process is combined with permanent investment in industrial facilities, aggregating technologies and allowing for both product qualification and innovation in knitting and dyeing.

In 1998, Sultextil purchased the most innovative dyeing technology of the time, which has revolutionized the sector through a great reduction in water, energy and chemical consumption. The company was a pioneer in importing

¹ Sidnei Canuto, Cootegal’s vice-present

and implementing this kind of equipment in Brazil. Sultextil knits have consolidated a brand that, nowadays, is synonymous with success. It has a presence in many countries, including Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela and Chile.

For the 2013 Winter Collection, Sultextil presented the fabric Dusa 27.602, which was developed as part of the Regional Identity Project. It has a feather-like texture and represents one of Sultextil's inhabitants: the owls. In velvet with glitter, this cloth is extremely identifiable and has an abstract and delicate pattern. In long and short dresses, blouses and skirts, the use of Dusa gives a mysterious and sophisticated visual effect. This pattern presents elements of Sultextil's identity, which is concerned to environmental and human values.

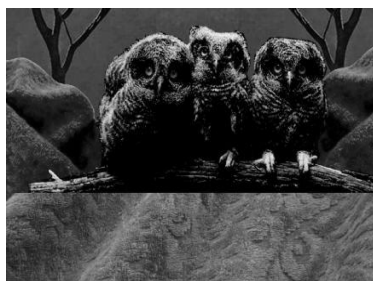


Figure 3. Fabric developed by Sultextil using and with reference the Burrowing Owl.



Figure 4. Fabric developed by Sultextil by Carlos Bachi

Working as part of the Identity Project was extremely important for Sultextil. It offered a new challenge for our R&D staff: to search within ourselves and to look for who we are, without being tied to the images of

global fashion. Despite this, we were able to achieve results that were in accordance with market trends.²

This project—from design to presentation—demonstrated how constant reconstruction of an identity can promote dynamism at several levels: religion, art, tourism, design, creative economies and social fabric. We believe that for the inhabitants of any place, the environment and our relationship to it must be enhanced and preserved for future generations. In this sense, any future strategy must be based on suggestions and initiatives from local communities. This is an exercise that does not seek solely to create industrial products, but also cultural products that have the ability to present local authorial aspects, with the freedom to combine and to create, the search for innovation and differentiation, which nourishes itself through its own experiences, its perception of its surroundings and a strengthening of its roots.

This is an identity that is not intimately related to commercial images, but has a strong history and is conscientious, which derives directly from real values of the people that live in a place. It has been shown that project-oriented innovation, which favors both the sustainability and competitiveness of local companies, is not possible without careful investigation and observation of a place. We have proposed a design project that can be expanded through the involvement of local stakeholders, including companies and institutions, public administration, labor unions, and community associations, in order to reach the local population. Finally, the project's conjecture shows that currently, perhaps more than in other periods, designers need to imagine, to idealize scenarios and to anticipate needs. This is a way of encouraging sustainable innovation, which is a generator of renewal. This directed renewal is not only used for planning alternative routes that attend to one's daily necessities or to articulate the competitiveness of a region, but also to discover the foundation of a community's organization.

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² Paola Reginatto. Development Director of Sultextil

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

FASHION SCHOOLS AND TRENDS

UNVEILING FASHION TALES: A SOCIO-SEMIOTIC INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORK FOR INVESTIGATING FASHION COLLECTIONS

SIMONA IRONICO

The paper adopts the socio-semiotic interpretative framework of “possible worlds” to explain how the aspirational imaginaries of luxury brands are progressively spread to the real world of consumers by means of integrated communication strategies originating from products. Indeed, creative inspiration, color stories, material stories, silhouettes, decorations and other aesthetic components of a collection may become the driver of powerful “fashion tales.” Brands can spread fashion tales through catwalk sets, advertising campaigns, fashion editorials, window displays and other promotional initiatives. Such narrations may put plausible, implausible, impossible and inconceivable imaginaries (possible worlds) into discourse, according to the design approach followed in a seasonal collection. A qualitative content analysis carried out on Spring-Summer 2015 ready-to-wear collections reveals how each category of a possible world corresponds to a specific design philosophy, which the author has labeled “down-to-earth,” “imagination driven,” “conceptual” and “surreal” design.

Fashion tales and social change: a research project by Istituto Marangoni

In line with the overall objectives of the conference, Istituto Marangoni developed a research program to further the international academic debate on the relationship between fashion, history and society. In every historical era, fashion can be considered a product of its socio-cultural context. At the same time, it contributes to shaping social reality through its symbols and agents of change. Season after season, the fashion industry becomes the driver of a rich set of narratives, which can be labeled “fashion tales” (Ironico 2014). Such

narrations put into discourse a complex plot of aesthetic and creative inspirations that combine actors, values, lifestyles, symbols, geographies, technologies and languages, which are able to simultaneously reflect and shape the so-called *Zeitgeist*, i.e. the spirit of the time (Nystrom 1928; Blumer 1969; Brannon 1910).

This research by Istituto Marangoni applied a multidisciplinary approach in order to interpret the cross-contamination between fashion and the socio-cultural imaginary. Specifically, the perspectives of history, socio-semiotics, brand management, communication, marketing, fashion design and merchandising were adopted in interpreting these fashion tales over two specific seasons: S/S 2015 and F/W 2016. Spring/Summer 2015 was selected as it offered the opportunity to provide an interpretative framework for the current season during the period of the conference (May 2015). Fall/Winter 2015–16, on the other hand, was selected in order to anticipate the style themes and related cultural implications of a season that was yet to start. At the time of the conference, Fall-Winter 2015–16 collections had only been presented at the International Fashion Weeks in February 2015, but were still not available in stores.

A qualitative content analysis was carried out on the ready-to-wear collections launched during the official calendars of the New York, London, Milan and Paris International Fashion Weeks of both seasons (see also the contributions by Sabrina Pomodoro and Marco Semeghini). The collections presented at Paris Haute Couture Spring-Summer 2015 Fashion Week were considered too (see Virginia Hill's paper). Moreover, the research on Spring-Summer 2015 fashion tales included a content analysis of the communication activities carried out by the brands that presented at Paris and Milan Fashion Week. In particular, fashion shows, catwalk settings, advertising campaigns, fashion editorials, and in-store and digital communication were considered for analysis (see also Paolo Meroni's and Sabrina Pomodoro's papers).

According to their theoretical interpretative frameworks, the members of the Istituto Marangoni research team provided answers to the following research questions:

1. Creative Inspirations—what is the origin of the creative inspiration of the collections and its communication? Do such inspirations refer to a Western or an Eastern imaginary? Is it possible to identify references to specific geographies or cultures? Are there explicit references to garments, accessories, decorations and, more generally, styles and aesthetics from the past? Is it possible to identify social imaginaries inspired by the past, the present or the future? Are these imaginaries inspired by real worlds or fantasy worlds? Is there cross-

contamination with art, architecture, literature, cinema or the other domains of culture?

2. Actors—which models of femininity or masculinity emerge from the collections? Which life-styles and social roles are represented?
3. Aesthetic trends—what are the main trends to emerge from the collections in terms of colors, materials, prints, decorations, volumes, lengths, etc.? How may such trends evolve in the future? In which direction is collective taste going?
4. Ethics—what is the role of ethics and sustainability in the fashion tales emerging from the collections and related communication activities? How is sustainability put into discourse?
5. Integrated communication—how are fashion tales generated? How are they put into discourse? To what extent are the style themes of the collections integrated with the communication themes adopted for the promotion of products? To what extent do the creative inspirations, color stories, material stories, prints, decorations and other aesthetic components of the collections become the main themes for fashion shows, advertising campaigns, window displays and other communication activities? What is the degree of integration among the collections and the communication activities of brands?

In the following pages, the interpretative framework of socio-semiotics will be adopted to provide an answer to these research questions surrounding creative inspirations, social actors and integrated communication activities. For the same research questions, other meaningful insights are provided by the interpretative frameworks of brand management and communication (Sabrina Pomodoro), history of fashion (Virginia Hill), fashion design and merchandising (Marco Semeghini). The perspective of fashion design and merchandising adopted by Marco Semeghini also provides a contribution on the research questions related to aesthetic trends, while the research questions related to ethics is approached through the perspective of fashion marketing adopted by Paolo Meroni.

Unveiling fashion tales: a socio-semiotic interpretative framework

Fashion tales represent a complex plot of aesthetic and creative inspirations combining social actors, values, lifestyles, symbols, geographies, technologies and languages able to reflect and simultaneously shape the so-called *Zeitgeist*, i.e. the spirit of the time. Paul Nystrom (1928) defined the *Zeitgeist* as the result of dominant events, ideals, social groups, attitudes and

technologies at a specific period of time. Fashion collections, in particular, can become the driver of a rich set of narratives with their permanent and seasonal style themes.

Permanent style themes include the inspirational, chromatic, material, graphic and symbolic components that enable the style of a brand to be recognizable and coherent over time. They represent the elements of continuity from one collection to another. This is shown in the case of the paradoxical “Sicilian widow” by Dolce & Gabbana. She represents an inspirational muse in all the brand’s collections with her modest, but at the same time sensual, outfits, featuring black lace, solid neutral colors, rigorous silhouettes, measured lengths, chaste headpieces and moderate cleavages.

Seasonal style themes, on the other hand, represent the inspirational, chromatic, material, graphic and symbolic components that vary from one season to another. Representing the elements of change from one collection to another, they reflect trends and express the ephemeral nature of fashion. Further examples from the collections of Dolce & Gabbana include: Winter 2014 “byzantine mosaics”; the surreal mythology of Summer 2014 “ancient temples”; the dark fairy tale of the Winter 2015 “Norman invasion”; the sensual “Spanish invasion” of Spring/Summer 2015; and the “love for one’s mother” of Winter 2016.

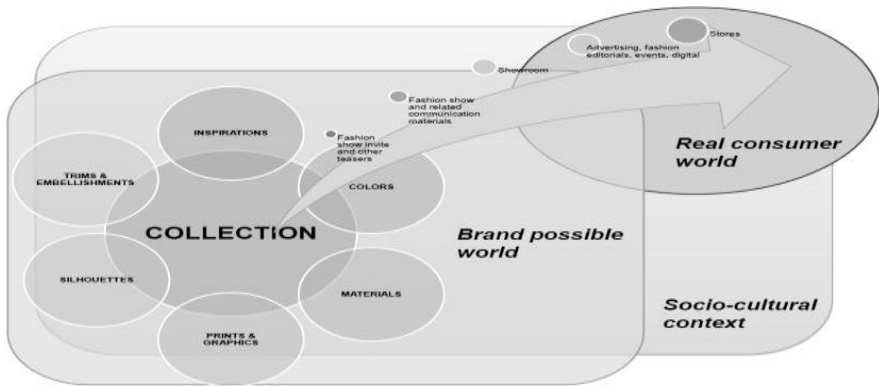


Figure 1. The fashion tale process. Elaborated by the author.

The thematic core of a fashion tale is normally represented by the aesthetic components of a collection: 1) inspirations; 2) color stories; 3) material stories; 4) prints or other graphic elements; 5) silhouettes, cuts and volumes; 6) trims and other decorations. One or a mixture of these elements can represent the main inspiration for an integrated communication

campaign, which spreads the fashion tale to the socio-cultural context (see Figure 1). As the contribution by Sabrina Pomodoro illustrates, fashion tales originate from products and are put into discourse through a process that may include: 1) anticipation of the main seasonal themes through fashion show invitation cards and other teasers that create a sense of expectation around the new collection, as videos and images spread by social networks; 2) the dramatization of the themes through the setting, the atmosphere and the communication tools that support the fashion show (press releases, press kits, cadeaux, parties, digital communication, etc.); 3) the consolidation of the themes by so-called fashion gatekeepers, namely the press and the trade, through showrooms and communication initiatives aimed at this system of intermediaries; 4) the consolidation of the themes within the end consumers' imaginaries, through advertising campaigns, catalogues, digital communication, and fashion editorials in fashion magazines; 5) the accessibility of the themes to end consumers through window displays, visual merchandising and other in-store communication activities. As a result, the fashion tale enables the brand's possible world (Eco 1979) to become accessible to consumers in their real world.



Figure 2. The map of possible worlds. Elaborated by the author.

A brand's possible world can be defined as an imaginary consisting of a specific set of values, settings, characters, symbols and patterns of action. As explained by Ugo Volli (2000), possible worlds can be classified as: 1) plausible; 2) implausible; 3) impossible; and 3) unconceivable. Plausible worlds are the most similar to our daily lives, consistent with the real world principles of physics and logic—the kind of narratives seen in realist or historical novels. Inspired by dreams and imagination, implausible worlds are

typical of fairy tales: they are logical and coherent, but partially subvert the physical laws of the real world. Impossible worlds are inspired by reality but originate paradoxical narrative contexts where the non-contradiction principle is subverted—as in science fiction or in Escher's impossible figures. Inconceivable worlds, typical of Surrealism and other avant-garde art give birth to narrative contexts where both the principles of reality and logic are subverted. As illustrated in Figure 2, possible worlds can be represented on a map according to two variables: 1) the source of inspiration; and 2) the rhetoric, i.e. the language used to give shape to the possible world and put it into discourse. Plausible and impossible worlds are both inspired by reality as we know it, while implausible and unconceivable worlds are inspired by fantasy, dreams, imagination or by the tricks played by our unconscious. Regardless of the inspiration, plausible and implausible worlds are built in a conventional manner, consistent with the laws of logic and non-contradiction. Impossible and unconceivable worlds, on the other hand, are unconventional, since they break the logic principle of non-contradiction ($A=A$, $A \neq \text{not } A$): the characters of sci-fi series such as *Lost* or *Heroes*, for instance, can be in different places at the same time, while in surreal representations, such as Salvador Dali's paintings, objects can be several things at once.

Mapping Spring/Summer 2015 fashion tales: possible worlds and design philosophies

The content analysis of Spring/Summer 2015 collections revealed four main design philosophies putting into discourse the possible world at the heart of a fashion tale. Such aesthetic orientations were labeled as: 1) down-to-earth design; 2) imagination driven design; 3) conceptual design; and 4) surreal design (see Figure 3).

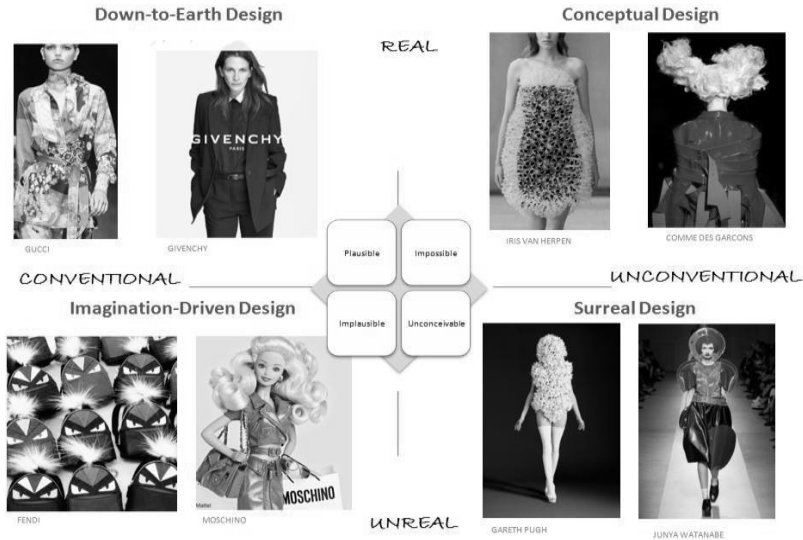


Figure 3. Spring/Summer 2015 fashion tales and design philosophies. Visual credits: vogue.com, wgsn.com, fendi@instagram.com, moschino@instagram.com.

Possible fashion tales: down-to-earth design

The main feature of down-to-earth design collections are their real world inspirations. The most commonly recurring themes are those associated with a floral, botanical, animal or marine world, as emerges in Alberta Ferretti and Blumarine tridimensional floral appliqués, Roberto Cavalli animal prints, garden inspired Marni jewels, or the precious Valentino starfish embroideries. At other times, the main sources of inspiration are identified in our contemporary era, with urban landscapes, contemporary lifestyles, or icons of global culture. This is the case of the collection by Alexander Wang, which was inspired by miscellaneous sports, such as skating, baseball, scuba diving, and tennis; another example is that of the Balmain collections of Olivier Rousteing, which have consistently been inspired by celebrities such as Rihanna, Kim Kardashian, and Beyoncé.

As illustrated in Virginia Hill's paper, the past may represent a continuous source of inspiration as well: in addition to the popular fashion revivals seen in the 1970s with Alberta Ferretti and Gucci, several ready-to-wear collections include cultivated references to the history of costume—"bubbled up inspirations" (Polhemus 1994) from street styles and subcultures (the Hippies by Alberta Ferretti, the Punks by Fausto Puglisi, the Skaters by

Kenzo), or fascinations with traditional crafts, like Japanese lacquer (Alexander McQueen). Another typical source of inspiration of down-to-earth design is the exotic: garments, accessories, jewels, make-up and hairstyles can evoke landscapes, costumes, tastes, art and folklore characteristic of distant places (and sometimes times), like the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs and papyrus in Agnona, the Aztec paintings in Dsquared2, the ambiguous Geisha and Samurai in Alexander McQueen or the sensual Matadors and flamenco dancers invading Dolce & Gabbana's Sicily. Down-to-earth design is also characterized by: conventional natural materials, such as silk, linen, cotton, wool, fur, or leather; classic textiles, such as chiffon, organza, tweed, denim, jacquards or jersey; and conventional cuts, lines and silhouettes (A, H, hourglass, corolle, princess, empire, tube).

Implausible fashion tales: imagination-driven design



Figure 4. Au Jour Le Jour manga and Kimmidolls prints and decorations; Barbie inspired outfits by Moschino. Visual credits: vogue.com.

Imagination-driven design collections are inspired by fantasy, dreams, play, and imagination. Playful colors, shapes, prints and decorations can put into discourse the fancy icons of a teenage culture, as in the case of Barbie by Moschino; Kimmidolls and Japanese manga by Aujour Le Jour (Figure 4); Snoopy by Fay; or the glamorous Fendi Bag Bugs—the funny furry charms that feature in the latest collections of the fashion-house. In other instances, imagination-driven designs revolve around magic, supernatural and mythical beauties and are inspired by the performing arts, literature, cinema and pop culture. This is the case with Midnight Summer Dream Ophelia by Dries van

Noten. Imagination-driven collections share with down-to-earth fashion products the use of a conventional design in terms of materials, textiles, silhouettes, lines and cuts.

Impossible fashion tales: conceptual design

Conceptual collections use the same sources of inspiration as down-to-earth collections, but are distinguished by their unconventional rhetoric. Such aesthetics breaks basic design principles in contrast, symmetry, balance, harmony and unity (Noble and Kumar 2010) or, more generally, the “Good Form” rules of perception identified by Gestalt Psychology (Katz 1950)—figure, ground, proximity, continuity, or closure. Conceptual design brands such as *Comme des Garçons*, Yohji Yamamoto and *Maison Martin Margiela* indulge in deconstructed silhouettes and asymmetric cuts. Moreover, they explore new shapes and materials and play with the scale of objects, as in the case of the giant red trousers or collars by *Comme des Garçons*. Hyperbole can occur in conceptual collections too, through an extreme use of multi-layering, with the effect of creating unexpected cocoon, blossom or shredded silhouettes. Unexpected aesthetics can emerge from creative recycling practices, such as in *Martin Margiela* patchworks that nostalgically evoke the hidden memories in the assembled pieces of garments from different epochs. At other times, the aesthetic potential of a piece of cloth is simply explored by reversing the garment’s construction, exposing the “skeletons” that result from basting and stitching, as in the reversed jackets and dresses of *Cédric Charlier*. Also, the ordinary functions of garments and accessories can be subverted and reinterpreted: this is the case with the *Comme des Garçons* collection, which explored the design potential of a de-constructed red biker jacket (see Figure 3). The use of unconventional materials, furthermore, shows the manipulation of nature through science and technology, as with the 3D printed details of *Iris Van Herpen* collections (see Figure 3) or the 3D Steam Stretch textured surfaces of *Issey Miyake*. Materials can also be combined unexpectedly, as in *Prada*’s juxtapositions of rich and poor materials, such as brocade and cotton gauze, or raw cotton toile and silk satin. With *Miuccia Prada*, conceptual design collections can embrace the postmodern “aesthetics of the unfinished” (Lee 2013), emerging in precarious stitches or frayed and laddered edges.

Unconceivable fashion tales: surreal design

Through the use of unexpected shapes, proportions, cuts, volumes, and materials, surreal design combines the unconventional rhetoric of conceptual

design with the unreal inspiration of imagination-driven design. However, if imagination-driven collections are mostly inspired by play, fantasy, and magic, surreal collections, as the name suggests, are typically inspired by oniric visions and subconscious suggestions. An exception is the manga inspired collection by Junya Watanabe (see Figure 3). Visionary robots, astronauts, aliens and other cartoon-like muses are put into discourse through an aesthetic that evokes the analytic and synthetic Cubism of Braque and Picasso. As with surreal art, surreal collections subvert the non-contradiction principle of logic with a polysemic aesthetics. The sinister outfits of Rick Owens, inspired by Vaslav Nijinsky's performance in *The Afternoon Faun* for the Ballets Russes, subverted the ordinary meanings and functions of sleeves, not only by multiplying them, but also by transforming them into collars or scarves. The psychedelic collection by Manish Arora, mixing Indian divinities with Western pop culture icons, featured pouches encrusted with appliqués appearing as low waist belts, decorated pockets, glamorous smartphone covers and daring underpants to be worn over leggings, skirts or culottes. Moreover, misplaced mouths and eyes on baseball caps, dresses and T-shirts confer a surreal accent on the outfits (see Figure 3).

The rhetoric of misplacement can also appear in the domain of make-up. Together with hair and accessories, make-up represents one of the most powerful tools for the styling of a collection and to communicate the coherence of a brand identity within the imaginary of a seasonal fashion tale. The visionary outfits by Rick Owens appeared even more disturbing thanks to the pale make-up that deformed the faces of the models. A luminous white powder erased lashes, eyebrows and a part of the hair of the models, emphasizing the lips and the pointed shape of a hyperbolic forehead (see Figure 5).

Additionally, such unconceivable design philosophies can undermine the basic benefits of utility and functionality demanded from clothing, transgressing the ordinary boundaries of the garment over the human figure. Inspired by the fantasy of sinister Anglo-Saxon pagan rites, Gareth Pugh's outfits can hyperbolically extend to cover the entire face and head of the model (see Figure 5). The dressed body thus transcends into a surreal creature covered with papier-mâché flowers, rough jute sacks or creepy masks. At other times, collars or sleeves seem to be melted into monstrous beards or arms made by a multitude of ropes. Trousers and tights also cross their conventional boundaries, becoming all-in-one with shoes and open-toe boots. Hairstyles can be misplaced too: among the masks recurring in the Gareth Pugh collection, a few are intended to be worn over a face covered with long, straight, and shiny hair.



Figure 5. Surreal outfits subverting the ordinary functions and boundaries of garments, make-up and hair-styles by Gareth Pugh and Rick Owens. Manish Arora dress with a surreal misplaced mouth. Visual credits: vogue.com

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ANALYZING FALL WINTER 2015/16
READY-TO-WEAR TRENDS:
THE PERSPECTIVE OF FASHION DESIGN
AND MERCHANDISING

MARCO SEMEGHINI

How do we analyze trends? Usually, we start from a review of fashion shows and presentations (Brannon 2010). This is what fashion shows are for: to communicate a brand's vision for the future, rather than to show a collection for sale (Ironico 2014). And usually, the very first impression is that for every possible trend, the opposite trend appears as well, thus generating an initial sense of confusion. Dark colors versus bright colors; miniskirts versus ankle lengths; the ascetic versus the shameless—everything seems to be presented across various brands. Basically, we can say that, if something is fashionable, we can be sure that its opposite is too!

Is this dichotomy a sign of contradiction? Absolutely not. In my opinion it is the confirmation that the world has become bigger than ever, more connected than ever, and that people still want to differentiate themselves from each other. It is the most important tool individuality is offered to express itself (Lipovetsky 1989): a life belt that allows us to stay afloat in an ocean of homogenization.

The old conundrum—top down, from catwalks to fast fashion (Giusti, 2008), or bottom up from street-style to a designer's reinterpretation—(Polhemus 1994) is now changing to a different understanding of the role of the brand and designer. We no longer see them as creators of diktats, but as gentle prompters of style, able to show off an exhaustive range of alternatives for us to select from, kindly suggesting what we do not yet know that we desire, and ultimately leaving us free to choose our own identity, if we so wish.

Colors

Color trends offer the perfect example of what I am talking about. For everyone who works in fashion, whatever their role, the very first question, the constant, omnipresent, unavoidable question that everyone asks within the first minute of conversation will be: “What is the color of the next season?” Not what color. What people want to know in advance is ‘the color,’ the one and only, the color that will dominate our lives for the next six months.

Well, I am very happy to tell you that the spectrum of possibilities offered this Fall is very wide and surfs across the entire rainbow! Let us start with one of the most acclaimed Fall shows: Givenchy and Riccardo Tisci’s Victorian-cola girl (as he wittily nicknamed his woman). The color palette is uncompromisingly dark. Dark, saturated tones—nuances of black and pseudo-black are here. What is remarkable is that these tones are never sad or punitive, but always sleek and glamorous, and often lightened by red flashes, as seen also in Alexander McQueen and Marc Jacobs. With a totally different approach, Gucci, in its controversial, brand re-establishing show, brings colors back to the catwalk, choosing a deceptively innocent range of pastels. The game is even more explicit at Prada, where the sugar candy note that has played a recurring importance in Prada’s brand language is making a very contemporary, somehow neurotic appearance. As often in Prada, things easily turn to the contrary. Sweetness of color here defines a woman at ease in the bittersweet, ironic/melancholic world of Wes Anderson.

It is just a step up into the Pantone rainbow to land in the energetic world of color freedom, as exemplified by Olivier Rousteing for Balmain. Saturated, sophisticated tones talk to each other in a dialogue with surprisingly brilliant cues, while in *Au Jour Le Jour* the rainbow itself is making a guest appearance. There are no more shades, but only bold, primary colors in the pop world that Jeremy Scott is building show after show for Moschino, as he reworks old icons as well as populating the brand imagery with new elements.

As we have all learned from Mondrian, the distance from the primary colors to non-color is very short. But in fashion, short distances sometimes take us to distant worlds. Welcome to the supreme chicness of black and white, as seen, among many others, in Valentino, Chanel, Saint Laurent, and Watanabe.

But I know you are disappointed. You wanted the color, the one and only. And here it is. Let me introduce you to the color that is virtually present in every collection. Call it what you wish: dark red, burgundy, oxblood, plum, it comes in endless shades and it is the Fall 2015 winner! We can easily

understand why: it is discreet, but not anonymous, therefore fitting for times of uncertainty; it is flattering, therefore commercial; and it is extremely chic!

Our panorama of colors would not be complete without mention of prints. They have made a big comeback in recent years and this Fall reaffirms the trend. The sources of inspiration may be always the same, but the ways they have been reinterpreted are relentlessly new. This is the case with the Gucci flowers where sophisticated colors give credibility and desirability to the strong Sanderson upholstery patterns, or in Burberry, where deco flowers help to recreate the sweet nostalgia of the house of the rising sun. Marc Jacobs' brush strokes exemplify the rich world of pictorial inspiration, a trend which we will analyze later and Jonathan Saunders' digitally recreated patterns close this nature-to-space age parade.

Materials

In a season where the most experimental move seems to be a non-nostalgic reinterpretation of the past, it is no surprise that most materials come with a history, be it the masculine heritage, as in Ferragamo's tweed, Agnona's checks, Miu Miu's window-pane, and Marras' Romeo Gigli-ish nostalgic pinstripe, or the feminine, lush, evocative power of brocade, as in the bright examples of Erdem, who also confirms that tradition can be highly experimental and innovative. The magic of fashion! Velvet shares with brocade the same evocative power of sensual heritage, as in a brilliant interpretation by Tom Ford with his woman's collection half-1970s inspired, half-Western rodeo, but 100 percent pictorial.

Lace comes in as the natural conclusion to this trinity of luxury fabrics. To balance its natural aggressiveness, it is often shown short, and colorful, as in Gucci, Bottega Veneta and Valentino. And apparently our designers are so in love with their fabrics that they do not limit themselves to just one! Straight from the 1970s, patchwork is back, appropriately in vintage silhouettes, such as Moschino's salopette, Marni's tunic and Burberry's poncho. A now established presence in our millennium, furs are reconfirmed this season—more as artisanal masterpiece than ostentation of luxury. The newest are leopard spotted, as in Tom Ford, Marc Jacobs, Vuitton, Saint Laurent and Maison Margiela. Nappa leather seems to be a constant presence in the shows, basic in color, mainly black, but innovative in workmanship, encrusted with lace for Vuitton, tortured in cages in McQueen, and ornately laser cut by Erdem. Our overview of materials ends in the evening. Shimmery, glittery surfaces in all shades of metal, from bronze to silver, are waiting for a proper occasion to shine subtly in the dark.

Volumes

We were just getting used to the soft, comfortable, cocooning volumes of past seasons when, with perfect timing, the narrow-waist, hip-blessing jacket is making a come back. Givenchy again. But this very feminine silhouette with a recurring Victorian influence, something between Gaultier 1980's hour-glass shape and Dior's new look, is literally everywhere, sometimes plain, often with an accent on the sleeves, as in J.W. Anderson, Tom Ford, Marc Jacobs and Chanel. But by now we all have become experts of the rules of our "Game of Opposites." So you can already anticipate that the next trend is... loose! Call it wide, over-size, chunky, the generous volumes that have found favor with so many people over the last couple of years are luckily still with us, with all their comfort and the sense of security that they reassuringly generate. But even without reaching these extreme volumes, a general sense of softness, let us call it an Armani-ish fluidity, is often balanced by a streamlined fitted silhouette. "Coincidentia oppositorum," one of those miracles of fashion still able to happen when sartorial skills and the mastery of fabrics come together! A very convincing example is offered by Stella McCartney.

And what about bottoms? The first watchword is "skirt," the second is "longuette." Marni, for example. Should you have right now one of those sighs of relief moments, like, "Thank God, miniskirts are over, I can finally cover my thighs again," believe me, your happiness will not last for long. Longuette is one of the most cruel, unflattering, punitive lengths that a designer's generosity could ever offer to women! The situation improves dramatically when skirts are pleated: slim, narrow pleats give skirts a much higher wearability. Their combination with experimental, laminated fabrics, or even with leather, offers a surprisingly contemporary vibe to what is generally considered a symbol of conservative tradition. We find strong examples in Gucci, Marc Jacobs and Ferragamo, right up to the voluptuous, sophisticated plissé soleil of Balmain. And accessories? They are as important as ever. How to recap the trends? Well, this is very easy: boots, belts, and bijoux!

I would like to close my contribution by identifying ten themes, which might not reach the status of trends, but in my opinion, could help to define the mood of the season, like rivers that flow underground and reappear where you least expect them to.

Pictorial

Art and fashion share a long history of reciprocal nourishment, but in the pictorial frame the woman literally becomes a painter's palette for the designer's expression. Who could embody this link better than Sonya Delaunay, a longtime favorite source of inspiration for designers, with her unique ability to create fabrics that are at the same time the medium and the end of the artistic process? It may be thanks to the recent exhibition at the Tate Gallery, but Sonya Delaunay is more alive than ever—Ferragamo for instance, even used her mesmerizing patterns to recreate the show catwalk.

But “pictorial” does not necessarily equate to a literal inspiration; in my mind it is also a way of combining colors and patterns that could not be understood without a strong awareness of art itineraries, as seen in the powerful Bottega Veneta collection.

A ride through history

That this is a season of cultivated fashion should be very clear by now. History, with all its richness of references and quotations, has invaded catwalks in the guise of a Victorian doll; for instance, a decadent Belle *dame sans merci*, an Alphonse Mucha liberty lady, a Luchino Visconti Caduta degli Dei dark lady, down through the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, the 1980s, and even to the 1990s. A ride through the last century's decades offers a short circuit between the present and the past that does not require to be taken too seriously. Is it a game of mirrors? Yes, but first and foremost, it is a game!

Gender challenging

What are the codes of masculinity? What are the codes of femininity? More and more examples suggest that younger generations sometimes just do not care—an old game that they are no longer interested in playing. Gucci caught this feeling with lightness and delicacy. Which one is the boy, which one is the girl? Do we really care? This is nothing to do with the kitsch gender-overlapping of the past, but rather a soft, respectful blurring of identities.

The couture game

The ready-to-wear business has constantly been threatened by fast fashion, which in the recent past was just a cheap copyist of more noble fashions, but has now become a virtual generator of fashion itself. Though

shipwreck is far from the horizon, it is no surprise that RTW is watching the world of haute couture as a weakened swimmer watches a lifesaver. By definition, haute couture is a world of skills and crafts, something that you learn, but not something that you can copy. Valentino's masterpieces are a dream for customers and a nightmare for Zara.

Lightness

Let me use the invasion of the fringe that we have seen in several shows this Fall as a metaphor for lightness. Colors can be light or dark, clothes can be structured or loose, but lightness is something that modern customers have gained and they are not willing to discard it so soon!

The signature game

Logo or no logo? The love-hate relationship between designers and logos, following or forerunning the love-hate relationship of the customers with logoed products, seems to be entering a peaceful harbor. The logo appears to be more a quiet reconfirmation of brand identity, rather than a showing off of social status. The fact that signature items, like Valentino's red dress, or Vuitton's damier fabric, only appear once in their respective shows, is not a limitation of their importance, but a reinforcement of their status of, well, signature!

Playing at bourgeoisie

The redefinition of *bon-ton* codes we have seen in so many shows has constantly been challenged by elements that subvert the original statement. Are these examples from Jonathan Saunders—fetish boots worn under an unapologetic middle class outfit—merely brilliant styling or an ironic homage to some sort of Luis Bunuel Belle de Jour? Prada, which has made analysis of the Western bourgeoisie one of the milestones of its aesthetic, is making this game more explicit than ever: the tweed is a print, the patent leather is a jersey, the brooch is plastic, and the irreproachable dress, well, it is not that irreproachable! Miuccia Prada seems to seed, under a glaze of apparent perfection, disturbing signals that nothing is what it seems. Can you think of anything more contemporary?

Sex and drugs and rock and roll

Intentionally positioned after the bourgeois position, the recurring inspiration of rock music has lost all of its provocative power and become just one more quotation. Rock is a language that has been emptied of all its subversive magnetism to reveal the underlying beauty of its graphics, as seen in Saint Laurent, Givenchy, Moschino and Watanabe.

I am what I am; or not?!

What happens when Moschino plays at being Chanel? Nothing new, you will tell me, only the ironic quotation of the ironic game that was one of Franco Moschino's favorites in the 1980s. But what happens when young talents like Erdem, multilayered brands like Balenciaga, and colossi such as Vuitton play at being Chanel? Is this a lack of inspiration? Very unlikely. I dare to read this as a sign that brands, exactly like genders, might be willing to soften their boundaries: they can borrow other brand's codes in order to become richer and stronger. Oh, and what is Chanel doing by the way? Playing at being Missoni, of course!

Fearless

Why so much explicit nudity on the catwalks this season? After so many games of mirrors, quotations, exchanges of identity, I can easily believe that designers from time to time feel the need for a bit of pure, simple, and genuine truth. And as everybody here can confirm, the truth is always naked!

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INTEGRATED COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN SPRING/SUMMER 2015 READY-TO-WEAR FASHION TALES

SABRINA POMODORO

This contribution adopts the perspective of sociology of fashion and brand management to investigate Spring/Summer 2015 ready-to-wear integrated communication strategies. Qualitative content analysis methods are used for analyzing the degree of integration between the seasonal aesthetic components of fashion collections and the communication themes used in their promotional activities. Specifically, this research aims at generating an in-depth comprehension of the mechanisms by which creative inspirations and aesthetic features of collections become the key motifs for catwalk sets, advertising campaigns, fashion editorials, window displays and other communicative initiatives.

Marketing through the Integrated Communication Approach

Since the second half of the 1980s, companies have increasingly begun to turn their communication programs and plans into integrated promotion strategies. Marketers and agencies have progressively reoriented the idea that it is necessary to adapt specific communication tools in order to deliver a brand message to a target audience. The belief behind this fragmented approach was that each tool was supposed to have specific and self-standing features and needed particular communication skills, resulting in a multiplicity of very targeted agencies with specialized services and focused professionals (advertisers, public relation professionals and so on). As a consequence of a more-customer oriented and technology-driven approach, companies have started to abandon this approach and adopt a new and more effective integrated perspective (Fill 2009).

Several factors lie behind this shift from the traditional marketing communication approach towards the Integrated Marketing Communication

approach (IMC). Firstly, in an increasingly competitive landscape, brands need to convey different and effective messages. Integrated communication provides greater opportunities to produce a clear and unique positioning through consistent messages. Secondly, the advances in communication technology, the more complex media landscape, the increase in converging channels and the move away from mass and generalist communication to more personalized and segmented communication has made integrated communication essential. Thirdly, integration offers the possibility of cutting communication costs and expenses as it generally involves a single agency.

However, from an academic point of view, there is still no agreement around the meaning of Integrated Marketing Communication and, moreover, there is very little empirical evidence to support the concept. Many different definitions have arisen within the academic arena (Shultz et al 1993; Duncan and Moriarty 1998; Keller 2001; Kliatchko 2008). As Fill states (2001), the different theoretical assumptions demonstrate a common shift from a “resource-driven view” to a more strategic and “audience-centred view.” Early on, integration was thought to be a concept of marketing communication planning that recognised the added value of combining various communication disciplines (advertising, sales promotion and so on) and being able to provide clarity, consistency and maximum impact (Shultz, Tannenbaum and Lauterborn 1993; Duncan and Moriarty 1998). In short, integration was considered to be a simplified coordination of different promotional tools and media—with a particular focus on elements of visual identification (logo, colors, packaging etc.)—and having the purpose of conveying and reinforcing a consistent core message. This “tactical” approach was considered limited by some authors in its lack of a strategic viewpoint.

The current view moves the IMC concept forward, by considering the concept more deeply as a complex, strategic and customer-oriented process. The emphasis here is on the integration of all communication disciplines into a whole organizational structure. Integration is not only a visual and content issue, but a more articulated strategic program and management process that involves business strategy and developing customer relationships. The elements to be integrated are not just tools and communication materials, but also brand values, strategies, resources, online and offline programs and activities, which are to be organized and implemented around the customer. Therefore, integration is considered not just from a level of a promotional mixture, but from an internal/external and strategic perspective (Fill 2001). The main purpose here is to develop a core brand proposition, broader brand consistency, and support long-term relationships with customers and stakeholders. In this view, Integrated Marketing Communication does not

solely represent a tactical and tool-driven approach, but also a strategic approach to the organization's planned communication management. IMC requires organizations to coordinate their strategies, resources, and messages in order to generate meaningful engagement with audiences.

Going beyond academic discussion, as has been confirmed by many authors and limited empirical evidence, major companies have retained a traditional promotion mix at the tactical level and only a very few have moved towards strategic integration (Kitchen and Shultz 1998).

The same seems to occur with fashion companies. With a more centralized communication and business approach, integrated communication plans have become more common. As Saviolo and Corbellini explain, "one peculiarity of fashion companies is the direct control over a number of activities, from developing the concept of the advertising campaign to post-production, from planning media to the press office and organizing events" (Saviolo and Corbellini 2009, 230). Thus it is the fashion designer, in a centralized role, who is in charge of both the style and the image of the collection, and ensures coherent supervision of the whole process. Through this direct control process fashion companies tend to provide consistency and synergy in the messages they convey. However, very few have moved to strategic integration in communication. As emerges from our research, different levels of integration have been adopted: from unintegrated communication strategies conveying different messages and lowering a message's impact, to a limited visual or aesthetic approach, up to a less common strategic brand-concept orchestration, involving core brand propositions and values and resulting in longer-term consistency and deeper relationships with customers. It is necessary to underline that these considerations concerning an integrated approach in fashion are limited to external communication strategies and messages. Our analysis is limited to seasonal communication campaigns and does not take into consideration a company's organizational structure and its business procedures.

In the first section, our research goals and methods are explained; the second section provides the results of our investigation, first through the illustrative example of Alexander McQueen's Spring/Summer 2015 fashion tale and second through a possible categorization of the main degrees and forms of integration, as they have emerged in our qualitative analysis.

Research objectives and methods

As the paper by Simona Ironico has already illustrated, this present contribution adopts the perspective of sociology of fashion and brand management for investigating Spring/Summer 2015 ready-to-wear integrated

communication strategies. The research consisted of a qualitative content analysis carried out on the seasonal communication activities adopted by the brands present at Paris and Milan Fashion Week. In particular, fashion shows, catwalk settings, advertising campaigns, fashion editorials, in store communication and digital communication on web 2.0 platforms such as blogs and social networks, were analyzed.

The purpose of this research is to offer a descriptive framework of different forms and levels of integrated communication to explain how and to what extent ready-to-wear companies coordinate their contents, strategies and tools in order to deliver an integrated brand message. Specifically, this analysis aims to understand how synergy is developed between the seasonal aesthetic elements of fashion collections and the communication themes used in their promotional activities, and between different communication tools.

Therefore, we have tried to provide answers to the following research questions: to what extent are the collection style themes consistent with communication motifs adopted for the promotion of products? To what extent do creative inspirations, color stories, material stories, prints, decorations and other aesthetic features become the communication concepts for fashion shows, advertising campaigns, window displays and other communication activities? What is the level of integration among the collections and the communicative activities of brands? What is the level of consistency among the different communication tools?

The fashion integrated communication plan

What emerged from our research is that the theme of a seasonal collection usually also inspires the communication theme of the communication campaign imagery. The creative motif and inspiration of a collection, together with its aesthetic components (color, print, decoration and so on), is the starting point of an extensive integrated communication plan, which develops the key theme through different promotional tools. In most cases, the plan follows a constant and repetitive procedure potentially including, in chronological order and with different levels of synergy, a wide range of communication platforms: teasers, catwalk sets, advertising campaigns, fashion editorials, window displays etc. (see Figure 1). The so-called fashion tale—a story built around its seasonal theme that allows the garments to become characters in a narrative, rather than simple objects, is then conveyed in all the communication tools used and is gradually made accessible to the consumer (Ironico 2014).

We can understand this process more deeply through an illustrative example selected from our research sample: the fashion tale of the Spring/Summer 2015 collection of Alexander McQueen.

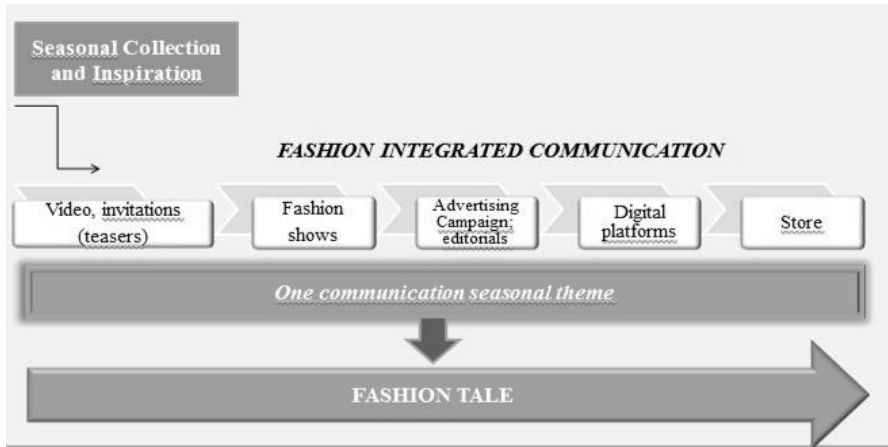


Figure 1. The fashion integrated communication plan (Source: our elaboration)

Firstly, in some cases, the communication theme is developed early on and anticipated by a “teaser” where the designer show’s an invitation or video on the brand digital platform. Both give cues to what can be expected on the runway and are effective attention-getting tools to create curiosity and expectation. In Alexander McQueen’s tale, the teaser was a show invitation sent by Sarah Burton, art director and designer of the fashion house, which anticipated the Japanese theme of the collection. This was inspired by Sarah Burton’s treasured, personal collection of old kimonos acquired during her business trips to Japan. The invitation card evoked this Japanese inspiration in its use of geisha pink, lantern red, and black and silver, together with flowered chiffon dresses and a cherry blossom embroidered kimono.

The fashion narrative was then staged and dramatized in the runway show. The theme was developed through the imagery of the show, in its setting and atmosphere, and in a few cases the supporting communication materials (press releases, press kits, gifts for the guests). In our example, the set was dominated by two huge bronze sculptures by Marc Quinn representing white orchids (one male and one female) that contrasted with the black wood of the catwalk. The models embodied the figures of the traditional Japanese geisha and the warrior feel of the samurai. We found an interesting dualism between the femininity of the eroticized geisha (clothes

decorated with pearls and flowers, chiffon, transparencies) and the hard world of the samurai (recreated with clean lines, defined cuts and symmetries, masks, a masculine mood). The theme was also developed through the aesthetic elements of the collection: flowered chiffon dresses, a cherry blossom embroidered kimono, a painted petal on large skirts, gladiator sandals with high heels, ponytail hairstyles, and models' faces encircled by black masks. Accordingly, the theme was inspired in a synergistic way through both the collection and the imagery of the show, with a strong consistency between style and image.

Months later, the collection's leitmotif was recalled in the seasonal advertising campaign, with different effects and focal points, according to the photographer's style. The inspiration was consolidated in the consumer's collective imagery. In Alexander McQueen's Spring/Summer 2015 advertising campaign, shot by David Sims and launched in the March issues of main magazines, the Japanese influence and the dualism of the geisha and samurai were recalled in the styling of the model Karolin Wolter, although a more theatrical effect and sensual mood were privileged.

At the same time, the theme may also act as an inspiration for fashion editorials, by offering new topics and issues to articles, more often in the press than on digital platforms. Social media and web sites, as our example confirms, are mostly limited to reporting pictures of campaigns and videos of runway shows, with the purpose of reinforcing the theme.

Finally, the tale ends in stores and is made accessible to the target consumer as shopper and user. The motif is dramatized more often in window displays than in in-store visual displays. Also, in the Alexander McQueen narrative, the Japanese motif was incorporated in window displays decorated with elegant orchids.

Content analysis of the Spring/Summer 2015 collections reveals that the same tale may be developed through multiple narrative and communication motifs, rather than just one, with the purpose of enriching the story. These can include design concepts, inspirations, and decorations, as occurred in Fendi's tale. Here three motives and themes could be recognized. The main motif and inspiration for the collection was the "arch" as an architectural element. Karl Lagerfeld drew inspiration from the Palazzo della Civiltà Italiana—Fendi's new headquarters in Rome. The arched configuration of the building inspired the set of the fashion show; the lasers on skirts and jackets; the set of the windows; and even the show press kit. The second key-stone element of the collection was the "orchid," which was printed on the invitation card and all over the clothes, especially on the minidress, fur jackets, and leather-look garments. This soft and delicate second element offset the highly engineered and architectural setting of the catwalk show.

Furthermore, iconic Fendi handbags together with Fendi bag charms (the famous baguette and peekaboo bag, which has been transformed and reimaged into charms for larger bags) constituted the third theme. Minibags and charms became the central item of both an entertaining youtube video and the advertising campaign, where models used them as funny masks or accessories.

Degrees of communication integration and synergy: a possible typology

While all the fashion brands we analyzed tended to adopt a comprehensive communication program and considered, partially or fully, the range of promotional platforms to deliver their seasonal messages, not all brands synchronize their efforts in order to provide synergy and maximize the communication effect. Integration is to be developed according to different levels and forms.

Specifically, as we have said, our analysis allowed us to obtain a descriptive pattern able to explain how and to what extent fashion companies develop integrated communication strategies. Five categories, from the absence of integration to the highest level of integration, were recognized. These can be identified with the following labels: 1) *Absence of integration*; 2) *Visual and iconic integration*; 3) *Collection-led integration*; 4) *Idea-led integration*; 5) *Brand concept orchestration*. In the following, we will explain each category and offer some examples from our sample.

Absence of integration

In a very few cases, we did not find any kind of harmonization. When it did occur, these campaigns used a wide variety of communication tools, but there was no consistent theme or message integration and a dramatized and explicit unifying concept was not recognizable across these communication activities.

One example is the Celine collection, which is very diverse, includes many moods, and ranges from functional garments and flat shoes to more romantic themes, such as new floral prints. The fashion show featured an architectural and minimalist setting that was not themed at all. Runway and aesthetic collections did not match the advertising campaign. The Céline campaign reflects a greater trend in advertising by presenting a diverse image of women and conveying the message—“fashion has no age.” One subject, the American author and literary journalist Joan Didion, starred in a single image shot by Juergen Teller, wearing a pair of sunglasses from the brand’s

eyewear range. Other subjects of the campaign, also shot by Teller, included a teenage Freya Lawrence with the thirty-nine-year-old ballet dancer Marie-Agnès Gillot. We noticed a perceptual incoherence across the communication campaign imagery and between the collection and its promotional activities.

Visual and iconic integration

The first level of integration can be labelled “visual and iconic integration.” In a few cases, at a basic and not very effective level, integration may be achieved in a repetitive and visual way. For example, the same top models from the fashion show offer testimonials for campaigns; the same celebrities are used in the digital video; the print advertisement is replicated in the background of the store window. Communication content and forms are replicated in a superficial, iconic and standard way. Therefore, there is no real message integration and a clear unifying concept or idea cannot be identified across the communication platforms.

Collection-led integration

In a few cases, communication tools are integrated with the style of the seasonal collection. One or more distinctive aesthetic elements (print, color story, textile, decorations) also inspire the unifying communication theme across different promotional activities. However, even if communication tools share the same style identity, they do not seek to integrate messages and content across different channels.

For example, the aesthetic features of the Byblos collection, consisting of distinctive technical textures and geometrical pattern prints (inspired by the Bauhaus architecture), also became the key communicative motif of the advertising campaign. The distinctive color story of Emporio Armani, centred on all blue-based pieces, together with nautical stripes, which constituted the unifying element of the collection, as well as the main theme of the many promotional activities—the invitation card, the advertising campaigns, the editorials, and digital platforms (Figure 2). The black and white micro-floral and monochrome prints of the Max Mara collection became the leitmotif of the campaign.

Creative idea-led integration

Integration is achieved around one creative idea that inspires and guides both the collection style and the whole communication imagery in a consistent and synergistic way. The inspiring idea, as the creative muse of a

fashion collection, may come from a wide range of sources—movies, theatre, literature, art and so on. Therefore, in this category, integration is not limited to a visual or aesthetic issue, as in the two previous types, but incorporates different content, ideas, and messages.

Several examples can be included in this category. Philipp Plein’s new Spring/Summer 2015 collection was inspired by the ocean, coral reefs and abysses. Red, blue and white, the classic marine colors, dominated the collection and featured in the setting of the runway show. Similarly, in the advertising campaign, the mysterious and hidden corners of the sea were represented through sparkling visions lighting up the dark abyss and faceless creatures magically appearing from the shadows.



Figure 2. Emporio Armani s/s 2015 integrated communication process

In Bottega Veneta, the women’s and men’s collections were inspired by the ballet world and the body-in-movement. The garments evoked the ballet: flat shoes, belted cardigans, a languid and relaxed silhouette, and tutu-like-skirts and leggings. The brand released a short film called “Emotion of sound,” which showed two dancers wearing the brand collection. The advertising images, shot by the Japanese photographer Araki, were also inspired by dance and free movements, and featured romantic scenes and a relaxed look. Finally, the interactive art installation in the Ginza store in Tokyo—where visitors could engage with sound, light, and shadows, in a stimulating fashion—reinforced the creative idea. Every piece of the

communication process here was synergistic and integrated around a unified creative concept (Figure 3).

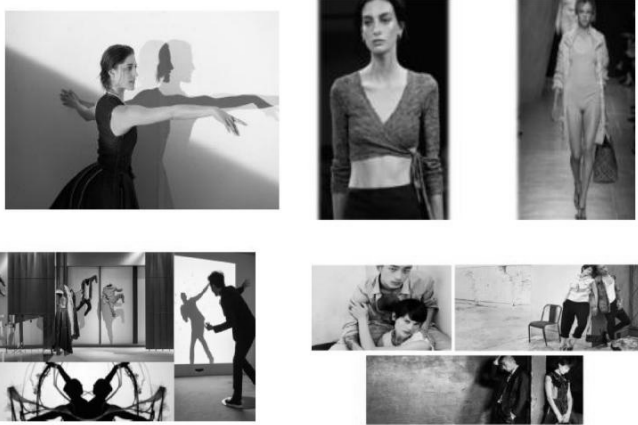


Figure 3. Bottega Veneta s/s 2015 integrated communication process.

Brand concept orchestration

Integration here moves forward, as a more complex, strategic and customer-oriented process. Unification occurs thanks to an emotionally driven orchestration process around a unique and distinctive brand concept and a core brand proposition. The brand heritage and its intangible values are then celebrated and disseminated across the whole tale. What is distinctive about this category is that the fashion tale is not limited to a single season. Thanks to the strategic harmonization assured by a strong brand concept, it is not limited to a single campaign and goes across time through many seasonal campaigns, resulting in a longer term narrative thread. This may also be reinforced by a transmedia approach using multiple platforms to create a more immersive brand experience.

In Dolce & Gabbana, the Sicilian theme was recalled through the concept of Spanish influence on Sicilian traditions between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; this was the guiding inspiration for the Spring collection and its campaign imagery. Sacred heart jackets, coloured boleros, carnation embroidered dresses together with black, white and gold Matador's jackets, dominated the collection; the color red and Spanish imagery dominated the video, the invitation, the setting, and the campaign. The images of the advertising campaign were shot by Gabbana and showed Spanish matadors

and flamenco dancers. The campaign was supported by a short video that included all of the fantastical imagery seen in the still shots (Figure 4). The creative idea went beyond the single seasonal campaign and displays a high degree of creative consistency across time. The Mediterranean theme, inspired by the two designers' southern Italian roots, has been evoked in every seasonal collection through an extensive process of channel harmonization, resulting in longer-term brand concept orchestration and audience engagement.

This process is similar to that in Moschino. Jeremy Scott chose Mattel's iconic Barbie doll as an inspiration for his Spring collection. The Barbie idea became the creative concept of the whole communication campaign. The teaser of the theme used a giant plastic comb in the invitation, together with a Moschino branded Barbie doll placed on every front seat at the runway. All the models were "Barbiefied": bubble gum lipstick; fuchsia leather jacket and miniskirt; huge blond wig; plastic accessories (an iphone case in the shape of a pink mirror). The advertising campaign, shot by Steven Meisel with Anna Ewers, Hollie-May Saker and Sasha Luss, reflected this Barbie-girl idea and the joyful atmosphere of the show; surprisingly, the pictures were in black and white. Finally, the theme dominated the many fashion editorials with the Barbie model as protagonist. All this was in line with Moschino's taste for American pop culture and kitsch, which he has already demonstrated in previous collections inspired by MacDonald's fast food, Looney Tunes, and Spongebob Squarepants. Behind this long-term "pop" narrative lies a recognizable and coherent brand identity and proposition.



Figure 4. Dolce&Gabbana s/s 2015 integrated communication process

Concluding remarks

From our research, it emerges that communication integration in fashion companies uses consolidated practices, even if many distinct forms of integrated program can be recognized. What reinforces this trend is that a synergistic approach may also be found across different brands. Our analysis

shows that fashion tales sometimes match each other across shared seasonal themes and trends, generating what we can call “collective fashion tales.” Therefore, an interesting hybridization process seems to occur through different fashion brands and different narratives.



Figure 5. Moschino s/s 2015 integrated communication process

To give some examples, a collective trend for more mature models is recognizable in the Spring collections of 2015. Brands tended to feature more mature actresses and performers, such as Julia Roberts for Givenchy, Madonna for Versace, Joan Didion for Céline, and also elderly women in the advertising campaigns of Dolce & Gabbana and Lanvin. Furthermore, the Barbie motif recurred in the Moschino campaign and in Dolce & Gabbana in one advertising picture. Additionally, the elegant and delicate orchid is one of the themes of Fendi's fashion tale, but also a part of Alexander MacQueen's narrative. Finally, architecture, with graphic-looking staircases, pyramid structures, arch configurations and angular shapes, inspired the fashion tales of Fendi, Celine and Byblos.

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FASHION ETHICS: A NEW WORLD FOCUSED ON DIGNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

PAOLO MERONI

In recent years, the concept of sustainability has become relevant to different productive sectors and consumer habits. This new dynamic offers the fashion field an important lever of change and reflection on new behaviors affecting the marketing choices of companies. The European Community now considers the concept of sustainability to be a core value of the union, and the 5th and 6th Action Plan Environment have defined the following important principle: “let the market work for the environment.”

This has led the market to build a new industrial development founded on the vision of the green economy to create a virtuous circle of consumption. The consumer, is not a unique actor in the process of social improvement. Public opinion has principally focused on three different themes and from these the main macro political ideas linked to sustainability have developed: environmental, cruelty-free and social. There are several actors, including consumers, companies, the media, voluntary associations, and suppliers, operating at these three levels of social interaction, which stimulate our knowledge and conscience and encourage us to participate in sustainable consumption or production.

The new consumer of today is sophisticated and is aware of the concept of nature. They are participating in the creation of a new post industrial reality.

The first decade after the year 2000, ended in a climate of financial crisis, where the certainties of unconstrained growth and mass affluence abruptly stopped, leaving the consumer in an existential vacuum. Natural rhythms carry the reassurance of a world without unpredictability and threat through self-regulating systems. Nature also follows a process where form follows function and biomimicry becomes a principle that many designers have applied in their work. The natural world is not only an inspiration for the design and colors of fashion, but also a prompter of new products or production processes, based on the concept of imitating nature. Nothing in

nature is purely ornamental in form, but has a necessary purpose. In this vision, a new model of consumption that pays attention to avoiding the unnecessary and the unnatural, can arise. The shape of apparel has changed over the centuries, with clothes becoming lighter in volume and more closely adapted to the environment and functionally adapted to use in a metropolitan context. The minimalism of Japanese designers influenced the fashion world in the 1990s and offers an interesting parallel of how, as the natural world and environment influence genetic changes in species, so to the city and its evolution have led us to change our ways of dressing.

The sensitization of consciences through political and legal development can push the consumer or producer to take autonomous decisions according to the principles of sustainable consumption. Suppliers involved in the production process can become a lever of major change in encouraging manufacturers to improve their focus on the concept of sustainability.

The media plays a key role in the dissemination and public awareness of issues related to sustainability and, through social media, information spreads virally, moving the attention of consumers onto these problems and even triggering a refusal to purchase from brands engaged in unsustainable practices. Voluntary associations are an important element of sensitizing and condemning those activities with little concern for sustainability. An example of a company that has environmental issues at its core is Freedom of Animals, which only produces bags from sustainable materials and that are cruelty-free. Organic cottons, synthetic materials produced with reduced energy use, and recycled metals are the main materials used in production, demonstrating the feasibility of the development of products with lower environmental impact. The philanthropic engagement of this company is also important. Part of the profits are disbursed to The Sheldrick Wildlife Trust, which helps orphaned animals, like elephants and rhinos.

Another brand that has moved independently towards philanthropy is Urban Zen with a vision of supporting people in Haiti and sponsored by the famous brand Donna Karen. The commitment of Stella McCartney to the use of cruelty-free materials and support for associations that deal with environmental and social issues, such as WWF, War Child, NSPCC and others, is also famous.

Over the years, fashion has taken on the task of focusing public attention on different social issues. The provocation brandished on the catwalk is taken up by the media, sensitizing public opinion to often uncomfortable issues. We should reflect also on the role of women in society and how fashion designers have become spokespeople for equal opportunities, changing the preconceptions and moral rules in vogue. Paul Poiret got rid of the stereotypes of classic women's clothing, freeing up women's dress from the

restrictions of the corset. With Coco Chanel, the woman became more and more free—she introduced women's pants, the main symbol of men's fashion, through her collections. The debate on unisex clothing started in the 1970s and has become a source of reflection through the provocation of indeterminately dressed catwalk models in Gucci fashion shows; girls and boys appeared in last spring's advertising campaign dressed the same way.

The issues of unsafe working conditions, low salary levels and child labor have often influenced the purchasing choices of Western consumers. Unfortunately, the media tend to focus their criticism only when disasters occur. The textile industry in developing countries is often at the vanguard of industrialization and development. The lack of protection in some countries makes it easier to exploit labor through intermediaries who may act illegally in order to manufacture products at low cost. The fashion world has a duty to draw public attention towards the conditions of work and life that women must endure in some countries. Many companies have developed initiatives in favor of women in the countries where their products are manufactured. Some multinational brands have introduced canteens in their factories to encourage healthy eating habits, have constructed dormitories nearby in order to reduce distances to their factories, or set up literacy programmes for women.

Some fashion brands have actively pushed, with the help of the media, for legislative change and the introduction of laws to support attention on environmental problems. Vivienne Westwood and Elio Fiorucci are clear examples of fashion designers who have added their prestige to various campaigns related to the concept of sustainability. In the 1970s, Elio Fiorucci showed his commitment against hunting and his brand has always valued the concept of respect for the universal values that nature offers us. In one of his last works, he went beyond the concept of Fiorucci Love therapy, and proposed the spirit of the Song of Songs as something that should drive the work of man.

Stella Jean has always fought for ethics in fashion, advocating the cultural and aesthetic principles of different cultures in the presentation of her clothing on the catwalk. Brunello Cucinelli has also focused on the operational methodologies of his company and on human dignity and the affirmation of principles protecting the environment and the human being. Many natural animal fibers have been protected by international agreements to prevent the extermination of animals previously exploited. An emblematic case is that of Loro Piana, which, in the 1960s, developed an important strategy to revive and increase the numbers of vicuna. Loro Piana, historically a producer of high quality cashmere, saw in increasing Chinese production as a competitor that could threaten its market share. Maintaining

production and positioning of precious vicuna wool fibers would guarantee the company the security of its brand in the luxury world. Loro Piana activated a social policy through a relationship with the government of Peru in order to curb the actions of poachers who illegally hunted the vicuna for its fleece. The agreement provided financial assistance to Andean peasants and farmers to ensure a reduction in poaching and the purchase of vicuna wool at an agreed price. Through this social policy, Loro Piana has extended its supply chain and become a controller and guarantor of the production of raw materials. Major lobbying and communication guaranteed the acceptance of the fiber into countries like the US, where the fiber was previously prohibited.

Voluntary associations have a key role in this particular historical moment, allowing them, thanks to social media, to develop a broad social consensus in a short time. The campaigns of Greenpeace on the banning of harmful substances used in the production of fashion products have led many fashion and luxury brands to make radical changes to their production methods, to accept the principles of prevention, precaution and the right to know, and to eliminate dangerous chemical substances from production. Valentino leads the Greenpeace list of virtuous companies and other brands, like Adidas, Levis, and Puma, have made a commitment to develop cleaner production processes by 2020. Trade associations may be another starting point for the introduction of sustainable products to the market.

B2B can play an important role in changing the values of the supply chain and the supply of raw materials or semi-finished products with a focus on sustainability. The important exhibition of fabric manufacturers, Milano Unica, has given particular visibility to producers of sustainable fabrics and accessories and created a catalogue to inform potential buyers about the virtuous companies involved. New fibers are now being engineered that require reduced consumption of water and the reduction or elimination of solvents, as well as increasing the possibility of recycling. Dyeing and printing processes historically required massive quantities of water. Today, thanks to new classes of dyes and new production cycles, the environmental impact of these processes has been reduced. The transition from the traditional offset printing machine to inkjet printing has significantly decreased the use of water in the printing process, which is no longer used for the washing of fabric and cleaning of printing frames. It should be noted that, in order to significantly improve the impact that the industry has in terms of pollution, private initiatives were not enough—legislative action severely limiting the use of pollutants and their release into the environment has been of fundamental importance. Water and air have been the main elements protected by the legislature, which has imposed drastic measures of pollution

control and introduced the concept of industrial water to be used only by industry for production. As for natural fibers, mistakenly considered by many as safe for the environment, it must be considered that their production requires the use of chemicals as well as chemical and synthetic pesticides, which have a harmful impact on the environment, besides consuming large amounts of water.

The production of organic cotton remains a niche production and developing countries have only recently entertained these new production technologies. Producers prefer to use GM crops because they are the most productive. In the 1990s, GM experiments were aimed at developing methods of low environmental impact, such as the production of black cotton, that would not need to be dyed and therefore would reduce consumption of water and energy. The idea of being able to cultivate colored cotton was mirrored by identical experiments in the breeding of silkworms to produce colored silk.

Neither of these projects has seen broader application because of the difficulty of being able to predict the color range of the global fashion market in subsequent seasons and the impossibility of ensuring the correct production quantities. In the last thirty years, global production of textile fibers has seen the introduction of new artificial fibers with environmentally friendly and recyclable production cycles. Tencel, Lyocell, and bamboo fiber have all been introduced with the aim of becoming valid replacements for natural fibers, but their commercial diffusion has remained low. New natural fibers, derived from the recycling of waste, such as orange or coconut peel, seemed to open the door to a new awareness in consumers about sustainable products, but we are still a long way from large-scale production of these fibers. The National Chamber of Italian Fashion and the Fashion System has also developed an Ethical Code, which has been adopted in the major fashion companies; for example, Dolce & Gabbana considers respect for the environment, health and safety protection and equal opportunities as important parts of their ethical documentation.

The role that many companies play in sensitizing consumers to sustainability issues is important. Environmental certification has been introduced with the aim of informing consumers on the social aspects of products and the low environmental impact of their production. The right to be informed leads consumers to improve their consumption patterns and to have respect for a more sustainable life cycle. Unfortunately, over the years environmental certifications have not had the desired success and in some countries we are still far from gaining the attention of consumers. The labeling system needs to be simpler in order to facilitate rapid recognition and, in a virtuous circle, promoting and stimulating the demand for products

and production that respect the environment and the social aspects involved. H&M with its campaign, H&M Conscious, linked to recycling, has promoted sustainable consumption to fast fashion consumers through a policy of encouraging them to buy a new product with a discount against the exchange of an old one, which is sent to be recycled. The Fast Fashion sector produces the most waste in the fashion industry because it bases its business on the continuous supply of new products and the consequent disposal of old ones. It is therefore essential for these companies to be aware of the importance of recycling discarded products.

Istituto Marangoni and its Fashion Styling students has participated in a project to develop H&M shop windows in their main Italian shops promoting reuse/recycle of garments.

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THE SKIN I LIVE IN:
CORRESPONDENCES AND INFLUENCES
BETWEEN FASHION AND ARCHITECTURE
AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PAOLO MARCOALDI

People have always dressed in additional “skins.” Considering this, the distinction between *habitus*, the tailored shell, and *habitat*, the architectural coating, is much more attenuated than is usually considered. Architecture and clothing have a common etymological origin in many languages. In German, for example, Gottfried Semper identifies the phonetic similarity between the words *wand* (wall) and *gewand* (to clothe). In turn, *gewand* derives from the verb *winden* meaning ‘to embroider.’ Even the Italian language helps dissolve the boundaries between *abito*, a garment covering the body, and the verb underlying this noun, *abitare*, to have an intense relationship of fruition or possession with an environment.

It is evident, therefore, that *habitus* and *habitat* have a common etymological origin in the Latin verb *habere*, not just understood as the possession of a given space, but as the technical and cultural control of the physical resources around us. Of course, there are cases in which *habitus* and *habitat* act as masks and are assigned very different tasks. The semantic discrepancy between the simple papal clothes of Francis the First and the redundant and sumptuous beauty of the Vatican interiors is incontrovertible, but it is much more common to find a direct link between how we dress and the place where we are. It would be quite unusual to go to a football match in evening dress or, conversely, show up at a wedding in sportswear. What are the origins of the interaction and correspondences between the clothes we wear and the architecture we inhabit?

From the very beginning, *habitus* and *habitat* were not just functional coatings that responded only to certain practical needs, but filters between us and the outside world; masks with which we show and send information to others. Through “inhabiting,” people became acquainted with a certain space, and some environments and objects become more familiar than others.

As time goes on, living turns into practice in the double meaning of periodically renewing certain experiences and becoming familiar with one's surrounding space. Habits determine our almost empathetic relationship with objects and they can become corporal extensions by frequency of use, or, by their mere presence, tangible memories of the past. Some particularly significant forms of habitat, such as the bed or the fireplace, are in fact forms of ritual that characterize domestic space.

Therefore, social transformations can be articulated not only by the important modifications imposed by man on the territory possessed, but also by the evolution of his attire and the range of signs that characterize any person (posture; speech; complementary accessories—the cane for support, the crown, and the arrival in contemporary society of handbags and the latest electronic devices).

During the nineteenth century, with the consolidation of the industrial revolution, the boundaries between those who held power and those who suffered power passively, began to disappear. Emerging social classes tried to come to a deal with the old ruling aristocracy, using the instruments of habitus and habitat to transmit their desire to share power. However, this path to conquest by the rising middle class was not linear, but marked by a series of small revolutions that were absolutely unforeseen.

Indeed, progressive urbanization, the increased movement of goods and dramatic population growth produced a kind of metropolitan confusion in citizens. The house became, as it was originally, the ideal refuge in which man dissolved the tensions of urban life through a comfortable intimacy. This "house-shell," as stated by Walter Benjamin in his famous essay on Paris, "bears the impression of its occupant" (Benjamin 2002, 220), and it must be furnished with enveloping objects, to give shape to the feelings of security and privacy that we require in domestic spaces, values which are antithetical to the frenetic chaos found externally.

As Jean Baudrillard says, describing the traditional way of life during the late 1960s, the house shows: "the caesura between inside and outside, and their formal opposition, which falls under the social sign of property and the psychological sign of the immanence of the family, [and] make this traditional space into a close transcendence" (Baudrillard 1996, 14).

Inside this shell it is not only the distinction between wall and furniture that disappears, but we are inclined to speak a single language, a single style, in furniture, accessories and clothes. The answer to this metropolitan confusion is what Manfredo Tafuri would define as "a domestic excess of visual noise." The definitive hybridization between different artistic disciplines is achieved in Art Nouveau, under the reforms of the Chicago School in America, and William Morris and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc in

Europe. Morris, in particular, was able to combine, for the first time, the figurative quality of handicraft production with the quantitative advantages of industrial production.

Morris, Marshall, Faulkner & Co., founded in 1861 by William Morris (1834–96) in London, together with Philip Webb, Edward Burne-Jones, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Charles Faulkner, Peter Paul Marshall and Ford Madox Brown, offered, for the first time, a reasonable alternative to the traditional models of industrial development, showing, before any other company, a real interest in combining ethics and aesthetics in its work. The factory, no longer an amoral place dominated solely by the law of maximum profit, became a living environment, similar to the house, in which practical and immaterial needs coexisted. This union between art and industry also had to reach a wider audience. The Morris & Co. artists, aware of the need to reform the relationship between art and society, advertised themselves as “Fine Art Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture and the Metals.”

As noted by the Belgian artist Henry Van de Velde (1863–1957), the decorations of Morris and his followers “show, at first glance, a normal appearance, honest, a decoration consistent with the manufacturing process. Morris’ ornament is unified with the object. They were conceived at the same time, they were brought to live together” (Van de Velde 1986, 99). The innovative elements that stylistically characterized all these works included: the abolition of perspective, a progressive removal of the technique of gradient, and, finally, the use of contour.

The precedents of all these factors belong to a long past age, the ancient technique of illumination in medieval manuscripts, but also look to a present almost unknown until the early nineteenth century, the art of Japanese prints. As it happens, in these same years, with the impressionist painters in France, Japanese works of art, especially the ukiyo-e prints of Utamaro, Hokusai, Hiroshige and Sharaku, allowed for the study of a kind of art that subverted traditional Western compositional standards.

In France, the decisive contribution to the aesthetic sensibility of the last decades of the nineteenth century was made by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79). The architectural historian Renato de Fusco shows that: “the contribution of Viollet-le-Duc in Art Nouveau, the first architectural trend born in the nineteenth century emancipated from historicist Eclecticism, was much more decisive than any other scholar of his time” (De Fusco 1985, 336).

According to Viollet-le-Duc, the lessons of the past, particularly the lessons of ancient Greece and the Gothic period, consisted in their correspondence between the structure of a building and its appearance. Contrary to what one might commonly think, in Art Nouveau there is always

decoration, but never useless coating. Ornamentation always has a precise reason for being, in furnishing as much in clothing. Henry Van de Velde writes: “we recognize the meaning and justification of ornament in its function. This function consists in structuring the shape and not simply to decorating it” (Van de Velde 1986, 54).

This is the reason why the seemingly redundant lines in the posters of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec for the Moulin Rouge were clever tricks to differentiate the foreground from the background, isolating the main figures inside highly dynamic scenes. In clothing the ornament no longer impedes the freedom of movement. Clothes, in addition to supporting and controlling the shape of the body, began to accommodate the natural dynamics of the body. Gustav Klimt and Mariano Fortuny were the first to release the female silhouette from the constraint of the corset. The analogy between artistic creation and the laws of nature must also be traced to the theoretical reflections of Viollet-le-Duc. The undulation and the curved line, known also as the *coup de fuet* (whiplash), were always inspired by nature, and elements were also derived from the animal kingdom (insects and birds), the plant world (flowers and stems), and marine life (the waves of the sea). In Art Nouveau objects, it is very often possible to see one thing converted into something else: lighting fixtures in the shape of flowering plants; a living room which is really a grotto. A remarkable example can be found in the Paris Métro entrance designed by Hector Guimard in the late 1890s, which is in the shape of cast-iron orchid stalks.

Another very common theme in the various disciplines of Art Nouveau is the figure of the chrysalis, which was used both by René Lalique for his jewels, and by Émile Gallé for his elegant furniture. The chrysalis, perfectly representing the notion of fertility and ephemerality, is a symbol of the brevity of life, in which the themes of beauty and death are simultaneously presented. The desire to produce a new kind of beauty was not merely limited to the aesthetic sense, in trying to imitate the infinite wonders of nature, but also in a desire to find, above all, moral and spiritual substance. The artists wished to develop a new socialism of beauty in a campaign for the moralization of art and its rightful purpose in the service of society, acquiring ever greater political connotations as time passed.

In Belgium, in particular, a series of initiatives promoted at the end of the nineteenth century seem to show an apparent harmonious relationship between the emerging intelligentsia and Party Workers. The most significant episode of this golden age can be considered the building of the *Maison du Peuple* in Brussels, between 1896 and 1898; it is the most important work of the Belgian architect Victor Horta and an example of perfect unity between structure and decoration, both indoors and out. The *Maison du Peuple* was

demolished in 1965 in one of the greatest architectural crimes of the twentieth century.

The bentwood furniture of the Austro-Hungarian cabinet maker Michel Thonet (1796–1871) should also be considered among the first examples of the artistic and social renewal in which the morphology of the object was characterized by the continuity of the elements that constituted them, enveloped in an endless continuity and expressed through the rococo use of abstract lines. This ostentatious boldness of expression did not prevent the company from producing furniture with strictly limited costs, showing for the first time interesting stylistic innovations within a process of semi-mechanized production.

The common interest in a universal reform of the arts brings with it encroachments from other disciplines. The desire to find a lost sense of unity in the arts was felt by William Morris as a real existential mission. Modern society, which imposed difficult living conditions on city dwellers, caused a progressive separation among the various artistic disciplines. Hence for artists it became a moral necessity to seek a form of unity in the arts. According to this approach, an artist could quickly switch from applied arts to architecture, as in the case of Henry Van De Velde, or a stylist could also be interested in furniture, as was the case with Paul Poiret (1879– 1944). This is the same Poiret who informed us of his interest in the “*plures disciplinæ*”:

“During 1911, I visited all the exhibitions of decorative art in Vienna and Berlin, and I met some of the greatest artists, such as the Austrian architect Josef Hoffmann ... I spent entire days visiting modern interiors, built and furnished with such an impressive amount of new ideas, which I had never seen in our country ... and I dreamed of creating a movement of ideas in France that can renew our home décor ... I went all the way to Brussels just to see the Palais Stoclet” (De Fusco 1985, 437).

Later, for the occasion of an exhibition in Berlin in 1913, Poiret expanded his artistic field from fashion to interior design, lavishly decorating the walls of a dining room with the stems and leaves of plants in harmony with the floral motifs depicted on the curtains. Poiret, with his dual interest in clothing and furnishings, is among the first artists to experiment with new techniques and new materials in fashion, as well as in interior architecture. According to Renato De Fusco, in the interest in impact, variety and originality and the search for new sources of inspiration, a break with the past and the renewal of an artistic language were characteristics that pervaded the entire old continent. This diffused “luxury handicraft brings together in all areas traditionalists and innovators toward a kind of collective imaginary, hinging on the idea of decoration” (De Fusco 1985, 436).

Expanding on this concept and applying it to every artistic discipline, it is possible to state that as one “inhabits” the body, so one inhabits the place, and thus inhabits the world. One finds in Art Nouveau a common aesthetic expression with many variants and names: Liberty Style in England and Ireland; Catalan Modernism in Spain; Stile Floreale or Liberty in Italy; Jugendstil in Germany; and Sezessionstil in Austria.

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PHASES AND PROCESSES OF READY-MADE FASHION: ANALYSIS OF THE PRODUCTIVE PROCESS OF THE BRAND SOPHIE CHARLOTTE

SIMONA RANALDI

With the definition of *Pronto moda* (ready-made fashion), we refer to that peculiar productive style in the fashion business based on the continuous release of products to the market. While, as we know, in the ready-to-wear productive cycle there is a time gap of several months in which the whole collection is planned in advance, creative and productive processes are carried out in a very short time frame of seven to twelve days, from the moment the item is on paper to the moment it is ready to be sold in shops.

The branch of *pronto moda* where I work is called *pronto programmato* (scheduled ready-made fashion), in which two productive strategies are carried out simultaneously. Groups of items are produced and sold locally within a short time frame while other groups of items, with a scheduled release date, are produced and released in Italy or abroad. This second process is scheduled five to six months in advance of the release of items.

Defining the target is the starting point for the whole process; in this way the company has a clear picture of its potential customers. It is important not to undervalue this moment because the success or failure of a brand can depend on these decisions. If you do not have the required know-how it is better to invest some money in consulting an expert. In such an overloaded market it is difficult to find the right product for the appropriate market niche. In Italy, for example, if you plan to enter this business you should consider that a big share of the market is already taken by the big names of affordable mass fashion; as such, you need to clearly define your target and also what you can better offer customers than others. This could involve a price-orientated strategy or a product-orientated strategy. In the case of the brand Sophie Charlotte, we decided to cover a part of the market that has not yet been fully exploited by competitors: clothing for the female population between the age of 15 to 20. Obviously, the challenge is to produce appealing

items for the core target while at the same time trying not to cut off other segments close to the target demographic. We may say that our products are aimed to appeal to a wider target age range of 15 to 30.

Three elements of the definition of a target demographic include: the age of the customer; the budget of the purchase; the style of the customer. Once the target is clear this will influence the choices the stylist makes and these will not change unless company management decides to do so. For example, if the target market is that of teenagers and the offer exceeds apparent requirements, the company may choose to change to refocus on another part of the market with less competition. This would involve a radical change in the identity and the communication of the brand and it is difficult to switch strategies so fast. For this reason, it is better to take time planning, making evaluations and researching the target market and finding out how we are going to succeed in targeting it.

Once we have a clear vision of what to do and how to set up the productive process, we can start. The first step of each collection is trend research. This involves a number of different phases, such as researching fashion show and blogs and keeping an eye on the trends among everyday people on the streets.

Our relationship with clothes, what we express through them and what we find attractive, changes all the time. Women freely select from the garments on offer. How they select and coordinate them is a matter of personal decision. These individual styles are, however, often shared by groups of people and might be said to be fashionable among them: “fashion is a social agreement, a consensus of a large group of people” (Blum 1986).

Understanding why people choose to wear certain garments and what influences fashion more broadly is the first step towards identifying the direction in which a campaign may evolve. The aim of this first phase of study is to define the crucial elements of a collection: materials (fabrics and accessories); prints and patterns; and lines and volumes, according to the trends of the season and the target market.

The color card, on which the colors of the collection will be based, is divided into block colors (the most used colors), which will likely be the best-sellers, and the accent colors (less used, but with the intention of recalling trends). The items using these colors are usually produced in smaller quantities. However, in some cases they can be the best-selling products or worst-selling and remain unsold in company storage causing a financial loss.

Once all these previous points are clarified, the actual productive plan for the whole collection can follow and the number of items and how they will be divided by category and fabrics can be decided. In the productive plan of a collection, the ratio between tops and skirts and trousers or shorts will always

be 2–1. This proportion accords with the purchasing habits of customers and if you have look at the production processes of the most important brands you will notice that this proportion is usually the same.

We are now in the stage of study and release of groups of items of ready-made and scheduled fashion. As two different production models, they are characterized by the different steps they take. In scheduled fashion we start from the study of models and make a sample in Italy. Once this sample is ready, it can then be modified and sent to the factory (usually abroad) together with size specifications (a chart containing all the measurements for different sizes). We would then wait for the first sample to be made by the supplier. This would be followed by a second fitting and adjustment, after which the order can be made. Overseas production can be convenient for a certain amount of pieces, but it is hard to control the process and sometimes problematic. However, having a good sample and giving accurate details and specifications for each item should make it easier. Producing in Italy allows you to monitor the process and to make changes, if needed, faster and more easily. On the other hand, manufacturing costs are often higher and this affects the final sale price, reducing revenue. Sometimes you may decide to produce certain items in Italy, to make a better product in order to invest in the quality level of the brand. The productive process of *pronto moda* (ready-made fashion) in Italy is slightly different as every step is supervised by the designer. We start this cycle by examining the pattern book in order to choose the fabrics, then we place the order and once the fabric is delivered we work on creating samples of each item. This phase involves different professionals, one of which is the pattern-maker who works directly with the designer.

The design of the pattern is the most time-consuming and costly part of production. Essentially, a designer's sketch must be transformed into a standardized pattern that is both stylish and easy to construct. A successful pattern enables a seamstress to produce an article of clothing for a fraction of the cost it would take to purchase a ready-made garment in a store. If the target customers are teenagers, the fitting of the garment can be hard and it is difficult to adjust it to different kinds of bodies. Obviously the aim of a brand is to try to produce a few sizes of the same item and the more you produce the more you risk having unsold items.

In order to make the actual pattern, members of all technical departments (design merchandising, product standards) hold a construction meeting to decide the details of a style and determine its construction. Decisions are made on the number of pattern pieces, the style number based on the degree of difficulty, suitable fabrics, the sizes the patterns will be graded to, and how they will be constructed. A folder is opened for each design so that crucial information can be recorded and shared with appropriate departments. The

folder, with the notes from the construction meeting, is given to the pattern-making department. At this stage the manufacturing process can start; culling information from the construction meetings, the pattern-maker creates the first pattern. When the sample pattern is approved, the draft is processed through computer-aided design (CAD/CAM). Garment patterns can be constructed by two means: the manual method and the CAD/CAM method. Today many companies use CAD/CAM because of the ease of designing patterns and the fluency and precision involved, which cannot be guaranteed with the manual method. Investing in a CAD/CAM unit is worthwhile in itself. Many buyers around the world prefer manufacturers who are using CAD/CAM methods as production patterns created in CAD/CAM can be easily stored and modified at any point in time. A garment sewing pattern or garment fabric and pattern drafts are developed by calculating and taking account of the following measurements: 1) direct sample; 2) specification sheet/measurement chart; 3) actual body size measurements; 4) ease allowances; 5) sewing allowances. These allowances are different for different types of fabrics and patterns.

The completed pattern is sent to the dressmaking department where it is tested. After passing these tests, the pattern is then graded to various sizes using a computer program. The complicated task of pattern grading, which used to be manually performed by pattern-makers, is now computerized. Then the measuring department determines the fabric yardage and notions needed. The computer software helps technicians create the optimum fabric layout so fabric can be used efficiently. Once all the information needed for step-by-step instruction is known, they are written up for the client in easy-to-understand language. The purpose of grading is to create patterns in different standard sizes. Grading a pattern means scaling a pattern up or down in order to adjust it for multiple sizes. Pattern sizes can be large, medium and small, or else there are the standard sizes—10, 12, 14, 16 and so on for sizing of different figures and statures. Generally, this is how we get S/M/L/XL/XXL sizing. Pattern grading by manual methods is a cumbersome task because the grader has to alter the pattern at each and every point including the armhole, the neckline, the sleeve cap and the wrist, etc.; using CAD this process is both easier and faster.

The computer software helps technicians to create the optimum fabric layout to suggest so that fabric can be used efficiently. Markers, made in accordance with patterns, are attached to the fabric with the help of adhesive stripping or staples. Markers are laid in such a way that there is little textile wastage during the cutting operation. After marking the garment, the manufacturer has a better idea of how much fabric he/she has to order in advance for the construction of the garments. Therefore careful execution of

this step is important. Computer marking is done with specialized software. In computerized marking there is no need for large paper sheets to calculate the yardage and mathematical calculations are used to understand how much fabric is required.

Once the sample is ready, it is time for fittings and adjustments and when we are sure the sample is what we want we launch the order, giving instruction to the suppliers about the number of items and their categories. At this stage we have all the elements to cost the final retail price. The cycle can be restarted with new fabrics, orders and samples, keeping everything under retail and stock control in the shops. It is important to constantly update the number of each item and the sizes available for each piece of a collection. And if we are out of a size or have a bestseller we can make a second production run in order to stock up. The process of completing a production run, seeing what sells best and then undertaking a second production run with a short turn-around time is one of the strengths of this production model. In this way, you do not have the problem of producing a great quantity of pieces for each item, but just enough to fill up the stores so that you can see what the best sellers are in order to guide the next production run. Or you can make adjustments to a specific item according to customer feedback.

The final stage in the creation of a collection is the photoshoot where different outfits are shown. The most important elements for a successful shoot are the definition of a mood, a suitable location and the right models, able to communicate the image we want to our target consumer and our customers.

Designing a successful fashion collection requires many different skills. These can be broadly equate to creative, technical, and commercial skills. Each is cultivated and developed in a different way: a commercial approach requires a good knowledge of the market, technical skills improve with practice, and creativity relies on inspiration.

Fashion is often seen by students entering into this field as something distant from reality and distant from a common job. Often academies or fashion courses focus their studies on the creation of artistic and sartorial collections, but the reality is that most vacancies in the industry are in mass market fashion and the creative element is strictly linked to the practical elements of this job. Creating extravagant collections made of expensive fabrics and accessories is good training, but it is distant to the reality of this job, or at least it should be part of the training in combination with other methods and studies. It is fundamental to give students the message of a very complex reality in which different professionals are involved and which is composed of different phases of a creative, but also managerial, process. For this reason inspiration needs to go hand-in-hand with training in managerial

and practical skills. As we can see, this sector is dynamic and complex and probably the best way to train and educate young designers for this job is to challenge them with the creation and organization of new collections that bring them into the real process of creativity, be realistic about their creations, and stresses the importance of planning and research.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

GENDER AND FASHION

REDEFINING EDO FEMALE IDENTITY THROUGH *IKI* AESTHETICS IN UNDERGARMENT TEXTILES

PETYA ANDREEVA

Tokugawa rule saw significant changes in terms of the social and gender dynamics in Japanese society. Fashion, more specifically the underrobe known as the *juban*, was a pivotal signifier of the change in aesthetics and social trends. In one sense, the introduction of new dyeing techniques and the use of forbidden colors, like *benibana* red, resulted from the growing social awareness of women in merchant families. The implementation of brave new designs in Japanese undergarments is also associated with the concept of *iki*¹—a popular vernacular aesthetic ideal that arose in the Yoshiwara district and proliferated among samurai, farmers, craftspeople and merchants (Graham-Diaz 2001, 1–2). The *bakufu*² assigned strict codes of conduct for all social strata. This politically imposed stratification translated into harsh sumptuary laws to keep the growing merchant class inferior to that of the samurai by prohibiting certain colors and designs, which remained the preserve of the samurai and their families (Graham-Diaz, 2001, 1). Thus, the subtle use of *benibana* red in female underkimonos was actually a tool to express female resistance against the strict and inflexible social order of the *bakufu*. Wearing prohibited colors was also a token of delicate, restrained eroticism and offered a new medium through which women could express their sexuality. It should be established, however, that *beni* red was usually incorporated at the end of the sleeves or the bottom hem of the undergarment that would hang out of the *kosode* or outer robe. This outer robe resembles a kimono, but has short sleeves and was usually worn by the urban middle or lower classes in Edo. I argue that when viewed together, the designs and

¹ In Japanese, *iki* is an adjectival verb that, when prefixed to a noun, goes with a conjugated form of an auxiliary verb—*na*. Thus *iki* conjugates as—an *ikina* woman in its conjugated form as an independent word. Here, to avoid confusion, I will use *iki* without its modification as in—an *iki* ideal

² A term used in Japanese to refer to the government under the Tokugawa shogunate.

color schemes of the undergarment and *kosode* created an *iki* microcosm, a realm of delicate erotic allure that indirectly gave women agency and even sociopolitical power.

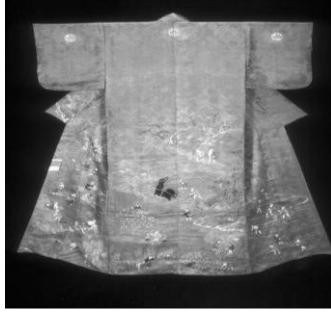


Figure 1. *Kosode* with design of rice cultivation in four seasons, early nineteenth century. Source: Fisher Fine Arts Image Database, University of Pennsylvania

Iki had its provenance in the pleasure quarters of Yoshiwara. The people, who engaged in *iki* situations, wore *iki* clothes and searched for *iki* in every walk of life were usually merchants. *Iki* was not, by any means, a scholarly ideal. Indeed, while *iki* was the female ideal of conduct, it had its counterpart in the masculine concept of *tsu*, which grew to be seen as an attempt by merchants to attain some of the intellectual air of the samurai classes (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 58). *Iki* is the female counterpart of *tsu*, but the former had a much more pronounced aesthetic reflection in material culture. *Tsu*, in fact, resembles the French concept of male dandyism (Baudelaire and McGowan 2008). The difference between the male and female versions of dandyism, however, resides in the fact that women used *iki* in displaying resistance. They utilized the freedom that *iki* gave them to reshape and explore the possibilities hidden within their own identities, previously shaped solely by men. *Iki* as an aesthetic trend had several components. Quite like the off white-beige background of the *kosode* robe shown in Figure 1, there were many nuances to female behavior and *iki* required that eroticism be multi-faceted, not a one-dimensional crude display of sexual desire. The use of scenes related to nature in the robe's design is not, by any means, blatant or flamboyant; it gives out a rather sharp, mysterious, implied and sober sense of elusiveness. This pattern leads to the first integral part of *iki* called *hari*, a sharp and reserved manner of conduct that women demonstrated as a scheme of seduction, which allowed them to put their eroticism into effect and, at the same time, to retain control over men (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 54). *Iki* involves passion that remains

subdued within the realm of possibility, a microcosm in which the relations between a man and a woman sustain a slightly vibrating sparkle, fluctuating between distance and intimacy; coldness and escalating tension (Pincus 1996, 33).



Figure 2. *Kosode* with a cherry blossom pattern. Source: Fisher Fine Arts Image Database, University of Pennsylvania.

The second important component of *iki* was known as *bitai* and was much more redolent of eroticism, in a relatively implicit way (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 54). It was essential that women sustained their level of charm and natural behavior and did not feign high-class conduct (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 54). This can be seen in the meandering fragile branches and small red cherry blossoms, covering the surface of the robe (Figure 2). These are visual tokens of *bitai*: a delicate, covered trace of erotic allure that was aimed at challenging men to look beyond the obvious and discover the undertones in the colour-palette of a woman's soul. Yet, the presence of the small cherry blossoms implies a charming, enchanting sexuality without superimposing any explicit eroticism or vulgarity. The red cherry blossom was often a symbol of clouds and/or snow, bringing ambivalent associations of the ephemeral yet simple nature of everything. The robe appears simplistic, both design-wise and also in terms of the colors used in the dyeing process. There is no *iki* in anything overly abstruse and complicated since its erotic allure derives from the shaping of a woman's body in accordance with natural patterns and laws. *Iki* turned the *juban*³ and the *kosode* into a liaison between the female body and the surrounding social and natural realm.

The last essential element of *iki* was the quality of *akanuke*, which required an unassuming, natural manner and an air of unpretentious beauty

³ *Juban* is the Japanese term for an underkimono.

(Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 55). Thus, the colors of the *juban* in Figure 1 tend to blend well with one another, creating a hazy appearance. The natural motifs in both Figure 1 and Figure 2 are not superfluous, nor do they offer an ostentatious display of detail. Similarly, cosmetics suddenly and abruptly changed from the heavy white foundation that geishas used at the outset of Edo, to implied, natural eye make-up and whitening creams that matched the color of the skin (Weinbaum 2008, 33). This same tendency occurred in clothing and particularly in the trends of the *juban* and *kosode*: the underkimono's design, which incorporated simple bands of geometric patterns in lieu of overcomplicated intricate floral motifs (See Figure 3).



Figure 3. *Kosode* with plants, clouds and geometric designs Source: Fisher Fine Arts Image Database, University of Pennsylvania.

During the late Edo period, blatant *benibana* red became old-fashioned and gave a way to an orange or smoky brownish color that people considered much earthier and therefore, closer to nature and to the concept of *iki*. The design of the robe (See Figure 3) also incorporates elements taken straight from the natural world, such as plants and clouds. In his thorough study of *iki*, Kuku Shuzo recognizes horizontal stripes as a primary motif adopted in *iki* fashion: these simple, parallel patterns yield a sense of simplicity and unpretentiousness while still having an air of mysteriousness and the infinite (Minnich 1986, 341).

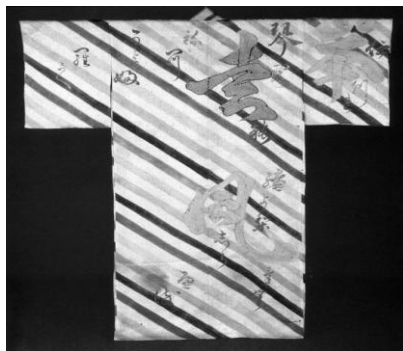


Figure 4. *Juban* with kanji characters and a net pattern. Source: Fisher Fine Arts Image Database, University of Pennsylvania.

It is worth noting that *iki* originated in the pleasure quarters. However, political changes brought about the transformation of the pleasure district and thus influenced the proliferation of *iki*. During the Kyoho period (1751–64) there were several major fires that made it necessary for the authorities to move Yoshiwara from Nihonbashi to Asakusa⁴ (Mason 1993). The shogun, being highly superstitious and relying on the interpretation of auspicious signs and their meaning, decided that these natural disasters were meant to bring about a change in the way townspeople used the district (Mason 1993, 230–40). Consequently, the regulations imposed on the legal status of geishas became stricter. Whereas some members of the samurai class still had a considerable amount of economic power and political clout, they were no longer able to engage as actively in the play of *iki* and many gave up on being patrons of courtesans. There was also a major shift in the type of visitors and the district became a famous destination for people from diverse backgrounds.

However, from the Horeki period (1751–64) onwards, the new commercialization of Yoshiwara and the shift in patronage triggered a change in the female position within the social dynamics of brothels (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 58). The authorities overcame the problem of natural disasters by building new temporary houses where the courtesans resided. However, as uncertainty about the future settled in, the exploitation and utilization of women's work increased (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 60). The young girls, who had just entered the occupation, automatically became

⁴ The natural disasters did not stop there. Between 1768–1866 there were more than eighteen major fires recorded, which burnt the district's buildings to the ground.

*kamuro*⁵ and had to do menial work as well as entertain the customers. What is more, the *bakufu* gave brothel owners the absolute freedom to devise strategies to keep discipline in their quarters (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 58). The owners, pressed by economic need, devised special booklets called *saiken* that prescribed certain patterns of conduct for Yoshiwara girls, and they were subject to close scrutiny (Graham-Diaz 2001). Therefore, to retain their position geishas had to stay up to date with these expectations. Thus, the concept of *iki* suddenly turned from a liberating medium of expressing female resistance into a politicized attempt to confine and exploit female sexuality. This lasted only until the Meiwa period (1764–72) when the ideal of *iki* underwent a reincarnation and spread outwards from Yoshiwara to the banks of the Sumida River (Gluckman 1992, 138). The restaurants that were built in that area employed a lot of geishas, hence, the rapid proliferation of *iki* among the many commoners that visited those places. As a result, geishas came to epitomize *iki*, which was now being emulated by women outside the Yoshiwara district (Nishiyama and Groemer 1997, 61).

The radical changes that the Kensai reforms brought about accounted not only for changes in the structure of *iki*, but also led to profound changes in textile production. Under heavy regulation, the textile industry became a matter of record. The *bakufu* established the Imperial Weaving Bureau and the Office of the Guild of the Needleworkers within the Ministry of Treasury (Minnich 1986).⁶ The Ministry for Central Affairs accommodated the newly established Bureau of the Wardrobe of the Palace (Minnich 1986). The offices of the wardrobe and of dyeing were charged with sewing for the court and the emperor, while the needleworkers and weavers assumed direction of textile crafts in general. The *bakufu* must have presumed that this meticulous division of duties would make it easier to manage and control the textile industry and separate the clothes produced for the samurai and for merchants by their quality.

The most popular technique used at the time was called *itajime*—a resist dyeing process that utilized carved boards to clamp together folded fabric prior to the application of the actual dye (Buhler 1977, 11). Afterwards, the dye was introduced through holes and intricate channels in the wooden boards so that it came into contact with the selected areas of the cloth (Buhler 1977). The result was usually dichromatic: a white or other nuance of light design with a vivid, usually red background. What made *itajime* an idiosyncratic technique was the mirror-image arrangement of the patterns

⁵ The term is usually translated from Japanese as assistants, servants.

⁶ Until that point, weaving was primarily a hereditary craft, but with the establishment of the Imperial Bureau any commoner was also welcome to join the industry provided he/she displayed the necessary qualities.

caused by the folding of the fabric prior to it being clamped between the boards (See Figure 3). In the robe in Figure 3, we can observe the usage of *kyokechi*—which is a specific type of *itajime* derived from Chinese techniques that were common in textile production during the Tang dynasty (Harris 1993). *Kyokechi* utilizes a polychromatic palette with several different colors applied to certain areas, producing repeated patterns (Harris 1993). This method results in dye saturating the details while the background keeps its original color.

Ordinary workmen cultivated the plants from which they made the dye (Gluckman 1992, 133). The unrefined dye then passed through the hands of many middle class workers and craftsmen who travelled all round Japan to the dealers, dyers and tailors who catered to the needs of different classes of women. The materials also represented a hierarchy. Underrobes, made for representatives of the imperial court and the samurai class, were made out of silk, while commoners wore cotton *jubans*. Furthermore, the designs of samurai women's *jubans* and *kosode* frequently had *kanji* characters incorporated into the fabrics, representing their traditional scholarly knowledge and Japanese culture (See Figure 4). While aesthetic trends, such as *iki*, displayed the gap between the male and female position in a feudal society, a closer look at the production techniques of manufactured goods exemplifies the strong stratification among women in Tokugawa society. Perhaps this was another well-calculated technique adopted by the *bakufu* to keep women compliant by encouraging the production of different materials and the implementation of distinctive designs for different classes of women, which made the unification of female power unimaginable.

Stratification among women was most obvious during those formal occasions when aristocrats' wives and daughters wore richly-decorated *katabira* of *honzome*; middle-class women wore similar robes patterned with *chayazome* (indigo) patterns and low class women could wear garments that had patterns only on the lower part of the fabric (Gluckman 1992). Poor peasant women were supposed to dedicate as much time as possible to labor and had to spend a minimal amount of time on their appearance. A peasant woman would wear a square cotton cloth as a *juban*, a short petticoat and one *naga juban*⁷ (See Figure 5). A working woman also had to wrap her head with a cotton towel and protected her kimono with an apron (Barnes and Eicher 1992, 188). A 1674 edict ordered that peasants were restricted to having only one hemp garment for summer and one paper robe for winter (Barnes and Eicher 1992, 187).

⁷ *Naga jubans* were full-length underrobes.



Figure 5. Cotton *kosode*, Tokugawa Art Museum in Nagoya Source: Fisher Fine Arts Image Database, University of Pennsylvania

After 1648, it became a common practice for Edo citizens to send their daughters to perform menial tasks in wealthy *daimyo* homes (Minnich 1986, 199). Amidst this luxury, these common girls sometimes wore the second hand, yet extremely exquisite, *kosode* of their mistresses and often these mistresses would allow the servants to keep them as a reward for their hard work (Minnich 1986, 199). Thus, as time went by, many women of the lower middle class began to save their money and use it to buy garments as lavish as the castoffs they had been given. The government was either unable to control this growing tendency or purposefully turned a blind eye to it, as this trend would actually stimulate and reinforce the circulation of money within the samurai classes and would ensure that institutions, such as the Imperial Weaving Bureau, would see greater profits. Taking advantage of growing economic need and the struggle between the merchant class and the samurai for profit and political clout, women of the lower social ranks took their first step towards asserting their role in Tokugawa society.

Sumptuary laws prohibited the usage of *beni* (vermilion) red in women's clothing, but the law was ambiguous as to whether this color was allowed in the design of undergarments. The edict appeared somewhat paradoxical, since *beni* and *aka* (scarlet) red had, for centuries, been popular colors for bridal costumes in Japanese wedding ceremonies⁸ (Minnich 1986, 342).

⁸ At the beginning of the wedding the bride wore a white kimono that stood for her chastity and a bright red underkimono that symbolized good fortune, health and happiness. At the end of the ceremony she changed into an elaborately designed kimono covered with red motifs and still kept the red juban since she was now initiated into the bridal life of a mature woman and was no longer considered a girl.

Therefore, banning middle and lower class women from wearing *beni* was not an ordinary political decision, which solely denied those women aesthetic choices; this was also an act that unconditionally separated lower class women from a centuries-old tradition.

The consistency with which the authorities enforced sumptuary laws was contingent upon the personalities of officials and, in some cases, even the aesthetic preferences of the shogun in power. For instance, Iemitsu and Tsunayoshi issued forty-two and fifty-nine sumptuary edicts respectively, but did not always enforce those regulations, as both shoguns loved to see ostentatious displays of highly ornate clothing. Yet, there were also occasions when merchants who took the risk of appearing in public wearing *beni* red were severely punished. One such example is that of Ishikiwa Rokubei, a famous merchant, who dared to appear with his wife dressed in a red robe at a formal ceremony (Gluckman 1992, 139). The *bakufu* deprived him of all his property and banned his whole family from Edo. The authorities resorted to such extreme measures only when citizens went too far in openly demonstrating their opposition to the *bakufu*'s laws. Generally, the enforcement of sumptuary laws during the reign of Iemitsu was rather lax and Edo commoners found numerous ways of circumventing these regulations. For example, the technique of *yuzen* was invented by Myazaki Yuzen-sai around 1700 (Minnich 1986, 256). The people of Edo immediately took to this technique because it could incorporate *beni* into the fabric in multiple ways at a rather inexpensive price. *Beni* red could be embroidered in the fabric as a highlight, brushed into the paste-resist design or dip-dyed to form a background color. *Benibana* underwent a resurgence later in the eighteenth century. Data shows that during the Kyoho era around 1000 *ta* (horse loads) of *benibana* was grown in the Dewa province (Minnich 1986, 256).

Women's silent but adamant and consistent resistance to the sumptuary laws was also facilitated by improvements in production methods and increasing living standards among the middle classes. This resurrection in the production and consumption of *benibana* was also a result of extensive provincial development, economic prosperity and the improved transportation system, which facilitated dynamic trade and the widespread consumption of manufactured goods.

This period of social and economic development among all layers of Tokugawa society increased the demand for *beni* dye among lower class consumers, who, under these newly favorable circumstances, could generate big profits from their land. Another reason behind the great demand for *benibana* was that it was a relatively versatile commodity and was not solely used in clothing manufacture. The pigment extracted from the dye could be used as a make-up ingredient for both *kucho-beni* (lipstick) and *beni-kaō*

(blusher) (Minnich 1986, 145). *Beni* red make-up that matched a woman's *juban* became popular beyond kabuki actors and courtesans. Housewives and lower class working women also purchased it at cheap prices from street vendors (Minnich 1986). Women, outside of the samurai class or the imperial family, who did not want to take the risk of wearing *beni* on their kimonos and *jubans* preferred to use red in their make-up and hair pins, as the *bakufu* had not issued any regulation prohibiting the use of *beni* red in makeup and accessories.



Figure 6. Eishi (1756–1829), *Two Beauties*, Idemitsu Museum of Art, Tokyo
Source: Fisher Fine Arts database, University of Pennsylvania.

Furthermore, *beni* red appeared as the most commonly used color when displaying female images in woodblock prints. Eishi's print depicts two courtesans, perhaps a young novice and her mentor (See Figure 6). Both of them are dressed in outerwear that brazenly shows their necks, yet the colors of the courtesans are not particularly vivid and have a sober quality to them. It is only the hems of their undergarments that show red patterns. Red became an artistic medium through which women's freedom of expression was translated into material culture. The artists, who created those images, however, were men. The fact that they adopted *beni* red as a motif in woodblock prints adds to the idea of the increasing importance of women as a social group.

To sum up, fashion in Tokugawa Japan had huge historical importance in that it marked out several trends in terms of aesthetics, material culture and the modernization of production. Wearing red, related to the aesthetic concept

of *iki*, helped women exhibit their resistance towards men through the implied eroticism of their undergarments.

However, there was more to *beni* than the rediscovery of women's sexual identity. Wearing prohibited colors in their *jubans* gave women a political voice that broadened their designated social space. Thus, the inflexible political regime did not stop the growth of the merchant class and also reinforced the process of self-rediscovery among middle class Edo women, particularly the wives of merchants.

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FEMALE COSTUME IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ROME

MILICA CICMIL

The eighteenth-century idea of elegance was complex and saw radical changes over the decades. One thing that did not change over these years is that the French costume was considered the ideal and was adopted by the European aristocracy. At the same time, other European countries saw variations in the most popular fashions and specific shapes, colors and tendencies could be geographically distinguished. When we look at a portrait from the past, which will be the subject of analysis in this work, the first indicator that helps us to define the period in which it was made, and the social level of the person presented, is the choice of costume. After identifying the period, the next task is to identify the place in which it was made: the country, or even the city. This paper's purpose is to analyze the eighteenth-century Roman female costume through female portraits and female visual identity, unlike previous studies and papers that have only focused on costumes.

In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, the Baroque style was strictly maintained; following this, a swaying Rococo occupied almost the whole century while a refined Neoclassicism appeared in its final decade. Baroque was very theatrical. By contrast, pretty and frivolous, Rococo seduced all the senses. The dominant French influence in fashion, focused on Paris, eventually faced competition from England. It would not be wrong to say that Italy in the eighteenth century was French; just as France in the sixteenth century had been Italian. Many Roman nobles went to Paris, to buy clothes, fabrics or accessories, and were gracefully called *la gallanteria*.

The trade in French fabrics was often prohibited by law in those centers where the production of silk was important to the wealth of the state; it was prohibited to buy them for personal use or copy new motifs and techniques that were unusual and complex (Orsi Landini 2003, 389–90). French weavers created new motifs to make fabrics more valuable and difficult to reproduce. There had been changes as never before and innovations were appearing almost seasonally. Italian fabrics were known for their workmanship and, to

satisfy the taste of consumers, used a vagueness of colors and patterns suitable for other markets. It was only in the middle of the century that Italian producers realized that, to keep local manufacturing alive, it was necessary to have Italian designers working in specialized fabrics; design academies were founded and young people became interested in this vocation. Before long, it became forbidden to export silk produced in Rome (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 290–91). Silk, especially in the form of simple fabrics, ribbons and braids, was no longer a sign of privilege. Even the lower classes used it in their party dresses. It was no longer fabric that marked the difference between the social classes, but rather it was the use of silk and the type of design, techniques and materials that expressed these distinctions. The first form of distinction was a matter of being fashionable. Cotton fabrics and light colors were very popular. The main colors were usually white, pearl and pink; this was unusual compared to the previous century when darker colors had dominated. The most famous Italian type of costume in the eighteenth century was the Venetian type, but there were other types with their own characteristics, such as the Roman one. Clothing tended to be used to modify reality and the natural look in this period included violent make-up, wigs, jewelry, and stiff, balloon shaped clothes. Female bodies were literally “put on display” (Roche 1988, 44). At the beginning of the century, dresses were cut in circles. From the second decade onwards, a very short front was used and the back had a train so exaggerated that it had to be pinned up or held by a servant. A lady had to learn how to sit down gracefully on her own: it was not easy to maneuver because of the fabric all around her body. This kind of fashion lasted for about sixty years and required enormous expense. Fabrics glittered in gold and silver and they were subject to exotic influences—ornaments from Turkey and further East were popular.

There were two typical types of dress—*l’andrienne* and *à l’anglaise*. Around the 1740s, the most typical dress of the century was the *l’andrienne*.¹ It had a skirt that was flattened and raised on the sides by *paniers* and the fabric was folded back from the edge and often ended in a train; this provided support and showcased and enhanced the precious fabrics. This style of dress usually had long sleeves (Orsi Landini 2003, 388–89). Even heavy silk brocade, woven in Italy, was used with bright colors—not exotic, but of Arcadian character and with vegetal decorations, such as trees, houses and small figures. Marquise Boccapaduli, whose portrait will be discussed further, noted in 1795: “le dame in corte per gala vanno in andrienne, stoffe semplici” (Levy Pisetzky 1978, 261).

¹ The origin of this type of dress comes from the title of a Parisian comedy, *Andrienne*, by Baron in 1703. Almost twenty years later it appeared in Italy thanks to the Duchess of Modena (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 53–59).

Figure 1 is an example of *robe a la française* from 1760–70. This is a ceremonial dress. It has an open frontage broken with pink silk, a fitted bodice and wide side extensions. On the back of the sheets, two fake falling cannons are formed, creating the effect of a train in the termination of the cloak. It has tight three-quarter sleeves with a double row of engageantes, made from the same fabric as the dress. A typical brocade pattern of the period was a double meander of Arcadian character. Here the branch-plant is made with metallic threads and multicolored silk threads. The lace pattern is obtained through twisted spun silk, in ivory color (Leone et al. 2003, 229).



Figure 1. *Robe a la française*, 1760–70

The traditional garment, rather than a bust (corset), used rich fabrics made into assorted petticoats. The seventeenth-century oval neckline was deepened with a bold opening that was either square or round. Its close-fitting lines cruelly tightened around the body, squeezing it with thick and strong whalebone or iron rods, which were inserted between double layers of strong lining canvas. In this way, breasts were pushed up to enhance the bust, which was supported by a thin belt. It was usually made in Rome or Florence, as waiting for a dress to come from Paris would mean it was out of fashion by the time it arrived. The bust, as part of the dress or as an undergarment, must have been absolute torment. In addition to the bust, bodice or carnies, there were also the petticoats (Levy Pisetky 1966, 61–65).

As previously mentioned, another typical style of dress of the eighteenth century was *à l'anglaise*. It had a less formal character, with a looser back, marked by ample folds that were not sewn; it was worn at the French court in the 1760s and 1770s as a gala dress. The difference between the two forms is most pronounced in the back part. This model was widespread in England: it

was made for spending time enjoying the outdoors and was suitable for walking and strolling in the countryside. The outdoors held an important place even in the most exclusive society. The garment or mantle (*manteau*), brought together the bodice and skirt in one-piece, with the sleeves joined to the body in a kimono cut. The bodice softly carried the bust, without the usual stiffening of whalebones, and it was laced up the front exposing the entire front of the skirt. Draped across the sides and back, the outer garment *manteau* rejected the use of the farthingale and thus constituted a major simplification compared to the forced structures from those decades around the middle of the century. They still retained the bust, which was extended and refined by slats, in a large corolla that made up the lower part of the dress, expanding the cage.

The best way to understand how Italian women were dressed, and specifically Roman women, is to look at eighteenth-century female portraits from Rome. Figure 2 is a portrait of Marquise Margherita Gentili Sparapani Boccapaduli by Laurent Pécheux—an example of an avant-garde woman. It is no coincidence that this form of dress was immediately associated with the style known as *indienne*, which used exotic garments imported from India worn by the upper class as dressing gowns. This dress of Boccapaduli had a number of meanings that do not just identify court society as a reference point. The world she seemed to belong was the world in which the values of an independent court had come to terms with those of public space, dominated by reason and the ideas of the Enlightenment. Another particular characteristic is the replacement of a bib with a fake vest with a quarter dress, inside the outer garment at one end, while the other was closed with buttons. It has typical sleeves, narrow and short at the elbows, with a high cuff, and marked with a series of small ruffles followed by the same satin skirt and decorative edges. The drapery of the lower overcoat more precisely connotes the pattern and is known as *à la polonoise*, a type of English dress established as an innovation of the 1770s. Shoes are clearly visible, with the uppers probably made of the same fabric as the outer garment.

Women used caps, but also mantelets (*manteletti*) that could be beautifully decorated with ribbons. They were made of very light silk or of satin or taffeta. Elegant topcoats were very much in use (*mantigle*), light for summer, or with fur for winter (this was probably a variation of an ancient robe made of fur inspired by the Circassians and *russiana*). A portrait of a woman from the palace Caetani gives a good example, the supreme elegance of her clothes profiled in ermine. The whiteness of the fur is adorned with black pigtails, which follow the highlights at the edges of the neckline; the sleeve cuffs and the top of the bib make a very fashionable look (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 71).

Elegant hairstyles complemented refined clothing. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, crests became popular. The hairstyle remained high, but became simpler and less adorned; in the 1730s, hairstyles were simplified even more by wearing the hair up. By the middle of the century, the hairstyle follows the line of the head with slightly wavy, undivided hair pulled back. Extremely high, fashionable hairstyles are rarely seen in Roman portraits, which show resistance to the French trend of hairstyles of extreme height. Ornamentation can be seen on the hair, such as a bouquet or a single flower, usually pink, which was pinned just a little higher on the forehead to the left-hand side.

In the 1770s, combing began to rise up the forehead a little. A tuft of hair raised high on the forehead was called *toupée*, and was worn by young, rich and very elegant ladies. A feather was also worn upright on the head: there were critics who said women who wore feathers seemed like “plumed horses.” A song, which ironically proves the importance of fashion in Rome, has the lyrics: “Quelle penna bianca e nera, che sul capo voi portate, care donne innamorate, vi fan crescere beltà.”²



Figure 2. Laurent Pècheux, *Portrait of Marquise Margherita Sparapani GentiliBoccapaduli*, 1777.

² “Those feathers white and black, that you wear on your head, dear women in love, it increases your beauty” (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 81).



Figure 3. Female portrait from Palazzo Caetani in Rome.

Sometimes, women would wear hats, such as three-cornered hats. In Rome, Costanza Falconieri, the wife of Prince Braschi, in 1781 had a hat called *promonsier* (pour Monsieur), which was worn at the French court (Levy Pisetzky 1978, 265).

When it comes to lingerie, apart from shirts and handkerchiefs, bodices were almost never used, but pants and trousers were worn. Novelty was found in the encryption of one's initials. The suite of the Roman lady, Leopolda Carignano Savoy, wife of Andrea IV Doria Pamphili Landi, records the quantity of money spent on shirts with her initials, S. C. She had a great number of elegant shirts and nightdresses (a total of 144 shirts, 72 for daywear and 72 for nightwear), while more modest women had to be content with four to eighteen shirts (Levy Pisetzky 1978, 266).

Even the number of tissues indicated the evolution of the eighteenth-century costume. The modest ones were made of canvas; in noble suites one can distinguish the silky ones for nighttime, which were simpler than those used for daytime. Usually they reached 70 cm and in the first thirty years were decorated, buttoned at the corners and embroidered with lace at the edges, but worn lower than in the previous centuries (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 102–103). Especially common was the use of silk handkerchiefs to wipe away the sweat.

Before the appearance of Neoclassicism and the popularization of ancient forms, magnificent jewels were used to emphasize the upper body; particularly triangle-shaped brooches, ties and rosettes to emphasize a thin line. This was the brooch *sévigéné*, which came into vogue in the mid-

seventeenth century with Marquise de Sévigné, a lady at the court of Louis XIV (Venturelli 2003, 90). It was generally shaped like a pinwheel. Corsets were also adorned with complex jewels that covered almost the entire front of the torso. The bodice was often made with removable elements, in order to adapt its size according to the importance of the occasion. In particular, gems triumphed, especially diamonds. There was a new way of cutting them and the frames used were less conspicuous than before. Large crosses made of precious materials were also very popular in Rome and were worn on the chest.

When it comes to accessories, the use of gloves was even more widespread than in the seventeenth century, but they were often carried in the hands as a kind of decoration. We are familiar with a large number of gloves—for example 72 pairs are listed in Princess Doria's possessions (Levy Pisetzky 1978, 266). Fashionable short sleeves and long gloves that came up to the elbows did not disappear completely, but shorter gloves were also used. The use of fans triumphed in the eighteenth century as well: Donna Leopolda Savoia Carignano had thirteen of them. Their value was increasing and each element was artistically valuable, ornamented with ivory, pearls, and gems. Parasols were also frequently used, which were documented especially in the paintings of the time. Watches had great value, too. They were usually imported from England or France. By the end of the seventeenth century, ladies wore them with diamonds or pearls, while the “cash”—the shell that contained the mechanism—was also adorned with gems, inlays or enamels. Going back to the portrait of the Marquise Boccapaduli (Figure 2), her choice of accessories demonstrates the most advanced social and cultural patterns of the time. There are two jewels at the top of the skirt and two watches *chatelaine*. The use of two front clocks to control the exactness of time existed in the 1760s and 1770s, but remained a primarily male fashion, at least until the 1890s. Not only can we conclude how avant-garde she was in her clothing, but she was also quite revolutionary in her ideas for a woman of the time.

Cosmetics and make-up had a special importance in this period. Fragrances, like *l'eau du cologne*, and cosmetic products for the hair, such as ointments and tinctures, were very much in use and were of good quality. A number of products were produced in Rome, such as face creams, which were appreciated also for their fragrance, as well as body lotions, powders, tooth paste, hair dyes, and hand, lip and anti-wrinkle creams (Cornoldi Caminer 1983, 347–63).³ Make-up in Rome was less aggressively used than in Paris. Velvet flies had a symbolic meaning according to their position: a fly on the

³ A Roman producer of perfumes, Vandini made thirty different fragrances that were available to buy near Fontana di Trevi. See: (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 43).

nose was “cheeky”; “passionate” if at the corner of the eye; “gallant” if on the lips; “irresistible” if next to the eye; “majestic” when in the middle of the forehead; and “murderous” if at the corner of a lady’s mouth.



Figure 4. Loretta, *Laura Chiggi Boncompagni*, 1740 c.a.

The eighteenth century was a century of graceful female shoes, with high heels for wedding parades. Young and wealthy British women returned home from Rome after the Grand Tour, introducing flat shoes with enormous buckles made of precious materials and stones as a reflection of status. They introduced the word “macaroni” to signify anything particularly stylish and elegant (Vianello 2003, 653). Thin heels called “Italian style,” with extensions wedged under the ball of the foot, became very popular in the 1760s. Until the end of the century the Italian style of footwear and socks, in particular female ones, dominated in Europe alongside the French one. Shoes could be handmade at home by a craftsman, but they were also ordered from France to keep up with the latest fashion. In 1717, Princess Lepolda Savoia Carignano had twelve pairs, mostly made of silk marked with gold or silver, and forty-eight pairs of socks (Levy Pisetzky 1978, 265–66).

Finally, the great philosophical changes of the Enlightenment was followed by a revolutionary change in elegance. The new spirit of the age promoted a different image to that of the seductive woman. Although this shift happened in the last decade of the century, its importance means that its features should be mentioned: women were no longer covered with colored silk and gold, but in a few small strips of white fabric (Orsi Landini 2003, 391). The neoclassical dress, perfectly suited to the new values and a different cultural climate, was adopted without distinction by all educated women in Europe. In 1791, the popularization of equality afforded the

merchant's wife the opportunity to be able to dress like aristocracy (Gigli Marchetti 1995, 39–40). This was a truly revolutionary fashion, especially for the new relationship that was established between the dress and the female body. A major innovation appeared in 1792 when *Giornale delle nuove mode di Francia e d'Inghilterra* (Journal of the new fashions of France and England) introduced shoes “similar to male [styles], ... with a very low wooden heel or with a sole elongated throughout the extension of the shoe” (Levy Pisetzky 1966, 377).



Figure 5. Pietro Labruzzi, *Portrait of Amarilli Etrusca*.

This was a period when a female-orientated press flourished, written by both men and women for a wide audience. The Venetian women's magazine *La donna galante ed erudita* (Gallant and erudite woman), was very important and influential among women in the late eighteenth century (Cornoldi Caminer 1983). There were also *Il Giornale delle dame e delle Mode di Francia* (Ladies' journal of French fashion) and *Il Corriere delle Dame* (Lady's journal) in the 1770s and 1780s (Laughran 2003, 77–78; Venturelli 2003, 83–84).

Although the French, and eventually English, influence in fashion was great, it was inevitable that other types of costume developed, or at least ways of distinguishing local trends. Italian fashion was both prolific and important, even in those periods when it was not the most important one. Its local characteristics showed how fashion shaped identity and this can best be understood through portraits.

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THE EVOLUTION OF FASHION PRODUCTION AS PART OF SOCIAL HISTORY: THE IMPACT ON THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMEN IN CATALONIA

LAURA CASAL-VALLS

Introduction

The history of a city goes beyond the walls of its buildings. It is the history of the people that inhabit it, who have walked its streets and constructed its buildings. This history can be traced through the surviving objects that once made up a city's characteristic framework of everyday life. The following topics are traditionally associated with women and both require further historical research. Although clothing is of undeniable value as a historical document, helping us to understand the economic and cultural status of a society, we consider that it is important to stress the gender aspect of clothing, in other words, the information that these artefacts provide about women. In this paper, we study the social aspects of fashion, particularly the relationship between dressmakers and the development of *haute couture* in Barcelona. We do not focus solely on the consumption of clothes, but also on their production, so that we can recreate the many voices and experiences linked to the development of the city, which are frequently overlooked in the dominant historical narratives. An interdisciplinary study within the social sciences should be carried out to consider and reconsider the history of fashion from a gendered perspective. Some authors have studied the ways in which fashion changes, flows, fluctuates, comes up with new forms and reinvents old ones. However, we still need an in-depth study of the beginnings of *haute couture* and its social impact on the nineteenth-century woman, particularly in Catalonia.

Turn-of-the-century Barcelona: the new modernist city

At the end of the nineteenth century, Catalonia aimed to become more European. The process of creating a new concept of Catalonia began, with hegemonic and patriotic aspirations, which had emerged in the mid-nineteenth century as a result of the *Renaixença* movement¹ and were driven by imperialist longings. This led to the construction of a new Barcelona, with new architecture, sustained by strong industry and a new social class, the bourgeoisie, who had new customs and desires. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, Barcelona became a city immersed in its own growth and expansion. With significant population growth in the first half of the century, Barcelona had had no option but to expand beyond its medieval walls.

The Pla Cerdà, the Plan for the Extension of Barcelona, was presented by the civil engineer Ildefons Cerdà in 1859 to meet this urgent need; it was also aspirational. As a result of intense activity in industry and trade, Barcelona began an inexorable march towards modernity, subsequently consolidated by the Barcelona World Exhibition of 1888. This achievement of modernity defined a new Catalan culture in which modernity and cosmopolitanism were synonymous terms. Catalan modernism arose in this environment of change and new values came into vogue. This was more than just an aesthetic or an artistic style: it was also an attitude. Catalan modernism had a great impact on the Catalan modern art scene. It took its own creative path and reached its height in the last decade of the nineteenth century. A desire for modernity was the leitmotif that accompanied all expressions of Catalan modernism until well into the twentieth century.

Perhaps the most visible expression of Catalan modernism was the architecture. However, evidence of this movement can be seen in other areas of daily life, such as clothing. Although no in-depth study has formally examined the surviving pieces on a technical level, we should point out that Catalan modernism in clothing was not a specific style, but rather a social, and an urban, attitude.

Women at the end of the nineteenth century in Catalonia

During this period of transformation, the traditional role of women in society also began to experience some changes. Although the role of women at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was clearly differentiated from that of men, the first rumors of

¹ The name given to a period during the second half of the nineteenth century in which Catalan language and literature was renewed.

feminism began to be heard in Catalonia, as a result of European magazines and newspapers. In an environment of change, schools of thought from other countries reached Spain and there was a considerable improvement in communication. People began to talk about the feared emancipation of women, which would lead to women abandoning the home and the family tasks that they carried out at that time, in order to work and become financially independent (Borderías 2008).

In Catalonia, feminism never became strong enough to form a coherent movement. Nor did it aim at directly confronting a specific situation. It did not have any leaders, so to speak, nor any followers who shaped the trend. However, some women did dare to write about and demand rights for women. British feminism played a leading role in Europe. It sought women's suffrage and questioned the social role that was attributed to women and the traditional female archetype. In contrast, Catalan women championed the family and the important role of women in it, that of wives and mothers, as Dolors Montserdá puts it in her *Feminist Study* (Barcelona, 1909).

The beginnings of *haute couture*: state of the question

Among the studies carried out in the field of clothing, Modernist clothing² is one of the areas that has received most attention. Many of the studies that make up the main body of work in this area have been carried out by museums devoted to Catalan textiles. Rosa Maria Martín (1991), Silvia Carbonell (2002) and Josep Casamartina (2009) have gradually put together the history of Modernist forms in the textile sector. Nevertheless, we consider that the literature on this field in Spain is still fragmentary, discontinuous and incomplete: there are no studies on the beginnings of Catalan *haute couture* as a process of social change in which dressmakers played a prominent role. Perhaps the study that is most similar to this one is that of Mercedes Pasaolodos (2000) for her doctoral thesis. However, her paper focused on Madrid rather than Barcelona. International studies by Perrot (1984), Coleman (1989), Coffin (1996), Vanier (1960), Tétart-Vittu (1992), Arnold (1973), Ginsburg (1972), Parmal (1997) and Trautman (1979) also need to be taken into account.

A study of the beginnings of *haute couture* should include an analysis of dressmakers. However, in the case of Barcelona, few authors have dealt with this topic. Perhaps this lack of study could be due to the fact that there are no

² Although Modernist fashion undeniably exists, its characteristics have still not been clearly defined. References to Modernist clothing are frequently vague, with no clear criteria from a technical, formal or even chronological perspective.

big names at the beginning of Catalan *haute couture*. Instead, most clothing was produced anonymously. The real driving force behind the history of fashion and design was an anonymous group: that of the dressmakers who worked outside the factories and often at the margins of any legal regulation. For many years, dressmakers were on the margins of the labor laws: they worked from home and were paid per item. According to Mercedes Tatjer, the census and municipal registers of the first years of the twentieth century defined the work of upper class, middle class and working class women as follows: “housewives,” “tasks suited to the female gender” or “housework.” However, these labels covered not only work in the family environment, but also all of the tasks that women undertook on the black market (Tatjer 2002, 23–27).

Home production developed in parallel to industrial production and included work such as dressmaking. Women played an extremely important role in this form of production. Albert Balcells states that industry and its social problems at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century have generally been studied from the perspective of factories, but we should not overlook activities that took on the old forms of guild-working (Balcells 1974, 7–34).

People who worked from their homes, including those that made clothes, were organized in the following way. The appearance of the sewing machine meant that needle workers could carry out their tasks in different places. Due to the size and ease of use of these new machines, it was easy to work to order from home. With the introduction of these changes, a market of ready-made clothing for the lower classes gradually emerged.³ Although such clothing was not initially in competition with the quality clothes made by dressmakers, specialization and technical advances gradually led to improvements in ready-made clothing. As such, it is clear that the topic of *haute couture* should be addressed from a social perspective linked to the history of labor and industry and to the social role of women.

Fashion in Barcelona at the end of the nineteenth century

Fashion needs an audience. It is a form of social expression that has been of great importance to the hierarchical organization of society in almost all periods of history. In the context of turn-of-the-century Barcelona, the

³ The first records of establishments selling clothes wholesale date back to 1897. Such businesses reflected a new production system that was in its early stages at that time. Source: the *Anuari Riera, Guia General de Catalunya, Comercio, Industria, Artes, Oficinas, propiedad urbana, rústica, pecuaria* (Barcelona: Imprenta Ideal. Editorial Eduardo Riera Solanich, 1896 and later editions).

paradigm of modernity was most dynamically reflected in clothing. Between 1830 and 1840, Barcelona underwent major changes in its social, economic and political structure (Solà 2004, 39–68). Although these changes occurred throughout Spain, Catalonia was one of the regions in which capitalism was most eagerly embraced. This led to new forms of industry and the appearance of a new social class: the bourgeoisie, who desired a modernity. To understand how this emerging force played an increasingly important role in the social context, and found a place within the framework of a monarchy, we should consider how some new values gradually gained ground on traditional ones. The bourgeoisie was both enterprising and modern and was the driving force behind new economic, social and cultural forms in Catalonia, which were taken from European countries that were at more advanced stages of development.

However, some disapproved of the bourgeoisie's imitation of other cultures, considering that it led to a loss of local values. This opinion was expressed in relation to all areas of culture, from painting to clothes, and fashion "à la francesa" was criticized. Jean Lorrain described Barcelona's Ramblas and the women who walked there in the following way: "the women are dressed horribly à la française, some do have black lace on their heads, to make us nostalgic for the old mantilla, but most are Chapeautés in the Parisian fashion."⁴

Through imitation, the Catalan bourgeoisie gradually found their place, supported by an identity as a specific social class. Thorstein Veblen states in his *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) that all fashions are class fashions: the fashion of the wealthy is different to that of the lower classes. As forms were adapted to bourgeois fashion, the bourgeoisie abandoned them and adopted new formulae. The appearance of ready-made clothes of a certain quality enabled the lower classes to imitate bourgeois forms of dress, leading to increasingly rapid changes in fashion. Catalan modernism was directly related to this new society and informed the character of Barcelona at the end of the nineteenth century. If Catalan modernism was an artistic trend that met the needs of the incipient bourgeois, seeking art and luxury in all aspects of daily life, then it was also reflected in their fashions (Martin 1991, 256). In fact, we can confirm that the beginnings of *haute couture* coincided with the spread of Catalan modernism (Casal-Valls 2013). According to the postulates of this modernity, fashion was characterized by certain international characteristics that predominated throughout the second half of the nineteenth and the entire twentieth century.

⁴ Lorrain, Jean. 1896. *Espagne. Barcelona, Valence, Murcie*, [n. e.].

The emergence of haute couture: pre-haute couture

In addition to a search for aesthetics and the representation of modernity in its forms, a new phenomenon arose in fashion, in furniture and fabrics too, with designs by artists and architects being common⁵: the designers of clothing began to be valued. These designers were usually female dressmakers—women commissioned to make dresses. This process is what we understand to be the beginnings of *haute couture* in Catalonia, it could be called *pre-haute couture*, entangled with the creation of luxury fashion (Casal-Valls 2013). Recognition of the designer, which became increasingly important in the field of the decorative arts and crafts, is characteristic of the time of transition in which a model of production using traditional methods evolved towards that of mass production. This can clearly be seen in the clothing sector. A brief analysis of *haute couture* reveals the fashion designer or dressmaker to be a key element. In the case of international *Haute Couture* (from Paris), by the end of the nineteenth century the names of Worth and Doucet had become well-known. In Catalonia, the first names to appear were those of female dressmakers, even though they did not attain the international recognition of Pedro Rodríguez.

We analyzed the dresses, dated between 1850 and 1915, conserved in the Museums of Catalonia (local museums and private collections). Among the 308 dresses analyzed, only forty-six had a label with the name of the creator. These forty-six labels, often located in the bodice of the dress, belonged to twenty-six dressmakers. Among these, only one was a man, and the rest were all women. These data lead me to state that the production of luxury fashion in Catalonia during the second half of the nineteenth century was a female task. The first label, from a dress by Virginia Vellay, is dated 1876 (Casal-Valls 2013). Luxury fashion, with a named creator, which can be understood as *pre-haute couture*, was a response to the system of mass production. This new form of production made clothing more similar, while *haute couture* gave each piece its own meaning.

This burgeoning modernity transmitted a new sense of luxury to bourgeois fashion and a new way of understanding the wearing of clothes. The modern element was used to redefine femininity in accordance with these new ideals. This “new woman” reflected an era in which people began to talk of women’s liberation. Fashion moved in line with this woman, who

⁵ Some examples are: Josep Maria Jujol, architect, whose drawings and decorative designs are known today; Antoni Gaudí, who designed furniture and objects for his own works of architecture; and Gaspar Homar, who was an important furniture maker, cabinet maker and interior decorator.

would adopt the aesthetic model of Parisians, but still followed the moral codes of her mother.

The fact that we have focused on the emergence of *haute couture* in women's clothing is neither a question of taste nor coincidence. Clearly, male clothing changed little throughout the twentieth century. In contrast, women's clothes underwent major transformations, not just in their form but also in their structure, which modified women's figures in certain periods through the use of items such as the corset or the bustle.

Perhaps one of the few areas of history in which women played an important role in Catalonia was in the field of clothing precisely because this was considered a matter for women. The social stature of women remained rather ambiguous over the years: on the one hand, the role of women was passive compared to that of men; on the other hand, this role was active in that it imparted a series of values about things such as morals and beauty. This ambiguity led to a changing role dependent on the era and the perspective of historians. Desire and morals were incorporated into the image of women, which was constructed mainly on the basis of clothing.

The clothes were created by dressmakers and they provide evidence of the professional path of this group. There is a considerable imbalance between the number of female and male dressmakers registered in the *Anuario Riera* in different years. For example, in 1896, there were 353 female dressmakers in Barcelona and only one male. In 1898, there were 348 female dressmakers and 2 males, and in 1900 there were 267 females and one male.

The figure of the dressmaker: from manual worker to designer

Dressmakers were situated between two models of work: the old ways of traditional production and the new world of factory production. In the figure of the dressmaker we can find a combination of the bourgeois, social, labor and women's liberation movements that characterized the tumultuous turn-of-the-century society. Dressmakers reflect the social changes that occurred at the end of the nineteenth century and were consolidated during the first two decades of the twentieth century. In their work, we can see society's desire for modernity, its search to modernize techniques, changes in women's roles and even the social and industrial changes that took place during this era.

Dressmakers copied the French models and disseminated criteria of elegance through magazines or, for those that could afford it, through trips to Paris to see the clothes first hand. One of the advertising claims made by dressmakers was that they had travelled to Paris. Most women could not afford to wear clothes made by a French dressmaker. Therefore, the majority

had to make do with local copies, whether it was created by a dressmaker, made-to-order or sewn at home. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, names of recognized dressmakers began to appear in Barcelona, including Carolina Montagne (1858–1941), Maria Molist (1860–1933) and Joana Valls (1855–1935), as well as those with French names who had settled in Barcelona, such as Madame Lebrun. These women, who had considerable training in dressmaking, introduced a new element into Catalan fashion production: that of personal creation. Thus, following the French models at all times, the dressmakers became fashion designers. This differentiated them from manual workers or artisans. Recognition of the designer led to a new and representative phenomenon: the appearance of labels.

Beyond its poetic aspect, related to the world of art and desire, with sensitivity, sensuality and eroticism, fashion combined the techniques of trade and the work of dressmaking. To adapt to the needs of bourgeois consumption and in response to new production methods, dressmakers became professional and different dressmaking methods were disseminated. Between 1880 and 1914, twenty-eight systems were patented in Barcelona, including those for “cutting,” “measurements” and “making clothing for ladies.”⁶ These methods proliferated between 1887 and 1902. Most of them were registered by women: of the twenty-eight only three were registered under men’s names.

The emergence of dressmaking academies was also a determining factor in the development of *haute couture*, and represented an interesting alternative education for girls. In 1896, thirteen dressmaking academies were registered in the *Anuario Riera*.⁷ Two years later, this number had more than doubled, with a total of thirty academies registered. The number of academies increased from forty-three in 1899 to fifty-one in 1900. This pattern of growth continued until 1904, when sixty-two academies were registered. The success and recognition of some dressmakers meant that two classes emerged in the dressmaking sector: recognized dressmakers, whose clothes were labeled, and those who made clothes in their homes for businesses or directly for clients. In 1913, in a speech given on January 26. in the Ateneo Barcelonés, Juan Paulis called this group of workers “needle workers” (Paulis 1913).

⁶ Source: the historical archive database of the Spanish Ministry of Industry, Tourism and Trade’s Spanish Patent and Trademark Office: Patent applications (1878–1929).

⁷ Information from *Anuario Riera. Guía general de Cataluña. Comercio, Industria, Profesiones, Artes y Oficios, Propiedad Urbana, Rústica y Pecuaria, Datos*.

Conclusions

Thus, through research based on the direct study of clothing, documents and literature, we can conclude that the beginnings of *haute couture* were linked to the professionalization and recognition of the work of the dressmaker. In addition, this professional career was the result of developments in the image of women in relation to the city, their new roles, and, in short, a new social and urban context that gave rise to and set the scene for fashion.

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WOMEN MUST NOT DRESS AS MEN...: A BRIEF HISTORY OF FEMALE TROUSERS

MARTINA BITUNJAC

While in ancient times, men and women wore one piece of clothing—the Greek or Roman tunic—from the late Middle Ages until the emancipation of women, through the nineteenth century and up until the 1960s, dress made up of two pieces, one of which was a pair of trousers, became a symbol of masculinity in the Western world. During the formalization of the male-female stereotypes at the heart of society, a norm was established about the use of a different kinds of clothing for men and women: trousers were to be worn by men and skirts by women. This was conditioned by the different types of work they did: men were linked to the world of politics, war and manual labor, while women were linked almost always to their activity in the home.

Aristocrats in the Western world, from the Middle Ages to modern times, lived on horseback, travelled, fought, took part in duels and consequently, the use of trousers became more and more the prerogative of men (Steele 1991). This was very different to what happened in the Orient where, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European travelers would go, full of curiosity and admiration, and were amazed to find a totally different way of dressing. Wide trousers hidden under an undergarment and a cloak were fashionable among Ottoman women; Tunisian Jewish women wore tight trousers with a top over them; while women in the Balkans preferred wide, silk trousers. In China, and in some areas of Japan, as well as in the Arctic regions, and obviously for environmental reasons rather than cultural ones, trousers were a part of female clothing while men often wore a tunic of some sort; consequently, trousers were not considered significant of masculinity.

Dressing in disguise and experiments in fashion up until the twentieth century

However, if there were general tendencies in the history of the emancipation of women, there have also been women who rejected the roles that the society of the *ancient regime* offered them; they refused to submit to male authority and instead they wished to become protagonists themselves, refusing to take on the exclusively female identity of wife, daughter, sister, or widow. Reaching back into Greek and Roman mythology, the prototypes of female warriors and divinities—like Athena, Minerva and the Amazons—were depicted as courageous warriors—the Amazons were even said to cut off their breasts so as to hide their femininity and fought on horseback against their enemies, including the Greeks during the Trojan War.

With the passing of time, ambitious women understood that, as long as men remained dominant, they could only assert themselves properly by disguising themselves as men. The story of Joan, the legendary female pope, is a striking example of female independence in the world of men: she was an English woman who dressed up in men's clothes, becoming first a monk (Johannes Anglicus) and then pope. According to legend, she paid with her life for this deceit. She was discovered by accident during an Easter procession—she collapsed due to pregnancy and the angry crowd stoned her to death.

Centuries later, Joan of Arc (1412–31), the French national heroine, became a symbol of patriotism and led the French army against England during the Hundred Years War; she dressed in white armour, which prevented her from standing out from the men fighting at her side. Captured by the Burgundians and sold to the English, she was accused of heresy, condemned to death and burned at the stake in Rouen in 1431. In 1909, she was beatified by Pope Pius X and eleven years later was declared a saint by Pope Benedict XV.

In gender historiography we come across women who wished to leave the extremely limited female sphere and become a public part of political and cultural life. For centuries, queens, sovereigns, favorites, and concubines influenced the powerful men they accompanied and were at the heart of court and political life, reaching a level of culture as a first step towards freedom from gender inequality (Motta 2010, 2013).

Christine of Sweden was an intellectual, independent and strong-minded queen (1626–89) of the Vasa lineage; she was interested in philosophy, art and the theatre and, at the same time, spent days on horseback, riding and hunting. The queen used to dress as a man: she shaved her head and wore a male wig, a velvet jerkin, a tie, low-heeled shoes and boots, and according to

some, spoke in a man's voice. Christine refused to marry, but had love affairs with both men and women, scandalizing many. In 1654, she gave up the throne in order to be free and converted to Catholicism, as she did not appreciate the strictness of Protestantism, just as later she would not appreciate the Vatican's ostentatiously pious atmosphere.

A highly cultivated woman—she knew Latin, Greek, French and German—she lived as a queen without a realm and spent the rest of her life in Rome where the pope gave her accommodation and where she devoted herself to her interests, music and theatre, and was patron to artists and musicians such as Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) and Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713).

The right to wear trousers was an emblematic struggle for women who aspired to independence, but which, at the same time, led them to be scorned, misunderstood and even damned and sworn at. Deuteronomy verse 22, 5 (fifth book of the Jewish Torah and the Christian Bible, which describes the life of the Jews in the Sinai desert and contains their religious and civil laws) expresses all possible disapproval of the exchange of roles by means of disguise—“a woman must not wear a man's clothing and a man must not wear a woman's clothing; because whoever does so is an abomination of the Lord, your God”—it had no real effect on women. During the French Revolution, women, and also Jews, were granted equal political rights, so much so that the French female rebels decided to make their clothes more masculine, often using elements of both male and female clothing.

Another courageous contribution to the evolution of the history of clothes comes from the American feminist, Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818–94). In the magazine she edited, *The Lily*, she presented to the public a creation of hers, the *bloomer*—a short garment with trousers finishing around the ankle. Many of her female contemporaries—due to the considerable weight of their underclothes and the difficulty of wearing tight corsets (Barbe 2012)—were looking for a new sort of clothing that would make work and everyday life easier. At that time, the desire to have the right to wear Ottoman style trousers among Western woman was common. Bloomer wore the article of clothing she gave her name to from 1851 to 1859; she stopped mainly because her bloomers were made fun of and verbally attacked not only by men, but also by socially conservative traditionalist women.

In the same period, women began to practice sport more and more: they did gymnastics, played tennis, rode, fenced and cycled. To do sport they needed more comfortable and lighter clothes. Fashion designers, therefore, started to create new clothes, which were more suitable for a more dynamic lifestyle, like suits with wide trousers (Wolter 1994).

Although this radical change in fashion was not an official part of the women's movement, many women believed that the way they looked was important and demonstrated the seriousness of their ideas. While conservative thinkers still insisted on the natural differences of woman making them unsuitable for study and intellectual work, the first female students in Paris (from 1863 onwards) and Zurich (from 1867 onwards) caught the public's attention not only because they entered university, but also because of their look—dressed rather like men, so much so that they were often scorned and called hermaphrodites. However, despite the fact that women began to attend university, nineteenth and early twentieth century female intellectuals still found it extremely difficult to enter the world of work. Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919), a well-known representative of the German Social Democrats, and Marie Curie (1867–1934), awarded the Nobel Prize for physics and chemistry, were exceptions to the rule. Wishing to find a way of realizing their dreams and of developing their talents, other women—courageous, extravagant and heedless of anti-feminist prejudice—decided to “become a man in order to have access to public life which, until then, was only for men.” Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin (1804–76) is a good example. She was an excellent writer and dramatist and overcame every obstacle and objection to women in the intellectual field by deciding to use, for her first novel *Indiana*, the pseudonym George Sand. As a man, she could mix in literary and artistic circles, still forbidden to women, and could open up her Parisian house for parties and guests including the writers Gustave Flaubert (1821–80), Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) and Alexandre Dumas (1802–70), when she would dress as a cigarette-smoking man.

Another protagonist of her times was Isabelle Eberhardt (1877–1904), an explorer and writer who travelled widely in North Africa and was fascinated by the Sahara Desert. In order to enter the Maghreb, a world that was forbidden to women, she dressed as an Arabian knight with the name Mahmoud Saadi and was free to go anywhere she wanted, quenching her thirst for knowledge and satisfying her innate curiosity. Enthusiastic about Islamic culture and in love with an Arabian officer, Slimène Ehnni, she entered the Sufi confraternity, living in poverty. Although she was in fact already married, she carried on her relationship with him until she died, aged twenty-seven, as a result of a flood in the Algerian desert. She wrote several diaries and books, among which are *Dans l'ombre chaude de l'Islam* and *Mes journaliers*, which allow the reader to follow her enchanting story.

With the dawn of the twentieth century, women's emancipation was further sustained by avant-garde fashion designers, in both Paris—the capital of fashion—and Vienna. In 1909, Paul Poiret (1879–1944), one of the first great fashion stylists, after having seen a Russian ballet, designed Oriental

trousers over a veiled tunic. This particular model did not meet with great success; however, later on, thanks to other clothes he designed, he succeeded in luring many clients from his rival dressmakers.

Trousers for women in times of war

With the outbreak of the First World War, life changed. Women were needed to take the place of the men at the front: they went to work in factories, hospitals, on vital infrastructure, and in education. For the feminists, the start of the conflict opened up more roads to emancipation. Women in uniform soon became an everyday sight, even in unexpected situations, like that of Dorothy Lawrence (1896–1964) who, as a freelance journalist, entered the war zone and passed through France. She was arrested and forced to return to Paris where she met some English officers who she persuaded to give her a uniform. At this point, disguised as a man, with short hair and a darkened complexion, she went under the name of Denis Smith and returned to the front; however, after a while and fearing discovery, she reported herself to the authorities. Captured as a spy, she was declared a prisoner of war, creating considerable embarrassment for having succeeded, as a woman, in breaking through the army's security. She later published her memories, though without success, and was even committed to a psychiatric hospital.

Little known and little studied was the situation of women in northern Albania, Kosovo and Montenegro, who dressed up as men for other reasons. In these regions, a woman could decide to become a man for the rest of her life. This was so as not to be forced to leave her own family (according to the patriarchal system, when marrying the wife was then brought into the husband's circle of relations), not to have to submit to an arranged marriage, to be able to inherit her father's land, or take the place of male members of the family who had been killed in war. This was an unusual hangover from historical customs dating back to at least the sixteenth century. This was the only example of this in Europe. These women declared in front of the village elders that they wished to remain celibate and they could then take on a male name, work, dress as a man, drink alcohol and smoke. In other words, they gained all the rights that belonged only to men. They were called *burnessh* (sworn virgin), *virgin*, *tobelija* or woman-heroine and assumed all the social responsibilities of men, which meant that they also had to go to war—both to the Balkan Wars and to the First World War (Vince-Pallua 2001). This custom still exists today, as is recounted by the journalist Elvira Dones in a rare documentary. She interviewed twelve *burnessh* working as farmers and lorry drivers (they seemed to number thirty in all).

Due to the First World War, female fashion followed the change in status of women who, having to go out to work, needed more practical clothes, which would allow them more freedom of movement in diverse situations. Nurses, bike-riding postwomen, factory workers—all of them needed a different way of dressing to that of elegant ladies living in fashionable circles. Fashion designers—first and foremost Coco Chanel—brought out new ideas and designed functional trousers and skirts to meet this new demand.

Apart from the war, the contribution of feminists—such as the pedagogue Ellen Key (1849–1926) in Sweden; Marie Elisabeth Lùders (1878–1966), a Member of Parliament in Germany; and the suffragette Christabel Pankhurst (1880–1958) in Great Britain—favored a new path for women who, in the 1920s, began to enter the professional world. This entry was to a lesser degree than men and dependent on which geographical area they lived in, but they began working as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers etc. In many countries—Russia, the United States, Spain, Germany—women were finally granted the right to vote and could enter politics, thereby leaving behind the pioneer phase of the battle for their rights.

The *garçonne*: a new sort of woman in the golden twenties

For female intellectuals, politicians and artists, the brief era of the golden twenties offered new opportunities both at work and at home; and they made the very most of them. The typical *garçonne*, a *flapper* in Great Britain, sported a new haircut and attracted attention with her short skirts and trousers. The 1920s woman was typified by her make-up, red lipstick and darkly-underlined eyes; she dressed elegantly with long pearl necklaces around her neck and showy bracelets on her wrists. Feminine curves and the corset disappeared and the ideal figure followed the silhouette of an adolescent, expressing the modern woman, spiritually and financially independent who smoked, drank alcohol, danced to jazz and drove a car; they knew how to be elegant even at a *pigiama party*, wearing sophisticated outfits together with trousers of oriental inspiration that were suitable for hosting friends at home. This informal trend, fun and amusing, was particularly enjoyed in artistic circles, but was criticized by the conservative press who defined it “an embarrassing aberration” (Wolter 1994, 240–43). Some 1920s women even provoked tradition by wearing a male haircut, like the Jewish-German historian Selma Stern (1890–1981); others turned up in tails, softened by female touches, like the *femme fatale* Marlene Dietrich, the mythical actress of Sternberg’s *Blue Angel*, the first sound film in Germany. In her first American film, *Morocco*, in 1930, while playing the role of Amy Jolly, she wore perfect white tails, a top hat and a bow tie and went on to kiss

a woman, sitting in the audience, on the mouth—the first homosexual kiss in the history of the cinema. As she became more and more a symbol of transgression, Dietrich took on the habit of dressing as a man, not only on screen, but in her private life as well, demonstrating her desire to be thoroughly independent, even in her sexual choices (she later had relationships with women).

The spread of nationalist and fascist ideologies introduced contrasting messages: on the one hand, women now worked in factories and in auxiliary jobs in the army; while on the other, in accordance with more conservative thinking, they went back to their privileged role as wives and mothers. As for their look, *the paradefrauen*, such as that of the film director Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) and the sportswoman Ondina Valla (1916– 2006), wore trousers. Many others did too who were involved in the diverse tasks of military mobilization—female pilots wore them, such as Hanna Reitsch (1912–79) in Germany and Katarina Matanović-Kulenović (1913–2003) in the Independent State of Croatia (Sigmund 2005, de Grazia 2000, Bitunjac 2013). In the Soviet Union, France, Yugoslavia and Italy, women joined the antifascist resistance movements—the partisans—and wore trousers; although this was not enough to cancel out anti-feminist stereotypes, even amongst comrades they fought alongside (Bitunjac 2013). The patriarchal and conservative mentality that held back the social evolution of women continued.

The feminine trousers of the postwar period up until today

In the period of post-war reconstruction and the reunification of families, women returned to their traditional roles, no longer wearing trousers, but putting on the wide skirts of the typical housewife. Over the following years, gender attitudes were influenced by hippie counterculture, which began in the United States and then spread all over the world; the flower children—because of the clothes they wore, decorated with brightly colored flowers—believed in the ideals of pacifism and advocated freedom, including sexual freedom. In the 1960s and 1970s, the centuries-old controversy about whether or not women could wear trousers was finally laid to rest. Radical changes in society freed women (some were famous, like the actress Romy Schneider who declared that she had had an abortion when very young and that she used the contraceptive pill). They burned their bras in public, as this item of clothing was considered symbolic of a predetermined gender role. Women now wore long or short trousers, applied heavy make-up, used false eyelashes and they often adorned their hair with flowers.

In the 1980s, fashion icons like Yves Saint Laurent (1936–2008) with his feminine dinner jacket and blazer, and Giorgio Armani, who designed a severely-cut suit for women, presented imagery for a new business woman. Hence, trousers for women, first worn in the Western world as a sign of transgression, were no longer scandalous, even though until very recently, they were officially forbidden. It was only in 2013 that France annulled a post-revolutionary law of 1800 forbidding women to wear trousers. Now, at long last, French women—as the international press wrote ironically—could legally wear trousers.

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FASHIONING THE FEMALE BODY: THE CORSET CONTROVERSY OF THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

RÉKA SZENTESI

With the spread of dress reform and feminist ideas, debates over women's dress became more and more frequent. Dress reformers, among them doctors and feminists of the era, considered women's dress to be unhealthy, unhygienic, unnatural and oppressive. This was especially so with the corset, which is considered one of the most controversial garments in the history of fashion (Steele 2007, 1) and was the subject of much debate in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

Was it really reform of the dress that ended the reign of the corset? Did the fashion of corsetry end at all or was it just transformed? What is the social context of corsetry and tight lacing? By investigating the ideals of beauty of the Victorian and Edwardian era, these questions can be answered.

By examining contemporary medical and feminist sources in my paper I will look at the corset controversy in Hungary. I aim to answer the questions of why wasp-like waists were idealized during this period and what the corseted waists of middle and upper class women symbolized. Traditionally, the corset has been viewed in the context of repression and liberation, and has been stigmatized as a symbol of female oppression, both physically and morally. I am not trying to suggest that women's emancipation did not have an effect on their dress, but the traditional, and especially the feminist, literature offers a unilateral picture of women's clothing in this era, and this picture needs to be revisited—while the reinterpretation of this topic has already been established in Western countries, in Hungary a new kind of approach is just evolving. The idea that the body can be a site of competing discourses is well established in several disciplines and studies, but fashion theory, as the sociological background of clothing and the history of fashion, is still a neglected field of research in Hungary. There are a handful of scholars who specialize in the history of fashion and fashion theory. The

creative industries and the fashion industry in Central Europe and Hungary, has slowly been developing. Hand in hand with this development, fashion theory studies have appeared in schools including, but not limited to, Eotvos Lorand University of Science, the Central European University, Moholy-Nagy University of Craft and Design and Mod'Art International Hungary.

The work of Valerie Steele (Ph.D., Yale University) is well-known in the sociology of fashion. She is the Director and Chief Curator of The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology (MFIT) and author of countless books and publications, of which *Fashion and Eroticism* is of great importance. Published in 1985, the book describes how fashion, sexuality, gender and the ideals of feminine beauty were connected during the Victorian era and up to the 1920s. Steele's biggest contribution to the history of fashion is to question the cliché of the repressed and oppressed picture of Victorian women, whose "clothing has been interpreted as an outward manifestation of her ambivalent psychology and subordinate position in society" (Steele 1985, 3), mostly by feminist historians. Her aim as a fashion sociologist was to revise the idea of Victorian women and their clothing. Several other books also share this goal, including her important work *The Corset, a Cultural History* (Steele 2001). In Anglo-Saxon countries and France, the traditional picture of Victorian moral prudery has long been refuted, while in Hungary the idea of bourgeois values of women is following a conventional path. If Hungarian fashion historians wish to work towards the institutionalization of our field of research, we must present our results internationally and see how the history of fashion in Hungary can be connected at the international level. Historically, Hungary has been an important part of the international fashion industry. I believe if we want to contribute to Hungary's quickly developing fashion industry, we have to set out a solid historical and theoretical background.

Medical consequences of corsetry

It is important to note the difference between corsetry and tight-lacing. While most doctors in Hungary acknowledged that women needed the corset as a kind of support, they believed that the problem was not wearing the corset itself, but pulling it too tight in order to achieve the fashionable wasp-waist look. I do not have the space here to give a detailed historical background of corsetry, but it is important to note that in the second half of the nineteenth century there were two styles of corsetry in fashion. The hourglass silhouette with short corsets was the main ideal until the end of the century, when the so-called S-silhouette took over, with a corset that shaped not just the waist, but the hips as well. This type of corset constrained the

body in an S-shape giving a very feminine look, which, according to some medical research, was more harmful for the body than its predecessor (Steele 2007, 84).

During my research, I have found that the corset was blamed for causing over forty different diseases. The cornerstone of my investigation was five contemporary medical texts published in Hungary between 1884 and 1910; I also used several articles from the journals of this era. The most frequently mentioned diseases were: curvature of the spine; deformities of the ribs including broken ribs and puncture wounds; displacement of the internal organs; muscular dystrophy; respiratory and circulatory diseases; birth defects and miscarriages; sickness of the stomach, liver, kidneys, lungs and uterus. It was also commonly suggested that corsetry led to hysteria, cancer and tuberculosis. Lajos Thanhoffer, a well-known anatomist of the era, considered that tight-lacing could lead to death (Thanhoffer 1901, 88). As a doctor, he published a photograph (Figure 1) of a dead woman before and after autopsy (Thanhoffer 1901, 87). He suggested that the body had been deformed by long-term corsetry and that the woman's organs were not capable of normal functioning. Thanhoffer does not give a detailed explanation of the autopsy record, nor does he state whether the autopsy was recorded by himself or name the source of the photograph. The distortion of the body seems indisputable, but the picture on the right side raises some questions. After discussion with a Hungarian anatomist, we cannot be sure if the photo shows the reality: the body, the cut, and the organs seem too clear to be realistic, suggesting that it might only be a copy.

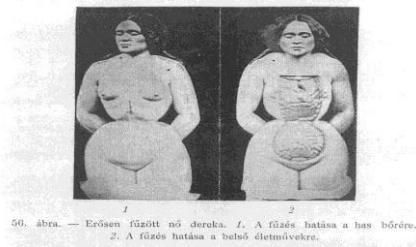


Figure 1. Picture of a dead woman. Thanhoffer 1901, 84. @OSZK, Hungary

What I am trying to suggest is that these medical sources must be viewed critically and with care. The sensationalist idea of oppressive corsetry mostly rests on an uncritical acceptance of such sources. As mentioned above, corsets have been blamed for causing hysteria, cancer and tuberculosis among other illnesses. These illnesses are clearly out of the question when we

talk about corsetry. The medical knowledge of the era compelled doctors to blame corsets for diseases that they were not able to heal and moreover did not have a proper understanding of either. Death caused by corsets cannot be proven. As Steele suggests, the historian faces difficulties when trying to analyze medical diagnoses of the past (Steele 2007, 68), but after having discussed each disease mentioned with Dr. Katalin Móczár, and using the knowledge of modern medicine, it is unlikely that corsets caused most of the diseases they have been blamed for. Yet, systematic and long-term tight-lacing did contribute to some health problems in women, including: curvature of the spine, digestive and circulatory problems, breathing difficulties, and, in extreme cases, muscular dystrophy.

Feminists against corsetry

Despite medical opposition in Hungary at the end of the nineteenth century, women did not abandon their corsets. Thanhoffer reports that most of his women patients denied that they tightly laced-up: “But I do not lace my waist! I can put in my hand between my body and my corset. I naturally have such a slender waist” (Thanhoffer 1901, VI). Feminists suggested that female emancipation could not be gained until women’s dress was reformed. Emil Lantos, a gynecologist, believed that what could not be solved through the endeavors of doctors—the change of women’s dress—would be resolved through feminist pursuits (Lantos 1889, 4). He was certain that women entering the field of work would bring about an enormous change in their fashion. In 1876, a popular woman’s writer, Irma K. Beniczky, criticized Hungarian feminists for not sufficiently representing the case of women’s fashion (Beniczky 1876, 93) and by the end of the century feminists were at the vanguard of dress reform. Fighting against fashionable dress, which prevented women from the free movement of their bodies and symbolized their dependence on their husbands, became a major topic of feminist discourse in Hungary: “Is there any kind of pleasure which is larger than cutting a dash on the promenade? A slight thing such as health cannot be counted against this luscious feeling” (Katonáné-Madarász 1907, 199). This was a sarcastic remark by a feminist writer, who blamed men for forcing women into unhealthy clothes by praising the fashion of slender waists. Hungarian feminists of the time believed that women’s economic and political dependence was the main barrier to dress reform (Bédy-Schwimmer 1909, 204). However, the question is not so simple. It is true that the security of most women depended on when and to whom they married. From this perspective it is understandable why being beautiful was of great importance for the women of these times. But there is much more behind corseted waists:

exactly why wasp-waists were considered fashionable and what did corseted waists represent?

The praise of natural beauty

The slender waist represented a feminine ideal of beauty and was thus an integral element of women's dress (Steele 1985, 161).

“There were times and some of our readers must remember, when the main ideal of women and—of course with respect to the French proverb *«ce que femme veut Dieu veut»*—men considered wasp-waists as ideal. And whereas nature did not bless everybody with such slenderness, it was the duty of the corset to produce a sylphlike slimness, which was sometimes only possible at the expense of the sense of beauty and health” (Unknown writer 1916, 46).

However, these lines were written in 1916 when corsets in Hungary were still in fashion; it suggests that corseted waists were not always beautiful. Those who opposed corsetry argued that anything that was natural and healthy could be beautiful. They did not find fashion, which lacked logic, beautiful: “sensual beauty is only complete when it goes together with tradition” (Perényi 1885, 87). Dress reformers believed that what is unnatural could not be beautiful. From their point of view, “natural” was always beautiful and attractive, moreover, according to their ideas the main pillar of feminine beauty was health. According to a famous Hungarian anatomist, Mihály Lenhossék, tightly laced waists were not only unhealthy, but they looked repellent and were nothing more than a twisted anatomical formation (Lenhossék 1907, 69).

Venus de Milo was regarded as the incarnation of natural beauty by the opponents of corsetry. Wasp-like waists were often compared to the natural waistlines of classical sculpture. Venus de Milo was considered the classic example of feminine beauty, despite (or rather because of) her natural waistline (Lantos 1899, 14). However, women who advocated the fashion of corsets were of an opposite opinion:

“What would the bevy of admirers say if at once [the sculpture] would come alive, her truncated arms would grow again and she would present herself in the ball gown of a modern, high society woman? Surely they would be outraged by the view of her uncorseted wide waist, regarding the figure inelegant and cumbersome in today's fashionable dress” (Unknown writer 1900, 11–12).

The author of the quote was certainly trying to imply that a slender waist was an essential motif and that most dresses (especially ball gowns) were tailored with a corseted waist and these dresses could not be worn without the corset underneath: “It is much easier for tailors to work on a correctly laced waist than an uncorseted one, even if the figure is dress-like” (Unknown writer 1887, 154). The quote suggests that the requirements of “good figure” did not include naturalness, but similitude to the model of dress. In this era, the idea that the body should adjust to the dress and not the other way around was widespread. This conception ignores the natural look of the body and approaches the ideal figure from the perspective of fashionable dress. A certain Countess Denise comforted her lady readers: “there is not one flawed figure, which could not be made pretty by a good corset-maker” (Denise 1885, 156). Behind the words of the countess we can discover middle class and bourgeois thinking of the period—this did not see the body in its natural form. Natural beauty meant equality, while artificially formed beauty was only for the privileged (Mohácsi 2002, 51).

Fashioning the body

Every era has its own image of the ideal look for men and women, and these are the product of cultural and sociological perceptions—the *Zeitgeist*. By correcting, stylizing, emphasizing or hiding certain parts of the body, clothes can make the body appear as close to this ideal as possible. Fashion offers an opportunity for the individual to achieve the current ideal look. Dress, clothing and appearance has become the subject of sociological inquiry in its function of symbolizing status. According to the sociology of fashion, we communicate through our clothing at the level of symbols; this can be regarded as a kind of a visual language. (Davis 1992, 3–5). Dress, as one of the most obvious signs of status, was the primary device for identifying others in public space; thus fashion was an opportunity for an individual to send instant signs of status to an audience. The meaning of dress is evoked through a system of codes, which are guaranteed and perpetuated through a given society and its institutions (Perrot 1994, 14). The nineteenth-century bourgeois and middle class worked out an elaborate and complicated set of rules of clothing, indicating the symbolic importance of dress (against its functional meanings). Its symbolic importance is especially important when we talk about a garment which has no practical function at all. How can a piece of clothing have symbolic meaning if it is hidden from the eyes of the public? Undergarments are intimate parts of the clothing system and can be investigated in their moral and sexual context. However, if that particular undergarment forms the body, it becomes visible to the audience. From this

perspective it is not the dress itself, but more precisely the corset, which functions as a symbol of status on the dressed up and fashionable body. Dressing up the body according to the norms of a given society is no less than preparing it for public appearance. According to Bourdieu, the body is a presentation of the self. Of the many presentations of the personality the body can be changed temporarily, as well as permanently, and this is why the body is able to function as a symbol of affiliation (Bourdieu 1978, 151). Dress has the ability of forming the body and this is where its sociological importance arises. The presentation of the body until the end of the nineteenth century, when cosmetic surgery appeared and started to spread, used devices on the surface of the body—hairstyle, clothing, cosmetics—emphasizing or hiding parts of the body (Csabai 2002, 89). Without plastic surgery and widespread knowledge of diet and sports, the primary way of body modification was through dressing it up. Some sensational sources claim that a few fashionable ladies had their floating ribs removed in order to gain the wasp-waist look; we have no evidence confirming these reports.

The corseted body as the ideal feminine look

Female members of the middle and bourgeois class invested enormous energy and money in their appearance. It was their duty and ambition to look beautiful (Steele 1985, 102). As a way of winning affection, beauty was central to a woman's socialization. Elegance, beauty and proper fashionable dress (which also implies that the wearer is well aware of clothing codes and thus must be of good family) were regarded as helpful to a woman in order to get married to the right sort of men. Since there was not much alternative in this era for women, it is understandable why mothers and grandmothers put such huge emphasis on dressing their girls properly and according to their social status. Despite a prudish education, sexual attractiveness was important and showing it through dress was, to a certain extent, accepted, in a highly secure complex of ethics. The corset, by pushing up the breasts and emphasizing the hip-to-waist ratio, is able to create a very feminine look. The proper hip-to-waist ratio is considered to be an important sign of fertility in the science of evolutionary psychology (Berezkei 2003, 208–11). Dress can enhance sexual attraction because it conceals and accentuates the body, or parts of the body, at the same time (Wilson 2003, 1991). Beyond that it was the duty of women to present the financial background of their husbands and families; fashion was also a device of female self-expression. At the same time, fashionable dress symbolized that a lady was a member of the leisure class.

According to Veblen's theory, dress was the most important sign of material background and of conspicuous consumption—fashionable garments were the best way to represent status and were considered *prima facie* symbols of status (Veblen 1992). Veblen pays much attention to the corset, which in his view was the best representation of the fact that the wearer was not needed to work. The bourgeois and middle class worked out a very complex code of clothing in the nineteenth century. A well-dressed lady not only represented the social and material status of her family, but her knowledge of these norms (in this case her proper look) suggested that she had received a good education and was well aware of the fashion rules appropriate to her status: it was simply indecent not to wear a corset. Corseted waists represented a dual value: the modest woman with morals who is aware of the norms and is sexually attractive at the same time.

The cutting of the waist

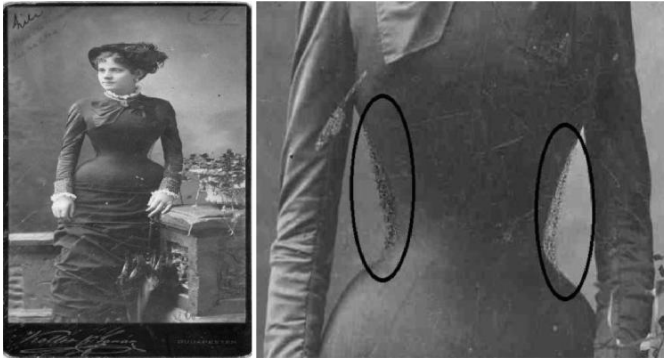
An article of the photographer's professional journal in Hungary in 1882 reported on a photograph of a beautiful young lady that was presented to an audience. According to the article, the spectators of the photograph were surprised by the size of the lady's waist. They suggested that the slender waist of the girl, despite her thick, fat arms and neck, must have been due to tight-lacing. But the author of the article was of a different opinion. He stated that "at least one third of the waistline had been cut with a major indecorum because the thickness of the other parts of the body made it certain that the photograph and its persona were idealized" (Takácsi 1882, 106). What does cutting of the waist and idealization mean here?

Looking through portraits of actresses of this period, with the help of the museologist and photo historian Károly Kincses, I found unequivocal marks of retouching around the waist and hips. Having looked through contemporary journals on professional photography, I found valuable articles on photo retouching, also called "idealization" by the photographers of the period. The face, hair, clothes, and background were often retouched by some special techniques. In the case of full-length portraits of women, the figure was often corrected post factum; moreover the professional magazine stated that this was a necessary to make a woman's waist slender.

The personas of today's highly manipulated (fashion) portraits are not real persons, but they impersonate ideal types. The retouched photographs of actresses of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are a good example of spreading the image of ideal beauty as these women were the main trendsetters of the era. Museums, especially the Hungarian Theatre

Museum and Institute, own a considerable amount of actress portraits, of which a large number have obviously been retouched.

The retouching techniques used on these photographs were of two types. One is called the negative husking retouch, where undesirable parts were simply scratched out on the negative of the photo and the scratch filled with special paint or a pencil. The other method was the positive retouch where the photograph itself was drawn upon. Originally, retouching marks could not be seen on these photographs, but with the lapse of time, as the photo becomes older, the marks become more apparent, especially in the case of the scratched negative method, as these negatives can only be enlarged in poor quality.



Aranka Hegyi photographed by Sterlisky, 1880c @ OSZMI, Hungary: 73.604.4
(B 242/25)

Actresses were the main mediators of fashion. They offered a model for ladies to identify with, in which their clothing played an important part. Dresses were widely copied from the stage and private life of these stars and they offered beauty tips through newspaper articles and advertisements (Kiss 2014, 46). Through their appearance, they often represented the ideal feminine figure of the time. Often they wore corsets on stage for roles that spoke of eras where there was no fashion of corsetry at all, like ancient Greek dramas. In the picture below (Figure 2), a popular actress, Sári Fedák, can be seen as the character of Niobé, from a play staged in 1902. It was not the corset itself which was in fashion: what was important was the slender waist as the ideal feminine figure.



Figure 2. Sári Fedák in the role of Niobé, photographed by Mártonffy Gyula, 1902@OSZMI, Hungary: 60.372. (B 2313.1/1)

The end of corsetry: changing ideals of beauty

The traditional history of fashion suggests that fashion was moving towards a natural look, but this is not true. It is not that fashion does not accept the body in its natural way, but people use it to create a certain image of themselves, according to the norms and ethics of the society and the era in which they live (Steele 1985, 48). It is also often stated that the main reason for abandoning the corset was the movement of dress reform. Actually, dress reform did not have any serious impact on fashion as it was not able to present a desirable alternative women's dress that was appropriate to and refined enough for the spirit of the time. Also, a widely spread idea suggests that the First World War, which altered women's dress into more functional styles, was the main reason for the end of corsetry. However, the corset was not abandoned; it changed its shape and evolved into other body-forming undergarments according to the changing idealization of the feminine figure.

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THE WOMAN AS A SOCIAL MODEL IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA: THE SCIENTIFIC FASHION OF COMMUNISM

CORINA ELENA HAȚEGAN

On October 22, 1986, the Italian daily *La Stampa* published an article entitled “Ceausescu ordered: ‘Make more children!’,” pertaining to the story of a thirty-two-year-old Romanian woman, mother of two, who woke up in her home with a representative of a youth association. At first, the man demanded to know why she was not pregnant, given her youth, her current job and the advantages that the state had provided her. Considering the questions too personal, she politely asked him to leave. However, he returned the following day, accompanied by a police officer, and forced her to answer his questions.

The official explanation was that they were generating demographic statistics, but in reality, the Communist state, through its representatives, had entered into the woman’s house in the same manner as they were invading the privacy of most people. The author seemed indignant about this policy, saying that work, family and procreation were the civic duties of a good Communist, and women in particular were the targets of malicious propaganda. The situation presented by the foreign press may seem paradoxical, given the statements of the president of Romania; most often his speeches were simple propaganda:

“You have, dear friends, youth and children ... all the conditions that have not had and could never have had in the past, in the old order based on oppression and exploitation. Use these wonderful conditions to learn and learn and learn, to be more useful for the country, with the constantly high example of the working class” (Ceaușescu, 1988).

Communism aimed at creating a new society, where people, especially women, would reject all the pleasure, selfishness, and creativity that derived from fashion. The state imposed behavioral uniformity that influenced both the thinking and clothing of Romania’s people. Everything that was not

tailored or attuned to national policy, was considered capitalist, bourgeois and corrupt. For example, wearing jeans, tight leather pants, and basically everything that hinted at the trending rock fashion of the West, including clothing or accessories, was considered immoral. The same perception was applied to long hair and accessories worn by men, which were labeled offensive, immoral and socially-disruptive.

During the 1980s, when Romania's Communism reached a zenith of austerity and prohibition, clothing stores had, in terms of shape and color, only one or two types of attire. Fashion design was reduced to utilitarian purposes as the government wanted to establish a social norm of thinking, dressing and behaving in the same way. Ceausescu's wife had to set an example for all women, even if she had the chance to wear expensive clothes sent to her by African kings. In reality, she had to convey the message and image of motherhood, as well as that of the good female citizen, which is why, ironically, after the demise of Communism, a saying made its way into the mouths of the people: "hairstyle and dress like Elena Ceaușescu." The creativity of Romania's women could not, however, be contained; many of them were wearing outfits created by women and underground fashion appeared. Fashion is not just about clothing; after all, we can speak of a certain type of behavior or attitude that ultimately can be materialized in clothing fashions. Fashion in Romania could not be described in the vocabulary of the West, given the difficulty of aligning fashion with Communism; the latter only accepted the functional aspects of things, and thus, Western trends, such as fashion, had no purpose in building a socialist nation. The aim of this paper is to briefly present the status of women and their ways of seeing fashion as a clothing or attitude.

Women's fashion was reduced to a conceptual simplicity and utility with the idea of establishing a new social order. The Communist woman was constantly compared to her Western counterpart, who was regarded, not as a creator of a new social order, but as an object. Nonetheless, Communist propaganda insisted on highlighting the differences between socialist and capitalist women. For example, the capitalist woman was seen as a self-absorbed person who placed more value on herself than on others. She was a woman without political concerns, interested only in consumerism and seduction, while the socialist woman was concerned with the creation of a new society. Besides her feminine qualities, the true socialist woman had to have a social and political education that would give her awareness of the events that surrounded her.

Such antitheses often occurred in literature. For example, a book (Buzatu 1979) from that period criticized capitalist women from various angles. Firstly, capitalist social systematization made it clear that women had little

place outside the bedroom or the kitchen. They engaged in various bad habits such as drinking alcohol, smoking, and excessive concern with fashion and consumption; these were all seen as elements of low intelligence. Secondly, the capitalist woman was subjugated to men, while the socialist woman had a job and therefore would not use seduction and femininity in an immoral manner to achieve her personal goals. Last but not least, the socialist woman could have five children, as well as a job, because her goal was to strive for self-independence, as opposed to the role of the humble housewife imagined in the West.

The image of the socialist woman was built on other principles. Firstly, she had to reflect the cultural values of society. Secondly, considering the female body and its associated aesthetics, Communism had an obsession with health and vigor. The state conducted studies on healthy eating and how people should keep their bodies healthy, promoting a wide array of sporting events that were mingled with subtle political messages: "In fact, these large, pseudo-sporting events did nothing but express the symbolic use of strength in relation to the human body and the essence of a totalitarian regime in which the individual was only a part of the whole, a whole to which it must devote its entire life" (Tempau 2010, 124). The author considered that Communist propaganda was sometimes contradictory, because feminine beauty was, on the one hand, innate, so there was no need for a socialist woman to spend hours in front of the mirror, as capitalist women did, but, on the other hand, she still had to groom herself.

Rarely, the female body was studied beyond biological requirements like motherhood: "socialist women were integrated into the development of society as equal subjects of men, and their creative activity became a consistent exponent of the new and modern process for the evolution and purpose of the socialist society" (Deliman 1977, 47).

Communist propaganda stressed the sexual freedom of capitalist women, among other negative features, because in the socialist view the role of women was to educate younger generations not to engage in sexual activity. Therefore, women should not be presented as objects of desire, but as tender and loving mothers. In other words, fashion clothing that revealed the beauty of the female body (short clothes or stretch fabrics) was seen as immoral. This way of thinking outlived the Communist regime, with many people continuing to believe that the female body should be kept covered as much as possible, especially in public. Sexualized behaviour was banned from public areas, restricting people's intimate life:

"We must proceed from the idea that our departments need to treat the woman as any other citizen. So, we must judge them accordingly, and not as a category with which we must occasionally deal" (Ceașescu 1973, 652).

The Communist regime did not promote the cult of luxury, valuable jewelry and opulence, because enrichment was seen as a bourgeois characteristic. The restrictions on jewelry were so great that couples who wanted wedding rings had problems in obtaining them due to the lack of specialized shops. For example, if a couple wanted a wedding ring, it was impossible to walk into a shop and choose one. Many newlyweds borrowed them or had to reserve the ring many months before the wedding. This is why, after the fall of Communism, women were willing to pay over the odds for gold jewelry, even if it was of bad taste and poor quality, like the gold jewelry bought on the Turkish black market. Women often paid their whole salary for a thin gold chain of the lowest quality. There was a craze for Turkish gold jewelry after the revolution and it was considered a real bargain; this is not surprising since the system, for a long time, had not allowed one to wear these pieces to express one's own personality or individuality. After the demise of Communism, black market profiteers and jewelry sellers took advantage of these long-standing aesthetic restraints, and some women, in order to exhibit their new status, bought and wore numerous jewels.

However, the Communists believed that by freeing women from the burden of self-embellishment for the sake of being admired, they would ultimately succeed in emancipating them. They also believed that women were equal to men, at least in a professional context. This, coupled with an economic emphasis on heavy industry, led women to assume a "manlier" role. The lack of personal expressions of individuality and choice had positive aspects too, because it made women into real designers. The easiest solution was to make clothes secretly. In fact, many women lived very well from private tailoring; there was a great range of materials and many women wanted colorful and unique clothing. Women's magazines printed clothing design stencils, but the most sought after were those of illegally obtained foreign journals. Magazines such as *Neckerman* or *Otto*, smuggled in from Germany, were among the most valuable. The young daydreamed while browsing through these magazines, which presented an aspirational Western lifestyle to them. When women managed to reproduce various foreign magazine outfits, other women would quickly notice and would refer to them as being "dressed Neckerman-like."

The socialist way of life was promoted as innovative and thriving, in contrast to imperialist, bourgeois and corrupt capitalism—Romanian propagandists emphasized the benefits of Communism and the disadvantages of capitalism.

This image of deprivation and corruption was compared to the perfect image of Romanian society, where the state protected family integrity and the divorce rate was low because it was discouraged. The large number of babies

that Nicolae Ceaușescu boasted of was not due to better living conditions, but due to the policy of increasing the birth rate by banning contraceptive measures and abortions, and the high number of employed women was due to acute labor shortages in industry. Romanians did not really spend time together since their lives were spent in queues for food or other time-consuming everyday activities.

Communist propaganda never reminded people that, for example, while Western families had numerous benefits and modern appliances, Romanian families wished for a TV or washing machine. Drug use, the existence of homelessness and the spread of diseases were kept hidden and were attributed to the moral bankruptcy of Westerners. Romanians were encouraged to settle down as rapidly as they could and take on the role of good Communists building their country: “For a [pregnant] woman to be able to follow her doctor’s advice and eat what she would have needed during the day, she or someone in her family would have to sit for hours in long lines in many different areas of the city” (Kligman 2000, 153).

Propaganda described the ideal Communist woman: she was a working parent, politician, militant and defender of peace and socialism. In fact, Communists made no distinction regarding gender, there were only Party members. This happened because they considered gender distinctions to be an outdated worldview that considered men to be worth much more than women, receiving higher education and going out to work, while women were educated to become good housewives. This was considered a bourgeois way of thinking and was wrong from a Communist standpoint. Socialist women were presented during the Communist period as having many abilities and being more skilled than their capitalist counterparts. Their development was, of course, due to Communism, and this was often highlighted in the press. In Romania, the press concluded, women were not only paid equally, but also had favorable working conditions, unlike in the West, where it was likely that a woman could not find a job.

An article from a magazine dedicated to women praised women’s current status (Faur 1984). The author of this article pointed out that the women of the 1980s were totally different from those of previous eras; modern women were independent, had jobs and received help from the state, which meant that they were able to maintain a happy home, family and children for which, the author stated, they should be grateful to the president.

Propaganda articles presented an image of the happy and fulfilled lives of women at work. Moreover, socialism was presented to women as a facilitator of professional and personal success. For this reason, journalists stressed that women should thank the most beloved son of the nation. This was a self-fulfilling prophecy: “women across the nation bring a vibrant and warm

homage to the genius leader of Romanian destiny, to that passionate, brilliant patriot and revolutionary militant, greatest hero among heroes ... Nicolae Ceaușescu” (Livescu 1989, 6).

Many magazines consistently addressed the theme of successful women. These articles offered many success stories. For example, in an article from *Femeia Magazine* entitled “Committed to her City to Reach a Top Position” (Strauț 1987), we learn about a woman mayor in Govora City. She is presented as an embodiment of pure dedication to Communism. In her words, her life’s most beautiful moment was when she became a Party member. Another woman, this time an engineer, congratulated Nicolae Ceaușescu for offering her the opportunity of fulfilling her dreams: “‘Communists were at the forefront of social evolution, developing and applying a comprehensive program of modernization,’ a woman employee at a chemical fabric reported” (Popescu 1987). She continued to say that only when she joined the Communist Party and focused on the president’s directives did she really feel spiritual fulfillment.

The president of the Iasi County Woman’s Organization considered that only through personal responsibility and a revolutionary spirit was it possible to succeed and accomplish the work of a good Communist. With this in mind, she considered that the secretary general of the Party must necessarily be re-elected because, through their work, Elena and Nicolae Ceaușescu had helped to mobilize thousands of women, both personally and professionally: “‘In this context, I wish to underline the deeply humanist policy of the Romanian Communist Party and General Secretary Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu regarding women’s role in socialist society,’ wrote the abovementioned president, in the *Femeia* magazine” (Grozavu 1989, 11).

She also believed that success was deeply rooted in socialism and its revolutionary democracy, which guaranteed the right to decide one’s own fate and, given these results, women should be determined to continue the task of enriching the homeland’s socialist policy.

Communist propaganda relentlessly spoke of the great Communist family and portrayed Elena and Nicolae Ceaușescu as the perfect family: “There were two needs that motivated the propaganda to promote campaigns aimed at incorporating women into work and politics after 1979: the need to supplement female employees through work camps and the need to legitimize the political and scientific career of Elena Ceaușescu” (Kligman 2000, 141).

The image of Elena Ceaușescu was largely created by propaganda. She was presented as a woman who had given up everything for her country—a woman who had dedicated her life and body to the welfare of the state. Communist propaganda found in Elena the perfect image for campaigns that promoted the role of women in all areas of life. This legitimacy was

supported by the numerous awards and titles that were bestowed on Elena Ceaușescu:

“In the glorious book of history of the homeland, the name of Comrade Elena Ceaușescu is forever inscribed, in recognition of her long revolutionary activities, a firm and restless fighter for the people’s well-being and happiness, fulfilling her aspirations for social and national justice, for the flourishing of a free, independent and dignified Romania” (Bobu 1987, 6).

Western feminists would say that Ceaușescu’s rule involved the cruel subjugation of women. Indeed, to some extent, the image of women was transformed: they had to obey the state, family and, last but not least, the Party. The state was portrayed as a staunch defender of the family and the family was seen as the core of society. Communists insisted on the idea that family equalled society and a Communist country was nothing but one big family. The policy of the Party aimed at improving family life by offering apartments, jobs, nurseries, and schools: “Each family will have money to eat out daily, neighborhoods will be filled with restaurants, finally the women, now equal to men, will waste no time in the kitchen, crocheting, ironing or on childcare. A woman, equal to a man, will give her time to the Party, becoming according to Communist doctrine, the life comrade of her consort” (Kollontay 1917, 20).

Newspaper and magazine articles often concluded with a homage to the first comrade and his consistent policy regarding families and women’s welfare: “The value that the first woman of our country showed to the women of the country is reflected in the concern for a further adoption of the most appropriate measures to improve their status” (Kollontay 1917, 20). Another article portrayed the life story of a working mother from Bucharest as a good example for the readers of *Femeia* magazine. The emphasis in the article was not placed upon the fact that she had five children and two grandchildren at the age of forty, but on the many benefits that the state had given her for raising her children and caring for her family. The full benefits of motherhood in a Communist state are detailed: “we were provided with generous conditions for children to grow up in peace We’ve always had and still have the confidence that the country provides everything we need” (Velicu 1989, 9).

A teacher from Tulcea, a mother of four, concluded: “I listened with great satisfaction to the speech uttered by Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu ... once again proving that a family’s most noble duty is to have children” (Bira 1989, 9). A teacher with four or five children was not a common event; female intellectuals generally had fewer children, which was quite embarrassing for the Party. Families with a large number of children resided in the countryside,

a situation found in other countries as well. For Communist propaganda, the workplace and working conditions were not a barrier to having more children and a family of ten children from Satu Mare was presented with great pride. This campaign perfectly suited the aims of Communist propaganda: “a seamstress mother, a locksmith father and ten children of which eight were schoolchildren.” The family lived in the city in two apartments received from the state. Indeed, according to the Communists, this woman was a super woman and a real life heroine.

The concept of women’s and children’s behavior and the meaning of family were slowly changed by this propaganda. Research in the post-communist period has revealed that a great number of women died due to illegal abortions. The survivors confessed that they had many reasons to end a pregnancy and not abide by the Party’s policy: they already had many children or did not want to give birth to children in a world where everything was restricted. Those who aborted a fetus were criticised by the media, which occasionally published articles on women who died as a result of getting an abortion.

Women were considered both reproductive and productive. They had to complement their maternal duties with professional tasks. Vladimir Pasti said in one of his books, *Last Inequality. Gender Relations in Romania*, that Communism effectively balanced gender equality through labor, making it equally oppressive for both men and women. Thanks to the hardships of Communism, women were no longer able to enjoy the benefits of being housewives:

“Therefore, somehow, Communism seated the woman on the same social level with the man. Communism ideologically acknowledged that pre-socialist women had been disadvantaged, and blamed capitalism for the uneven distribution of power between men and women. Once capitalism, the bane of gender equality was removed, their social inferiority was expected to vanish” (Pasti 2003, 102).

In conclusion, it might be said that Communism created a new type of woman—the super-woman. The state tailored the social destiny of both men and women in accordance with Communist economic doctrine. One might argue that the state emancipated and ultimately freed women from male dependency by giving them jobs. But in other ways, the communist state ruled over women’s lives, turning them into mindless robots that ignored fashion, while working incessantly to ensure the welfare of the state. However, success was short-lived: after the demise of Communism, the real emancipation of women began and Romanian fashion designers rose to

prominence in the fashion world. Nonetheless, the scars of the past endure to this day—echoes of what Communism once wanted to create.

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POWER DRESSING: WOMEN AND POWER

MARIA CRISTINA MARCHETTI

Women, fashion and power

The relationship between women and fashion has always been at the heart of sociological thought on the subject. Simmel identified the reasons for the increased dependence of women on fashion in the rules dictated by social custom:

“The relationship and the weakness of her social position, to which woman has been doomed, during the far greatest portion of history explain her strict regard for costume, for the generally accepted and approved forms of life, for all that is proper. A weak person steers clear of individualization; he avoids dependence upon the self with its responsibilities and the necessity of defending himself unaided ... but resting on the firm foundation of costume, of what is generally accepted, woman strives anxiously for all the relative individualization and personal conspicuousness that remains. Fashion offers this very combination in the happiest manner, for we have here on the one hand a field of general imitation, the individual floating in the broader social current, relieved of responsibility for his tastes yet on the other hand we have a certain conspicuousness, an emphasis, and individual accentuation of the personality” (Simmel 1957, 550).

According to Simmel, “in a certain sense, fashion gives to a woman a compensation for her lack of position based on a calling or profession” (Simmel 1957, 551), which was granted to men. Women had to express individuality through fashion, which men could do through their public roles. Resistance to changes in women’s roles caused women to identify fashion as a suitable tool to bridge this deficit of participation in social life and power.

Although Simmel presents a universal mechanism in the relationship between women and fashion, there is a clear reference to the context of his contemporary bourgeois-capitalist society. With the passage of time, men withdrew from the fashion scene and women became the main interpreters

and focus of fashion. At the beginning of the industrial revolution, according to Flügel:

“Men gave up their right to all the brighter, gayer, more elaborate, and more varied forms of ornamentation, leaving these entirely to the use of women, and thereby making their own tailoring the most austere and ascetic of the arts. Sartorially, this event has surely the right to be considered as ‘The Great Masculine Renunciation.’ Man abandoned his claim to be considered beautiful. He henceforth aimed at only being useful” (Flügel 1930, 111).

Society was deliberately split between women, bound to the domestic roles of wife and mother, and men, active in the professional world in which they built their identity. Women were left with nothing but fashion in which to carve out a niche and fulfill the function of “business cards for their husbands’ social position,” as described by Thorstein Veblen (Veblen 1899). The only exception to this was the sensual, uninhibited *femme fatale* who, free from any social convention, used eroticism as a tool of emancipation (Scaraffia 2009). The male exception was the *dandy*, a tragic and modern character at the same time, but outside the conventions of the masculine roles that bourgeois society dictated (Scaraffia 2002; Curcio 2006).

From this split followed another one: between fashion and power. The stability, authority and expertise associated with the exercise of (political and economic) power appeared in conflict with the triviality and mutability of external forms expressed through fashion. The changing role of women in society, marked by their transition out of a family context to a broader professional one began in the late nineteenth century and has continued without interruption throughout the twentieth century; in some respects it is still ongoing. The various steps taken have been marked by the appearance of fashions that explicitly reported the need for change to the rest of society.

The introduction of pants in women’s clothing mirrored the admission of women into the world of work and sport; the advent of the miniskirt marked a new awareness by women of their femininity and a strong demand for control over their bodies and their sexuality; more recently, the widespread adoption by women of the suit marked another historic transition, one related to the possibility of holding leadership roles.

Power Dressing: when women are in power

In an article published in *The Guardian* on October 26, 2014, *Female Academic: Don’t power dress, forget heels—and no flowing hair allowed*, Francesca Stavrakopoulou (professor at the University of Exeter), discussed a previous column by Jonathan Wolff about how women should dress in the

academic world in order to be ‘taken seriously.’ She considered that: “The implication is that dressing in a more conventionally feminine way is somehow more frivolous, and can undermine perceptions of a woman’s intellectual and professional skills.” So, “[w]omen in academia are judged on their appearance. Feminine means frivolous, and those considered scruffy are subject to sexist assumptions.” What is power dressing?

Power dressing is an expression coined by John Molloy in 1975 in the book *Dress for Success*, followed in 1977 by a version geared towards women *Women’s Dress for Success Book* (Molloy 1975; Molloy 1977; Molloy 1996).

In both books the author refers to a *dress code*—a dark (navy blue or gray) suit, consisting of trousers, and a jacket over a white shirt—representing a safe option for both men and women. For women, any reference to the erotic dimension—necklines, spiked heels, slits, but also light fabrics—should be eliminated. Therefore, power dressing refers to a clothing style that confers on the wearer and power-wielder, almost always in the political and economic field, an air of authority and expertise. The issue, then, has theoretically both to do with the male and female universe, although in practice, when it comes to power dressing, we usually refer to the adaptation of male dress codes to female forms (Young 2011). For if in the male universe, from the Industrial Revolution onwards, power-related dress codes were quite well-defined, for women things have been different. The entry of women onto the social and political scene has resulted in a need to develop a *dress code* that signaled this transition and emphasized the difference compared to previous roles that women held (Castellani 2010, 141–42). Thus, a male perspective on female roles is again outlined, traced on a pattern of ‘masculine domination’ (Bourdieu 2001).

An essential component of the relationship between women and power has to do with a fundamental issue not sufficiently emphasized in the literature on the subject: does seizing power come with a change in the way in which power itself is conceived and wielded or is it an end in itself? In the first case, clothing has to visualize a difference—in values and behaviors. This is not found, however, in situations where there is the acquisition of a more powerful position, and aligning with the male dress code suffices. This is important even though it is difficult to identify situations in which these two aspects are mutually distinguishable and empirical studies have not confirmed the specificity of women’s management of power (Lipovetsky 2000, 232–33). Starting from a general definition, power dressing opens up different possibilities of analysis, often requiring an interdisciplinary approach:

1. The issue of power dressing is part of a broader theoretical debate on the symbolic representation of power that has not yet been fully recognized and accepted by political scientists. This context requires an analysis of the relationship between fashion and politics and of dress codes related to wielding power and political communication;
2. It refers to the process of women's increasing access to the social and political scene after World War II, despite the 'glass ceiling' still restricting access to senior positions. Taking on new socially powerful roles has required a redefinition of women's dress codes.

The symbolic representation of power

Power requires external expression, in order to legitimize and celebrate itself and those who wield it. Buildings (Lasswell 1979) and collective rituals (Kertzer 1988) have always been an essential part of the symbolic representation of power, as has fashion. At the same time, it is widely believed to be a shallow phenomenon that has little in common with dimensions of human behavior such as power. Power in its different articulations —political, economic, ideological—needs justification, or rather, as Weber says, it cultivates faith in its legitimacy as an alternative to the use of force. The processes of legitimization in modern democracies, insofar as they appeal to rational-legal components, refer to a symbolic dimension and have emotional-affective components. The doubts and concerns with which the relationship between fashion and power has been analyzed are due to the fact that this relationship calls into question the symbolic dimension of politics. Fedel states:

“generally in political science, the concept of a symbol (and its derivatives) is used as a *major distinction*. In this distinction the symbolic category refers to the area of feelings, values, loyalty, etc. ... seen as opposed to the area of economic interests, of material and tangible things, of utilitarianism in general” (Fedel 1987, 20).

There is a conflict between the symbolic uses of politics and its purely rational vision; this element has generated interest and at the same time skepticism among political scientists. As Kertzer says, “the poor development of studies on the symbolic dimension of modern politics is also due to the empirical methods mostly used in the context of contemporary social sciences. Symbols cannot be studied satisfactorily in quantitative terms, or through surveys or electoral analysis” (Kertzer 1988, 16). The symbolic dimension is related to the influence of the emotional and affective sphere on political behavior, according to two different, but in some respects

convergent directions: 1) the integration of the dynamics of the political system and consensus building; 2) the place of symbolic references in the struggle for power. According to this perspective, symbols become a resource in the struggle for power. "In any case," says Fedel, "here the focus is on the fact that symbolism somehow captures the minds (and thus the actions) of individuals and organizes them in a direction favorable to the pursuit of certain goals that would otherwise remain on paper or would be difficult or expensive to pursue" (Fedel 1987, 25). This dimension contradicts the supposed rationality of *homo politicus* who, like *homo economicus*, is assumed to be consistent and rational, able to weigh up objective circumstances and make choices based on cost/benefit calculations, without taking into account "the culture and everything that makes man a human being in the fullest meaning" (Kertzer 1988, 22).

The *post-ideological* phase of contemporary politics, rather than reducing the use of symbolic representations of power, has widened its scope in the search for alternatives to ideology to legitimize the function of power. The high levels of complexity and fragmentation that characterize contemporary societies must somehow be filtered and simplified in order to reach a political synthesis, but also to stage a confrontation between stances, which is often contradicted in political praxis. It is in this work of complexity reduction that symbols perform an essential function. As Kertzer says:

"the outside world puts each individual in front of an infinite number of stimuli, even though no one can deal with all of them simultaneously. Our perceptions are selective and those aspects of the world that we select must be further reduced and rearranged in terms of some simplification (or categorization) system that allows us to make sense of it" (Kertzer 1988, 11).

The problem of contemporary society, however, is likely to be the opposite of what one might have expected in the past: a symbolic overload that questions the simplifying function of symbols, in an overlay of imagery and communication, the interpretation of which the individual finds difficult.

Harold Lasswell is considered to be the pioneer of studies on the uses of symbolic politics (Fedel 1987, 26). He sees politics as a ceaseless struggle among and against elites that compete with each other in order to win the support of the masses and thus maintain or win power. Symbols, assets and violence are the resources used in the struggle for power; values and feelings enter the political arena through the use of symbols.

The symbolic dimension of politics lies at the level of consensus building and the struggle for power, in modern democracies, acting within a process of power legitimation. Although absolute power can succeed without legitimacy, this becomes the core on which, in the modern notion of

democracy, the relationship between rulers and ruled is based. The relationship between fashion and politics has been somewhat underestimated in the analysis of the symbolic uses of politics, in comparison to the traditional symbols of power (rituals, ceremonies, flags, hymns, etc. ...). Fashion has played a key role thanks to the power it has in recording extremely fast social changes and in creating identity—the sense of belonging to a group and differentiating oneself from others.

The dynamic differentiation/integration on which Simmel based his analysis of fashion is shown in the two opposing forces that operate in fashion:

“Fashion is the imitation of a given example and satisfies the demand for social adaptation; it leads the individual upon the road which all travel, it furnishes a general condition, which resolves the conduct of every individual into a mere example. At the same time it satisfies in no less degree the need of differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast” (Simmel 1957, 542).

Fashion, just like politics, is biased by its very nature, even when it aspires to universalism; Herbert Spencer pointed out the close connection between political opinions and peculiarities of clothing (Spencer 1891, 1–51). The relationship between fashion and politics has become particularly relevant in the light of modern forms of political communication as the growing use of mass-media has amplified the role of power’s symbolic dissemination. The speeding-up of the communication process and the need of providing information quickly, as dictated by television timing, has combined with the demands of *dramatization*, *personalization*, and *leaderization* taken on by contemporary political communication and the requirement of controlling outward appearances.

In recent times, as we will point out, women’s *power dressing* has restored a close relationship with fashion. The post-ideological phase of contemporary politics, instead of curtailing the relationship between fashion and politics, has amplified it with the objective necessity of having to restore differences that do not exist or are extremely limited in political practice, but are still required for the dialectics between parties on which politics is based.

Power dressing: women in power

Historically, the origin of women’s power dressing dates back to the symbolically representation of power implemented by Queen Elizabeth I upon her accession to the throne. A woman in a man’s world, she embodied a paradigm shift that was to be communicated to the wider world: the queen

herself was identified with the rise of England on the world stage, sanctioning the victory of the Protestant Reformation. Louis XIV owes a debt in his own work of symbolic representation of power in France to Elizabeth I. Almost five hundred years later, again in England, a model of power dressing marked another historic transition: Margaret Thatcher, leader of the British Conservative Party and the first woman to be appointed as prime minister (1979–90). Margaret Thatcher chose to fully enter the corridors of power by adapting to the male dressing code, with suits of masculine cut, mostly in shades of blue, which was the color of the Conservative Party, softened by light shirts and by a pin or a strand of pearls. In the 1970s, jackets with broad shoulders entered the female wardrobe, emphasizing the social changes taking place. The political context in which Margaret Thatcher positioned herself also allowed her to tap into the symbolic heritage provided by the British Monarchy and to compete with the Queen of England in representing the English conservative tradition.

The model pioneered by Margaret Thatcher highlights a fundamental aspect of power dressing: its relationship to fashion. Thatcherite *power dressing* was not ‘out of fashion’ in a strict sense, but ‘beyond fashion,’ in an autonomous dimension removed from the whims and mutability of fashion. It lay in the dimension of style that considers continuity and stability to be its core values; in the same way, fashion makes change its inspiring motive. One aspect that is worth pointing out about Margaret Thatcher is that she never wore trousers, at least on public occasions, an item of clothing that early in her political career still represented an element of transgression.

The current heir to this tradition of power dressing is Angela Merkel, although there are differences. Merkel, the German chancellor since 2005, is considered to be one of the most powerful woman in the world, although she is given credit for having avoided any form of ostentation. She chose for herself a kind of ‘uniform,’ consisting of a simple, yet smartly-cut jacket, in a variety of colors and fabrics. The simplicity of her clothing is well suited to the policy of austerity that she promoted in Europe and to the period of economic crisis that marked her political ascendancy.

Hillary Clinton stands in the same vein, the only woman to have attempted the transition from the role of first lady to that of White House candidate, and holding the position of secretary of state in the first Obama presidency. She has always suffered the secondary role that politics attaches to first ladies, and she has not aspired to emulate other famous examples (like Jackie Kennedy), but rather to carve out an autonomous space from that of her husband. The many changes in Hillary Clinton’s dress code revealed her dress rehearsal for the presidency, an experience shared by Segolene Royale during the political events related to her former husband François Hollande.

Being a first lady actually provides one with a privileged area of experimentation in power dressing. The American first ladies indisputably dominate the scene, even by virtue of the special powers granted to their role alongside American presidents. With the exception of Hillary Clinton, the American first ladies have played a political role of reflecting the attributes of the president and because of this they have had to create a dress code that would define their role while not competing with that of their more famous spouses.

Jackie Kennedy and Michelle Obama are examples of how American first ladies have shown innovation in this role. With the first one, fashion and power dressing were combined and she became a universally recognized style icon. The young age of the presidential couple, and its novelty, was highlighted in the dress codes used: young, trendy, informal (many photos in sportswear), symbolic of the new frontier and not afraid to challenge the dictates of puritan, conservative America.

Michelle Obama restored this tradition—recognizable in the sleeveless dresses worn with pearl necklaces and a golf sweater, which traditionally belong to WASP America—but she reinterpreted it in her own way, through the use of bright colors, synonymous with exuberance and a lack of restraint.

One of the factors that has made power dressing successful is the gradual assertion of economic might and the presence of women at the top of economic and financial institutions, such as Christine Lagarde at the IMF and Janet Yellen at the Federal Reserve. These examples show how economic power dressing does not allow too much variation: dark, pinstriped business suit (see Christine Lagarde) with very few feminine accessories and frivolities, in order to suggest reliability.

Another case worthy of interest in the power dressing landscape is that of women holding institutional roles in Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. It is a recent phenomenon, yet it deserves attention since it is accompanied by a new political landscape in these areas of the world as a result of the process of decolonization. The subject is of great relevance and calls into question aspects of *postcolonial* literature and the way that power relationships between Europe and the rest of the world have been built over centuries.

The rise of non-European power dressing dates back to the Swadeshi movement launched by Gandhi as an integral part of the Indian independence movement (Gonsalves 2010). This paved the way for a process of economic renewal aimed at promoting the autonomy of the Indian people. Since independence, India has been governed for more than fifty years by a political dynasty with two women as landmarks—Indira Gandhi and her daughter-in-law Sonja—who tied their political story to the sari. The same can be said for the political experience of the Pakistani leader Benazir Bhutto

(assassinated in 2007) and the Burmese leader Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1991.

The same path has been mirrored in the recent past by some countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, marked by the rise to power of women like the President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 together with Tawakkul Karman and Leymah Gbowee, and the President of Malawi Joyce Banda, just to mention the main ones. Again, their rise to power has coincided with the disposal of Western clothes and the renewal of local dress.

This process is not free from contradictions as seen in the ‘modernity-fashion vs. tradition-custom clash,’ which has characterized the history of fashion (Calefato 2011). The decolonization process and, in particular, the contribution to the discussion on the subject of *postcolonial* studies have added important elements for understanding the relationship between fashion and modernity in a global context (Segre Reinach 2011), at the same time highlighting the need to overcome not only the male, but also the Western perspective on power dressing.

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BLURRING THE LINE:
FASHION AND MASCULINITY,
FROM THE ‘GREAT RENUNCIATION’
TO THE METROSEXUAL

FEDERICA PERAZZINI

“Commercially... it makes perfect sense to maintain that metrosexuals are all straight. After all, advertising is trying to persuade as many men as possible to relax their sphincter muscles, cooing in their ear that there’s nothing gay about being f***ed by corporate consumerism. Which, ironically, is true”
—Mark Simpson.

By encompassing the concepts of hygiene, privacy, and comfort into middle-class daily life, “the Long Eighteenth Century” redefined the ideals of decency, modesty, and delicacy, turning them into the very fabric of bourgeois elegance. Later on, the early industrial period incorporated this model into a new form of gender-differentiated fashion that mirrored the idea of a society, as well as one of modern individuality, which was to be secured on the non-negotiable principle of separate dress-codes: properly masculine or properly feminine. While men welcomed the fashion neutrality of the bourgeois suit, women indulged in the most peculiar crazes and clothing trends; a clear-cut divergence that Georg Simmel explained in terms of affirmation for men of and submission for women to the discourse of patriarchal power. However, if it is true that modernity has consistently linked power practices to men’s indifference towards clothes, it is undeniable that the whole of the twentieth century has put such an assumption to the hardest test.

Since when have men become more and more concerned with their appearance? How have they developed an awareness, if not an outright addiction to fashion? In what follows I will attempt to answer these questions by giving an account of the relationship between fashion and gender in the light of such phenomena as the rise of youth culture, the sexual revolution, and the advent of branding and its symbolic dictatorship. The ultimate aim of

this article is to analyze the way the fashion market has blurred the lines between genders, queering the perception of contemporary masculinity, from the first countercultures to the recent *metrosexual* homoerotic imagery of the male fashion victim.

As a cultural field of “performed gender roles,” fashion reflects the process of “adopting symbols to provide the individual an identity relative to others,” (Zizek 1989) thus denoting the massive gender-demarkation that has developed since the early years of the industrial age as an inter-relational clothing-determined phenomenon. In Victorian England, the female stereotype of the “Angel of the House” was literally shaped through the introduction of hoops, crinolines, and constrictive corsets intended to provide women with an aura of submissive virginal seductiveness. At the same time, the use of such devices—as uncomfortable as they were— resulted in the creation of an oxymoronic imagery of idle unmoving women, sufficiently well kept by their husbands to have attendants perform domestic duties for them, but also sufficiently strong and imposing to run a household and bear a large family. Concerning the male stance, one of the greatest and most commonly recognized turning points in the history of menswear is the Great Masculine Renunciation. Coined in 1929 by John Carl Fluegel, a psychologist and activist of the London Men’s Dress Reform Party, this popular catchphrase highlights men’s progressive denial of adornment in favor of the new, muted sobriety of the three-piece suit.

The history of such a peculiar fad has been seen as an example of normative construction in the cultural discourse of masculinity (Kuchta 2002) and dates back to the seventeenth century, when Charles II established the three-piece suit as the new sartorial standard of gentility for Restoration man. English aristocrats, at that time almost totally submerged in the industrious ranks of country gentry, began to wear simplified clothes linked to their work of managing country estates, enriching the age-old relationship between fashion and status with another principle: occupational functionality (Kuchta 2002) Adapting men’s fashion to men’s professional activities in the public sphere would soon prove to be fundamental to male abandonment of wearing jewelry, heels, bright colors and flamboyant fabrics in favor of a more sober, homogeneous and, most importantly, less French outfit. Over the decades, suits darkened their hues and underwent a variety of alterations in shapes and styles so as to finally become the unofficial yet hegemonic uniform of the virtuous Victorian gentleman. The very essence of the nineteenth century ideal of masculinity, a construct based on a series of self-imposed moral attributes such as self-reliance, a sense of duty, and conformity, was embroidered by the gloomy bureaucratizing puritanism of the Victorian suit.

Interestingly enough, although the Victorian ideology of manliness rejected fashion as a constitutive value per se, it continued to use fashion, even in its most anonymous garments, as the defining and legitimating force for the urban gentleman. Such a hypocritical disinterest in style by the heteronormative establishment rapidly transformed the notions of fashion and etiquette into the most outrageous counter-cultural weapon of the twentieth century. In the name of man's rediscovery and re-appropriation of beauty, the emerging oppositional dress-trends inaugurated by the Pre-Raphaelites and pursued through Japonism, the Greek Revival, Dandyism, and the creations of the Omega Workshops, attempted to make stylistic changes to male apparel, freeing it from the sombre restrictions of utilitarian functionality while simultaneously endowing it with an unprecedented character of aesthetic hedonism. The impact of such an aesthetic turn in the history of menswear, as well as in the history of fashion in general, would soon prove to be massive. In fact, by allowing themselves to embrace fashion in all its mutable manifestations, men dissolved Georg Simmel's axiom on the "unfaithfulness of the male sex towards the outward form of change" (Simmel 1904, 130–55), thus implicitly accepting the loss of their power over women. For if power had always been signified in terms of manly indifference to clothes, the newly fashioned man could now be dangerously equalized to woman in his excessive interest in how he looked (Roper and Tosh 1991).

But why did men become more and more concerned with their appearance? The cultural shock generated by the experience of the First World War contributed to finalizing the process of annihilation of a hegemonic, monolithic ideal of Western manliness, disjointed from beauty and fashion. In fact, having assumed masculinity to be a mobile, gender inter-related concept, it is no surprise that the boundaries of both sexual identity and sexual orientation were heavily re-styled in the twenties when women's access to the public sphere, resulting from their previous employment in all sorts of professional activities during the war years, triggered an irreversible process of emancipation and deconstruction of traditional gender standards. With the rise of youth cultures and the sexual revolution of the sixties, fashion ambiguities and androgynous vogues had reached such a peak that in September 1964 an article about London's street styles in *The Sunday Times* famously asked "Is that a boy, or is it a girl?" In less than a decade, the gaudy ashes of the peacock revolution became the powder keg of a movement that brought to light something long suppressed: the adventurous, politically radical, and culturally subversive sexuality soon encompassed under the label of "gay culture."

Quoting Carl Westphal's famous article of 1870 on "Contrary sexual sensations," Michel Foucault argued that the separation between homosexual and heterosexual identities did not emerge until the nineteenth century (Foucault 1976). Etymologically speaking, such a statement has been proven right since a certain sense of immorality and promiscuity was intrinsic in the word gay from the 1630s, if not since the time of Chaucer. The association with male homosexuality can be traced back in the phrase "gay cat," used in American English around 1893 and referring to "young hobos; someone who is new on the road or, also, a person who sometimes prostitutes himself." In addition, the Dictionary of American Slang reports that gay (as an adjective) has been used in this sense by homosexuals since at least the 1920s. It took around fifty years to witness the semantic assimilation of the above-mentioned young street tramps into queers, first recorded as a discriminative homosexual acceptance in 1971, transforming them into new social entities such as gay-communities.¹

In the early seventies, the emerging homosexual centers remained relatively small and geographically circumscribed to a set of urban areas purposely created to be recognized as distinctively gay. In such areas, the focal institutions were mainly baths, bars, and gyms: places where men could meet each other in sexualized contexts and where intimacy could be freely enjoyed and shared. In this scenario, a genuine gay-culture was discretely taking over, with its own styles, attitudes, and behaviors, attracting numerous industries to nourish this growing demographic group of new target customers: male homosexuals.² Such an identity appeared to be based on the extreme gender expression either overcompensating for male and female standards, thus overrunning the very limits of caricature and exaggeration, or blurring the lines of gender with more and more sex-undetermined fashion. In this frame, effeminate "queens" and hyper-masculine muscle men co-existed as two of the many faces of the same counterculture.

¹ A watershed event was the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York City. Following this event, gays and lesbians began adopting the militant street protest tactics used by anti-war and black power radicals to confront anti-gay ideology. Perhaps the zenith of this period was the 1973 decision by the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from the official list of mental disorders (Kaiser 1997).

² In 1990, J.E. Rigdon estimated the US homosexual market at 382 billion US Dollars. This is mainly because gay/lesbian consumers' income appears to be 60 percent higher than that of average heterosexuals. (Rigdon 1991). "Overcoming a deep-rooted reluctance, more firms advertise to gay community." *Wall Street Journal*, July 18, 1991. A further survey by The OpusComm Group in 2013 showed that, in addition to higher income and better education, homosexuals also appear to be trendier, showing higher brand affinity and fashion-consciousness than their heterosexual counterparts.

However, the abrupt spread of AIDS during the following decades constituted a massive threat to queer-culture and its commercialization. Out of the blue, average individuals who did not think they knew any gay people were confronted with friends, siblings, or loved ones who were actually dying of “the gay plague.” Suddenly, the closet was forced open resulting in an unexpectedly, as well as ironically, positive turning point in the history of the LGBT community.³ Gay people were not seen as mere victims of a disease, but as victims of social ostracism and discrimination, thus gaining wider support in their political fight both for a medical response to the plague along with a deeper acceptance of homosexuality in mainstream America (Altman 1986). A new discursive practice of awareness and inclusiveness between gays and straights began, pushing the boundaries of heteronormative discourse and this transformed the fashion-design conceptualization of gender from the original uniforming claims of unisex clothing to the newly branded masculinity of the metrosexual style.

As a postmodern construct of masculinity, the first coinage of the word “metrosexual” can be found in Mark Simpson’s well known 1994 essay. This appeared in *The Independent* magazine as a label for the urban, fashion-conscious young man increasingly concerned with the consumption of cosmetics and other beauty products. In this way, the metrosexuality phenomenon finds its roots in the practices of consumer capitalism where corporate groups enhance their profits by generating insecurity about consumers’ choices and bodies while offering them a solution through a particular brand. Toby Miller considers that the advent of metrosexuality was brought about by a political-economic shift in the labor market:

“The middle class US labor market now sees wage discrimination by beauty among men as well as among women, and major corporations frequently require executives to tailor their body shapes to the company ethos, or at least encourage employees to cut their weight in order to reduce healthcare costs to the employer” (Miller 2005).

In Miller’s perspective, metrosexuality is therefore linked to a progressive commodification of the male body due to the harshest occupational discrimination, evenly affecting men and women, and generated by the contemporary obsession of putting a stop to the natural ageing process. Beyond the commercial diktat of endless youth and beauty, David Coad explains that such a growing need for beautification and self-care in male

³ For a further exploration of the theme of political engagement by the LGBT community from the 80s on, see J. Kornak (2015).

urban professionals can be interpreted as an essential step toward the post-sexual revolution re-negotiation of power between the sexes:

“Metrosexuality is based on the idea that power can be shared between sexes, rather than be exclusively seen as a sign of virility or naturally pertaining to the male sex. Metrosexuality means that passivity can be shared by men and women rather than confused with femininity. It also implies a destigmatisation of homosexuality and a consequent decrease of homophobia, since homosexuality is blind to sexual orientation and privileges no single sexual identity. As well, the fact that metrosexuality can replace conventional categories of sexual orientation means that less attention is being paid to traditional binary opposition separating males into two discrete categories, heterosexual or homosexual” (Coad 2008).

By transforming the interest in skincare and blind loyalty to specific fashion brands into a more and more socially acceptable behavior for men of all sexual orientations, metrosexuality configures itself as the ultimate reflection of a post-modern consumption-driven discourse of masculinity: a walking wet dream for every advertiser in which sexual identity is no longer at stake.

“Metrosexuality is in fact the end of sexuality’. . . . [It] is utterly immaterial because the metrosexual has taken himself as his own love object and pleasure as his sexual aim. Desire in the metrosexual has been uncoupled, or at least irretrievably loosened, from reproduction and gender and reattached to commercial signs. Adverts. Images. Icons. Brands” (Simpson, 2003).

Blurring the lines of sexual identity while obliterating the issue of sexual orientation: this is how the new metropolitan male constructs himself in and through fashion consumption.

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THE ICONOGRAPHY OF WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY: ABY WARBURG, MEDIA, ERVING GOFFMAN AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

FEDERICA MARIA MARRELLA

Introduction

Gender is not something biological, but a reality built up by culture and context; by performances and history (Butler 2013). This is linked to what George Gerbner says about the vital role played by the media in contemporary society in building narratives: “today television tells most of the stories to most of the people, most of the time” (Gerbner 1993). The power of representation and the story told in images are also exploited to construct the identity of the observing subject. In all this, fashion, luxury and advertising play an important role.

This study is partly an outcome of my MA research on *Bodies, faces, eyes and feelings. A path in the Italian film poster of the Second World War Years* (Marrella 2012). This analysis highlighted how the iconographic method (Gombrich 1970) can be used not only in the study of classic and historical art, but across different artistic languages too. What also emerged is that some motifs and signs have been repeatedly used in advertising posters and these are examples of the construction of gender in relationships between men and women and female identity. My research findings show how, along with the well-known Warburg’s Nymph, other iconographic motifs have come to the fore. These include the *Pietas*, *The Kiss*, the *Venus*, the *Ecstasy* and the *Crucifixion*. Indeed, in art, iconographic motifs may develop in unpredictable ways.

Paradoxically, fashion photography for advertising campaigns is the form of communication that most closely relates to the iconographic motifs and signs of the past. Although obsessed with the idea of the changing seasons, fashion photography becomes the reassuring epitome of immutability.

Theoretical issues

This study analyzes the representation of women in the advertising campaigns of the most important Italian luxury brands during the period 2010–2015. It focuses on three basic areas of study: 1) gender studies; 2) iconography and art history; 3) advertising and fashion photography. With regard to the field of gender studies, the current literature mainly adopts a post-feminism perspective in analyzing the representation of women in society and the power of advertising. These topics are treated, for instance, by Butler (2013), Capecchi (2006, 2011), and Bordo (1997). With regard to the theme of iconography, the cardinal texts are those written by Ernst H. Gombrich on Aby Warburg (1970) and by Georges Didi-Huberman (2004; 2006; 2011). Concerning the iconography of the female body in art history, it is certainly important to mention *Representing Women* by Linda Nochlin (1999). With regard to the study of iconography in advertising, the main reference text is *Gender Advertisements* by Erving Goffman (1979) and other studies related to it (Kang 1997; Bell, Marko, 2002; Gill 2003; Lindner 2004). Finally, concerning fashion photography and advertising, the literature focuses on the presence of different female bodies: the *doll body* (Olivares 2014), the *diva woman*, the *exotic woman* and the *androgynous woman* (Muzzarelli 2013), as well as the so-called “Fashion Bodies” (Grandi 2001). The fundamental works by Gilles Lipovetsky (1989; 1997; 2007) and Eugénie Shinkle (2008) are also a precious source of information.

Objectives

The main objective of this research was to study the representation of women in the advertising campaigns of Italian *luxury prêt-à-porter* brands (the wear-section) in the years 2010–2015. I have started from a survey made by Pambianco in 2014 about the high turnover Italian brands (Pambianconews 2014). I decided to work on advertising campaigns because of the force of their aesthetics—as well as their iconographic research and the level of investment in leading photographers, scenic construction and study of the image—in comparison to editorials or outline articles in magazines. Furthermore, in *haute couture* and *luxury*, the connection between art, avant-garde and fashion is much stronger compared to the brands of *pret-à-porter* and *fast fashion*. As Lipovetsky claims, *haute couture* is like a two-faced building, not just economic and bureaucratic, but also aesthetic and artistic (1989, 102). Another goal was that of combining the iconographic method with a new object of research—fashion photography. I have investigated possible new ways of describing the female body, beyond the already recognized representations.

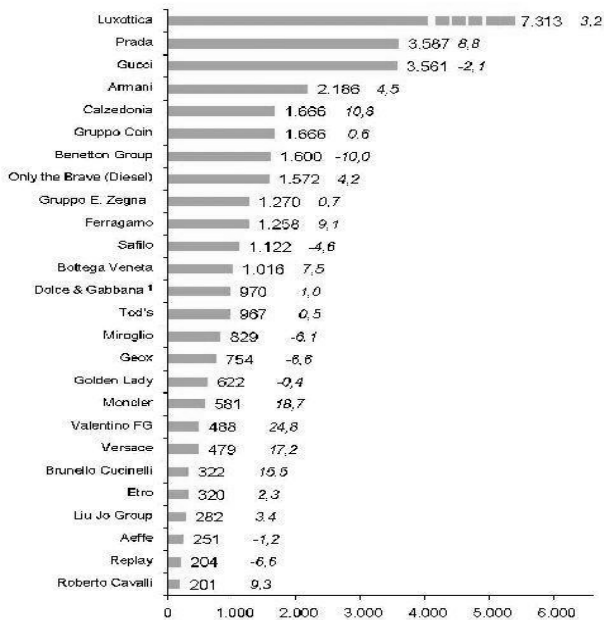
Finally, a key objective has been that of considering the connection between society and imagery. As stated by Maria Luisa Frisa: “very often fashion images succeed, better than all essays on history, sociology, or anthropology, in being the perfect, universal synthesis of the *zeitgeist*” (Frisa et al 2005, 152). The “feminization of luxury” treated by Lipovetsky (2007) explains how the female subject is the first spectator and so often the main subject of advertising campaigns (Lipovetsky 1989).

Methodology



Tab. 1

Principali Gruppi Italiani della moda FATTURATO E CRESCITA % (valori in milioni di €)



1 L'esercizio fiscale 2013/14 è il primo esercizio completamente privo di ricavi dalle vendite a marchio D&G, la cui ultima stagione di commercializzazione è stata la Primavera/Estate 2012 (esercizio fiscale 2012/13).

Graph 1. Pambianco's graph (Pambianconews 2014).

I created a corpus of images by examining the official photographic campaigns of the eight major Italian *luxury prêt-à-porter* brands from 2010 to 2015. I have only analyzed brands of luxury clothing, following the order proposed in Pambianco's graph (2014): *Gucci, Prada, Giorgio Armani, Ferragamo, Bottega Veneta, Dolce e Gabbana, Versace* and *Roberto Cavalli*. This analysis focuses on women's representation between academic art and fashion photography, in order to fill the artistic gap found in studies on contemporary fashion photography.

I selected one image from each campaign, making a total of eighty-eight images. Concerning the advertising campaigns, I consulted the following blogs and websites: Vogue Italia, Pinterest, Fashion Times, Very Cool, PourFemme, Stylosophy, AIFemminile, PhiloandPhil, IndieReader, Bloglo. I also consulted the following fashion magazines: *Elle* (Italy), March 2014; *Vogue* (Italy), February 2014; *Vogue* (Italy), March 2014.

Analysis and discussion

My analysis focused on the archetypes and fashion bodies in fashion photography and fashion advertising, as described by Muzzarelli and Grandi. These included: the "three female archetypes" or "fashion icons" in fashion photography proposed by Muzzarelli—the *diva woman*, the *exotic woman* and the *androgynous woman* (Muzzarelli 2013); and the eight "fashion bodies" proposed by Grandi—1) the natural and the artificial body, 2) the blurred and fragmented body, 3) the skeletal body, 4) the gender-ambiguous body, 5) the altered body, 6) the *body-thing* and mutant body, 7) the virtual body, 8) the dissolved body (Grandi 2001). I searched for these representations in my corpus of images. Then I searched for new female images, starting from the female iconography of art. In Tables 1, 2 and 3 we find Muzzarelli's types, Grandi's fashion bodies, archetypes and, finally, the new representations and fashion bodies that I found in the first three Italian brands from Pambianco's research: *Prada, Gucci* and *Giorgio Armani*. In Table 2, we can see the general situation of female representation in these three brands—the *femme fatale* and the *androgynous woman* are the two archetypes that all the three brands have in common. Gucci and Prada also share many representations in common, including: the *ecstatic woman*, the *skeletal*, the *virtual*, the *multicultural* and the *laid-back body*. I will explain here my new representations, found using the iconographic method (Gombrich 1970).

In Prada, I detected the *ecstatic woman* and the *harmless woman*. As regards my new fashion bodies, I found the *multicultural body*, the *laid-back body* and the *curved body*. In terms of the *ecstatic woman*, this is the kind of

woman represented in the seventeenth century—the idea of a woman who feels a spiritual and physical ecstasy and shows this ecstasy on her face. This represents a kind of relationship with man or God, centered on desire: a real relationship, a real desire for pleasure and love, as we can see in the two examples of the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa* by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and *Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy* by Caravaggio (Figure 1). I saw this kind of woman in the Summer-Spring (SS) 2010 and in the Winter-Fall (WF) 2010–11 campaigns. The *harmless woman* that I analyzed in the SS 2015 campaign comes from the image of a sleeping woman: harmless, weak, laid-back, gazed upon by a hidden, voyeuristic, male gaze. This kind of representation is central to that famous and terrible painting by Heinrich Füssli in 1781, *The Nightmare*, where we witness a sort of rape scene: the rape is embodied by the monster on her stomach and male sexual strength is epitomized in the image of a horse—the woman remains asleep. This kind of representation is linked to the *laid-back body*, as also seen in the *Danae woman*. The *multicultural body* is different to the archetype of the *exotic woman* described by Muzzarelli (2013): the *multicultural body* visualizes the presence of different cultures and skin colors in the same situation and black or Oriental women are not represented in exotic and far away places. Here, the women are different; they are nearer to our globalised, contemporary and multicultural society. The *curved body* reminds us of the fetal position: a position of subordination and dependence. We find it in the AI 2013–14 campaign. Among female archetypes, I would underline the *femme fatale* model in the SS 2012 campaign and the AI 2014–15 campaign. The *femme fatale* is a frequently examined archetype in the history of art, particularly in the nineteenth century: she is the woman who brings with her *Eros* and *Thanatos*; *love* and *death*. As we see in these campaign images, the model has an arrogant and authoritative attitude. It is framed from the bottom up, to emphasize female power. The immediate reference is that of *Judith* by Gustav Klimt (Figure 2). It is interesting to note how the “scepter of power” carried by Judith—the head of Holofernes, the man she has killed—in this contemporary image is changed into a bag: an accessory that confers wealth and power onto the contemporary career woman. This is a woman who carries awe, confusion, attraction and repulsion.



Figure 1. Caravaggio, *Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy*, 1606, source: Wikipedia.org. 2008.



Figure 2. G. Klimt, *Judith*, 1917, source: Wikipedia.org. 2012.

Table 1. Prada

Muzzarelli's Fashion Icons	Grandi's Fashion Bodies	Archetypes	Added Representations and Fashion Bodies
Androgynous woman	Skeletal body, virtual body	Femme fatale	Ecstatic woman, harmless woman, multicultural body, laid-back body, curved body

In Gucci I found the images of the *ecstatic woman*, the *Danae woman*, the *double woman* and the *cozy woman*. In terms of new fashion bodies, I found the *multicultural body* and the *laid-back body*. I detected the *Danae woman* in SS 2010, in WF 2010–11 and in the WF 2012–13 campaigns. The story of Danae, in Greek myth, is that of unwitting congress with Zeus, in the form of a golden rain penetrating her womb, as she is sleeping and unconscious of this event. This marks a strong difference between the *ecstatic woman* and the *Danae woman*: the *ecstatic woman* engages with a love/spiritual world of ecstasy and desire; the *Danae woman* is submissive. Many examples of the iconography of Danae can be found in the history of art, for example, in the work of Artemisia Gentileschi and Léon François Comerre. The *double woman* corresponds to a representation of women as mysterious. I found it in the SS 2013 campaign. This kind of representation may derive from the imagery of *Sacred and Profane Love* by Titian (Figure 3): two women, two kinds of personality and beauty that become perfect if joined together. This portrayal also comes from ways of representing women in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, like the *Tahitian Women* painted by Paul Gauguin, or the *Two friends* by Tamara De Lempicka. There are two possible ways of reading this iconography: a way that explains the contradiction in the female personality, or a way that is linked to that idea of the “clone” and “sameness” described by Isabelle Loring Wallace (Shinkle 2008) as similar beauty, little differences, in a world that wishes all women to be equal to themselves. I detected the *cozy woman* represented in the SS 2013 and WF 2013–14 campaigns. This representation has a double and controversial key to

interpretation. The faces of these women remind us of that of the *femme fatale*, being strong and determined, but the bodies remind us of the typical female iconography of twentieth-century female nudes. Those nudes narrate a morbid relationship with the painter (like Egon Schiele's *Female nude*, Figure 4), or a symbolic rape (M. Duchamp, *Etant Donnés*): a female body that is open and welcoming, but in a morbid and violent way.



Figure 3. Titian, *Sacred and Profane Love*, 1514, source: Wikipedia.org. 2011.



Figure 4. E. Schiele, *Female Nude*, 1910, source: Wikipedia.org. 2005.

Table 2. Gucci

Muzzarelli's Fashion Icons	Grandi's Fashion Bodies	Archetypes	Added Representations and Fashion Bodies
Androgynous woman	Skeletal body, virtual body	femme fatale	Ecstatic woman, Danae woman, double woman, cozy woman, multicultural body, laid-back body

In Giorgio Armani, I found the *Delilah woman*, the *faceless woman* and the *portrait woman*. I also found the new fashion body of the *body in motion*. The *Delilah woman* is a strong female representation that I detected in WF 2010-11 campaign: the man lies on the stomach of the woman, as in the iconography of Delilah, particularly of the seventeenth century. This kind of iconography is the opposite to the one used so much in Italian posters from the Second World War: that of the *crucifixion* (Marrella 2012). In *crucifixion* iconography, the woman lies at the man's feet, praying for mercy and love. Here the situation is the opposite: the man, like Samson, has lost his strength, which has been cut from him by the woman (as Delilah cut off his hair). Here I offer the most famous example from the history of art as an example: *Samson and Delilah* by Pieter Paul Rubens (Figure 5). I would like also to underline the use of the color red as a symbol of power, passion and violence. The *faceless woman*, detected in the SS 2014 and WF 2012-13 campaigns, is a common female representation in contemporary fashion imagery. We can see a link to the portrait of Beyoncé Knowles by Pierre Debusschere for the *CR Fashion Book* in 2014, but also in the fashion show by Martin Margiela in 2013. This iconographic representation comes from the metaphysical painting of Giorgio De Chirico and his *Disquieting Muses*. The two mannequins in this famous painting are not "Muses"—they are women. It may also come from the imagery of René Magritte's representations and from the many photographs by Erwin Blumenfeld in 1938-40, like *Le Pudeur* (Fig. 6). These kinds of women are represented without an identity and, above all, without a voice to speak their thoughts: they are without breath. Finally, the *portrait woman* is linked to that of the *body in motion*. The *portrait woman* is a woman who knows she is being gazed at, unlike the voyeuristic, hidden male gaze in the *harmless woman*. Here the woman wishes to be looked at and

desired. I found it in the SS 2015 campaign. This kind of iconography comes from female portraits of the fifteenth century, for instance, those by Leonardo Da Vinci and Jan Vermeer. Above all, it reminds us of the portraits of rich women by Giovanni Boldini in the nineteenth century. The *body in motion* is generally linked to the *portrait woman*: a particular movement of the neck makes us think of a woman who turns at the call of the photographer/viewer, but also of that portrait of a woman first realized by Richard Avedon in the 1960s. During those years, Richard Avedon photographed women *doing* something: running, walking, dancing. This woman is presented in an active way rather the *Mannequin* so comprehensively described by Roland Barthes—she is a woman who is *alive*.



Figure 5. P. P. Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, 1609–10, source: Wikipedia.org. 2013.

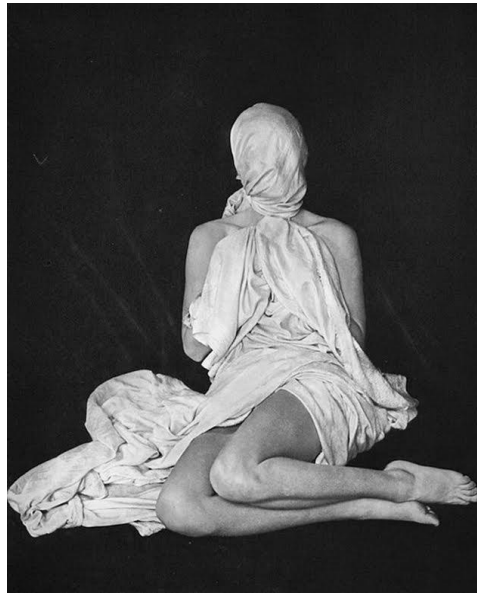


Figure 6. E. Blumenfeld, *Le pudeur*, 1938, source: Pinterest.com. 2012.

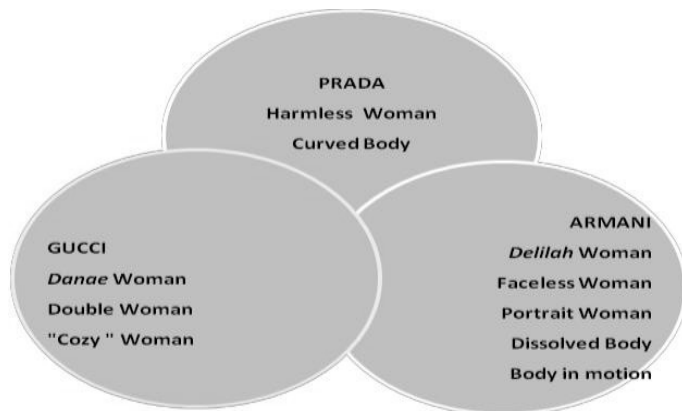
Table 3. Giorgio Armani

Muzzarelli's Fashion Icons	Grandi's Fashion Bodies	Archetypes	Added Representations and Fashion Bodies	
Androgynous woman	Dissolved body	Femme fatale	<i>Delilah</i> faceless portrait	woman, woman, woman, body in motion

In Table 4, we can see the general situation of female representation in these three brands: the *femme fatale* and the *androgynous woman* are the two archetypes common to all three brands. Gucci and Prada share many

representations in common, including: the *ecstatic woman*, the *skeletal*, the *virtual*, the *multicultural* and the *laid back body*.

Table 4.



Conclusions

The first hypothesis of interpretation

After having analyzed these campaigns, I can underline one general conclusion: what I have found is a *schizophrenic* representation of women—a portrait of a *dissociated* woman. Firstly, we can observe a constant contrast between representations of fashion bodies and archetypes. Some of these are powerful and emancipated ones—the *androgynous woman*, the *femme fatale*, the *ecstatic woman*, the *Delilah* woman, the *cozy woman*, the *double woman*, the *portrait woman*, and the *multicultural body*. In contrast, there are also traditional, weak and passive ones—the *Danae woman*, the *harmless woman*, the *faceless woman*, the *cozy woman*, the *double woman*, the *laid-back body*, the *skeletal body*, the *curved body*, and the *virtual body*. These representations present a confused and conflicting identity of contemporary women: they represent a fragmented woman.

Secondly, this dissociated woman is the result of representations, archetypes and fashion bodies that are themselves contradictory. The *cozy woman* and the *double woman* are both representations that can be read in a double way. At first sight, the *skeletal body* and the *androgynous woman* are both powerful representations; however, we realize that to become powerful a woman has to lose weight, her instincts (Bordo 1997), her femininity, and

reduce her body. Finally, the *femme fatale* is the contradictory archetype *par excellence*: she is a woman who carries *love* and *death* with her, *Eros* and *Thanatos*, like the (in)famous Judith. This reminds us of the logic of Neototalitarianism, as described by Nello Barile: “the desire to be what you cannot be, without giving up any of the options that life gives to you” (2008, 63–64). This *represented woman* wishes to be everything, but often this is contradictory and thus everything may also be the same as nothing.

Preliminary results and future perspectives

I found a strong link between the iconography of historicized art and the iconography of contemporary fashion photography. I have adopted a combined methodology for the study of this imagery, using Aby Warburg’s and Erving Goffman’s studies of advertising campaigns, and studying them as both art and advertising. This analysis has also revealed that female representations are greater in number than those listed by Muzzarelli (2013) and also extend beyond the fashion bodies of Grandi (2001). There are new experiments and new female representations in contemporary *luxury prêt-à-porter* advertisements, which display close connections between the worlds of fashion, literature, art, cinema, social history and music.

Finally, I wish to suggest a social link between imagery and contemporary society. A repeated archetype can become a translation of female identity in real life. With the recurrence and the democratization of the digital image (Barile 2012) there is great power in these constructions of the female ideal. Art may have lost its aesthetic *aura* (Benjamin 1936), but not its iconic power. As also stated by Maria Luisa Frisa: “so fashion photography is the hybrid icon of the present, an image made of all other possible images, remote and aggressive at the same time” (Frisa et al, 2005, 152). It is my intention to continue this analysis with reference to other advertising campaigns of the same period, highlighting an even greater diversity of representations and perspectives on the female image.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

LITERATURE, ART AND SPECTACLE

IDENTITY THROUGH FASHION IN THE FRENCH NOVEL OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ANTONELLA DI SPALATRO

French literature of the second half of the nineteenth century was deeply influenced by the social changes transforming society, especially the advent of the bourgeoisie with its commercial successes and failures and the triumph of capitalism after the French Revolution of 1789. Novelists, such as Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) and Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), began to distance themselves from romantic subjectivism, with its self-introspection and egotism, and focused on the faithful and realistic reproduction of life; this shift was also influenced by the theoretical positivism of the philosopher Auguste Comte (1798–1857). In their attempts to be faithful to reality, as well as concentrating on the description of physical traits, mirroring contemporary scientific studies on physiognomy and physiology, they gave great importance to description of the clothes, hairstyles and accessories of their characters, so as to give the reader a complete description of them. They revealed a great deal about fashion trends of the time and made connections between physical appearance and psychology.

Emile Zola (1840–1902), followed in their footsteps, going further by intrinsically connecting literature to science. He created his literary works by using an experimental method, similar to that used in the natural sciences; he believed that, like a doctor or biologist, the novelist must proceed by observation and experimentation, giving importance to both the physiology and psychology of one's characters. A writer was to act as an objective, scientific observer by setting his characters in lifelike situations and studying them as if they were human guinea pigs. "Vice and virtue are products like vitriol and sugar" claimed the French historian and critic Hippolyte Taine (1828–93) whose thought, alongside that of Comte, deeply influenced Zola's. Taine claimed the existence of three external factors as capable of influencing

the life of everyone: race, historical moment and environment¹—a sort of external determinism that ruled each individual act so as to limit people's free will.

In short, exteriority became a key word for these three authors and fashion and style were treated by them as visible projections of the social dynamism that was enervating society. All of them knew these matters well, being bourgeois themselves, and they were capable of treating these matters competently and exhaustively. While Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert gave clothes an essentially descriptive function and considered them to be an exterior projection of the psychology of their characters, Zola assigned them a more complex role by transforming them into real symbols of social identification, not only in terms of the new bourgeois code, but also in the representations of the most popular and squalid reality. This affirmed that everything could converge in a literary work. In particular, the accuracy of Emile Zola in faithfully reproducing all aspects of the social environment led him to become a faithful witness to the urban changes transforming and modernizing Paris in his day. He also bore witness to the shift from the gloomy, old boutiques of the past to the radiant and glittering atmosphere of the first crowded department stores (*les grands magasins*).

Specifically, this paper focuses on an analysis of significant excerpts taken from some of these bourgeois novels: *La maison du chat-qui-pelote* (1830), *Eugénie Grandet* (1833), and *Père Goriot* (1835) by Balzac; *Madame Bovary* (1857) by Flaubert; and *La Curée* (1871), *Nana* (1880) and *Au Bonheur des Dames* (1883) by Zola.

Starting with Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, the detailed description of Madame Bovary's wedding day reveals a great deal about the symbolism of clothes and fashion. Emma is an ambitious daydreamer who marries the humble country doctor Charles Bovary. He is simple, clumsy, and with no ambition—totally different to her. She is obsessed with luxury and desires to belong to high society; she starts adulterous affairs with charming men and lives beyond her means in order to escape the banality and emptiness of provincial life. The gap between her romantic ideals and country life, as well as her alienation from her husband, has been clear since their wedding day: this is shown in the difficulty she encounters when proceeding awkwardly along the country road towards the church while wearing an unsuitable wedding dress, too long and sophisticated for the occasion:

“La robe d’Emma, trop longue, traînait un peu par le bas; de temps à autre, elle s’arrêtait pour la tirer, et alors délicatement, de ses doigts gantés, elle

¹ He actually used the French words “race,” “milieu,” and “moment.”

enlevait les herbes rudes avec les petits dards des chardons, pendant que Charles, les mains vides, attendait qu'elle eût fini" (Flaubert 1951, 350).

Although he is next to her, Charles does not know how to help her through the *impasse* of the wedding dress and this continues during their *ménage* until her suicide, when Charles helplessly attends her agonizing death after swallowing arsenic. It is as if this first episode of their relationship portrays her as already trapped by marriage, anticipating the deeper *impasse* in which she becomes increasingly entangled until death.

Similar mechanisms can be found in Balzac, who was a great observer of the customs of his time and skillful in turning descriptions of clothing to his narrative needs. As a journalist he wrote articles for the fashion press.² Among his treatises on the subject, the most important one, although incomplete, is *Traité de la vie élégante*, which was dedicated to the male universe and published in 1830. Perhaps the most representative theme of the book is that: "society expresses itself through clothing." In his novels, clothes can add important information about the psychology of characters. In *Eugénie Grandet* the clothing of the male protagonist, a proverbially tight-fisted miser, is used to emphasize his vice: he has not varied his clothes for years, wearing, in all weather conditions, thick woolen stockings, a large brown coat, a velvet waistcoat, a black tie, a Quaker's hat, thick gloves, and stout shoes tied with leather thongs. His wife and daughter—the Eugénie Grandet of the title—live in a state of near total subjugation to this man and their lack of independence is also revealed by the description of their clothing, which is described in detail for the mother, but almost absent for the daughter. Madame Grandet is always in her greenish Levantine³ dress, with a shawl on her shoulders, a straw hat and a black-silk apron. Concerning the daughter, it is just said that every year her mother assigns her one dress for the winter and one for the summer, but neither the fabric nor the color are specified. The girl discovers the importance of dressing with care only when she realizes that she is in love with his Parisian cousin, Charles, and assumes, for the first time, an attitude of insubordination towards her father, giving her beloved all the money that her father had meant for her. This is a moment of revelation: her discovery of love is characterized by the unusual care she takes in the cleanliness of her person and attention to her dressing, in order to look attractive in a fresh and tidy outfit:

² Five articles appeared in *La Mode* from October 2–6, 1830.

³ The Levantine was made of silk of low quality, which was usually used to make linings and came from the East (the Levant).

“Le moment de voir clair aux choses d’ici bas était arrivé pour Eugénie. Matinale comme toutes les filles de province, elle se leva de bonne heure, fit sa prière, et commença l’œuvre de sa toilette, occupation qui désormais allait avoir un sens [...] Elle mit des bas neufs et ses plus jolis souliers. Elle se laça droit, sans passer d’œillet. Enfin souhaitant, pour la première fois de sa vie, de paraître à son avantage, elle connut le bonheur d’avoir une robe fraîche, bien faite, et qui la rendait attrayante.”

Balzac lived in Paris and believed that only the fashion of the capital could be considered truly *à la mode*:

“Paris et les parisiens sont les seuls détenteurs de la mode et du goût dans La Comédie Humaine, et ce constat prend souvent la forme d’une collision douloureuse entre Paris et la Province. Tous les élégants et les élégantes de l’œuvre sont parisiens et leur enseignement a une grande valeur” (Marzel 2005, 4).

In *Eugénie Grandet*, the gap between city fashion and country style is personified by the contrast between the young, elegant Parisian Charles and his provincial relatives, including his young cousin Eugénie:

“Charles, qui tombait en province pour la première fois, eut la pensée d’y paraître avec la supériorité d’un jeune homme à la mode, de désespérer l’arrondissement par son luxe, d’y faire époque, et d’y importer les inventions de la vie parisienne” (Baëzac 1976, 1055–1056).

In *Père Goriot*, the economic decline of the retired old merchant, once a famous *vermicellier*, is externalized by his physical decay (shrunken legs and cheeks covered with wrinkles) and by the low quality of his clothes: a frock-coat (*redingote*⁴) of coarse brown cloth, worn in all seasons, trousers of gray twill moleskin (*fustagno/fustian*), a waistcoat of cheap cotton, and ordinary corduroy pants. These take the place of the rich clothing that had marked his rise in the bourgeois pasta trade.

The bourgeois novels of Emile Zola attest to the standardization of male bourgeois dress: a process that started in the 1830s and culminated some decades after in the formalization of a dark, rigorous and austere dress with no frills or special decoration and completely different to the menswear of the *ancien régime*:

⁴ The French word *redingote*, which was a very popular item of clothing in the second half of nineteenth century, describes a typical bourgeois coat and comes from the contraction of two English words: *riding coat*.

“Progressivement, les étoffes chatoyantes, précieuses et travaillées (héritées de l’Ancien Régime) font place au drap; les teintes sombres et unies relayent les couleurs vives et bariolées. C’est le triomphe du noir, de la raideur, de l’austérité et de l’ascétisme de la tenue masculine, laquelle s’oppose au faste du paraître féminin. Le vêtement masculin civil se singularise par une sobriété et un dépouillement qui symbolisent un nouvel ordre économique et politique. L’extinction de couleurs et de la polychromie flamboyante des étoffes constitue, pour la bourgeoisie, l’expression vestimentaire de la nouvelle légitimité sociale. Peu à peu l’habit du bourgeois se distancie à la fois des parures aristocratiques et de la campagnole populaire” (Hubert 1984).

Male bourgeois dress was dark and consisted, essentially, of a pair of trousers, a shirt, a waistcoat and a frock coat (*redingote*). On several occasions in the novel *La Curée*, Zola describes men being metonymically absorbed by the dress they are wearing, transformed into “groupes de points noirs” walking, or “habits noirs” standing in conversation:

“Le grand renoncement masculine toucha son terme vers 1850 [...] effaçant progressivement les couleurs; limitant les matières, puis les formes, avec parfois des hésitations et des regains soudains de coquetterie masculine pour se terminer par l’adoption du complet-veston trois pièces, en drap simple et foncé. A l’opposé de ce mouvement vers la sobriété la plus stricte, la mode féminine s’est orientée vers une richesse et une sophistication qui atteindront leur comble avec le style tapissier des années 1870/80” (Marzel 2005, 7–9).

The dark sobriety of male dress contrasted to the refinement and luxury of female apparel, which was characterized by its richness of fabrics and patterns and the importance of accessories. Honoré de Balzac himself stressed the sobriety of male dress in his *Le traité de la vie élégante* stating that “la multiciplité des couleurs sera de mauvais goût.”

In *La Curée*, Zola devotes a lot of attention to descriptions of the various *mise* of the young protagonist Renée, beautifully dressed and equipped at evening parties. Her arrival on the scene during an important dinner, in particular, is described as if it were the *entrée* of a goddess and everything in her look contributes to a transformation of the girl into a new Venus: tulle and muslin,⁵ floating volant, precious English lace,⁶ garlands of ivy and violets:

⁵ The name *muslin* derives from the Indian port of Masulipatnam, known as Maisolos in ancient times. Its importation into Europe began and developed early in nineteenth century.

⁶ Zola is perhaps referring to a particular Flemish lace that the English government tried to produce in England in the second half of seventeenth century without success. Laces continued to arrive from Belgium, but secretly, as their import was considered

“Quand Renée entra, il y eut un murmure d’admiration. Elle était vraiment divine. Sur une première jupe de tulle, garnie, derrière, d’un flot de volants, elle portait une tunique de satin vert tendre, bordée d’une haute dentelle d’Angleterre, relevée et attachée par de grosses touffes de violettes ; un seul volant garnissait le devant de la jupe, où des bouquets de violettes, reliés par des guirlandes de lierre, fixaient une légère draperie de mousseline. Les grâces de la tête et du corsage étaient adorables, au-dessus de ces jupes d’une ampleur royale et d’une richesse un peu chargée. Découplée jusqu’à la pointe des seins, les bras découverts avec des touffes de violettes sur les épaules, la jeune femme semblait sortir toute nue de sa gaine de tulle et de satin, pareille à une de ces nymphes dont le buste se dégage des chênes sacrés.”

The contrast between male and female clothing can also be seen in the opening pages of the novel *Nana* where Parisian high society is at the theatre and waiting for the curtain. In the crowded *parterre* the black of men’s clothing is interspersed by the triumph of colors and brightness of female outfits: “C’étaient des signes d’appel, des froissements d’étoffe, un défilé de jupes et de coiffures, coupées par le noir d’un habit ou d’une redingote” (Zola 1964, 1102). From a socio-economic point of view it is as if the sobriety and darkness of male dress is intentionally contrasted with the frivolity of female dress as a sort of tacit agreement in a singular *jeu de role* where a woman displays the economic wealth of the family on her body, which is otherwise hidden by her partner’s ordinary *mise*:

“La tenue sévère des messieurs, le dédain des brillantes toilettes, l’abandon du paraître fastueux investissent la femme d’une fonction inédite; ne doit-elle pas, dans la splendeur de ses robes et l’opulence de son corps, montrer la puissance financière de celui qui l’entretient. Le bourgeois, dans son habit noir et étriqué, manifeste sa prospérité par l’intermédiaire de son épouse et/ou de sa maîtresse” (Hubert).

Living in the capital, Emile Zola devoted great attention to observing the deep transformations in the distribution and marketing of Parisian fashion and testifying to them in his novels: from the small, shady boutique, often described by Balzac in his novels of the 1830s, to the rise of the first glittering and sumptuous department stores (*les grands magasins*) on the left bank of the Seine to which he gave literary legitimacy in the novel *Au Bonheur des dames* (1883). The name of the store is announced in the title and it was modeled, in particular, on the real example of *Le Bon Marché* (1852), along with *Le Louvre* (1855), *Le Printemps* (1865), and *La*

illegal and too expensive. To avoid prohibition, laces started to figure as English, despite really being Flemish.

Samaritaine (1869). *Les Grands magasins*, with their breathtaking architecture, started to be built during the great urban transformation carried out by the prefect of Paris, Haussmann, from 1853 to 1870, and supported by the new laws on the free market that strengthened French capitalism. They marked the triumph of capitalism and the death of small business, and celebrated a new Paris that was modern and functional. Zola himself explains his intention of celebrating modernity in the preparatory notes to the novel: “Faire le poème de l’activité moderne ... aller avec le siècle, exprimer le siècle, qui est un siècle d’action et de conquête, d’effort dans tous les sens” (Zola). He opens *Le Bonheur des dames* with a detailed description of an old and crumbling boutique whose precariousness can be seen at once from its sign:

“Une boiserie, de la couleur de l’enseigne, d’un vert bouteille que le temps avait nuancé d’ocre et de bitume, ménageait, à droite et à gauche, deux vitrines profondes, noires, poussiéreuses, où l’on distinguait vaguement des pièces d’étoffe entassées. La porte, ouverte, semblait donner sur les ténèbres humides d’une cave” (Zola 1964, 393).

The old *draperie* is to be swallowed up by the enormous department store, *Le Bonheur des Dames*, recently opened in a triumph of lights and colors, where busy salesgirls help clients choose from among precious clothes, fabrics and accessories displayed all over, on shelves and in windows. To conclude, in the novels of Honoré de Balzac and Gustave Flaubert clothes, essentially, have a descriptive function and often reflect the psychology of characters, adding detail to the relationships between them. In Zola, fashion becomes a real symbol of social identification, in particular for the bourgeoisie. It has precise social and political connotations and in his bourgeois novels a real standardization of dress can be noticed. Furthermore, he describes the urban changes transforming and modernizing Paris in his day and, concerning fashion and lifestyle, he reports on the transition from the old, gloomy boutique of the early nineteenth century to the radiant and glittering atmosphere of the crowded department stores celebrated in *Au Bonheur des dames*.

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SECRET FREEDOM AND POLITICAL FREEDOM: DANDYISM, BYRONISM AND NIHILISM IN RUSSIAN POLITICAL THINKING DURING THE GOLDEN AGE AND SILVER AGE

ROBERTO VALLE

“For Maria Mercede, unique and ineffable, who fought for beauty and secret freedom—Today, on the day dedicated to the memory of Pushkin, I don’t want to discuss whether he was right or wrong to separate what we call personal freedom from what we call political freedom. We know he demanded a different ‘secret’ freedom” (Blok 1971).

This speech in defense of secret freedom was given by Alexander Blok on February 10, 1921 (the 84th anniversary of the death of Pushkin, forefather of Russian dandyism and Byronism). Blok was the prince of the poets of the Silver Age of Russian culture and last heir to the tumultuous aspirations and morbid concessions of Russian Byronism. He was the last descendant of a privileged bloodline which, in its contradictory unity, had consecrated itself as the demon of rapacious dissatisfaction and unknown aspirations; a bloodline that could either sink into the abyss of senseless, gloomy desperation or seize the wheel of history and go to the gallows in the name of freedom.

The soirée held in honor of Pushkin at the House of the Literati in St. Petersburg was attended by the poet Vladislav Khodasevich who, in *Nekropol’*, recalls Blok as a man who, wearing a black jacket on top of a white roll-neck jumper, looked like a fisherman. According to Khodasevich, Blok’s speech was deeply tragic, because he entrusted Russian society and literature with the task of safeguarding Pushkin’s final legacy: freedom, albeit *secret* freedom. Blok’s speech triggered an ovation by tearing down the fourth wall between the poet and the audience: Khodasevich considered it the tangible expression of “the radiant joy that always accompanies reconciliation with a loved one” (Chodasevič 1939).

The political freedom imposed by the Bolsheviks had granted the bureaucratic rabble the right to reinstate censorship in the name of *partijnost* (the Party spirit, Party-mindedness) and the “campaign to downsize culture” (as prophesized by Pushkin, “in the radiant future there will be no reduction in the number of cretins”).

Since 1905, Lenin’s ideoscopy had ratified the principle of *partijnost*, in which literature had to become part of the common cause of the proletariat. Lenin considered freedom of association to be superior to freedom of expression (*glasnost*); with the freedom to organize, the working class had to affirm its supremacy over freedom of thought and criticism. Lenin considered absolute freedom of expression to be a hypocritical attitude of bourgeois individualism because it was impossible to live in a society and yet be free of it: the freedom of a bourgeois artist was a form of corruption and prostitution hypocritically masking reliance on the power of money.

Blok believed that *partijnost* would give too much power to the bureaucratic rabble (no aristocracy and no working class) and was the extreme refuge of the miserable common man. Blok used to say: it is not very flattering to be included in the category of men, because men are profiteers, “trivial beings whose spirituality is firmly and irretrievably overshadowed by the useless cures of the world.” The bureaucratic rabble at the service of *partijnost* demanded that culture be useful. In his programmatic poem, *The Poet and the Crowd*, Pushkin wrote that the bureaucratic rabble wanted poets to “sweep the sidewalks” and “enlighten the hearts of their brethren.”

The Bolshevik Catilinarian orators had seized on the limitless (but always elusive) freedom theorized by the Russian revolutionary movement of the harsh nineteenth century (epitomized in Bakunin’s desperate anarchic nihilism and his passion for destruction) and had entrusted it to a rabble of proletarian Party officials. “Officials have always been the scum of the State” and Blok believed that if they began to steer culture in their own pre-established directions they would undermine secret freedom, stopping it from achieving its mysterious mission. Secret freedom was not an immature freedom, the freedom to act like a liberal, but the freedom to create—the “people represented by civilization have always systematically persecuted the representatives of culture.” Pushkin was not killed in a duel by d’Anthès, but by a lack of air and the gloomy darkness of the reign of Nicholas I, the best example of autocratic despotism.

1. The genealogy of Russian dandyism

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideal-type representative of culture was epitomized by the dandy: an incarnation of the cult of diversity in

an enduring age of uniformity imposed by Nicholas I. European dandyism began in two cities: London and Paris, the capitals of the nineteenth century. Lotman relates that dandyism appeared in England as a national reaction to the French fashions imposed by revolutionary cosmopolitanism and Napoleonic Caesarism. Unlike pre-revolutionary French elegance and refinement, English dandyism preferred eccentricity and originality (Lotman 1994). By emphasizing its national specificities, dandyism merged with romanticism and was characterized by extravagant behavior and by the glorification of the romantic cult of individualism. For Barbey d'Aureville, a dandy wished to always create the unexpected. Although dandyism flouted the rules, it also respected them. Barbey d'Aureville classified ideal-type dandyism as that enacted by Lord Brummell, the prince of non-transmissible manners who, with his "private authority, had established a rule far superior to the traditional rule of aristocratic circles" (Barbey d'Aureville 2002).

Lord Brummell exemplified intrepid character; with his irony and frivolous imagination he imposed his own variable rule that led to a unique "science of manners." In fact, dandies were ironic, minor gods whose motto, *Nil mirari*, alluded to the duty of being impassive. They wanted to amaze and yet also remain impassive. Dandies became despots of opinion, bold creators of a merger between originality and eccentricity. Adopting Brummell's quote "no-one is less like a man than a man," dandies were a haughty caste obsessed with distinction, the unique trait of a person who can do nothing but be superior, a person who with his principles and behavior contrasts himself to the prevailing plebeocracy.

Baudelaire called dandies an "aristocracy alienating everyone and greedy for distinction: hence, perfect attire required—absolute simplicity." In fact, as Barthes points out, dandyism was more than just a dress code because a dandy took distinction to the limit. Barthes held that the essence of a dandy was no longer social, but metaphysical since it juxtaposed the individual—unique and unable to be compared to others—with vulgarity (Barthes 2013). For Baudelaire, the magnificent dandy was characterized by his character, one of opposition and revolt. A dandy represented the best in human pride and this attitude of caste and challenge was inspired by the need to fight and destroy commoners' vulgarity. Baudelaire considered dandyism to characterize a transitional phase of democracy: the aristocracy of the spirit is more difficult to destroy since it is not based on labor and money, but on the precious, indestructible faculties that appear to be gifts from God. Conforming to fashion was a sign of vulgarity because it destroyed every *pondered* uniqueness: as a result, the only distinctive trait was to be *démodé*. Oscar Wilde believed that the age of plebeocratic fashion was witness to an

intolerable, transient form of ugliness destined to change rapidly, while a dandy turned his clothing into a work of art and was honored by history.

As *arbiter elegantiae*, Brummell used to say that to be well dressed you should go unnoticed, because genuine elegance is based on studied carelessness and secrecy. In fact, a dandy was an original antinomian and embodied the ideal of insular, paradoxical majesty; on the one hand he considered himself as art in action while, on the other, he affirmed the aesthetics of disappearance as a supreme statement of artifice and desire for power. A dandy's clothes were a form of living in disappearance, a prefiguration of the funerary urn. Baudelaire considered dandyism to be an institution as "vague and bizarre as a duel," the "last flash of heroism in an age of decadence: a dandy was a falling star that died in a spleen bereft of ideals."

According to Camus, dandyism was a "degraded form of asceticism," an aesthetics of uniqueness and negation prompting the dandy, based on Baudelaire's epitome of to "live and die in front of a mirror" (Camus 1951). Lotman has pointed out that in the first half of the nineteenth century dandyism as a proteiform phenomenon had two antithetical traits. Byronic dandyism was characterized by romantic rebellion (*romantičeskoe buntarstvo*). In addition, dandies took on national characteristics: English dandyism veered towards theatricalisation and scandal, while French dandyism moved towards melancholic solipsism in the conscious, unhappy acknowledgement of one's own demise.

While dandyism was born, classified and spread outwards from London and Paris, St. Petersburg became the capital of a phantasmagorical Russian dandyism—a heterotopy of European dandyism. Russian dandies shaped the aesthetics of fashionable men by adding several unique traits: opulent clothing embellished with jewels (diamonds, brooches and rings) and a passion for fur. According to Olga Vainshtein, Russian dandyism was considered more as "practising a personal style" rather than "a diffuse intellectual strategy or protocol of cultural norms" (Vainshtein 2002).

Contrary to Vainshtein's opinion of Russian dandyism, the latter was indeed more than the mere creation of a fashionable man; it elaborated its own behavioral code and a cultural and aesthetic vision that, thanks to its paradigmatic specificity, outlasted the age in which it developed. The phenomenology of Russian dandyism begins with *Eugene Onegin*, Pushkin's novel in verse, where the term dandy was used in Russia for the first time. In the novel, Russian dandyism moved beyond simple aesthetics and becomes the eccentric and original expression of the paradoxical historiography of Russia in a pan-European perspective (Puñkin 1999).

According to Pushkin, the Russian dandy combined elegance with the philosophy of history and political philosophy: the aristocratic concept behind nineteenth-century Russian political thinking should therefore be considered from the point of view of its complicated relationship with dandyism. Aesthetics and refined elegance allowed a dandy to free himself from the burden of social conventions. The elegant, well-groomed man spent three hours a day in front of a mirror. When he had finished his meticulous *toilette* he looked like a capricious Venus dressed in men's clothes about to go to a masked ball. Nevertheless, the Russian dandy was an apostate of pleasure who despised high society even if he associated with it; a dandy was overcome with *russkaja chandra* (Russian melancholy) that made him gloomy, cold and indifferent to life.

In its existential dimension, dandyism merged the pride and desperate egotism of Byron's hero with contempt. According to Pushkin, anyone who has lived and reasoned can only despise men in *scrinio pectoris*. Anyone who has felt profound feelings and passion yearns for that secret melancholic freedom troubled by the ghost of "days forever lost."

Russkaja chandra was the estrangement of existence and denied the present; it was the anguished memory of a superfluous and enthusiastic age of useless actions. *Russkaja chandra* was errant and as boundless as Russian geography and prompted a historiosophic reflection on the historical fate of Russia.

Pushkin defined Onegin as "a second" Chaadayev. As the first paradoxical Occidental philosopher and prototype of the Russian dandy, Chaadayev's tragic dandyism was the primary source of the philosophy of Russian history; this dandyism was based on the concept of a heroic act considered to be the social and political expression of secret freedom. For Pushkin, Chaadayev's name was engraved on the ruins of despotism and was comparable to that of Brutus and Pericles: "always wise, sometimes a dreamer, and a cold observer of the fatuous ordinary." Chaadayev was a hussar-philosopher and, as the aide-de-camp of the commandant of the Vasilchikov guards, in 1820, he met Alexander I at the Troppau Congress when he delivered the report on the mutiny of the Semenovskiy regiment.

The meeting with the tsar was a disaster and put an end to their relationship. Chaadayev wished to convince Alexander I to initiate reforms that would have also tackled the issue of serfdom. Before leaving for Troppau, Chaadayev, a dandy and mystic Decembrist, had spoken to Pushkin about several tyrannicidal initiatives, presenting a Russian variant of the Marquis de Posa. For Lotman, Alexander I was a Russian autocrat who would never have given up any of his regal prerogatives to a scatterbrained race of aristocrats of the spirit, rather than a Schillerian despot who could be

conquered by the freedom of thought of his favorite interlocutor (Lotman 1985).

After the failed military proclamation in 1825 the Decembrists were considered the first martyrs of political freedom. Several Decembrists helped to revamp the behavior of the dandy: in order to avoid empty elitist formulas, socialite Decembrists tried to revolutionize words using a snobbish and theatrically polite vocabulary. Chaadayev himself, in his *Philosophical Letters*, achieved a paradoxical synthesis between Russian dandyism and Schiller-oriented German idealism. In 1836, Chaadayev had published his first philosophical letter in *Teleskop*, confusing and muddling the Russian cultural and political milieu (Čaadaev 2009).

Using scary language and funerary eloquence, Chaadayev maintained that Russia was a sort of Necropolis excluded from the family of European nations, a “gap in human intelligence without either a past or future.” In a letter dated October 19, 1836, Pushkin challenged Chaadayev’s historiosophical thesis: for Pushkin Russia was not a “historical nonentity”; Peter the Great was the epitome of universal history and due to Russia’s geopolitical and geocultural position it was so great it could not be excluded from Europe. According to Mandelstam, “Chaadayev’s national and concise historiosophy reawakened Russian self-awareness from the torpor of a folkloristic nationalism enslaved by autocracy” (Mandel’ntam 1991). Chaadayev considered nationality as the “supreme blossoming of character” and Russia as the absolute source of “moral freedom.” Chaadayev’s tragic, Schillerian dandyism and Pushkin’s rebellious, Byronic dandyism expressed, with great majesty, purity and plenitude, the unique, and the sovereign nature of Russian identity and moral freedom: the freedom of choice that had never transpired in the West.

2. The legacy of Russian Byronism

According to Blok, in the radiant future of the dictatorship of the proletariat the legacy of rebel Russian Byronism would not die and, together with the Schillerian Marquises de Posa of the future, would continue to work to destroy tyrants with its underground, secret freedom. According to Blok, during the period that led to the end of Humanism (an age in which the masses rather than individuals were the driving cultural force) Russian Byronism coincided with a tragic vision; the only one capable of providing the key to understanding the complexities of the world. It enabled people to understand that the Russian revolution was not the tangible historical manifestation of limitless freedom (which, according to Lenin, made it possible to eliminate secret freedom), but its nemesis. The revolution was a

miserable apocalypse of the bureaucratic rabble, which, when it had solidified, was swallowed up by its own historical age; the vendetta of history unveiled the disfigured face of limitless freedom: its monstrous anomaly—limitless despotism.

Possessed by the demon of irony, Russian Byronism had not only buried the gruesome nineteenth century with its bloodcurdling laugh (pouring forth from secret tears for secret freedom), but it had also managed to forecast the miserable despotic drift of limitless freedom that had either been lost in the absent-mindedness of the administrative enthusiasm of the bureaucratic-revolutionary rabble; or in the absent-mindedness of the anguish of secret freedom. This tragic-ironic vision and a Byronic *Weltschmerz* were another root of Russian nihilism: a romantic-idealist revolt against romantic idealism in the name of realism. To comprehend the subtle links, interactions and antitheses between Byronism and nihilism in Russia, we have to work *backwards* to understand the affinities and antinomies between these two trends, which, as contradictory entities, dominated nineteenth-century Russian political thinking.

The Romanian philosopher, Cioran, (who due to his passion for boredom declared himself to be close to Russian Byronism) believed that Byron's influence was more interesting in Russia than in England: Russian Byronism had its own particular flavor, quite distinct from its European roots and the boring age of the reason of man. It claimed its right to boredom sparked by the *spleen* of metaphysical and political revolt. The period from Pushkin to Dostoevsky is marked by the experience of boredom: the tedious, mortal boredom of Tsarist Russia with its organized religious-autocratic and utilitarian-revolutionary mysticism. This mysticism was epitomized by faith in *narodnost'* (autocracy, orthodoxy, and the people).

Instead, organized utilitarian-revolutionary mysticism was based on a rationalist and materialist axiology: man had to become completely rational, because it was the laws of reason that governed the world. The strict materialistic and utilitarian determinism theorized by Chernyshevsky was meant to inspire the future socialist order described in *What is to be done?*—a sort of paradise that would be found in the future Golden Age, depicted in the vision of the tedious and disquieting Crystal Palace. Cioran considered Russian Byronism to be best expressed by the cosmic boredom of Prince Stavrogin in Dostoevsky's *Demons*: since Stavrogin believes in nothing he has a strong penchant to espouse all causes and yet also dissociate himself from them (Dostoevskij 1974–75).

The Byronic dandy was a melancholic rebel who, in the name of secret freedom, glorified the cult of distinction in the age of machines and the monotonous uniformity imposed by technical development. In a letter dated

1838, Dostoevsky (then seventeen years old) said he wanted to “do foolish things and philosophise like a poet.” Byron was his model of genius, a man who with his “vain idea of glory” had revealed that “the empty cry of the crowds is nothing.” In his *Diary of a Writer*, written in December 1877, Dostoevsky maintains that the word Byronic is not an insult. Byronism had been a “sacred and necessary phenomenon” that had appeared in Russia and Europe at a “time of terrible distress for mankind” (Dostoevskij 1984).

After the frenetic enthusiasm sparked by the French revolution, faith in new ideals had been deceived; according to the law of the heterogenesis of ends, this new situation had revealed the inner inconsistency of those ideals and had driven Europe into a state of sadness. That was when Byron’s “passionate genius” had appeared and the “anguish of humanity” and “its sombre disappointment” had rung out in his voice. Byron himself, in *Don Juan* (an epic of disenchantment and testament-poem), stated that the lame Europe of the Restoration rested on the “crutches of Legitimacy” after being subjugated by the “saviour of nations.”

Compared to contemporary political idols, Byron (who preferred the dandy Beau Brummell to the rapacious bourgeois Napoleon) declared himself to be an atheist, and therefore indifferent. Nevertheless, it did not stop him from being a conspirator of freedom (which was to rise like a tempest against the winds of history); a systematic rebel who railed against law and authority. Practical Byronism was visible in the “poetry of politics.” Dostoevsky considered Byron’s appearance to have emerged, like a powerful howl, announcing the advent of this new muse of vendetta and pain; damnation and desperation. In Russia, strong, noble spirits not only adhered to the siren call of Byronism, they also revealed the unsolved and tormented issues that were destroying Russian self-knowledge.

Two notions of freedom were present in Russian Byronism and its contradictory unity: freedom (*volja*), as in license, desire, power and celebration of the individual with a marked personality, exceptional and grandiose, a self-governing individual who implements a sort of secession within society proclaiming himself free of tyrants and crowds; civil freedom (*svoboda*), based on moral considerations and searching for a link between individualism and social solidarity.

According to Dostoevsky, Pushkin and Lermontov were the “guiding geniuses” of Russian Byronism. Wandering as exiles in the “desert of the world” and in the “monotonous and tiresome succession of historical time” (even evil had become petty and boring), Lermontov was *sort of* Byronic, epitomizing the morbid personality of the Russian aristocratic intellectual who claimed only one privilege: damnation. For Dostoevsky, Lermontov was “ironic, capricious, discontented, eternally doubting . . . his own Byronism.”

In 1830, Lermontov had noted in his diary the affinities he shared with Byron: love of nature, love of freedom, dissatisfaction with life and fear of mediocrity.

He appeared as an unexpected guest within the framework of Russian Byronism: a superfluous man (*lišny čelovek*), an intelligent aristocrat reduced to inactivity because he had no free public space. In a sort of ironic monasticism, a superfluous man could cultivate his own secret freedom or sacrifice himself by fighting abstractedly for freedom and another person's cause. Unlike Lermontov, Pushkin had tried to find a way out of the inactivity of the Decembrist movement and, according to Dostoevsky, had found it in the concept of the liberation of the people.

3. From the end, the beginning: Russian Byronism and Nihilism

As underlined by Jurij Lotman, practical Byronism was one of the currents of the Decembrist movement; a conspiracy with complex offshoots: on the one hand, practical Byronism with its libertarian orientation, and on the other, Pestel's Russian Jacobinism, a sort of Bonapartism without the populist improvisations of French Jacobinism that placed the military elite at the head of the revolution. Practical Byronism was a system of values guarding secret freedom; the system was inspired by a sort of aristocratic radicalism manifest in the principle of unity of action, in "acts performed in the mind so that," according to Lermontov, "they were cold, invariable and free of circumstance."

The autocratic system, governed by a corrupt rabble of officials (aristocrats by birth, but not by nature), deserved all the contempt people bestowed on it. Decembrist Byronism prompted a radical polarization of political assessments: on the one hand abjection, cowardice and tyranny; on the other, freedom and heroism. According to Pushkin, Byronism covered irreparable splenetic egoism and incited it towards noble tyrannicide. Practical Byronism also existed as dissoluteness, as a variant of free thought; Pushkin pointed out that Byronic dandyism required being first in every sort of dissoluteness. While Jacobin Decembrists required political conspirators to be grave and solemn, because they served the nation, Byronic and Libertarian Decembrists (like Pushkin) considered political struggle to be "happiness and celebration," rather than abnegation and sacrifice.

In his *Development of Revolutionary Ideas in Russia*, Herzen, an aristocratic and libertarian populist, considered Byronism as one of the sources of the nineteenth-century Russian revolutionary movement. However, according to Herzen, in *Onegin* (a genuine encyclopedia of Russian

life) Pushkin created a sort of nationalized Byronism. Pushkin did not imitate Byron, and Onegin was not Manfred's Russian double. Pushkin had revealed the damage caused by the sudden, development of civilization imposed on Russia by the Jacobin Peter the Great (Herzen 2012).

Forced Europeanization had diverted the natural course of Russian history, and self-conscious Russians, like Onegin, had become redundant even to themselves: they were sluggards, a "useless and eccentric race that pushed every sort of existential and ideological dissoluteness to the limit," waiting for the *coup de grace*, which would finally free them from boredom. However, there were considerable differences between Byron and Pushkin: Byron was an individual with a remarkable, free character, isolated in his independence. He wrapped himself in his own pride and in a proud, sceptical philosophy, becoming increasingly gloomy and unreconciled with the world around him. Since he no longer had faith in the future, as a superfluous man, Byron had sacrificed himself for a population of Greek-Slavs who he had mistaken for the Greeks of old. As for himself, Pushkin was neither a courtier nor a government official and he trusted in the future of the Russian people. Unlike the Slavophiles, Herzen believed that an individual should not be completely absorbed by the family or by *obščina*, as was customary in Russia, and that Pushkin's secret freedom had to be protected and safeguarded. In their Peter the Greatism, the revolutionary and Jacobin *intelligentsia* were not to drown secret freedom in the wild currents of a horrific revolution. To this end, *narodnaja* Russia should have staged another revolution, rather than imitating the one in Europe; Herzen considered the only outcome of the European revolution to be the globalization of the middle class, like a tedious bourgeois anthill; the Faustian ambitions of the European revolution had created the philistine *homunculus*, the epitome of the extreme decomposition of civilization.

In the 1860s, nihilism appeared in Russia, dragged out of the subsoil by Turgenev in *Fathers and Sons* (1862); the central figure of his novel, Bazarov, is a man driven by a negative revolutionary spirit and Byronism. A link exists between Byron's gloomy critique of hypocritical bourgeois society and the nihilism that, with satanic Byronic pride, aimed to destroy every social convention. As regards libertarianism, nihilism merged Byron and Stirner. The Slavophile theologian Chomjakov noted that Byron-Stirner nihilism was the "ultimate and definitive protest of spiritual freedom against every arbitrary restriction imposed by the outside world."

Nihilism was an insurrection against the systematizers who deceived humanity with the "ghosts of artificially created spiritual principles." As regards the utilitarianism of Bentham (for whom a pair of boots was more important than Shakespeare), with the arrival of Chernyshevsky, nihilism

achieved rationalistic-socialist systemization (one of the roots of Bolshevism) in the name of the construction of the Crystal Palace.

As pointed out by Vladimir Solovyev, the anthropological principle of Chernyshevsky's utilitarian socialism is egoistic; this involves the self-negation of socialism so that it sheds its universal meaning, turning towards a permanent civil war for the imposition of a forced society, or into Stirner's exclusive individualism, epitomized in the figure of the dictator. Future socialist harmony was to be achieved by a self-worshipping Benefactor who would affirm his own, exclusive limitless freedom by denying everyone else's freedom (according to the apothegm of Dostoevsky's subterranean man, a satirical parody of Chernyshevsky's new man: "I am alone and they are all").

In *The Poet and the Crowd* Pushkin wrote: "No, not for mundane trepidation/Nor mortal gain, nor battleground/But we were born for inspiration/For prayerful and wondrous sound." In the 1860s, Dimitrij Pisarev (nihilist theorist of the destruction of aesthetics) violently attacked the legacy of Pushkin's secret freedom considering that in an age based on productivity and the division of labor, a poet should not retreat into haughty and aristocratic solitude and reject vulgar, boorish utilitarian prejudices. Pisarev considered that Onegin's *tedium vitae* had nothing in common with the voracious dissatisfaction of revolutionaries and their protests against the passive attitude of the majority. Instead, it was a sort of inertia that inevitably led to a reconciliation with reality. For Pisarev, an intellectual was a sort of official of ideology who, by renouncing his own secret freedom, awakened in the people their "hatred for deceit and exploitation."

Herzen was another of Pisarev's controversial idols. A sort of class struggle developed within the revolutionary party between the aristocratic wing of the revolutionary party (embodied in Herzen, as a noble *dvorjanin* and *lišnij človek*) and the plebeian wing (of the *raznočincy*) that stigmatized Herzen's libertarian aristocratism. In June 1859, Herzen responded to these attacks (in an article entitled *Very dangerous!!!* published in "Kolokol") and accused the radical wing of the revolutionary party, led by Chernyshevsky and Pisarev, of representing a mentality similar to that of "a servants' dormitory or theological seminary" (Herzen 1887).

According to Herzen, the "early signs of nihilism had been produced by an explosion of laughter; horrifying laughter against the abomination and tedious squalor of autocracy." This desecrating laughter had let fly the signs of absolute freedom from all the concepts preordained by "hereditary blockades": in its early days, nihilism was a thought process forged by secret freedom; it was a logic without bottlenecks and a "science without dogmas." Nihilism did not transform something into nothing, but revealed nothing

mistaken for something, contradicting “fantastic representations” and prompting action (Herzen 1956).

However, nihilism was not meant to turn facts and ideas into nothing; if it did then nihilism would become desperate, rash, forced antagonism. Bakunin, the theorist of pan-destruction, was the perfect nihilist of forced antagonism. He considered freedom to be a satanic principle, an unknown exterminator: in its unlimited extermination, freedom would spark evil passions and tear down everything it found in its path. For Bakunin, the passion for destruction annihilated the tedious, brutalizing monotony of the mechanical everyday life of the masses and destroyed all “the idols of old.”

Nietzsche believed that Bakunin hated the present and wanted to annihilate history and the past, but to eliminate the past he had to snuff out humanity. As a result, pan-destruction focused on annihilating the culture that ensured continuation of spiritual life: Bakunin was convinced that this “decrepit social world” had to be toppled completely.

In 1869, Herzen addressed his *Letters to an old comrade* to Bakunin. According to Berlin the letters are “the most educational, prophetic, balanced and moving essays ever written in the nineteenth century about the prospects of human freedom” (Berlin 2008). In the *Letters*, Herzen defends secret freedom. Freeing the exterior life of man “has to be coupled with *inner* freedom”; it is easier for populations to bear the “imposed weight of slavery than the gift of superfluous freedom.” The reign of freedom was rooted in a senseless destruction that petrified terror, generating a paralysis of willpower and making that same freedom superfluous. Herzen believed that limitless individual freedom was such only if it corresponded to everyone’s limitless freedom.

In his novels, *Crime and Punishment*, *Demons* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, Dostoevsky realized that the senseless and nihilistic Russian revolt would lead to a sort of political apocalypse of freedom. Ernst Jünger believed that Dostoevsky and Nietzsche had succeeded in penetrating the subsoil of the desire for power and shedding light on the shadowy areas of individuals who had thrown off their shackles in the eighteenth century. The ghost of individual and collective pain, a ghost intrinsically linked to this power, appeared to be in full possession of the “new power that flocks copiously to the individual” (epitomized by Napoleon).

In the name of the right to commit a crime, the main character of *Crime and Punishment*, Raskolnikov, considers himself a remarkable man and one of the “masters of the future” who, like Napoleon, are entitled to do as they please; men who are destroyers in the name of the New Jerusalem. With Raskolnikov, Dostoevsky inaugurated a sort of microphysics of political nihilism: nihilism lost its Byronic aura and once again became an everyday

occurrence; the nihilistic experience was generalized and even the common man expected to be beyond good and evil. Raskolnikov's isolation and unrestrained admiration for Napoleon spark his passion for power and his longing to become part of the chosen, elite benefactors of humanity (Dostoevskij 1973).

In *Demons*, Shigalev pushes Raskolnikov's theory to the limit, shifting it from the ordinary extraordinariness of individual murder to political murder. Given the failure of the utopias touted by Plato, Rousseau and Fourier, Sigalev devises his own system based on perfect equality: Sigalevism (a prophecy of Bolshevism). Sigalev starts with the idea of limitless freedom, but then becomes confused, ending up at limitless despotism. Sigalevism consists in creating heaven on earth and dividing humanity into two groups: a tenth have the right to limitless freedom and exercise absolute power over the other nine-tenths. The majority are considered to be like a flock of sheep, which, through purges and regenerations, would reconquer original innocence, i.e., primordial paradise (Dostoevskij 1974–75).

Perfect equality could be used to establish a society based on reciprocal espionage, in which "everyone is a slave and as slaves everyone is equal."

In an age characterized by "administrative enthusiasm," uniformity, rather than freedom is the strongest bond between individuals. The historical accomplishment of Sigalevism was based on three forces: bureaucracy, sentimentalism (intrusive, philanthropic fanaticism) and the shame caused by one's own ideas. In *Demons*, Dostoevsky reveals the final paradoxes of Russian Byronism, portrayed in Stavrogin, prince of the demons. He has generated a plethora of mean, narrow-minded demons like Sigalev.

Prince Stavrogin (a character partly inspired by Bakunin) has rejected the ideals of his youth and is now completely indifferent: only cruel curiosity and radical skepticism keep him interested in life. Since everything bores him, Stavrogin is exiled from everything: completely drained by the *tedium vitae*, he has reached the extreme limits of nihilism, the nothingness that evokes the ghosts of revolutionary conspiracy. Stavrogin is an experimenter-spectator who sees the demons he has created moving obscenely in a revolutionary Sabbath. According to Dostoevsky, from a metahistorical and metapolitical point of view, the death of God does not herald the reign of freedom in which everything is permitted, because in the desolate land of accomplished or complete nihilism freedom is dominated by eudemonic idolatry: happiness is more important than secret freedom and everyone has to help build the kingdom towards widespread satiety.

The vision of the eudemonic apocalypse is narrated in the *Legend of the Grand Inquisitor* in the *Brothers Karamazov*, a satirical version of sacred medieval representations, which made heavenly powers descend to earth, and

modern utopia. During the worst period of the Inquisition when pyres burn every day for the glory of God, Christ briefly revisits Seville to see his children. This short period is a sort of mystic-messianic hiatus in time providing a glimpse of where the modern age was to end: in an infra-historical Apocalypse. The Grand Inquisitor throws Christ into a narrow, gloomy prison cell in the Palace of the Holy Tribunal and during a stifling Sevillian night visits the Prisoner who remains silent (Dostoevskij 1976).

Since Christ's return to earth spoils the work of the church, the Grand Inquisitor condemns him to burn at the stake like the most wicked of all heretics. The visionary Grand Inquisitor looks beyond the blaze of the great auto-da-fé prepared on that day to jointly burn hundreds of heretics, "a fantastic image of the future," thereby justifying the sweet, redeeming suffering inflicted on a disorderly humanity. In a paradoxical, beneficial reversal of satanic Byronism, the elegant, artistic cruelty of the Inquisition is a philanthropic force intended to free humanity from the "useless suffering of freedom" and turn it into the moronic pleasure of satiety.

For many centuries, Christ had tormented humanity, teaching it to be free; man is born a rebel, but cannot always live in a state of revolt. The Church was forced to rectify Christ's work by emphasizing what he was offered by the devil in the evangelical episode of the three temptations in the desert. The unbridled imagination of the Grand Inquisitor compares Christ and the devil and announces the fifth Gospel of universal satiety. While Christ defends freedom, preferring it to gluttony, the Grand Inquisitor, as the ideologist of power, maintains that bread can buy freedom because men are weak rebels who cannot bear the weight of freedom and revolt. They let themselves be subjugated by those who satisfy their material needs and impose gluttony, freeing them from the torments of their conscience. The masses only need communion in adoration; Christ, instead, boosts freedom, thereby generating anxiety and disarray.

For the Grand Inquisitor, only three forces can ensure social order and the happiness of the masses: miracle, mystery and authority. By feeding human beings and making them like happy, innocent children, power takes upon itself the harrowing weight of freedom and conscience, inaugurating a new Golden Age. Instead, although the masses are rebellious by nature, they love servile enthusiasm and not the anxiety of freedom that more befits an emancipated minority. If Christ had accepted the devil's suggestions, he would have satisfied the longings of a humanity that needs to live together in one common and united anthill.

This longing for a forced universal union is recurrent in history and even if the orgy of free thinking and the undisputed sovereignty of science that results in anthropophagy goes on for centuries, in the end, men will always be

dominated by the mysterious forces of myths and symbols, because the thousand-year old reign of peace and sweet infantile happiness can only be based on that force. The Grand Inquisitor presents himself as a benefactor of humanity, impatient to proclaim the end of history and propose the definitive structure of society based on the admiration and fear of those who have managed to pacify the turbulent human flock. Humanity ignores the *spleen* of secret freedom and lives in a state of nostalgia for the loss of original harmony; it longs to return to this immemorial happiness. The Grand Inquisitor is a disappointed utopian who still dreams of the advent of universal harmony: in the past he believed in limitless freedom, but now realizes that the “miserable rebels will never be giants.” In the search for happiness at all costs, the eudemonic apocalypse redeems suffering and the sacrifice of the incurable heretics who cultivate their secret freedom and do not want to be led into the Eden-like enclosure of mass foolishness. The Grand Inquisitor is the chiliastic prophet of the eudemonic Apocalypse; he creates a polyphonic political myth that cannot be considered to be the single dimension of the anticipation of the totalitarian practice of the reign of freedom inaugurated by Bolshevik idiocracy—a non-religious, inverted theocracy. The eudemonic Apocalypse is a prefiguration of the Crystal Palace of universal satiety and nemesis and entelechy of modernity; it builds its transparent darkness on the violation of consciences by psychologists, dialecticians and confessors who undermine secret freedom.

In 1918, while the eudemonic Apocalypse, disguised as the revolution, became tangible in Russia, inaugurating the age of the idiocratic inquisition, Blok certified the decline of the Russian dandy who, in the construction of socialism, could no longer cultivate his own secret freedom and existed only in verse. In the wake of Brummell, Byron, Poe, Baudelaire and Wilde, twentieth-century Russian dandyism continued to be extremely tempting for anyone who opposed the bourgeoisie and the despotic philanthropy of small utilitarian, secular inquisitors who had turned Russia into a land of desolation.

However, even Russian dandyism ran the risk of being engulfed by the bureaucratic rabble and becoming a fashionable pose rather than a philosophy capable of resisting conformity, rising above the clichés of everyday life (*byt*), steering culture towards the creation of a personality committed to permanent self-perfectionism, and believing life to be a work of art (*žitvorčestvo*). The revolutionary dandy embodied by Mayakovsky was not only against the bureaucratic institutionalization of Russian dandyism in the figure of the *chekist*, a man of leather and agent of terror, but also against all the pettiness and meanness that had descended like a pall over the new order and its red flags.

During the construction of socialism, Russian dandyism became a sort of suicide club (Esenin and Mayakovsky). Suicide was the final act of the aesthetics of disappearance; it was the supreme sacrament of dandyism and a sort of cultural institution in Russia (Paperno 1997). According to Jakobson, the prematurely tragic end of the dandy-poet is a common trait uniting the dazzling flowering of the nineteenth-century Golden Age with the early twentieth-century Silver Age. Mayakovsky compared his own battle with mean-spirited and bureaucratic everydayness to the fatal battles of Pushkin and Lermontov (Jakobson 1987).

Blok's enfeebled, splendid suicide allowed the dandy-poet to see the world and himself in all its tragic nakedness and simplicity. The music of the revolution had ceased to travel across the boundless lands of Russia; the generation that had seized power dissipated and killed its poets and everything dissolved into mediocrity and stupidity. The legacy left by Russian dandyism and Byronism included: anxiety, the restless search for beauty, choosing death as a privileged interlocutor, the awareness of decadence, and the collapse of humanism and secret freedom.

In the *glasnost* period of the eighties when the unsuccessful Soviet experiment was coming to a close, the writer and essayist Andrei Bitov published *Pushkin House* (Bitov 1988). At a time when everything again had no meaning, the legacy left by Pushkin and Blok resurfaced after having been moribund for over seventy years. Bitov believed that the Bolshevik revolution wanted to destroy the past; however, not everything was lost and Russia became, once again, a drifter in search of a lost destiny. According to Bitov, this destiny was the secret freedom he identifies with culture. After the historical, seventy-year gap of Soviet rule, secret freedom was not synonymous to an uninterrupted cultural tradition: as an act of creation and thanks to a giant leap into the past, secret freedom made it possible to establish a link with the free and fortuitous agents of nineteenth-century Russian Byronism and dandyism.

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GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO: AESTHETE AND INIMITABLE DANDY

ANDREA CARTENY

Italy after unification, a result of the national Risorgimento and national unification around the House of Savoy, was a nation going through a process of modernization at the *fin de siècle* and living the *belle époque*, searching for a heroic interconnection between culture, literature and action. This expectation found its national hero in the character of Gabriele D'Annunzio, an example of a nonconformist intellectual, poet and hero of an “inimitable life”—a poet who could “transform his life into a work of art” (Andreoli 2001). With an extraordinary ability to surprise and to shock, D'Annunzio broke the literary-poetic and moral-ethical patterns of the society and culture of a new European power—the liberal Italy of the late nineteenth century (Hughes-Hallett 2013). The new continental context was characterized, moreover, by the consolidation of the leading role of French culture, in particular Paris, as the capital of taste and fashion (Motta 2015). It also saw the emergence of the anti-conformist style of dandyism, focused on the person of that dandy *par excellence*, George ‘Beau’ Brummel (1778–1840), an Englishman on French soil and recognized as “the master of elegance, inimitable for his unattainable individualism to the point that he always preceded the fashion of his time” (Scaraffia 2007). Other possible origins of the word dandy (as a nickname for Andrews) and for the affirmation of dandyism in the early nineteenth century may be found even earlier, referring to certain figures of the Italian aristocracy, such as Alessandro Pepoli or Vittorio Alfieri. This last one was considered by his contemporaries to be a source of inspiration for Lord Brummel who, to some extent, imitated him (Di Benedetto 2003). D'Annunzio, for his part, united with his costume of the Latin aesthete, cold Nordic inimitability, Mediterranean passion and the modernity of Parisian fashion. This is how he became the model for the Italian dandy and the Latin superman, the hero of anti-German propaganda in 1914–15 and of the virtue of Italian temerity, reflecting the fact that in him a purely aesthetic desire prevailed over dandyism *stricto sensu*. To D'Annunzio, the Latin dandy, the aesthete-lover warrior, recognized in the

worship of his uniform, which he wore during the war as the revolutionary commander in Fiume, was epitomized in the delicacy and fragility of Guido Gozzano (1883–1916)—a subdued and discreet dandy, ironic and emaciated, whose skin was illuminated by the white color of his safari jacket (Scaraffia 2007). But the real legacy of D’Annunzio is the Vittoriale, the vibrant stylish bric-a-brac monument, marked by a *horror vacui*, that characterizes the romantic paths of objects and shadows (Terraroli 2001). His wardrobe bore witness to the extraordinary importance of men’s clothing, which became an animated narrative framework of the public projection of his private life. For a purely creative person, as the poet proved to be, fashion remained a vibrant relic of his extraordinary role as a designer and stylist, not only for himself, but also for women’s clothing. In this sense, this *arbiter elegantiae*, used the red and blue label, Gabriel-Nuntius Vestiarus Fecit, on his clothes for women, almost on a whim (Antongini 1957), but in making high fashion as he did, with art and poetry, he was an indisputable magician of the fashion of the time (Sorge 2015).

This poet decided to reject the banality of everyday existence by quitting his job as a journalist at *La Tribuna*, the worldly distractions of Rome, including a *liaison* with his mistress Barbara Leoni, and choosing instead the tranquility of the small village of Francavilla a Mare, in the summer of 1888, where in a short time he completed his first novel. In *The Pleasure*, which he entrusted to the publisher Emilio Treves, the author is reflected in the character of Andrea Sperelli Fieschi d’Ugenta, illustrating his meticulous attention to detail and the exasperated hedonism that obliged him to clarify farsightedness in choosing not only the clothes, but also the correct accessories: scarves, gloves, cigarette cases, are all minutely described and everything is of exquisite quality to define the character of the protagonist and his need for perfection and refinement, represented in the fashion magazines of the time and associated with the obligatory elegance of his lovers accompanying him during a carriage ride or at parties. The dinner dance at the Palazzo Farnese, as he underlines, offers a magnificent opportunity to describe the clothing of Andrea Sperelli:

“He went to dress, in the octagonal room, which was actually the most elegant and comfortable dressing room desirable for a modern young chap. While dressing, he paid many minute attentions to his person. On top of a large Roman sarcophagus, very tastefully transformed into a table for clothing, were available, in order, the batiste handkerchief, the dance gloves, the wallets, the cigarette cases, the vials of essences, and five or six fresh gardenias in small blue porcelain vases. He chose a handkerchief with white initials and poured two or three drops of *pao rosa*; he took no gardenia because he would find it dining at the Doria house; he filled with Russian

cigarettes a case in hammered gold, thin, adorned with a sapphire on the spring protrusion, a bit curved in order to adhere to the thigh through the pocket of the trousers.”

On that occasion, as during others, the greatest attraction and highlight of the evening were the encounters with fascinating women, impressing him beyond measure. This is seen in his description of the dress, the precious fabric and the long train on the appearance of the Duchess of Scerni, Elena Muti:

“She was advancing through the storiated Caracci gallery, where it was less crowded, wearing a long white brocaded train that followed her as a solemn wave on the floor. So white and simple, while passing she was responding to the many greetings, showing an air of fatigue, smiling with a little visible effort that curled the corners of his mouth, while her eyes seemed bigger under the pale brow.”

It is as if this woman's character can be revealed through her clothing, her bored attitude in front of the other guests, and her dissatisfaction. The ideal woman, for that matter, was for the poet, pale, ephebic, sophisticated and ethereal, a *femme fatale* of the stage (theater or cinema) and of life—a pure construct of her creativity. Irresistible combinations of clothes, jewelry, *maquillage* and perfumes shaped and transformed simple maidens into *belles de nuit* for unforgettable and intimate evenings at the Vittoriale. Silk stockings, short light slippers, umbilical necklaces, Abdullah cigarettes n. 11 in a long cigarette holder, Chanel No. 5, are just some of the essential details for a woman to become the muse of D'Annunzio; a muse characterized by precious garments from the best tailors of the time (from Mariano Fortuny to Martha Palmer), and sandals or moccasins chosen *ad personam* (Sorge 2015).

By all accounts, his stay in Rome was a period of training, a personification of his aesthetic, with which the life of an emerging intellectual became a work of art: the life of an artist and superfluous luxury, and an inveterate debtor, only partially covered by the proceeds of his literary and poetic works (Chiara 2013). In 1890, he was forced to give up a significant amount of unimportant writings, in his already typically kitsch style, and left Rome in order to live in Naples—“years of splendid misery” as he defined the period. He continued to attend expensive hotels, reinvigorating the image of the Italian intellectual, before then personified in Carducci's “sloppiness,” and becoming a dandy for Italian modernity. In 1892, he changed his lovers, from Barbara to Maria Gravina Cruillas de Ramacca, but he did not change his attitude towards clothes, which were made by the most famous tailors of the

time. He filled out a list of clothes that were necessary for attending social events, during summer and winter, as well as for sporting occasions:

Winter clothes	Summer clothes
<i>Paletot marron</i>	Grey tout-de-même with stripes (Petroni)
Warm black jacket	Light color, checked tout-de-même (De Nicola)
Two pairs of checked trousers	Tout-de-même bleu
<i>Redingote</i>	Grey tout-de-même very light
Black vicuña táite	Dinner jacket
Black vicuña jacket	Full evening dress
Waistcoats	Light color striped trousers, light color with side bands, white and black checked, bluish (Petroni), marron (<i>idem</i>), checked <i>voyants</i>
Black táite	A black <i>táite</i> , another grey tout-de-même (De Nicola)
Two pairs of riding pants	Two white waistcoats
Black cloak	One light color <i>chemise</i>

(Andreoli 1988)

He was always very careful about his way of dressing, to which he gave a strong symbolic meaning, as was shown by the narrator-protagonist, Tullio Hermil, in *L'innocente* (The innocent), the second in his trilogy of the “Novels of the Rose,” who detects in the dark color of the dress of his wife, Giuliana, a strangeness that may be the result of adultery (D’Annunzio 1892). The brief dialogue in this situation is significant:

“‘Were you dressing to go out?’ I asked, still hindered, almost faltering, not knowing what else to ask, wanting to avoid the silence. ‘Yes.’ It was in the morning; it was in November. She was standing at a table adorned with lace on which were scattered countless modern tools for the care of female beauty. She wore a dress of dark vicuña; and she held still a blonde tortoiseshell comb with a silver rib. The simple dress matched the effortless elegance of her person. A large bouquet of white chrysanthemums was visible on the table behind her shoulders ... I could not dispel my confusion to regain my

frankness. I felt that any intimacy between us had vanished. She seemed to me another woman.”

In this sequence, full of tension, clothing plays an important role and almost becomes a language expressing the inner feelings of the main characters. This is equally so in the third novel of the trilogy, *Il trionfo della morte* (The Triumph of Death), written in the period between Francavilla and San Vito Chietino and published in 1894, where the tunic and the black stockings of Ippolita—a must for every date in which *eros* is suggested—are indices for the seductive attitude of the lover of the protagonist, Giorgio Aurispa, and for the ability to overcome the limitations of bourgeois decency (D'Annunzio 1894):

“‘Why don't you sunbathe?’ asked Ippolita suddenly turning towards him. ‘See how much I can resist? I really want to become like you say, like an olive. Will you like me?’ She approached the tent, raising with her hands the hem of her long robe, soft, almost affected in her acts, as if taken by a sudden languor. ‘Will you like me?’ Stooping a little, she entered the tent. Under the abundance of snowy folds, her thin and flexible body was moving with a feline grace, emanating warmth and a smell that seemed singularly acute for the disturbed sensitivity of the young man. She moved away from him, crawled to a corner of the tent; rapidly, with furtive acts, she put on her long black silk stockings; then she turned, indecent, with an undefinable smile on her lips. And, before his eyes, holding out first one and then the other leg perfectly in their shiny sheaths, she closed her garters on first one and then the other knee. There was something deliberately provocative in her gestures; and a subtle touch of irony in her smile. And that mute and terrible eloquence took on for the young man this distinct signification: ‘I am always invincible. You can know in my body all the pleasures for your endless thirsty desire; and I will dress the lies that your desire will endlessly produce. What does your perspicacity bring to me? I can instantly re-weave the veil that you have torn; I can bend you again in a moment with the bandage that you have removed. I am stronger than your thoughts. I know the secret of my transfigurations in your soul. I know the gestures and the words that have the virtue of transforming me into yourself. The smell of my skin can dissolve you an entire world.’”

In the period spent in Francavilla, in a D'Annunzian style villa, the poet worked, collected the manuscripts of the *Novels of the Rose*, letters and documents, collections of trinkets and paintings (including the print he created, signed and dedicated to himself with the text: “To Gabriele D'Annunzio, the young master I love and admire above all. A. Sperelli”). The Nietzschean novel *par excellence* of D'Annunzio was written in 1895, *Le vergini delle rocce* (The Maidens of the Rocks), concluded as he traveled to

Greece, in July 1895, with Edward Scarfoglio (a friend, journalist-publisher, and owner of the yacht “Fantasia”), Georges Herelle, Pasquale Masciantonio, and Guido Boggiani. On this occasion, as he confessed, nudity was their most frequent clothing; he filled out a list of clothes that he brought:

<i>Yacht</i> clothes	Summer clothes
Iron grey suit (full)	Idem - small check pattern white and black
Brown suit with <i>tait</i>	Marron light color chemise
White flannel outfit	Idem
Idem	Idem
Black <i>táite</i>	Light color trousers
Full dinner jacket	White waistcoats
Waistcoats	

(Andreoli 1988)

This journey through Hellas, full of erotic and classical attractions, introduced a new period of his life, beginning with his new work *Il fuoco* (The Fire), and his new, great love for Eleonora Duse, which brought him into a new set of circumstances—a sixteenth century villa near Florence; it had belonged to the Capponi family in the seventeenth century and was therefore called “la Capponcina” and was his home between 1898–1910. The couple lived in a manner close to the spirit of Francis of Assisi (in 1898 the poet took the third Franciscan order) and thus the poetic season of *Laudi* opened. Despite this, the new Franciscan D’Annunzio continued to be unfaithful in love and, as shown in the photographs of Nunes Vais, very elegant and refined, mostly in the private sphere, although less willing to accentuate originality in his clothes. The absence of Eleonora Duse as a result of disease during the success of *La figlia di Iorio* (The Daughter of Iorio) in 1904, left a space for a new lover and marked his return to social life. It was the moment when the divine Marquise Luisa Casati Stampa, an important *femme fatale* (whom he used to call Corè), surprised and conquered him with her transgressive attitude. She was a woman of the *belle époque* and became a muse of the most famous artists, from Marinetti to Balla. The next lover was Alessandra Rudini (who he used to call Nike), daughter of the statesman

Antonio Rudinì Starrabba, twice the prime minister of the Kingdom of Italy. She was very tall (nearly one meter eighty whereas D'Annunzio was one meter sixty) and the widow of the Marquis Marcello Carlotti. Accustomed to the intrigues of high society, her heart was not conquered by this well-known libertine in her naiveté, but rather because of her non-conformist character. She was a woman of strong character and high social position, which was exactly what the poet, tired of the jealous and possessive Duse, desired (Andreoli 1988). La Capponcina increased its housekeeping staff (to more than twenty), and was filled with dogs, horses, and all kinds of expensive, modern passions, including the automobile and the airplane. The result was the novel *Forse che sì forse che no* (Maybe Yes; Maybe No) and a vicious cycle of loans and debts that relentlessly increased, eventually leading to the auctioning off of the rich decor of the villa. D'Annunzio, already bankrupt, moved to France in 1910, following his “Donatella”—Natalia de Goloubeff. It was here that his international reputation was confirmed, in the city of Paris—the “ville visage du monde” (Dotoli 1984)—which accepted, appreciated, and enhanced the scandalous D'Annunzio, admiring his charms as a star poet. His star shone much more brightly than Wilde's star in Paris, affecting and deeply scandalizing the chattering classes with his works and his crowded list of lovers (Scaraffia 2007). D'Annunzio's life was divided between the French capital—nearly six months at the prestigious and luxurious Hotel Maurice on the Rue de Rivoli—and the Atlantic coast in a small villa at Dominique Arcachon. It was here that Luigi Albertini, a friend and companion, hired him to write for the *Corriere della Sera*. The characters he impersonated, “the stage man” and “the intimacy man” (as defined by Julien Benda), materialized during the period of his Parisian exile. He was someone who had been defined by Isadora Duncan—perhaps the most wonderful lover of the time—as skillful in his use of the extraordinary, subtle power of flattery. This aspect of his character was on the wane and the outbreak of the war offered him new opportunities. First he worked as a journalist and a poet in the *Armée*, and campaigned for Italian intervention—giving publicity to the interventionist Italian press. This culminated (once his heavy debts had been resolved by his friend Albertini) with his glorious return to Italy and the “radiant days of May” (Guerri 2009). He became the emblem of a war hero and an example of style at the same time; he abandoned the excesses of a dandy and became the prototype of a soldier in uniform, giving shape to a new dimension of uniform fashion. When Italy entered the war, he wished to be sent to the front line (and actually begged the head of the government, Salandra), in order to enjoy “a few moments of the sublime life” and to approach what he called “the heroic life, as an airman, as a sailor, as an infantryman”; for these roles we find in his

wardrobe the uniforms of an Air Force officer, a naval officer, of a lieutenant colonel of the *Arditi*, and of an officer of the Novara lancers. According to him, now more than ever it was true that it was the gay coat that made the man. With an inconceivable rapidity, under this uniform, a new spirit emerged. In this phase of the war he would lose an eye, but this was less important to him than his sense of militarism and obedience to the new nationalist Italy that the bold D'Annunzio brought in the episode of Fiume in September 1919. Leading his faithful legionaries, he marched from Ronchi in order to enter the city of Fiume, on September 12, holding it until the "Bloody Christmas" of December 1920. The poet, "Duce" of a futurist revolution against the old, liberal and pro-Giolitti Italy, inaugurated one of the defining rituals of Italian fascism—the impassioned speech on the balcony in front of a cheering crowd (Alatri 1982). The image of the commander in Fiume remained expressive; he wore a white admiral's uniform, his *Arditi* khaki jackets, or a red uniform with the letters FIUME (Frank De Caro label, New York). In 1921, he began his final period as an artist and transformed his residence into his main work of art: from Villa Cagnacco he moved to the Vittoriale, an evocative villa with a park on Lake Garda that had been confiscated during the war. In homage to him, Italy offered him the title of Principe di Montenevoso. Here, in the home-museum of D'Annunzio, the last acts of his literary work materialized, such as *Notturmo* (Nocturnal) (1921), and the *Libro segreto* (Secret Book) (1935). He shared this with the poet Luisa Baccara, his only partner, besides the countless women who visited the poet and stayed at the Vittoriale. It was here that D'Annunzio, the former icon of an era (Alatri 1982), dressed mainly in silk or woolen pajamas and nightgowns and housecoats, in both private and public, while his world entered the twilight.

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THE KRAUSE-KNOT: REVISITING THE BAUHAUS WEAVING WORKSHOP AND THE CROSS-DISCIPLINARY ROLE OF MODERN TEXTILES

MATINA KOUSIDI

Textile art played a pivotal role in the spatial experiments promoted by the Bauhaus State School. These pieces were included in seminal interior spaces produced in the early part of the 1920s, from its initial architectural commissions to the design of the office of the Bauhaus Director in Weimar (Direktorzimmer von Walter Gropius im Bauhaus Weimar). In light of the total body of work (*Gesamtkunstwerk*)—as defined anew by Walter Gropius in his 1919 manifesto and program—these artworks were elevated to integral elements of interior architecture, equal to other domestic elements—pieces of furniture, ceramics and lighting. For the Haus Sommerfeld (1920–21), for instance, Dörte Helm created a large-format appliqué curtain,¹ 2.10 by 2.60 meters, so as to conceal a wide wall opening (Figure 1). This curtain echoed the geometrical patterns of woodcarvings that Joost Schmidt had carved into the house's interior surfaces, as well as the ones that featured on its parquet floors. The interior architecture of the Haus am Horn (1922–23), which was completed a few years later, similarly incorporated site-specific textile art. The floor of its living room was covered by a carpet, designed by Martha Erps-Breuer, that aligned with the visual identity of the neighboring fittings, designed by Marcel Breuer and László Moholy-Nagy (Figure 2). It was in the case of the office of the Bauhaus director in Weimar (1923) (Figure 3), however, that the contribution of textile design to interior architecture was at its most evident. Not only did woven elements, the carpet and the wall hanging, articulate the room's linear and spatial continuity, but its diverse

¹ See also the catalogue of the 2009 exhibition at the Bauhaus-Universität Weimar (18 July–6 September 2009) dedicated to Dörte Helm, which provides valuable insights into the body of her work, *Am Bauhaus im Weimar* (Weimar: Freundeskreis der Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, 2009).

functional spaces were attentively interwoven (Bergdoll and Dickerman 2009, 49), as if both two- and three-dimensional elements had been stitched together into a homogeneous space.

It was to this environment of osmotic alliance between elements of architecture, fine art and craftsmanship that Corona Krause² was introduced in spring 1923, as a student of the preliminary course (*Vorkurs*) of the Bauhaus State School (*Staatliches Bauhaus*) in Weimar. An Italian-born textile artist, who had participated in artisanal workshops on the craft of weaving prior to her entry into the Bauhaus, Krause would later go on to contribute to the textile scene of her times. Following her stay at the Bauhaus, she went on to set up her own independent practice and later became involved in pedagogic activities: first at the Arts and Crafts School in Halle and then at the Arts and Crafts School and weaving workshop in Hannover. Aiming to shed light on the artist's little-known artistic profile, this article concerns her stay at the Bauhaus in Weimar between 1923 and 1925 and attempts to situate it within the wider cross-disciplinary debate of those days. It explores how her interaction with the preeminent figures of the school, and her involvement in its diverse activities, laid the foundation for her further creative professional practice. Consequently, it delves into selected artworks, currently found in the family archives and the records of the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation, which are attributed to the artist and were created in the course of and after her educational stay at the Bauhaus. Emphasis has been placed, however, on a dress, which is included in the collection of her work and dates back to the late 1920s. This paper considers the dress to allude to materials and techniques promoted by the Weaving Workshop of the Bauhaus School in Weimar; it aspires to understand the role of bodily attire—in its extensive definition—within the wider context of holistic domestic environments produced by the school, as well as within the artistic practices taking place at that time.

From two-dimensional to three-dimensional artworks

From April 1923 until her enrolment at the Weaving Workshop the following year, Corona Krause attended the preliminary course of the Bauhaus School in Weimar. During this time she engaged in experimentations with

² Krause was born on August 16, 1906, to a German consular officer, Friedrich Krause, and his wife, Isolde Morrison, in Coronata, a rural district of the Italian city of Genoa, which had influenced her first name and determined her Italian nationality. A research project, with the working title “Le chaînon manquant,” on the relationship between Corona Krause and Hermann Gautel is currently being undertaken by Jakob Gautel—grandson of Corona Krause.

watercolor, nude painting and typography, as the breadth of her portfolio suggests. In that year, László Moholy-Nagy succeeded Johannes Itten at the helm of the course, having had a significant impact on the formation of the Bauhaus weavers group. Johannes Itten's contribution to art textile practice would later be formalized through his appointment as director of the Advanced School of Textile Art (Höhere Fachschule für textile Flächenkunst), in Krefeld, in 1932. Given that Johannes Itten had only recently left, traces of his influence on the weavers' practice were still evident. For instance, textile artworks of that period still drew upon elementary forms combined with primary colors—features that were characteristic of Itten's theory. Another influential figure in the Weaving Workshop was Paul Klee. Through his design theory courses, Klee prompted the weavers to experiment with woven textiles featuring geometric patterns, alongside a combination of colorful layers and stripes. A pencil sketch in Krause's portfolio, bearing the title "Master Klee" and depicting Paul Klee's profile, suggests his informal bonds and close connection to the Bauhaus weavers and students of the school. At a broader yet fundamental context, the preliminary course of the Bauhaus served as a platform for experimentation with materials, essential to the later engagement of students in their handicraft courses: "there were studies of materials that we could fool around with in our own studios," one of the students recalls, "these were necessary in order to familiarise us with the materials of any one of the Bauhaus workshops, for after the Vorkurs it was mandatory that we learn a handicraft" (Neumann 1993, 41).

Among the pen drawings, watercolors and graphic works, which Krause would produce during the preliminary course with Moholy-Nagy, we find a balance study (*Gleichgewichtsstudie*). This is entitled "Floating Plastic, Illusionistic" (schwebende Plastik, illusionistisch) (1923) and survives in a silver gelatin print of 1955 located at the Bauhaus-Archiv in Berlin. Comprising rectangular pieces of solid wood and plastic that balance on a delicate spiral body, it refers to a sculptural piece, which seemingly defies gravity. Krause's limited reputation up to today could presumably be accredited to this sculptural artifact, given that Moholy-Nagy included it in his 1938 book "The New Vision. From Material to Architecture."³ Arguably,

³ See Lutz Schöbe, Sind Sie an Textilien interessiert?, Bauhaus Online, <http://bauhaus-online.de/magazin/artikel/sind-sie-an-textilien-interessiert> and Corona Krause, Bauhaus Online, <http://bauhaus-online.de/atlas/personen/corona-krause>. More recently, the balance study by Corona Krause has received renewed attention through the incorporation of its 1924 photographic documentation by Lucia Moholy into the exhibition "Bauhaus: Art as Life" at the Barbican Art Gallery in London (3 May–12 August 2012). For a catalogue of the exhibits see:

the principal characteristics of this study infused Krause's later textile artifacts, which, although they have not received as much attention as the 1923 study, displayed a similar interest in their interpretation of geometry, abstractness and balance. "Miss Korona Krause, you have been preliminarily accepted in the Workshop," is written in a letter addressed to the artist on July 4, 1924, signed by Martin Gropius, further indicating that "admission shall be made in August; until then, you are on a leave of absence."⁴ This document is the earliest surviving correspondence between Krause and the Weimar School—directed in those days by Gropius—marking the beginning of her studentship at the Weaving Workshop at the age of eighteen.⁵ From within a terrain of creativity occupied mainly by women, integral to the Bauhaus State School, Krause would produce various artifacts ranging from domestic furnishings, such as tablecloths, pillow cases and blankets, to women and children's apparel.

In a study in watercolor, colored pencils and pencil on paper—dating back to 1924—(Figure 4), we see a composition with circular segments and lines that is testament to the weavers' experimentation with forms, prior to the undertaking of weaving practices. Part of a set of three watercolor drawings, and of wider experimentation with colors, rhythm and forms, this study also reveals the influence of Moholy-Nagy's visual experiments on Krause (Figure 5). The majority of Krause's surviving artworks in the field of weaving, painting and drawing techniques are seen in works from the preparatory process, highlighting the intimate relationship between the pictorial and textile arts. The surviving, documented artworks of that period bear evidence of the presence of pictorial textiles, mainly of striped or plaid fabrics, reinforcing the connection to the abstract artistic canvases of the Bauhaus painters. "A floor part can form part of the overall composition of a room and can function as a spatially determining element," Bauhaus weaver Gunta Stölzl, an artist who held a determining role in the Weaving Workshop's activities from 1920 onwards, writes in the 1926 issue of *Offset. Buch und Werbekunst*, "but it can just as well be conceived as a self-sufficient thing in itself, which, in its formal and colouristic language can

<http://www.barbican.org.uk/media/upload/art/bauhauslistofloansforprotection.pdf>. Krause's work has also been included in the Bauhaus Dessau exhibition "Bauhaus. Die Kunst der Schüler" (8 October 2014–1 March 2015) among the works of Bauhaus artists such as Xanti Schawinsky, Rudolf Ortner and Paul Reichle.

⁴ Student certification in Corona Krause's archival folder found at the Bauhaus Dessau Foundation Archives

⁵ Krause's studentship in the terrain of weaving had started as early as a year before her enrolment at the Bauhaus preliminary course at the Arts and Crafts School Burg Giebichenstein in Halle.

treat some two-dimensional visual theme” (Engelhardt and Whitford 1992, 234). Indeed, during the Weimar era of the Weaving Workshop, the emphasis was placed on artistic expression, reflecting the instruction and design philosophies of the master painters.⁶ On one hand, textiles were regarded as visual compositions on flat planes, emphasising their aesthetic, visual value. On the other, as their practical, functional role began to emerge, they began to be perceived as three-dimensional objects.

Corona Krause and her co-students, namely Albers, Benita Koch-Otte and Else Mögelin, approached weaving in a thoroughly experimental way; they re-evaluated craftsmanship and technique in terms of modern methods, whilst embracing the emerging needs of their time. For instance, the collection of thread swatches collected and collated by Krause shows her thorough research into the blending of natural and artificial threads. This led to combinations of innovative materials for that time—aluminium, cellophane and plastic threads, with wool, silk and cotton. “The women increased their scientific experimentation,” Magdalena Droste writes, stressing that “systematic experiments with new materials—cellophane, artificial silk, chenille, for example” were inherent to the Weaving Workshop curricular synthesis, prior even to the directorship of Hannes Meyer (Droste 1993, 184). It may be suggested that the thread samples of Corona Krause is of a piece with the wider investigation into materials promoted by the workshop in the early 1920s.⁷ “The work must now be carried out in an experimental way,” Albers wrote in her 1924 text “Bauhaus Weaving” (Bauhausweberei), which featured in the 1924 special issue of the *Junge Menschen* magazine dedicated to the Bauhaus in Weimar. Drawing attention to the need to regain contact with the materials used after the rise of mechanization, Albers stressed that the role of weavers at that time was to bridge the gap between the weaver and material generated by this mechanization. “Only the work by hand, with its slow process, allows any type of experiment, allows a complete formal creation, technique and material,” Albers writes, as “only in this way can we understand the industry as mechanical craft—we can work for the industry, because we have understood the substance” (Albers 1924).

⁶ For instance, a tablecloth, measuring 2.42 x 0.88 m and featuring a striped, abstract weaving style, although undated, bears resemblance to her studies during the Bauhaus preliminary course, and more precisely, to the intersecting linear patterns illustrated in her experiments with watercolor and typography.

⁷ This combination was characteristic of the Bauhaus weaving practices at that time, as in the case of Anni Albers—Krause’s co-student—and her renowned curtain for the auditorium of the Federal School in Bernau. It featured a mix of cotton chenille and cellophane threads woven on cotton warp; the materials employed for this silvery stage curtain were meant to insulate sound and reflect light.

According to Sigrid Wortmann Weltge, “weavers moved into the forefront with the development of prototypes for industry, inventing the concept of contemporary textile design” (Wortmann Weltge 1993, 10). The concept of modern textile design was expressed in multiple ways. Under the instruction of the Master of Form (Georg Muche) and the Master of Craft (Helene Börner), Krause produced works influenced by the realms of art, craft and new technologies. As regards the shifting practices of the Workshop, Albers writes in 1938:

“It was a curious revolution when the students of weaving became concerned with a practical purpose. Previously they had been so deeply interested in the problems of the material itself and in discovering various ways of handling it that they had taken no time for utilitarian considerations. Now, however, a shift took place from free play to forms to logical composition. (...) The whole range of possibilities had been freely explored: concentration on a definite purpose now had a disciplinary effect” (Engelhardt and Whitford 1992, 234).

The dress; an overlooked spatial apparatus

This new range of possibilities concerning textiles, which Albers had illustrated, would exceed the bodily realm and permeate the spatial terrain—it was applied to a wide range of surfaces, from walls, to furniture, to female bodies. Despite the prominent position of textile artworks in the interior spaces orchestrated by the different departments of the Bauhaus School, the element of dress held a subordinate, nearly obscure, role. “Simpler, arguably more easily mass-producible objects on the list, such as tablecloths, pillows, scarves, or drapes being produced in the weaving workshop, are notably absent from the catalogue” Robin Schuldenfrei notes (Saletnik and Schuldenfrei 2010, 49). Dress design mainly pertained to the ephemeral sphere of costume design, both for the Stage Design Workshop directed by Oskar Schlemmer and the informal festivities of the Bauhaus School calendar.⁸ In both cases, the dress was a continuation and integral part of the spatial environment in which it was located. Similarly, isolated moments

⁸ The role of dress and costume design in the Bauhaus School has been described in few studies from the past decades, among which Ute Ackermann, “Bauhaus Parties—Histrionics between Eccentric Dancing and Animal Drama,” in Jeannine Fiedler and Peter Feierabend (ed.), *Bauhaus* (Potsdam: Ullmann, 2007), 126–39, Juliet Koss, “Bauhaus Theater of Human Dolls,” *The Art Bulletin* 85: 4 (2003), 724–745, and Farkas Molnár, “Life at the Bauhaus,” in Timothy O. Benson and Éva Forgács (eds.), *From Between Two Worlds: A Sourcebook of Central European Avant-Gardes, 1910-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2002).

within the school saw dress as an inextricable part of the respective event or identity. Wassily Kandinsky's appearance in traditional *Lederhosen*, in celebration of the acquisition of German citizenship in 1928 (James-Chakraborty 2006, 110) and Jonannes Itten's priest-like appearance, which comprised of a red-violet, high-buttoned uniform, a bald, shaven crown, and gold-rimmed glasses (Neumann 1993, 40), for example, complemented the evident, yet peripheral, position of dress in the Bauhaus. Sporadic approaches towards female attire, from within the school, would be associated with Bauhaus alumni, such as Ré Soupault and her multifaceted transformation dress or Wassily Kandinsky and his 1919 designs for pieces of female attire.

Apart from the manifestations of attire on the school's grounds, in terms of the incorporation of alternative materials, such as metallic wire, foam or natural hair (Neumann 1993, 41), the surviving Bauhaus dresses were associated with the textile artists at the Weaving Workshop of the School. Most famously, the dress produced by Lis Volger in 1928 survives through a well-known black and white picture by Enrich Consemüller, in which a female figure leans back on a B3 club chair designed by Marcel Breuer while looking at the camera through a painted metallic mask designed by Oskar Schlemmer. Approximately one-meter long so as to end just above the knee, Volger's dress was made of cotton and artificial silk threads and utilized a discreet striped pattern. Despite the pivotal role that the dress held in the scenography of this picture, the production of female attire had a more concealed role in the school. Juliet Koss writes:

“Her Bauhaus environment has encased and absorbed her: chair, dress, head. She is clearly female, but her slim body, ovoid head, and the pared-down fashions of the Weimar New Woman all suggest androgyny, reproducing the effect of Schlemmer's padded dolls from the other side of the gender divide. (...) That the figure cannot be identified, rather than detracting from the documentary value of the photograph, certifies a central feature of Bauhaus life: the defining presence of the doll seemingly female and certainly anonymous” (Koss 2003, 731–32).

In the extensively cited frame of Consemüller, dress arises as both a sartorial and spatial element: it is part of the interior environment that hosts the obscure female silhouette, but also of herself, revealing her female gender and hinting at female representation in the Bauhaus creative scene. Apart from raising awareness of gender issues at the school, the dress is equated here to a commodity that anchors the female self to its modern context, engaging, as textiles did, a practical purpose.

Alongside Volger's sartorial piece in the archives of the Bauhaus Foundation in Dessau, two more paradigms of female attire are found: a piece

that features a striped pattern in black and beige, attributed to the Bauhaus weaver Margaretha Reichardt and a dress designed by Corona Krause (Figure 6). Although Krause's dress is attributed to 1927, and the period of the artist's stay in Halle, according to the archival directory, its similarity to the other surviving dresses is apparent.

In their entirety, the dresses kept at the archives of the Bauhaus Foundation in Dessau are stripped of any excessive ornamentation and echo the simplicity, geometrical abstractness and functionality of the other textile artifacts produced at the workshop. In particular, Krause's dress features a soft linear pattern, a straight A-line form and a length of approximately 1.10 m. With its minimalistic form and loose shape, it allowed for the free movement of the female body, as did the dresses of Reichardt and Volger. The addition of a line of buttons and a large pleat on its front differentiates it aesthetically from the other two. Considering its intrinsic material, which consisted mainly of natural threads, the dress seems to represent a utilitarian, personal object and to align well with the quest for functionality articulated by the workshop in Weimar at that time. At the beginning of the 1920s, Lilly Reich in her 1922 text "Modefragen" (Questions of Fashion) discusses the changing character of the dress in those days, through the lens of the "intellectual spirit" (*geistige Bild*), which relates to the realm of fashion. Reich writes:

"Clothes are objects of use, not artworks. They are subject to the requirements of the day. And yet clothes can produce metaphysical effects through their inherent orderliness, their peace and restraint, their coquettish gaiety and liveliness, their playful grace, their healthy simplicity, and their dignity. (...) But this service that fashion can provide must adhere to the necessities of life and reflect the requirements of the time: fashion must have discipline" (Schuldenfrei 2014, 120).

Meant to align with the modern requirements of the female silhouette and social role, these dresses considered the changing needs of women at that time. Seen as a continuation of the dresses of Reichardt and Volger, Krause's creation can be regarded as a vehicle for the modern concepts of enveloping the body, alongside a sense of anatomical comfort and hygiene. In tune with the changing role of women in modern society, these dresses allowed for the female body's changing position in tune with the new rhythms of life. Addressing the body in a way comparable to the sartorial designs that had preceded them, such as those of Mariano Fortuny, Madeleine Vionnet and Emilie Flöge, these dresses drew attention to a new appreciation of the female anatomy. The dress can thus be regarded as a symbolic and tangible manifestation of new ways of being in clothing and by extension, within

architectural space—as an overlooked spatial apparatus. The tendency, as these pieces of female attire reveal, was for the dress to become one of the “standard types of practical commodities” (Saletnik and Schuldenfrei 2010, 49), following the mandate of the Bauhaus Workshops. Krause’s sartorial creation, in combination with the rest of the remaining dresses at the Bauhaus archives, may hold the key to the inclusion of the dress in the articulation of the characteristics of the spatial environment, in a way that similar initiatives, such as those of Paul Poiret and Sonia Delaunay, refrained from achieving.

Unknotting and retying modern historiographies

Corona Krause’s artworks comprised a thread that associated the various means of envelopment of the human body with modern ways of artistic and material expression. Crossing between the production of textiles intended for clothing and those designed for the coating of domestic elements, her contribution to modern textile design appears broad. For the Italian-born artist—as for the entirety of the Bauhaus weavers who designed for the terrains of both female attire and interior spaces—textiles were considered to be inextricable parts of the architectural scenography. For them, textiles were regarded as functional, timeless elements, rather than as changeable, ephemeral accessories, and they adequately corresponded to the rising changes in the wider interior, social and cultural environments. They can therefore be appreciated as pivotal quotidian artefacts, rather than as supporting elements—equally important to spatial composition as both pieces of furniture and domestic objects.

The breadth of Krause’s portfolio, and its association with prominent artists and practices of that time and place, sheds light on the need to unknot and retie modern historiographies of the Bauhaus State School, and in particular on the members of the Weaving Workshop. As Krause’s profile remains obscure, despite the significant impetus she gave to the explorations of the school, questions arise regarding issues of gender, female representation and publicity that have influenced historiographical narratives. Corona Krause’s case could be understood both as an isolated case of a Bauhaus alumna who demands further investigation, and in her interrelation with the wider terrain of the craft of weaving in Germany at that time, but also as part of a number of artists the profile of whom, although they were active members of the Bauhaus School, remains briefly explored. This paper aspires to provide a basis for further scholarly initiatives and draw awareness to the broader topics of female representation and inclusion, artistic production and craftsmanship, and cross- and interdisciplinary practices within, and beyond, the Bauhaus State School in Weimar.

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THE TROPICAL BELLE ÉPOQUE'S FASHION IN THE SOCIAL ARTICLES OF JOÃO DO RIO

VIVIAN YOSHIE MARTINS MORIZONO

This presentation is part of my research for a masters degree at the University of São Paulo, financed by FAPESP and coordinated by professor Alexandre Bebiano de Almeida. The original title of this research was *The salons of the Belle Époque in the social articles of Marcel Proust and João do Rio*, where I compared newspapers articles by two authors, one of them Brazilian and the other French. For this presentation I wish to highlight a small part of the dissertation about João do Rio and the importance of fashion in his social articles:

“We all agree that is necessary to copy Paris. May we copy Paris then, even against the savage rage of some, who pretend to love the Portuguese language only because they can't speak French. With this coming heat—that is already here—the ladies dress as Paris fashion demands” (A Moda, *O Paiz*, November 3, 1916).¹

This was written by one of the most well-known and important writer-journalists of the Brazilian Belle Époque, Paulo Barreto, also known as João do Rio, who sought to portray the society of that moment. This author had an important role in Rio's newspapers, from 1899 when he published his first article until the year of his death, 1921. In this presentation I will deal only with a small part of his work, social articles and their context, where journalists were the greatest judges of elegance (Feijão 2011, 139). Based on the works of Guillaume Pinson (2008) about social genres in newspapers, and Gilda de Mello e Souza (1987) and Rosane Feijão (2011) about fashion during the Belle Époque, I show how it was portrayed in the press through the articles of João do Rio, the author's opinions and advice about a variety of themes, and the format of his texts.

¹ All the articles have been taken from Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira, 2015

Brazil and fashion during the Belle Époque

Before analyzing the social articles of João do Rio, I wish to provide some information on the context in which he published his texts. Brazil during the Belle Époque, from 1890 to 1920, was marked by a growing economy, thanks to the success of coffee production. During this period, the country experienced commercial expansion, industrialization, the growth of the consumer market and the modernization of the capital, Rio de Janeiro, the symbol of the republic, which had only been established in 1889.

Despite the significant growth of its economy, Brazil still suffered the consequences of being a belatedly established republic and of the still recent abolition of slavery in 1888. According to Boris Fausto (2002), in 1890, Rio de Janeiro was the only major urban center, with the lowest rate of illiteracy in Brazil—about 53 percent of approximately one million inhabitants in 1920 (Ferraro and Kreidlow 2004, 185). Compared to France, for example, we can state that the difference is significant: in the metropolitan regions of France, in 1914, the rate of illiteracy was only 2 percent (Dumasezior and De Gisors 1984, 15) for a population of forty million inhabitants.

Despite this great difference, the Brazilian Belle Époque was heavily influenced by European culture, mainly French. Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian capital was modernizing itself by following Paris: the main avenue of the city, Central Avenue, designed by the engineer Pereira Passos, was modeled after the urban reforms of George Haussmann (Needell 1993, 55). The façades evoked the eclectic French style of the *École des Beaux-Arts* and all the buildings on the avenue had their architectural design submitted to a jury to ensure that they displayed “civilization” (Needell 1993, 63). “Rio civilizes itself” was a slogan created by the journalist Figueiredo Pimentel in 1904, which was printed all over the covers of newspapers and magazines:

“In place of worn out coats and heads full of dandruff, the most recent outfits from London and Paris, the *langues* and apathic gestures of the *blasés*, or the so called *Jeunesse Dorée*. Instead of *cafés*, fancy clubs and salons, where snobbery reigns” (Broca 2005, 55).

Fashions and customs followed the European way with clubs, afternoon teas, theaters and, especially, the salons, which were the base of the *culture mondaine* of the society (Fugier 1990). In those places, people would acquire and show off their knowledge of European culture, expand their social circle and have important meetings

The social articles of João do Rio

João do Rio's work—articles, news reports, short stories and theater plays—was published in some of the most widely read newspapers, like the *Gazeta de Notícias* from 1903, where he wrote famous news reports entitled “As religiões do Rio” (Rio's religions) and the articles that led to his most famous work: *A alma encantadora das ruas* (The Charming Soul of the Streets). In 1915, Paulo Barreto worked for another important newspaper *O Paiz* (see Figure 1) and wrote about high society and its salons in a society column called “Pall-Mall Rio.” In this column, Paulo Barreto, signed as José Antonio José, had the opportunity to portray the *season carioca*, a period from April to the end of September, when the city was filled with events, theater, tailors, dress makers and lecturers all coming directly from Europe. Finally, in 1917, he published the book *Pall-Mall Rio—Inverno Mundano de 1916* (High Society Winter of 1916)—a compilation of articles, mostly from that column.



Figure 1. First page of the newspaper *O Paiz*, June 10, 1916. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

Simultaneously with his contributions to the newspaper *O Paiz*, João do Rio also wrote, under the same *alias*, the column “A semana elegante” (Elegant week), for the magazine *A revista da Semana* (see Figure 2), about fashion and manners. This magazine was founded in 1900 and inaugurated the photochemical method for printing illustrations in newspapers in Brazil

(Sodré 1999, 274), signed by the great artists at the time, Raul Pederneiras, J. Carlos, Correia Dias and J. Artur.



Figure 2. Cover of the magazine *A Revista da Semana*, August 12, 1916.
Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

Analyzing the articles, we can say that the publications for both newspapers dealt with very similar issues: both provided advice and opinions, and his knowledge of the fashion, and habits and events of the high society. All this for a reader, who, most often, was the very subject of these events: the upper class and the rising *bourgeoisie*. These texts fit into the genre defined by Guillaume Pinson (2008) as *Chronique Mondaines*, characterized by a colloquial tone, full of complicity and nonchalance and on lightweight subjects: “the writer feels free, he allows the register of confidence, rejoices from a certain recognition among the readers: he has a well-known name in the public sphere” (Pinson 2008, 97). The recognition of his work was such that he received numerous invitations to attend the salons of high society and his hosts sought publicity and wanted their names published in the newspapers. This modern newspaper genre can be characterized as falling between literature and journalism; reality and fiction, as noted by Marie-Ève Thérénty (2007). João do Rio adopted many literary techniques in his texts, including: irony; dialogue with the reader; intimate and subjective writing;

long descriptions; listings; insertion of fictional characters and free access to their thoughts and feelings.

Fashion in the social columns of João do Rio

In *Pall-Mall Rio*, fashion appears very often as the main theme in João do Rio's articles, and it is relevant to his salon articles also. Fashion here had the goal of reinforcing the power and wealth of women and their families in the *carrioca* society. In a country with no aristocracy, and consequently no easily delineated social levels, sumptuous dresses became statements of nobility. Given this context, men with access to the labor market let their intellectual brilliancy show, engaging more subtle forms of social affirmation and making use of "hats, canes, cigars and jewelry" (Souza 1987, 75). João do Rio emphasizes this in his articles; according to him, the more harsh, dark and stiff male clothing became, the more artistic, colorful and diverse were female dresses. This is because, in the tropical Belle Époque, women were still far from the labor market, leading them to show off, in their manners and clothing, their husbands' power and wealth. João do Rio's articles focused on women and Rio's bourgeoisie, which was considered by him to be the greatest representation of aesthetics and modernity in Brazil (Levin 1996, 72–73).



Figure 3. Illustration from "As extravagancias da moda," *Revista da Semana*, June 3, 1916. Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

For example, in an article written for his *Pall-Mall Rio* column on June 22, 1916, and entitled "Vestidos" (Dresses), we find data to analyze both the author's style of writing and his opinions on fashion. João do Rio begins by expressing a subjective statement that demonstrates the literary aspect of his publications: "There is nothing more serious than the dress of a woman" (Vestidos, *O Paiz*, June 22, 1916).



Figure 4. Illustration from “Pelos dias de chuva,” *Revista da Semana*, July 8, 1916.
Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

He offers an example of the dress of a supposed lady of high society, one of his many invented characters, Renata Gomes. He writes:

“No one guesses the quantity of artists required to design a dress, artists who understand movement and have consciousness of how fleeting their work is. The first artist is the one who imagines the new fabrics and new combinations of color. The second, is responsible for the sketches. The third one is a dressmaker. The fourth is the woman who dresses this work of art and recognizes its value” (Vestidos, *O Paiz*, June 22, 1916).

According to the author, fashion was to be considered an art form. João do Rio writes about a new trend in women’s fashion in Brazil: the sale of prêt-à-porter dresses. With mild and informal speech, the author constructs a dialogue with a saleswoman of these pre-made dresses, which came directly from Europe, and poses a question for the reader: “Do these dresses, made by anonymous artists, cause the desired artistic effect and are they worn properly?” (Vestidos, *O Paiz*, June 22, 1916). In João do Rio’s opinion: “Wearing Paris clothes is not enough, even if they are from a great Dressmaker. It is necessary to know how to dress in them.” He, then, mentions the ladies of Paris who appear in fashion magazines wearing

dresses signed by well-known artists. In Brazil, a few ladies preferred to dress only in designer clothes; the author lists them as: Laurinda do Santos Lobo and Mme. Nicola de Teffé, who are recurring characters in his articles. He writes: "All ladies dress in a fashionable way, and have charming outfits. But so much more is needed besides the aesthetic vibration of these works of art, refinement and education! Montesquiou de Fezensac said one day: 'Everything is important, above all, the talent for the outfit'" (Vestidos, *O Paiz*, June 22, 1916).



Figures 5 and 6. Illustrations from *Revista da Semana*, November 11, 1916.
Source: Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira.

Fashion in the column "A Semana Elegante," *A revista da semana*

In the articles written for *O Paiz*, João do Rio discretely advises women on how they are supposed to dress. Conversely, in the article of May 27, 1916, for the column "A Semana Elegante" of the *Revista da Semana*, he does this in a more explicit way. The magazine's public was mainly formed of women, as suggested in its publishing of titles like "women's clinic" or "women's letters" and the many advertisements targeting them. It was also

more literary than informative: the *folhetins*, a kind of serialized story, were frequent, as were articles about miscellaneous subjects; there was very little space for the news. Given this, João do Rio had plenty of freedom to write about subjects like fashion in his weekly column and also to use more direct and colloquial speech. In the following article, full of irony, he comments on the exaggerations women commit when dressing up: “look at that lady in a pale blue *crêpe de chine* dress, with blue satin shoes and covered in gems. Is she going to a ball? No. She’s taking a walk, in plain daylight! ... This so-called outfit is not wearable, but exaggerated” (“Ao ouvido a Senhora Exagero,” *A revista da semana*, May 27, 1916).

According to João do Rio, this struggle to dress properly was due to the fact that women in Rio had always followed European fashion, but, with the war this was no longer possible. He simulates a conversation with one of these overly-dressed ladies, a particular one, who, despite her mistakes in fashion, is idolized by society journalists because of her importance in high society and as a hostess of salons: “Lady Exaggeration! For who you are, I ask your forgiveness! I just wanted to talk about the other ones. You are always delightful and adequate.” The author continues in an evasive tone, “It is true that it’s 4 o’clock, but, by modern convention, it is already sixteen hours” (“Ao ouvido a Senhora Exagero,” *A revista da semana*, May 27, 1916).

Conclusion

Social articles are intrinsically of their time: besides the contemporary aspect of their subjects, they are part of a newspaper, a vehicle of communication that is daily and disposable. When brought forwards into the present, social articles become important tools for the study of different periods and their fashion. The writer-journalist, João do Rio, wrote social articles for a broad audience in newspapers and magazines, particularly the more women orientated ones. However, he approached these articles with great irony and wit. João do Rio’s intimacy with high society is evident and imbues his writing with authenticity. Thanks to the literary techniques adopted by him, this intimacy extends to the reader, giving the writer the status of a confidant with his public. He was a mentor for the well-dressed, capable of giving advice or criticizing the fashion of a growing society, which still followed European paths.

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THE BURLESQUE BOOM: A PHENOMENON OF COSTUME AND FASHION

LORENZA FRUCI

What do we mean exactly when we speak of *burlesque*? Etymology shows that the term comes from the French, both as an adjective and as a noun, and that it defines a parodic genre of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature that aped major classical texts and subsequently gave rise to a theatrical tradition. The first traces of this theatrical tradition can be found in Victorian England, and the first British *burlesque* artist mentioned in history is Eliza Vestris, who performed in *operetta* and sang popular songs. *Burlesque* went on to develop in parallel with *vaudeville*, French cabaret, variety acts, the British music hall and the French *café chantant*, but always with the same characteristics: it was a working-class show and often mimicked the affectations of the nobility.

From Europe, it crossed to the United States where, though initially parodying classical tales or plays, it was subsequently influenced by the *minstrel shows*, becoming a “container” full of comedy sketches, variety acts, dance and music. Among these early American *burlesque* performances, we can include the *Girlie Shows*, which used an entirely female cast.¹ The most famous of these was *The Black Crook*, staged in New York in 1866 and remembered as the first American musical, the result of the merger of an American company of actors and a Parisian dance company. Its novelty was dancers with short skirts and skin-colored silk tights that gave an impression of nudity. 1868 saw the arrival in New York of the British producer Lydia Thompson and her company *Imported British Blondes*, almost all of whom were female, who brought to the stage *Ixion*, a show version of Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*. Thompson’s dancers were anything but anonymous, having their

¹ In this article, the author focuses on the history of female *burlesque* in the U.S., although the history and development of this genre differs from country to country, as in France and Britain, it articulated with local realities and was influenced by the theatre, literature and costumes of those countries. *Burlesque* also includes many male artists, both in male costume and cross-dressing forms, and from 1900 onwards includes drag queens, not mentioned in the article.

own routines and being presented by name (they danced, sang, and acted). *Ixion* was on *tournee* for more than twenty years, marking the development of *Girlie Shows* and giving rise to an early form of female *burlesque*. Their success encouraged entrepreneurs to invest in such shows and, in 1869, the theatrical producer M.B. Leavitt created the first female *minstrel show*, combining elements of *vaudeville* and musical parodies that were given the term *burlesque*. The last decades of the nineteenth century saw great developments in female performances, focused on the “queens!” of the various companies as the absolute stars of the show. Among these we should mention the Barrison Sisters. They were a group of five girls known as the “the most sinful girls in the world” for the mainstreaming of the word “pussy” in their performances. They played on its double meaning by singing “Would you like to see my pussy?” as they raised their skirts and showed their panties, from where a black cat would jump out.

According to legend, it was in 1917 that *burlesque* first included an accidental striptease (a date that also marks the beginning of striptease): in a New York club, the dancer Mae Dix accidentally lost her dress and remained in her underclothes. This accident was greatly enjoyed by the audience and encouraged the impresarios, the famous Minsky brothers, to repeat it. In the early twentieth century, showing bare legs was possible, together with allusive and flirtatious talk, but not the naked body. This drew both criticism from the self-righteous and police intervention, to the extent that *burlesque* was prosecuted and police raids often netted performers directly on stage. Prohibition, however, stimulates avoidance, and the characteristic costumes and choreographies of the *genre* were invented to circumvent the prohibition of nudity. To cover nipples “pasties” were invented, and for the pubic area the “merkin” (a pubic wig) was used, while for underwear the G-string (a thong) was incorporated; accessories that even today differentiate a *burlesque* show from a striptease. Furthermore, to allow the dancers to dance naked, the fan-dance was invented, which used enormous fans to cover bodily nudity in a series of sensual rotating movements.

The 1920s and 1930s marked the *Golden Age of Burlesque*, when artistes were known as “exotic dancers” and were stars.

We may recall Sally Rand, famous—particularly in the 1930s—for her fan-dance and bubble dance (a dance with an enormous rubber ball), who was arrested several times in 1937 because she appeared to be naked; she was in fact wearing skin-colored tights. Then there was Gypsy Rose Lee, the star of the 1940s, defined as an “intellectual stripper” who reclaimed greater dignity for *burlesque* and laid down the foundations and rules for shows. We should also mention Lili St. Cyr, the “first lady of *burlesque*,” famous in the 1940s and 1950s, who created the bubble-bath routine. At the end of her career as a

performer, she devoted herself to creating her own line of lingerie, inspired by *burlesque* costumes and designed for wives who wished to titillate their husbands.

Later years saw a decline in *burlesque*, although not of its stars, of whom we may cite two examples: Dixie Evans “the Marilyn Monroe of *Burlesque*” and Jennie Lee “The Bazoom Girl,” who revived *burlesque* in the 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, from 1968 onwards, Jennie Lee worked on her museum of *burlesque*—*Jennie Lee’s Exotic World*—at a ranch in California, although she died before it was opened. It was taken over by her friend Dixie Evans and opened in 1990 under the name *Exotic World* (in 2006 it moved to Las Vegas in Nevada with the name *Burlesque Hall of Fame*²). Today, the public can still see a collection of costumes, posters and original accessories of the most famous performers in history. To promote the museum, in 1991, Dixie Evans set up the Miss Exotic World competition for new recruits to the world of *burlesque*, giving new drive to the genre.

1995 saw the birth of *The Golden Days of Burlesque History Society*,³ a non-profit organization founded by Jane Briggeman as a meeting point for all those who had worked in *burlesque* prior to 1965. The aim of the organization was to preserve the history of *burlesque* by publishing books, collecting materials and arranging meetings with dancers, singers, producers, stage technicians, costume designers, and choreographers, as well as theatre directors and owners who worked during the *Golden Age of Burlesque* all over the world. Briggeman’s mission is to ensure people do not forget an important part of the history of America and elsewhere. On the home page of the organization website www.burlesquehistory.com the following is written:

“You might say that ‘The Golden Days of Burlesque Historical Society’ was created ‘over lunch’ at the home of ‘Tanayo,’ once billed as ‘The Costa Rican Dream Girl,’ in December of 1994. Handing me an old address book, with scratched out faded names, many of which were stage names, she asked if I could help find old friends from her days on the *burlesque* stage. Three weeks later I accepted her challenge and the Burlesque Historical Society began to take shape.

When the search began, ‘Tanayo’ and I combined what addresses we had between us, which numbered close to twenty-five. But many of them were no longer good. People had moved, remarried or died. Several of the letters I sent out were returned. However some people we were looking for were found and they were very helpful. They were also interested in finding friends they had worked with in *burlesque*. So the group was beginning to form, even though

² *Burlesque Hall of Fame* www.burlesquehall.com. Accessed February 14, 2016.

³ The Golden Days of Burlesque History Society www.burlesquehistory.com. Accessed February 14, 2016.

at that time I am sure we didn't realize we were about to become 'a group.' What also helped in the beginning was the fact that Jennie Lee, known as 'The Bazoom Girl' during her career, did everything in her power to keep the dancers connected over the years. Jennie passed away in 1990, long before this group was created, but her interest in burlesque, its history and its people, has been a great help and inspiration to me over the years.

The growth of the Burlesque Historical Society was slow at first, and it still comes and goes in spurts. I suspect it may always be hard for me to comprehend how many thousands of people worked the various stages of burlesque, whether it was in theatres, clubs or carnivals. It took so many people to put on a show. Now stop and multiply that by all the shows that were playing simultaneously not only in the United States, but Mexico, Canada, Europe and the Far East. These shows all required: performers, whether they be strip-tease dancers, specialty dancers, comics, straight men, talking women, MC's, chorus line dancers or house singers; directors and producers; agents; musicians; stagehands; costume designers; choreographers; candy butchers; theater managers and owners; ushers and cashiers... and even still I may have left someone out. That leaves us with a lot of people to find! So we ask, WHERE ARE ALL THE PEOPLE WHO WORKED IN OLD TIME BURLESQUE?

As weeks progressed to months, and months to years, people were slowly being found. The list grew to 45, then 75, and at one time we knew where over 200 people were... all having worked in burlesque in one way or another. [...] But there has to be even more people out there somewhere... where are they? Can you help us locate them? If you know of anyone who worked in the burlesque theatres or clubs By or BEFORE 1965, (date negotiable)... please send me their information. Everybody is looking for somebody!

People continue to be found, and as long as they worked in old time burlesque in any fashion, they are a welcome part of this group. The group works well together, and they help find others. At this stage in the game from what I can tell, however, most of the men involved in burlesque are gone. They were usually older than the dancers. But the search continues, as it continues for all involved in the golden days of burlesque.

What 'The Golden Days of Burlesque Historical Society' is all about is quite simple. We re-connect old friends who worked in burlesque with one another, and share information. In the past, several Reunions have been held in both California and Las Vegas. Will there be more Reunions? I can't say for sure. What seems to be most important to the people in the group is that they receive the newsletters that are put out four times a year and that they can reconnect and stay in touch with old friends. What is most important to the Burlesque Historical Society is that the history of old time Burlesque is preserved.

We should never forget our past. Many of the names of people who were involved in burlesque are names you are probably not familiar with. That's because of all the thousands who worked the various burlesque stages. I feel

as though I have barely scratched the surface as far as learning names or about the various performers themselves. But I have help. I have learned so much from his group of individuals, not only about burlesque, but also about life. Their stories, and their histories, must be preserved before it's too late. The stigma surrounding burlesque must finally be put to rest. These people are and were performers of many talents. They all worked on a stage, out of reach of the audience. These performers put on a show...with comedy, musical numbers, dancing, costumes, scenery and lights. I only hope that we can continue finding others who performed on the many stages of burlesque before it is too late."

The 1990s marked the rebirth of *burlesque*, first in America and then in Europe and the rest of the world, influencing other arts and becoming a social and cultural phenomenon. This rebirth featured two styles: *Classic Burlesque* and *New Burlesque*. *Classic Burlesque* harks back to classic forms (such as the fan dance) in the choice of music, costumes and set design, and typical vintage garments of the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, giving the show a retro identity. *New Burlesque* has adopted contemporary styles, and has been influenced by the cultures and subcultures of the 1990s: it is Old-Style *Burlesque* with elements of punk, rock, pop, uniting corsets and colored locks, tattoos, feathers and piercings. *New Burlesque* is a melting pot of classical and contemporary elements and a fertile terrain for experimentation.

To differentiate these two styles, we may compare two of the artistes who represent them: Dirty Martini (www.missdirtymartini.com. Accessed February 14, 2016) for *New Burlesque* and Dita Von Teese (www.dita.net. Accessed February 14, 2016) for *Classic Burlesque*. Dirty Martini has built her character on her opulent physique, so different from other models and dancers. Realizing that the shape of her body was unsuitable for dancing, which she had studied since she was six, she wanted a show without physical limits and discovered *burlesque*. She started performing in the 1990s in New York and soon met with success, becoming one of the most fascinating artistes of *New Burlesque*, not just in America, but also in Europe. She is one of the most choreographic performers on the contemporary scene, her shows recognized internationally for their mockery and self-mockery mixed with elements of the American subcultures, pop and rock. She won *Miss Exotic World* in 2004 and has now joined *Cabaret New Burlesque* (<http://cabaretnewburlesque.net>. Accessed February 14, 2016), a company that, in 2008, performed in Italy at the *Napoli Teatro Festival* (www.napoliteatrofestival.it. Accessed February 14, 2016). It was there that I discovered *New Burlesque* and was fascinated by it, because the female role it introduces was so different from anything that I had seen before in magazines and on television. Through her *New Burlesque* numbers, Dirty Martini urges women

to be themselves, criticizing the models imposed by the media that dominate the world of dance and fashion, praising imperfection and making herself the standard-bearer of a new feminism. For her, *burlesque*, besides being an art form, is a way of breaking ordinary genre stereotypes; it is the new punk rock, offering women a way of redefining themselves, without considering the limitations imposed on them by society. I asked a few questions of Dirty Martini (by e-mail on March 2010):

Stripping is often regarded as commercialization of the female body. Do you think that the same applies to new *burlesque*?

Because modern *burlesque* is created, performed, run by and glorified by women, the voice of the revolution is different than conventional stripping. Although I'm not the foremost voice of this discussion academically, I can say that the difference is in the preparation, intention and presentation of the show. The exchange is led by the performer and any situation is guided by that performer to their specifications. No one in the room is allowed the privilege of guiding that experience or choosing the person or exchange for their cash. Most of the time, the venue has no control over that either. The only recourse for guiding the show that the audience may have is not applauding or participating or going to get a drink when they don't like what's going on. That said the curator of the show creates an atmosphere that may be interpreted in any way by the audience and some audience members may have preconceived notions and beliefs that the performer cannot control.

Can new *burlesque* be considered a new feminist movement?

I believe in myself as a feminist super-hero! I myself and many of my colleagues do consider themselves feminist or queer artists, but the trouble comes in defining all of *burlesque*. I believe that any step in the direction of glorifying and not objectifying womanhood—that is the, strength, beauty, sexuality, ingenuity and thoughtfulness of women—is a step toward freedom. *Burlesque* may be a bit advanced for some countries and cultures to handle but I think it can be very liberating for women and their admirers in this world of male supremacy.

Dita Von Teese has, on the other hand, has made *Classic Burlesque* into a true life-style, to the extent of wearing vintage clothes at all day long. She has successfully recreated a retro image and become a fashion icon, immediately identifying her with the world of old-style *burlesque*. In her shows, as in her everyday life, she represents glamour, perfection, classic femininity, luxury, and the past, thus ensuring that her character is the top representative of the *burlesque* genre. Dita started in striptease at clubs when she was about 19, in the early 1990s, and, to distinguish herself from the others who came on stage

nude, she wore vintage-style lingerie. A natural blonde, she dyes her hair raven-black against her milk-white skin, creating a retro style, and always uses fire-red lipstick—nonconformist choices that led to her early successes. In 2002, she was featured in *Playboy*, presenting her image to the world. At that point, Dita realized that to escape from the striptease clubs and find a wider audience, she had to create a more stage-like show. This she did with a “luxurious bath in a Martini glass,” achieving worldwide success. She has modeled for Moschino and Jean Paul Gaultier, and been a testimonial for *Agent provocateur* and *Frederick’s of Hollywood*. *Wonderbra* has named a line of lingerie inspired by the 1940s and 1950s after her, and, in 2014, Dita created her own lingerie brand—*Von Follies*—which takes its inspiration from *burlesque*, including a line for “curvy women” and for new mothers. She says in an interview⁴:

Who could you imagine wearing the collection?

I think my lingerie collection is designed for anyone who wants to have glamour in everyday life... and, admittedly the collection is designed for myself as well! Ever since I was a little girl, I've been in love with lingerie as a symbol of femininity and womanhood. My lingerie collection is for those of us who revel in being a woman. I believe a woman should honour herself with nice lingerie that makes her feel sexy and confident; it shouldn't be something to be put on for a man. I believe in the everyday cultivation of sensuality... If you want to be a seductress of the highest level, you have to understand what it really is to be sexy... it's not about aiming to please other people, or thinking about what pleases another. A great seductress surrounds herself with beauty and pleasure, and others are seduced by this world that she creates and long to be invited into her world. I have always believed that lingerie can be a great tool of seduction, but the wonderful thing is that we are living in a time where we don't have to choose between everyday lingerie and lingerie for seduction.

Who or what inspires your designs?

I am inspired by vintage details from my vast collection of vintage lingerie. I adore lingerie from eras gone by, but I also appreciate modern shapes and technological advances in the construction of lingerie. I am inspired to capture the beauty of retro style, but I believe in reinventing it in a modern and functional way. I'm also sometimes inspired by things I see in fashion; for instance when I go to the couture shows in Paris, I might see a beautiful and

⁴ Gow, Gemma. September 25, 2015. “Dita: My Boyfriend Thinks Suspensers Are Totally Normal!” *Look*. <http://www.look.co.uk/fashion/dita-von-teese-interview>. Accessed February 14, 2016.

priceless gown, and I might create lingerie that is inspired by the colour, or the lace, or design details. I also love to post photos on my Instagram account and ask people what their favourite colours for lingerie are, or which colour I should design next in the most popular styles, like my Madame X collection.

Underwear as outerwear has become such a big trend. Are there any pieces from the range that would work for this? If so, how would you style them?

I do love lingerie as outerwear... I am especially fond of my Dahlia bodysuit as a statement piece. I love to wear bustiers with high waisted pencil skirts and cardigan sweaters. It's chic to wear a fetishistic bra peeking out of a tuxedo jacket... I love a touch of something ultra-feminine with menswear. Lingerie allows you to have a secret persona that can be totally different from your usual fashion style... and I love letting a bit of contrasting lingerie showing. It adds interest and intrigue...

Describe the Dita Von Teese lingerie girl...

I guess she's like me! She believes in the power of glamour to transform and give confidence; she doesn't wait for someone to give her glamour, she makes it for herself, and finds ways of infusing glamour in her everyday life... like with lingerie and red lipstick, for instance. She also knows that glamour has nothing to do with wealth, age, size, shape or ethnicity. Glamour is for anyone who wants it. If you desire it, create it!

The *burlesque* revival can be explained by understanding the importance of different cultural factors, such as the vintage trend that has recently impacted fashion and the significant reaction to pornography dictated by the search for greater femininity. The success of *burlesque* is also due to its use of costume, in which Dirty Martini has been one of the greatest champions, supporting *New Burlesque* as well as New Feminism: freeing women from an aesthetic standard, from the dictates of fashion, and from a codified femininity. Her story is an example for so many ordinary women (who are not artists), who are now requesting performers to give them lessons in *burlesque* to express their femininity and teach them how to be seductive in an amusing way.

Initially a niche product, *burlesque* has exploded as a mass phenomenon, impacting female aesthetics, including brands of lingerie, accessories and clothing that have seen an opportunity for good business. Consequently, speaking of *burlesque* today no longer refers solely to a show *genre*, but to an well-defined fashion trend. Chantal Thomass and Agent Provocateur, as well as the Italian firms Moschino, Yamamay and Intimissimi have devoted several collections to *burlesque* style, enhancing brassieres and panties with

feathers and sequins; reintroducing corsets, suspenders and garter belts; it is a phenomenon that has been transformed into a business for firms and performers alike.

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THE MIRABILIA ROMAE BY VALENTINO

VALENTINA MOTTA

Mirabilia Urbis Romae (Wonders of Rome) was the name of the guides used by pilgrims who went to Rome during the Middle Ages. The description of the ancient ruins, which can be found in these volumes, starts with the Roman walls and the triumphal arches before passing through theatres, baths, buildings and all the monuments that can be considered as the symbols of the Eternal City. In fact, these texts had a double function: they were guides for pilgrims, but were also an attempt to celebrate the glorious past of ancient Rome, which was “a big museum” full of “Italian wonders” (Fossi 1997, 109).

Mirabilia Romae was also the title given by Maison Valentino to the capsule collection launched in 2015 and inspired by themes and artwork that have contributed to creating Rome’s myth. In order to continue their project, Pierpaolo Piccioli and Mariagrazia Chiuri, creative directors of the fashion-house, visited museums, took Polaroid pictures and studied their own city, creating a “moodboard,” which was a sort of magic hat, full of inspirations and suggestions.

The first outfit of the show, for instance, called “Zeus bird,” was a black lace gown with an eagle and a red ribbon, such as the one recently found in Mignanelli’s building, a historic palace, built in the sixteenth century, where the first boutique of the brand was hosted in 1960 and which could be considered to be Valentino’s house. Many considerations can be provided in order to stress the importance of the eagle in Latin culture. Firstly, it was a bird that identified Zeus, the most important god in Greek culture, which was then imported to Rome where it became an icon of the legions and of the Roman Empire; its image was used as a symbol of power and force. The eagle was often drawn while flying, with its wings open and its head turned to the right; it was often reproduced in the higher part of the ensign where a little sculpture, shaped as an animal, was placed.

Other outfits recollect the shapes and structural elements of some of the most famous monuments created by Roman architects, such as the Colosseum and the Pantheon. The first one, also known as Amphitheatrum Flavium, was built by Emperor Vespasian between 75 and 80 BC. It was an

elliptic structure, though not perfectly defined, with three floors, which could be viewed from the outside and were underlined by three series of 80 arches. The rhythmic movement of those arches inspired Valentino's stylists, who reproduced them in the black, velvet, and cashmere "Colosseum cape," worn over a delicate, thin black dress.

In ancient Rome, capes were sleeveless garments, with or without a hood, covering the upper body, and more fitted and shorter than a cloak, which had different names such as *bardocucullus* or *birrus*; they "were worn by soldiers, male and female civilians, and especially rural labourers, often as protection against the weather" (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 29). Pierpaolo Piccioli and Mariagrazia Chiuri reinterpreted this form of dress, changing it into a longer, more elegant and fashionable version, so that the cape covered the legs and feet. These particular features seem to refer to the ancient *sagum*, "a rectangular cloak ... worn fastened with a brooch or fibula, even though it was usually mid-length as it stretched to the knees" (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 164).

The second monument (118–128 BC) was an ancient temple dedicated to all the gods who were worshipped during the pagan age. Burnt down by fire, it was reconstructed under Emperor Hadrian as a great, new temple with a big *oculo* over its dome, which had a coffered, opened ceiling that was decorated by a *cassettoni* motif; this is the same motif that appears on the cape called "La Rotonda." This short cloak, characterized by velvet applications, creates a perspective effect with its geometrical drawings resembling part of the ancient *cassettoni*.

Another cape, called "Damnatio ad bestias" (Sentence for the beasts), uses lion cage decoration to refer to the activities of gladiators in the Colosseum, where they fought against wild animals. Lions were enclosed in cages in the *arena* before the combat and these structures are suggested by curvilinear lines, which reproduce the essence of the shapes. It is also interesting to add that *damnatio ad bestias* was the capital punishment for prisoners guilty of terrible crimes or for slaves who had committed serious offences against their owners. They were usually thrown into the Colosseum and killed by the beasts, while viewers watched the show. This was "pure entertainment, the cruelest and bloodiest of the whole history; in this way, amphitheatres became real slaughterhouses" (Manfredi 2006, VII).

Petronius Arbiter, a Latin writer of the 1st century BC, in his masterpiece "The Satyricon," gives us some information about this custom. In his work, the rag-dealer (*centonarius*) Echion, during the famous episode of Trimalcione's dinner, talks about some spectacular gladiator shows that were going to be organized by Titus and then recounts the story of the treasurer Glicon. He was found guilty of having a relationship with his owner's wife

and for this reason—Echion explains—Glicon was to be eaten by beasts, even though responsibility had to be accorded to the woman, who took advantage of her social standing. The most remarkable thing is that Echion seems to appreciate this kind of show, described as a cruel event, which would produce a lot of blood and a *carnarium*, a heap of deaths (Chiara 1988, 110).

Gladiators' sandals, worn by models during Valentino's show also refer to those activities characteristic of the Colosseum, having been worn by gladiators. The name derives from the Latin word *gladium*, a short sword which was used not only by Roman soldiers, but also by fighters in the *amphitheatrum*. These flat shoes, usually made of suede or leather, have strings tied along the legs or ankles; they are also known as slaves' sandals because gladiators were selected slaves, chosen for their incredible strength, who were forced to fight and entertain the public. Roman gladiators did not wear shoes, but gaiters and they might have had some padding as protection, possibly of linen, on their legs and arms, so that they were not dispatched or disabled too soon, while leaving enough of the body unprotected to provide a good chance of wounding (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 81–82).

Other models wore *crepidae* sandals, which were popular among fashion-conscious Romans and “were a complicated network of leather straps and cut out patterns, held together over the front of the foot by ties” (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 42). Borrowed from Greek fashion, they sometimes covered the toes and occasionally the ankles. This kind of sandal, scarcely visible under the black gown, was modified by Valentino's stylists and made more elegant by the use of golden material or black leather, as sometimes happened during the imperial age when they could also be decorated with little shells, colored plumage and pendants (for further information www.storiadellamodafemminile.wordpress.com). Precious details and sophisticated jewels added a fine note to the show and made it special; in particular, Alessandro Gaggio created tiaras reproduced from original models, made of a sort of cylindrical rod, enriched by vegetal decoration.

It took about 900 hours—because of its hand-made construction—to create the red cashmere overcoat, whose name was “The woman soldier.” Embroidered with frogs, it produces a military effect that is reminiscent of battles, fought by Roman warriors; this harsh impression jars with the typically shocking Valentino red. This colour is usually reserved for elegant ball-dresses and is a particular feature, making the brand famous all over the world. It is also interesting to notice that red, white and black appeared to be the basic cross-cultural color triad of the Roman age; red, in particular, was

associated with “military and ritual violence and clothing because of its symbolic value, which reminds us of blood and sexuality” (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 42, 160). It is not surprising to find these three colors in Valentino’s show, as his outfits were all based on this triad. 2,500 hours were spent by tailors in completing the coat and the dress called “Desideria” (desires), which was characterized by a patchwork of small brocade *tesseras*. This combination of multi-colored fragments was inspired by the ancient floors set in the Roman Basilica. This was the first Christian temple created for the Christian community after its persecution ended. It was constructed after the old *aula*, located in the *forum*, which was a civil and commercial building. The most interesting Italian example is represented in Saint Peter’s Basilica, which is nowadays considered to be the biggest and most ancient basilica in the world and was rebuilt over a previous structure that can be traced back to Emperor Costantine. The original Basilica was said to have different functions, being the economic heart of the *forum*, alongside the Emilia Basilica, built in 179 AC. Some surviving fragments of the pavement show a colorful pattern made up of marble *tesseras*, combined through a technique called *opus sectile*, which may be Valentino’s source of inspiration. This particular decoration, which was codified during the Greek-Roman and late-Roman age, enjoyed such great success that it was applied in medieval churches too, such as the Pomposa Basilica in the twelfth century (Zanchi 2015, 64–69).

The title “Vibia Sabina,” used for the red velvet dress which closed the show, refers to the name of Hadrian’s wife, whose iconography, which spread all over the empire from 100 BC onwards (Carandini 1969, 61), is testified to in marble sculptures of a veiled woman, wearing a dress recognizable as *pallium*. This was a unisex Roman cloak, formed by a rectangular piece of cloth; it was used by ordinary people, but also by the higher classes and in this last case it could be made of silk with gold threads: “for the Romans it was the quintessence of Greek dress” (Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones 2007, 137), being something similar to their *himation*, whose authentic features were translated into a more sensual version by Maison Valentino. This sleeveless gown is characterized by a deep neckline, consisting of three large, curled strips, bent over the waist.

This precious and sophisticated collection was both wonderful and magnificent. Everything harked back to the glorious past of the Latin Empire; everything contributed to rebuild an eternal myth, which lives nowadays in the ruins of ancient Rome.

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BETWEEN FASHION, ART AND PHOTOGRAPHY: IRENE BRIN AND THE EARLY ACTIVITIES OF THE GALLERIA L'OBELISCO

ILARIA SCHIAFFINI

Rome, 1946. In the capital of a country devastated by World War II, a young couple set up a gallery that would make history. The woman was very well-read, a polyglot, and a brilliant fashion and costume journalist, while the man was a professional army officer. During the war, Irene Brin and Gaspero del Corso had managed a small antique bookshop and gallery (La Margherita) and in 1946 they opened the gallery L'Obelisco. This was not a militant gallery, nor did it follow trends: L'Obelisco was open to diverse proposals. In fact, it was frequented by prominent artists, such as de Chirico, Morandi and Campigli, as well as by younger artists like Afro, Vespignani, Muccini, Clerici and Caruso. It hosted both commercial artwork and radical and innovative research, like that carried out by Burri, who held a solo exhibition at La Margherita in 1946 and then another three shows at L'Obelisco, the first one in 1952. That same year he created the shocking work *Sacchi* (Sacks). The most significant trait of the Roman gallery, however, was its opening up to the international scene following a twenty-year period of isolationism brought on by Fascism: Dalí, Matta Echaurren, Magritte, Tanguy, Gorky, Bacon and Calder, and even the chance appearance of a very young Rauschenberg with his first European exhibition, brought a wave of novelty, which helped Italy bridge the gap to the international art scene. Italy discovered it was able to attract the attention of foreign visitors once again, especially Americans, thanks also to the vitality of Italian neorealism and the attractive image of the country conveyed in its films.

Although the management of the gallery was entrusted to Gaspero, who demonstrated remarkable intuition in choosing the works for display and a similar ability in dealing with the commercial side, the personality of Irene Brin and the professional relationships she built in the field of fashion no doubt facilitated the creation of the gallery's international reputation and determined the unmistakable flavor of eccentricity and worldly influences of

the works exhibited. This was especially so after Brin obtained the prestigious position of Rome Editor for *Harper's Bazaar* in 1952. Not only were the exhibitions of painting and sculpture accompanied by presentations of drawings, engravings and applied arts, but, pioneering in Italy, was the attention given to photography and Primitivism. Furthermore, the use of the press to communicate and advertise the activities of the gallery, freely inspired by American fashion magazines, was innovative and unconventional for the time and place. Art, photography and fashion converged in an aesthetic dimension of the life of the couple, whose professional and personal relationship was not separate, but included their respective professions. This article intends to highlight some of the focal points of the interaction between art and fashion in the management of L'Obelisco, focusing on the figure of Irene Brin and on the outcome of her work as a fashion journalist from 1946 until the end of the 1950s.

On May 13, 1947, L'Obelisco inaugurated an exhibition of drawings, lithographs, and posters by Toulouse-Lautrec, with the catalogue essay written by Irene. In May-June 1947, Irene wrote the article "Alla Toulouse-Lautrec" (Brin 1947, 25–26) for *Bellezza (Beauty)*. The piece is a collection of hats by Clelia Venturi photographed by De Antonis against a background of stylish silhouettes and sketched by the French artist. In those years it was very common for fashion magazines to show tailor-made products or accessories in galleries or in front of archaeological locations or monuments. De Antonis took many photos of this kind and went on to become famous; perhaps one of his best known is that of Paolina Borghese in a fur coat. Helena Rubinstein had played an important role in the development of this trend, with the intention of showing off the power of beauty, by casually exhibiting the works of art that hung from the walls of her villas around the world (Klein 2015).

The article on Toulouse-Lautrec is useful because it allows us to look into the methods with which Irene Brin nonchalantly promoted her gallery. At the beginning of the 1940s, Irene advertised in a similar manner in the magazine *Bellezza*, with the unsigned piece "Nuovi cappelli con de Chirico" (New hats with de Chirico), which was published in the November 1948 issue. It shows models walking past lithographs by de Chirico, which were exhibited in a solo exhibition dedicated to the great metaphysical artist at L'Obelisco a few months later. The case of Salvador Dalí is also well known: he was the subject of an article on costume by Irene Brin in January 1949 (Brin 1949, 58–61). The photographs portrayed the models wearing clothes by Fontana, Gattinoni and Eva Mangili Palmer, curiously observing the drawings Dalí had sketched a few months earlier for the costumes of Visconti's *As You Like It* by Shakespeare, which made its debut at the Teatro Eliseo on November

26, 1948. The simulation of a visit to an exhibition—where the sketches were made bigger thanks to a photomontage by De Antonis—indirectly alludes to the Galleria L'Obelisco, where the day after the performance the first Italian exhibition of Salvador Dalí was inaugurated, with the drawings for the Italian costumes and sets on display. The relationship between Dalí and Irene would continue with her Italian translation of *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*, the autobiography of the Catalan artist, published by Leo Longanesi in 1949, as recounted by her in *L'Italia esplode* (Brin 2014 [1968], 86–94). She continued to be a privileged point of reference for the cultural and commercial operations Dalí went on to organize in Italy during the first half of the 1950s, such as the monographic exhibition at the Palazzo Pallavicini Rospigliosi in 1954 (Schiaffini 2014, 179–81; Schiaffini 2011, 649–53).¹ One must turn to the existing bibliography for further reference, but it is worth noting that aside from the inevitable distance Irene put between herself and the exaggerated and provocative histrionics of the artist, her pen was sensitive in its capturing of the characteristic blend of Baroque art, fashion magazine glamour, pre-war avant-garde culture, and the Hollywood star system. She wrote about Dalí's sketches: "Shakespeare is translated with a sophisticated style where the old surrealism attacks a very young Baroque element. We have Borromini plus Vogue, Bernini plus Harper's Bazaar" (Brin 1949, 58. See also Caratozzolo 2007, 37).

The author here senses the interplay between sophisticated art and consumer art, which was more or less akin to what she was creating in her gallery. In these articles the professional and personal life of the author is what decides these choices: on various occasions she does not hesitate to mention autobiographical events, as if art, fashion and photography—the latter uniting the first two in an artificial setting—served to dramatize her life. We can easily say that the character of Irene Brin enters the stage in a narration made up of images, texts and captions, with cinema as the model of reference. This is the case with the article "Un altro Obelisco a Roma," published in *Bellezza* on December 1946. Here Irene, wearing a Carosa gown, is in the foreground, advertising fashion items and the recent opening of her gallery: the exhibition of paintings by Morandi she is indicating will inaugurate L'Obelisco. The photographs by De Antonis point to interrupted actions and suspended diegetic dynamics in a play of looks and gestures that take place between the protagonists of these images and an eighteenth-century statue. A sort of narrative progression is visible in the article "Casa, dolce casa" (Home sweet home), published in *Bellezza* on December 1946,

¹ On the artist's relationship with Italy see Aguer and Mattarella (2012).

where her private home becomes an aesthetically appropriate set to advertise home wear.

Another form of indirect publicity was provided by the settings for some of the photo shoots published in the same magazine. For instance, the May 1947 and September 1948 issues featured models wearing clothes designed by Fontana and Gattinoni posing in front of screens decorated by young artists who were being launched by the gallery, such as Vespignani and Cristofanetti. The aesthetic dimension of these pictures was not new to Irene Brin. Her education had provided her with a broad overview of the main trends and interactions on the European scene, concerning the development of art, design and architecture from the time of the pre-war avant-garde onwards. Paintings, sculptures, design objects, jewelry and items of clothing were all part of a unique dimension, conveying a sense of preciousness and glamour to her life. Irene paid manic attention to detail and transformed her appearance radically depending on the occasion; her chameleonic nature would lead writer and journalist Indro Montanelli to nickname her “Mille Maria” (one thousand Marias) (Fusani 2012). From this point of view it is interesting to look at her relationship with the all-round artist Giò Ponti; he was an architect, artist, furniture designer and industrial designer and his work brought a high degree of innovation to the Italian scene. In 1928, he founded and directed *Domus*, an architecture journal that would become the most important of its kind in Italy in the period between the two wars. In 1941, during World War II, he gave life to *Stile (Style)* (1941–47), and also played a role in the founding of *Bellezza*, the luxury style magazine dedicated to Italian fashion. Irene was proud of the fact that he had asked her to collaborate and work for this new magazine for women, the editorial board of which she became a part in 1945.² Homes, design, high fashion were all considered by Ponti to be forms of art. In 1945 he wrote: “the superfluous that victoriously blossoms again, irrepressible and emotional, rising from the ruins, is a great sign of the fortune of us Italians, and expresses the desire for something that goes beyond pure fate and mere existence.”³ He was an open admirer of the L’Obelisco gallery and kept in contact with the couple who managed it over the years. In December 1949, he held a solo exhibition of his paintings at L’Obelisco and ten years later he wrote for the catalogue of the

² Irene Brin recounts in “Moda italiana giramondo,” published in *Bellezza*, April 1956, 124: “I am proud to remember that I collaborated in the first number of *Bellezza*, invited by Giò Ponti.”

³ Giò Ponti, “E’ superfluo il superfluo?,” *Bellezza*, 1, November 1945, quoted in Caratuzzolo (2007, 27).

exhibit dedicated to the embroidery of Irene Kowaliska, a Polish artist and ceramist, whose works had already been featured in *Domus*.⁴

If one looks at the list of exhibitions held at the gallery one also finds shows dedicated to jewelry,⁵ ceramics,⁶ and embroidery;⁷ they are not many in number, but are indicative of the activities carried out there. They also reflect the interests of Irene Brin. For instance, during the time that she managed the antique library La Margherita, she exhibited a painting by de Chirico together with jewels by Reutern, as noted in *La Domenica* on July 29, 1945; in that period she had personally sewn surrealist jewellery to sell and use, with glass eyes obtained from embalmers and large silk ribbons.⁸ At this point, the presence of two fashion illustrators among the artists on show at L'Obelisco is not surprising—Federico Pallavicini and Marcel Vertès. Pallavicini was Swiss though he trained in Austria. He was a decorative artist, set designer, and window dresser—the renowned Viennese pastry shop Demel owed its shop windows to him. After being in close contact with Irene Brin in the early 1940s, when he worked as an illustrator and editor for the magazine *Bellezza*, he moved to the US in 1950. Here he became art director for Elizabeth Arden. After that, from 1956 to 1965, he was the artistic consultant and interior designer for her rival, Helena Rubinstein, for whom he decorated some of the rooms in her famous apartment on Park Avenue. The first exhibition of gouaches and drawings at the L'Obelisco gallery in 1948 was followed by a second one in 1959;⁹ this is a sign that he had kept in

⁴ On March 31, 1953, Gaspero del Corso noted in his diary: “Giò Ponti visited with Daria Guarnati: he said he adores us and admires the gallery.” A brief exchange of letters in 1949 on the artists exhibited in the gallery is kept at the Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e la galleria L'Obelisco Archive (GNAM, Rome). I thank Claudia Palma, director of the Bio-iconographic archive and Historic Estates of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna di Roma, for making the consultation possible.

⁵ In December 1949 *Gioielli di Masenza* by Afro, Guttuso, Leoncillo, Mirko, Savinio; in 1950 *Rosita Tacconi* (January) and *Carlo Farkas* (June); in December 1963 *Gioielli di Sebastiani* (Camerlingo and D'Alesio)

⁶ In December 1949 *Ceramiche di Val d'Inferno. Opere di A. Cascella, P. Cascella, A. Cesarini, F. Rieti*; in March 1951 *Carlo Barbasetti Di Prun. Ceramiche*; in January 1953 the ceramics of *Enzo Assenza*; in May 1957 those of *Salvatore Meli* (Camerlingo and D'Alesio).

⁷ In 1954, aside from the exhibition of Kowaliska (in April), the exhibition *Maria Savinio, Ricami da dipinti di de Chirico e Savinio* was held in July (Camerlingo and D'Alesio).

⁸ Irene Brin remembers these details in her *Autoritratto di una moglie*, published in the *Corriere della Sera*, June 8, 1963.

⁹ The first, entitled *Ipocrisie*, opened on April 10, 1948, while the second opened in April 1959, as testified to in the two brochures by the authors.

contact with Irene Brin while in the US, probably thanks to Irene's many visits to Helena Rubinstein and her ties to the world of fashion in America. Marcel Vertès on the other hand was an artist, set designer and costume designer. He was Hungarian, but lived in Paris and New York. In 1952, he was awarded an Oscar for his work on the film *Moulin Rouge*; during the 1930s and 1940s he had been the main illustrator for *Vogue*; and in 1954 he held his first Italian exhibition at L'Obelisco.¹⁰

In addition to fashion journalism and the promotion of the gallery, the del Corso couple also organized exhibitions abroad that would run parallel to fashion shows, an activity which proved to be highly remunerative and presented yet another opportunity for the cross-pollination of art and fashion. Irene was active in promoting *Made in Italy* creations (in 1951 she supported the international launch of Italian fashion by Giambattista Giardini), while Gaspero worked, together with her contacts, on projects for international tours of exhibitions or for the production of shows dedicated to Italian artists. In the early 1950s the couple worked together with extraordinary and pioneering clairvoyance in exporting Italian culture *tout court*, in all its expressions.

The first event worthy of note in this respect was the Festival of Punta del Este, held in 1952, where Irene brought Italian fashion to Uruguay, alongside French fashion. Gaspero accompanied her and took some pictures that were then published in *Bellezza* (Brin 1952). Irene Brin recounted:

"In 1952 I received a letter from a multimillionaire in Punta del Este, more or less stating: 'I could organize a festival in my nightclub dedicated to Italian fashion or a striptease event with French girls. I know you dress very well, could you organize the fashion exhibition for me? I'll pay for it all, the journey, models, and your return.' I answered that I would accept only on condition that he also organized, at his expense, a completely different exhibition in Montevideo, called *Jovines y Maestros en la Pintura Italiana de Hoy*. He accepted, on the condition that I would speak from one of his many radio stations each evening. Together with the fashion creations, works by Modigliani, de Chirico, Severini and Burri were shipped to Latin America. And each evening I would give advice to the people in Uruguay on how to dress their salad with a certain oil produced by our patron. I became really good at it."¹¹

¹⁰ Irene's portrait, painted by Vertès on this occasion, is kept today in the *Museo Irene Brin* in Sasso di Bordighera.

¹¹ "Un'intervista all'Obelisco," *Domus*, 403, June 1963 (reproduced in Costantini and Celant 1993, 47–48).

Carrà, de Pisis, Campigli, Pirandello, Vespignani, Muccini, and Caffè also took part in the exhibition, as reported in the article “I successi italiani nel mondo” in *Bellezza*, July 1956 (96).

A similar operation, where art and fashion were made to interact, was staged in Australia. In June 1955, Italian fashion landed in Sydney for the Italian Parade event, anticipated by the arrival of Australian buyers in Florence in January 1955 who had chosen Schuberth, Capucci and Carosa. Irene's efforts were rewarded. While travelling, on June 2, 1955 she was made Knight of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic for the promotion and the establishment of fashion in Italy and around the world. The artistic side of the promotional event organized in Australia was developed almost casually. Once contact was established at the end of April with David Jones, the owner of the first Australian Department Store chain and an eponymous art gallery, Gaspero proceeded to set up the canvases, without frames, for the exhibition, which opened on June 15 in Sydney.¹² Helena Rubinstein played a central role in the organization of the *tournee*; she had in fact launched, at a very young age, the building of her extraordinary empire of beauty products in Australia. In his agenda, 1955, an amazed Gaspero writes of the generous sums donated by Rubinstein to Irene, given as *argent de poche* during her stay in New York, from where she travelled to Sydney, Australia.

At that time, Rubinstein was the subject of an interesting commission concocted by the del Corso couple. After Rubinstein had decided to support Irene's initiatives, who had in turn offered to promote her cosmetics in Italy, she was immediately involved by Gaspero in the patronage of some of the gallery's artists. These artists would, in Irene's insinuations, turn Rubinstein into “a Renaissance patron, a modern Medici.”¹³ So she commissioned a series of works of art on visions of America created by twenty (actually twenty-two) young artists from L'Obelisco. The condition was that they must have never visited the US—the only exception was made for Burri. The works, which became part of the prestigious collection of Helena Rubinstein, were then taken on a very successful tour. This was the travelling exhibition,

¹² Marisa Martelli mediated between the del Corsos and David Jones. Details of the tour can be found in the *Agenda del 1955* (Archivio La Centrale dell'Arte, Rome). I thank Jaja Indrimi for making the consultation possible. In addition to the artists who had already taken part in the exhibition *Twenty Imaginary Views of the American Scene* (1953), Lorenzo Indrimi, Renato Guttuso and the classic artists of the Italian tradition, Campigli, de Chirico, Marini, de Pisis, were also included.

¹³ The suggestive description was given by Patrick, who was accompanying Rubinstein and would maintain friendly relations with Irene and Gaspero, as testified by the brief exchange of letters kept at the Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e la galleria L'Obelisco Archive (GNAM, Rome) (O'Higgins 1971, 174–75).

Twenty Imaginary Views of the American Scene by Twenty Young Italian Artists, which was inaugurated June 15, 1953 at L'Obelisco; it was then held in Capri, Paris, and finally in the US, where it toured for six months, from Cincinnati to San Francisco and finally to the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

The “progressive young Italian artists” who had impressed Rubinstein with their “individual inventive skill”¹⁴ were introduced by an essay written by Alberto Moravia—another frequent visitor of the L'Obelisco gallery. The writer highlighted how the fall of Fascism had freed “the impulse of Italian artistic vitality” towards what could be described as a new, Italian Renaissance: “a new Italian literature, a new Italian cinema, a new Italian painting and sculpture scene,”¹⁵ which he preferred to place under the rubric of neorealism because of its relationship with contemporary reality. Despite Moravia’s words, Italy’s art scene was actually quite varied, considering the differences in age of its members (with members born between 1909 and 1929), as well as their different expressive tendencies. The group of painters mostly involved in the representation of “reality,” albeit portrayed in epic, caricature, lyric or simply illustrative tones (among them the two Communists, Marcello Muccini and Renzo Vespignani, as well as Bruno Caruso, Nino Caffè, and Aldo Pagliacci) was flanked by a group of artists with an inclination towards the visionary dimension and a metaphysical and surrealist touch (Fabrizio Clerici, Colombotto Rosso, Enrico D’Assia, Giordano Falzoni, Stanislao Lepri and others); those of a more primitivist taste (Franco Gentilini, Ivan Mosca, and Antonio Music); a smaller number of artists was engaged in abstract experimentation, represented by Afro, Alberto Burri, and Leonardo Cremonini; only two sculptors (Pericle Fazzini and Mirko) were included in the exhibition.¹⁶

In any case the Princess Gourielli’s (Rubinstein’s title after her second marriage to a Georgian prince) insight was proven correct: “over fifty million people saw those paintings at the museum, in the department store windows, on the pages of national magazines, in the Sunday editions, in the newspapers” O’Higgins wrote in his biography, “with an initial investment of eight thousand dollars... she received over half a million dollars in free

¹⁴ Helena Rubinstein, preface to *Twenty Imaginary Views of the American Scene by Twenty Young Italian Artists*, 1953.

¹⁵ Alberto Moravia, text in *Twenty Imaginary Views of the American Scene by Twenty Young Italian Artists*, 1953.

¹⁶ Dario Cecchi and Manolo Borromeo were added at the last minute to the twenty original artists. Cfr. *Agenda del 1953*, March 7, May 14, and 25, June 11 (Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e la galleria L'Obelisco Archive, GNAM, Rome).

advertising, while the twenty paintings were valued at one hundred thousand dollars at her death” (O’Higgins 1971, 177–78).

The del Corsos proved just as wise; from the current state of research it is not possible to quantify the sales that resulted from this long tour, however, it is evident that the exhibition and the artists gained great visibility in *Harper’s Bazaar*.¹⁷ Irene Brin had become the American magazine’s Rome editor in 1952 thanks to Carmel Snow.¹⁸ This marked a fundamental turning point not only for Irene, but for the L’Obelisco gallery as well, and from this moment on it gained in international stature. The opening up of the American market is witnessed by a promotional leaflet sponsoring the L’Obelisco gallery in English, in which the director is introduced as “Rome Harper’s Bazaar Editor.” “When in Rome visit the most important modern art centre of the new Italian Renaissance,”¹⁹ with these words the brochure opened a montage of articles from the transatlantic edition of *Time* and *Harper’s Bazaar*: a review of the great exhibition “Twentieth Century Italian Art” in 1949 at MOMA, with which Gaspero del Corso had collaborated, introduced a few small cameos of the gallery’s artists. Two of these artists had participated in the New York exhibition, Vespignani (*Good Red Draftsman*) and Muccini (*Loafer With Heart*), while other artists were of a more commercial persuasion: Nino Caffè (*Priests at play*) and Aldo Pagliacci (*Church Burner*). The casual mixture of love for art and a head for business was a trait shared in common by Helena Rubinstein and the del Corso couple, who maintained a cordial relationship with her by virtue of substantial esteem.

Despite the salaciousness of Gaspero’s comments recorded in his diary in 1953,²⁰ over the years he maintained a relationship of open collaboration with “Madame,” for example, defending her from the unflattering portrait of the journalist Montanelli, who called her a “fascinating sorceress” while explicitly accusing her of being excessively attached to money.²¹ Irene on the

¹⁷ The paintings of Antonio Music, *Harper’s Bazaar*, June 1953, 84–85; “Roman Painters of the Galleria L’Obelisco,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, April 1954, 140–41. A similar battage took place in *Vogue* with “Imaginary Views of America by Italian Painters,” *Vogue*, October 1953, 68–69; *Four Young artists*, *Vogue*, October 1953, 116.

¹⁸ On Irene Brin’s Rome Editor position see Caratuzzolo (2014).

¹⁹ *L’Obelisco Galleria d’Arte Moderna* (undated but after 1951), kept in the Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e L’Obelisco Archive (GNAM, Rome).

²⁰ In the *Agenda* Gaspero writes: “Rubinstein wants to buy a drawing by Spadini and a canvas by Magritte, she brings a gift to Irene, who has set up business with Carla Orlando, Simonetta and Fabiani, an embroidered cardigan that I will immediately give to the manicurist” 1953 (Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e L’Obelisco Archive, GNAM, Rome).

²¹ Gaspero del Corso, “Ricordo della Rubinstein,” in *Corriere della Sera* Wednesday April 7, 1965.

other hand defines her in her diary as “curious, cynical and intelligent, with something of an old Hebrew mother and an ancient oriental queen.”²² The notes describe a frequent peregrination between Rome, Paris and New York, characterized by the invasive generosity of Princess Gourielli, aside from their mutual professional interest. For example, during the Roman visit in February and March 1953, while Rubinstein was dealing with her husband for the exhibition at L’Obelisco, Irene organized a photo shoot to promote her perfume, Sybarite.²³ Among the aristocratic woman, actresses, models and wealthy Roman personalities, who were the target of the new cosmetic industry, was counted the courageous director of the National Gallery of Modern Art in Rome, Palma Bucarelli. With her glamorous, fascinating and authoritative personality, she combined an interest in art with that of fashion, sharing advice on style, fashion shows and providers with Irene (Cantatore and Sassi 2011, 122–24). It is worth noting that at the end of the 1950s Bucarelli made a few attempts to promote cosmetics at the National Gallery of Modern Art: in 1957 she tried to promote a new line of lipstick, perhaps one of Rubinstein’s, on the initiative of the Princess Marcella Borghese, but she was stopped by the ministry. A year later, a similar proposal by the same princess was initially authorized, but, with the invitations already printed, was then diverted by Bucarelli to a site in EUR, presumably to avoid any ensuing controversy.²⁴ The National Gallery of Modern Art had previously hosted an event linked to the fashion world on May 7, 1949—the *Ballo dei nastri* (the Ball of the Ribbons, a fundraiser organized by the Rome Police Headquarters for the Casa del Fanciullo Institute for Young Boys). It is also worth mentioning that, aside from the exhibition of Italian art *Mostra d’arte italiana* organized by the gallery in 1958 at Birmingham, Alabama, Bucarelli also set up an Italian fashion show, grasping the potential of the combination launched by Irene and Gaspero with their international tours.²⁵ Rubinstein’s relationship with art was by then consolidated and mature, as demonstrated in her 1957 autobiography in French, *Je suis esthéticienne*.²⁶ It would be

²² Irene Brin, in *Agenda del 1953*, note dated March 3 (Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e L’Obelisco Archive, GNAM, Rome).

²³ Ivi, note dated March 7.

²⁴ *Niente galleria per la principessa*, «Il giorno», May 1, 1958. See Margozi (2012, 10) and Margozi (2015). I wish to thank Maria Stella Margozi for these suggestions.

²⁵ In 1961, Bucarelli was granted authorization by the Ministry of Education for a fashion show at the Modern Art National Gallery (Marullo 2009, 211). Palma personally chose the clothes to be exhibited at the Universal Exposition in Montreal in 1967 (Cantatore and Sassi 2011, 128).

²⁶ A copy with the original autograph “With love to Irene from Helena Rubinstein” is kept in the Irene Brin, Gaspero del Corso e L’Obelisco Archive (GNAM, Rome).

interesting to investigate some of the curious similarities between Rubinstein's tastes in art and the choice of exhibitions made by the del Corsos. The similarities can be seen simply by their frequentations of the international art market linked to the American industries of fashion and entertainment. Here we shall limit ourselves to listing these commonalities between them: the first was a taste for surrealism with a mundane touch, which, from the cumbersome figure of Dalí on, includes two artists of the Parisian neo-romantic movement of the 1920s, who later became successful illustrators and set and costume designers in New York: Pavel Tchelicheff and Eugène Berman. During the 1950s the two stayed in Rome for a period of time, in close contact with the L'Obelisco circle and held numerous solo exhibitions at the gallery.²⁷ The second intersection can be seen in a shared interest in primitive art, which pervades the collections of Rubinstein: she collected many objects during her travels, and throughout her vibrant life, of West African, Polynesian, Malaysian, and pre-Columbian origin. It is no coincidence that in May 1953, a month before the opening of the exhibition *Twenty Imaginary Views*, another show on Mayan art, *Mostra di Arte Maya*, a first of its kind in Italy, opened at the L'Obelisco gallery.

In an unidentified article by Irene Brin, dated to the early 1950s, she writes:

“The old myth of mutability and interpretation finds a new example in Helena Rubinstein, Princess Gourielli. This woman, true to herself, loyal to friends, obstinate in her arbitrarily chosen tasks and freely accepted duties, loves to see herself through the eyes of others, and has asked to be portrayed by Salvador Dalí and by Raoul Dufy, by Marie Laurencin and by Candido Portinari, by Corrado Cagli and by Pavlick Tchelicheff. I have named only six, not mentioning the other sixty. In her aerial home in New York, in her earthly villa in Provence tied together by trees, Helena Rubinstein can continually mirror herself in the canvases that reflect a different woman.”²⁸

Aside from the content, the title of the article, “Una, centomila, tutte” (One, One Thousand, All) suggests an identification of Irene Brin with Rubinstein in the use of art as a mirror of life; as a prism multiplying various identities. The imaginative and simulative aspect of art was strongly felt in Irene, who continued to use her journalism and the gallery throughout the 1950s as privileged mirrors for projecting an existence alluded to almost in fantasy. One last example may convey the sense of such a creative existence.

²⁷ Berman held three personal exhibitions at the L'Obelisco gallery: in 1949 (with a presentation by Cagli), and then in 1959 and in 1961; Tchelicheff exhibited there in 1950 and in 1955 (Camerlingo, R. and D'Alesio, M.).

²⁸ Brin, *Una, centomila, tutte*, quoted in Caratozzolo (2007, 103).

The journey that took the couple to Australia in 1955, for the fashion festival and art exhibition, was reflected in an article and exhibition that can be considered to be a personal story, as well as a starting point for a new journey of the imagination. In “30 kg di bagaglio per Operazione giro del mondo” (30 kg of Luggage for Operation Round the World) written in June 1955 (Brin 1955), Irene gives advice on the best clothing items for those who, like herself, are about to embark on a particularly long journey. Against a background of maps, enlarged by the expertise of De Antonis, Ivy Nichols, then a famous *mannequin* who would go on to exhibit the first results of an sudden artistic vocation in a show that sparked controversy at the L’Obelisco gallery, modeled dresses and accessories created by Simonetta.

The imagery generated from the photo shoot was echoed in the Christmas 1955 exhibition at the Obelisco gallery *Giro del mondo* (Around the World). Indian miniatures, Japanese akari lamps, aboriginal paintings, fans, and Polynesian cloth collected by the couple during their recent travels were interspersed with works of art in the gallery. Both the objects and the paintings were portrayed in the brochure and classified under one of the five continents: the objects because of their country of origin and the paintings through thematic similarity, even if a little vague (*Il deserto*—The Desert, by Burri in Africa; *La Turchia*—Turkey, by Caruso and *L’Odalisca*—The Odalisque, by Manet in Asia; *New York* by Maselli in the Americas; *Il torero*—The Bullfighter, by Vespignani in Europe and so on).²⁹ This series was followed by a sixth imaginary continent: *Fantasia* (Fantasy), represented by Giordano Falzoni, then still a surrealist painter, with *Giardino in Wonderland* (Garden in Wonderland). Nothing could have better indicated the aesthetic and simulatory qualities of the relationship between the world of fashion and that of art, and between private life and professional activity, carried out by Irene Brin.

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²⁹ *Giro del mondo*, brochure of the exhibition held at the L’Obelisco gallery in December 1955.

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THE ART OF COSTUME: ITALIAN CREATIVITY FOR THEATRE AND FILM

BRUNA NICCOLI

Costumes made for theatre and cinema are art creations and involve complex technical work. In Europe, during the twentieth century, costume also acted as a cultural expression for many national identities. This paper discusses some of the ways in which the art of costume designed and produced high quality technical artifacts, contributing greatly to the realization of magnificent performances in Italy. We intend to offer a scientifically documented research of these particular artifacts and of the related implications and problems that come from such artistic creation.

For the period 1900–50, we will mainly discuss theatrical costumes; while film costumes, for obvious reasons, will be taken into account in relation to the later period, that is, the second half of the twentieth century. It was only during the second half of the twentieth century that stage costume became a specific interest for the scientific community. Following the promotion of applied arts exhibitions, in which ephemeral accessories created for performances were displayed, the costume itself became a subject for critical study.

In Europe, historians first became interested in stage costume as an object of study during the 1960s, in those studies on the border between history of theatre and history of art (Martin 1968). Those studies carried out from the 1980s up until today, through a joint effort of art historians and theatre historians, have produced a good number of critical reflections centered, particularly, on the definition of costume in relation to the performing arts (De Marly 1982); on the relationship between costume and fashion (Valerie 2012); and on the study of costume in relation to national and European cultural identities (Angiolillo 1989).

Today, the number of studies on stage costume has never been so large; however, scientific contributions capable of initiating a new phase in research are very few. A careful analysis shows that the available literature on stage costume should be studied while taking into account the various fields of research to which it is related; the frequent disregarding of this last aspect

mirrors the state of the art, which is de facto non-systematic and very much fragmented. On the other hand, although there have been a small number of studies carried out in recent years specifically on the history of theatre and film costume, the available literature taking into account stage costumes is quite vast, with research progress in analogous fields of study and the setting up of new methodologies to analyze visual documents. Therefore, we can consider the history of theatre and film costume as a fairly recent discipline, originating during the final decades of the twentieth century.

The success of international exhibitions dedicated to stage costume, particularly over this past decade, shows how much a stage costume can continue to live on outside the performance or film for which it was created (*Hollywood Costume* 2012). Today, most studies focus on costumes housed in museums or in collections, most of which are already catalogued and contribute to the reputation of the museum or collection itself. At present, in Italy, the study of costumes is going through a phase of interest never observed before.¹ Nonetheless, there is a lot of work to be done.

Italy does not have a specific museum devoted to the subject and most costumes are housed inside the major national theatres or in the most important tailoring houses for theatre, cinema and television (Bignami 2005). Italian historians from the second-half of the twentieth century have preferred to study the great institutions where the best artifacts are preserved: the Opera Theatre of Rome, the San Carlo Theatre of Naples, the Regio Theatre of Turin and the Opera Theatre of Florence. With regard to the study of artifacts, many of these investigations are of insufficient scientific value.

Among these, the collection of the Teatro alla Scala of Milan, thanks to the extraordinary performances undertaken, from the 1980s onwards, has been one of the most investigated and there are a number of publications describing this research. However, these studies focus mainly on heritage documentation, illustrating the richness of the archives of the Teatro alla Scala and, in particular, the prints sections consisting of iconographic material of the many fashion-plates.

The recent contributions of Vittoria Crespi Morbio, which involved the study of the Teatro della Scala archives, demonstrate the great number of issues that the study of costume—in this case stage costumes—can bring up in looking at the circulation of iconic models for the performing and visual arts and for society. In terms of the Italian scene, Crespi Morbio highlighted the importance of stage costume, starting with an essay on the character of Caramba (Luigi Sapelli 1865–1936), a pioneer in costume design, detailing

¹ See for Italian film costume *Fashioning Cinema. Women and Style at the Venice film festival*, 2013, 2012; about the relationship between Italian fashion designers and theatre see *Il Teatro alla moda*, 2011.

its implications for society and the international borders of fashion in the early twentieth century (Crespi Morbio 2008), and finishing with one on Lila de Nobili (1916–2002), a great artist, whose interpretation of history was structured around fashion themes and contents (Crespi Morbio 2014).

The peculiar contradiction of the Italian situation, which sees such a division between the enormous numbers of costumes preserved and the quantity of scientific literature on the costumes themselves, has clearly emerged from the international discussion that has taken place at various international symposia (*Costume Colloquium I*, International Meeting, Florence, November 2008; *Costume Colloquium II*, International Meeting, Florence, November 2010).

The activity of the ANAI (Italian National Archives Association), directed by Isabella Orefice, offers a state of the art resource that has no precedent on the subject of fashion in Italy. Fundamental to this has been the development of a comprehensive portal on fashion, Archivi della moda del Novecento (Fashion Archives of the Twentieth Century, www.anai.org), which provides precious information on the subject of art-costume production in Italy. This portal constitutes a necessary reference for the subject, especially on the relation between fashion, the performing arts and cinema.²

The most recent Italian exhibition on stage costume—*I vestiti dei sogni* (*Costumes of dreams*, Rome, Braschi Palace, 2015)—was limited by its monographic layout: although the catalogue offered a wide range of remarkable artifacts, created by the most famous artists of the Made in Italy milieu, including Piero Tosi, Gabriella Pescucci and Milena Canonero, there was a lack of scientific study presented on the significance that these costumes bring to the understanding of cultural identity in Italian costume production (*Il Guardaroba dei sogni. Cinquant'anni della sartoria Tirelli*, 2014).

Gabriella Pescucci started working in Umberto Tirelli's tailoring workshop in 1966. She remembers Tirelli as an exceptional costume designer. Tirelli's workshop in Rome houses an incredible collection of authentic dresses from the past and it is here that Pescucci's costumes were designed, inspired by historical models. Gabriella's vision of Italian fashion was influenced by the world of cinema that she was connected to: from Piero Tosi's costumes for *Il gattopardo* and *Senso* (director Luchino Visconti), which both took place in

² See 2009:

<http://moda.san.beniculturali.it/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Niccoli.pdf>2011:
<http://www.moda.san.beniculturali.it/wordpress/?percorsi=dossier-tematico-moda-espettacolo-le-sartorie-teatrali>; see also: <http://moda.san.beniculturali.it/>
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Italy in the second half of the nineteenth century, to the 1960s that, as she says, opened “with the worldwide success of the *Dolce Vita*” (directed by Federico Fellini). She believes, however, that Italy’s creative strength lies in its centuries-old handicraft expertise, in which can be found the real history of Italian fashion and costumes (Niccoli 2015). Tailoring workshops had existed for a long time before the ateliers of fashion designers, which made their appearance in the 1950s. Without the handicraft culture of tailoring workshops, the Made in Italy brand would never have existed.

The literature on Italy focuses mainly on the history of the major couture houses and analyses the costumes made for the performing arts, films and artists. Supremacy in the field of costume today belongs to Tirelli, which in recent years has created costumes for the most important international film productions.³ A large exhibition of refined costumes created by Tirelli was organized to celebrate the 150 years of the history of Italy, from 1861 to 2011 (*Moda in Italia 150 anni di eleganza 1861-2011*, 2011).

Milena Canonero currently works at Tirelli’s in Rome. Even when a film is set overseas, the production of the historical costumes—if the budget allows—is undertaken in Italy. In Tirelli’s workshop, over the years, the costume designer made beautifully elegant works of art, which are very much appreciated by the critics. This internationally renowned artist declared: “being Italian means that I carry with me a cultural and social baggage of special artistic sensibility” (Niccoli 2015).

When comparing Italian literature on this subject to other European examples, it is unfortunately limited. This paper aims to set the study of stage costume not only in a national network of scientific references, but also to articulate it with other European examples. One of the indisputable achievements of the twentieth century in the field of costume in Europe is represented by the field of applied art and the catalogue of costumes preserved in museums, particularly in France and the UK. In a survey examining European stage costume, France stands out and has the only collection dedicated specifically to performing art costumes—Centre National du Costume de Scène—partly accessible online.⁴ This is an independent institution that has collected together an extraordinary heritage of art accessories from the Opéra de Paris (Kahane 1995) and from the rich collection of the Comédie Française (*L’art du costume à la Comédie Française*, 2011). The French Centre National du Costume de Scène aims to preserve and enhance France’s national heritage (Fauque 2011). Its excellent website provides a vast database for scholars and students. Costumes are documented in relation to the artist and the history of performing arts,

³ See <http://www.tirellicostumi.com>.

⁴ See Centre National du Costume de Scène. <http://www.cncs.fr>.

ranging from those of the Russian Ballets, to French film costumes and Christian Lacroix.⁵

A similar situation can be observed in the UK, where impressive collections of art costumes are housed in museums, the most remarkable of which are found in the Victoria and Albert Museum (V&A) and in the Museum of London. The extraordinary quantity of the material preserved in the archives of the Victoria and Albert Museum, ranging from fashion-plates to art costumes, has allowed for a significant and comprehensive study of the subject to take place. An important characteristic of this collection is that it does not only include material from the UK. Recently the Department of Theatre and Performance has been enriched by costumes from the Museum of Theatre and the Museum of London. The number of results accessible online is larger than those published, most of which are at a work-in-progress stage.

The thorough work of the V&A has produced an emblematic multidisciplinary catalogue of all items that can be accessed by anyone through the website, constituting a precious resource for this field of study.⁶ The exhibitions of the V&A on stage costume are very important too, as demonstrated by the catalogues. In the exhibition *Hollywood Costume* (2012), historians highlighted the cultural and technical evolution and decorative innovation of film costumes over the twentieth century. *David Bowie is*, was another important exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum (2013), which showed how important stage costume can be for a star performer and the history of music (*David Bowie is* 2013).

The French and English contributions include study methods and results that may be difficult to equal; in terms of their paradigmatic character they possibly are, since they have provided an indispensable instrument of analysis for the study of the relationship between stage costume and design, and between stage costume and technical execution.

This model has been used as a guide for study and publication, driving international artistic discussion and dedicated to an important piece of Italian heritage. A large collection of costumes—for the stage and for the cinema—are housed inside the only institution devoted to this field in Italy: the Cerratelli Foundation, situated in San Giuliano Terme, Pisa (*Monumenta. I costumi di scena della Fondazione Cerratelli*, 2009). The Cerratelli Foundation has a collection of about 30,000 theatre and film costumes, made by Casa d'Arte Cerratelli, the tailoring and dressmaking establishment opened to service show business in Florence in 1914 at the behest of the Baritone, Arturo Cerratelli. Between 1914 and 1995, the Cerratelli workshop

⁵ See www.cncs.fr: Expositions and Collections.

⁶ See <http://www.vam.ac.uk>: Exhibitions and Collections.

created incredible, high-quality costumes for the international stage (Niccoli 2008, 43–57). In 2005, the costume collection of Casa d'Arte Cerratelli took on a new life at the foundation, which preserves this great Italian heritage. Renowned costume designers, directors, singers and actors have contributed to the formation of this collection of great historical and cultural value, which is representative of the history and tradition of theatre, television and cinema. Giorgio De Chirico (1888–1978), Luchino Visconti (1906–76), Maria de Matteis (1898–88), Antonio Valente (1894–1975), Umberto Brunelleschi (1879–1949), Aldo Calvo (1906–91), Franco Zeffirelli (1923–), Aurel Miholy Milloss (1906–88), Nicola Benois (1901–88), Eduardo De Filippo (1900–84), Emanuele Luzzati (1921–2007), Luciano Damiani (1923–), Pierluigi Pizzi (1930–), Enrico Job (1934–2008), Maria Callas (1923–77), Sofia Loren (1934–) and Plácido Domingo (1941), are but a few of the many names we can mention (Niccoli 2013).

The Cerratelli Foundation attempts to present a complete typological survey of stage costumes made in Italy. The specificity of Italian stage costume has been described through historical reconstructions carried out at the Cerratelli, from the 1920s on, by the costume designer Gino Carlo Sensani (1888–1947). The foundation conserves costumes designed by this master for theatre and cinema; he was an artist who made his creations using all five senses—ranging from the tactile to the visual.

In *Orlando* (directed by Mario Ferrero) at Maggio Musicale Fiorentino (1959), Pier Luigi Pizzi designed topical theatre costumes for the opera. Pizzi set his imagination free, constructing draperies for statuesque bodies and creating bizarre theatrical costumes, both metaphorical and deliberately artificial. It was the beginning of a long relationship between Cerratelli tailoring and one of the great artists of Italian stage costume (See *Attilla*, opera, music by Giuseppe Verdi, directed by Sandro Sequi, Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, 1972).

From the 1960s onwards, period costume was one of the most celebrated expressions of Italian design. Cerratelli couture obtained international recognition (Danilo Donati, 1926–2001) with the 1968 Oscar for Costume Design for the film *Romeo and Juliet* by Franco Zeffirelli. Franco Zeffirelli had many costumes made in the Casa d'Arte Cerratelli and he is the honorary president of the Cerratelli Foundation.

Anna Anni (1926–2011) was another international costume designer symbolic of the Made in Italy label. Anni has travelled through the contemporary history of the performing arts, measuring herself against every language from the stage to the screen and from the complex machinery of the opera to the ethereal lightness of ballet and great cinematic costume dramas. In the Cerratelli workshop, she has created costumes imbued with the

aesthetic language of modernity. She has transformed the body of the performer into the very essence of the stage persona (*Costumi di scena. Anna Anni e l'Officina Cerratelli*, 2013).

Anni worked on *La Lupa*, directed by Franco Zeffirelli for the 1965 Maggio Fiorentino. This work placed the seal of approval on her fruitful, life-long collaboration with the Casa d'Arte Cerratelli. Anni created a black costume of soft fabric that hugged the powerful body of Anna Magnani (1908–73), completed by the expressive mask of pure passion that she brought to the role as the central protagonist. For the great tragedy, *Mary Stuart*, by Friedrich Schiller (directed by Franco Zeffirelli, 1983), Anni designed costumes that were metaphors of power made concrete in the ideation of symbolic vestments. These costumes are pure architecture, calibrated by scrupulous research into the history of sixteenth-century costume, and designed to mold the bodies of the regal queens—one Catholic and one Protestant, played by Valentina Cortese and Rossella Falk—they are genuine masterpieces and true works of art that today celebrate the history of Italian costume design.

The aesthetic of Anna Anni's costumes was based on her mastery of sartorial technique; this was the great secret to her art. She liked to say that even the authorship of the artist had to give way to the tailor and his craft; the history of costume for the stage was not written by the designer, but by the dressmaker. In the ateliers of the greatest theatres in Italy—La Scala, San Carlo, l'Opera di Roma—the costumes of Anna Anni are still objects of admiration and study today, not only for their design, but for the techniques employed in their realization.

The fundamental aim of the Cerratelli Foundation is the conservation of its heritage and the cultural promotion of costume design. This is done primarily through annual costume exhibitions open to the public, as well as to experts in the field. From 2005, the exhibitions, curated by the director, Florida Benedettini, and the musician, Diego Fiorini, have dealt with various themes, such as a particular historical period; the work of a single designer; an original technique used in the creation of costumes made for the stage. The concept behind each exhibition is dynamic and aims to recreate some of the magic of the performances for which these costumes were made (*Lele Luzzati un mondo di fiaba* 2009).

From 2005, there has been an agreement in place between the University of Pisa and the Cerratelli Foundation for the cataloguing of this patrimony. The scientific results of the studies already carried out show the value and potential of the artifacts of this famous Tuscan tailoring house. This institution houses high quality costumes that are also used in original scientific research based on new computer technology. One of the

cataloguing workshop guidelines is the intention to present the catalogued costumes as study objects for educational activities.

Full achievement of this innovative research constitutes a challenging issue, which may be summarized in the following stages:

- a) to understand the particular cultural characteristics that differentiate the multiple identities of Italian manufacturing, starting from preserved historical costume;
- b) to study the problems of stage costume conservation in Italian and European collections and the conservation techniques used;
- c) to formulate new solutions to better preserve these materials;
- d) to create an international paradigm in the field of stage costume conservation;
- e) to create a website, as part of a network, leading to a better critical awareness of this cultural patrimony, and making available a large amount of information to researchers.

From February 2015 onwards, costumes from the Cerratelli Foundation are part of Europeana Fashion website. More than 100 of its records can be consulted through the portal, consisting of an enormous catalogue of European dresses, costumes and fashion items.⁷ At the Cerratelli Foundation, students from the University of Pisa can attend seminars, conferences and workshops held by professors, conservators and contemporary artists, all of whom are authorities in this field of study or from the Italian performing arts scene (Niccoli 2010). Teaching has always been one of the main priorities of the Cerratelli Foundation. The foundation, in fact, organizes higher education courses sponsored by the University of Pisa, focusing on the specific technical and cultural expertise of costume design. The teaching methodology developed over these nine years of work has been improved by a continuous confrontation with the highest standards of teaching in Italian education institutions. The need to create new university courses that respond to the professional requirements of our time has influenced the educational choices made since 2009.

⁷ See *Europeana Fashion*. <http://www.europeanafashion.eu>

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THE MARMOREAL POLYCHROME AND DRAPERIES IN THE ROMAN RELIGIOUS SCULPTURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ALEXIA VAHLAS

The Roman post-Tridentine period, which is of interest to us here, was characterized by Baroque art from the end of the sixteenth until the beginning of the eighteenth century. This was the troublesome period of the Protestant Reformation, which started at the beginning of the sixteenth century with the reformation of the Catholic Church and the Counter Reformation initiated by the Council of Trent in 1563. Rome, the Papal State, was particularly affected by these events and the Church tried to renew the image of the city (Sanfilippo et al. 1990, 316–45; Haskell 1991). Religious art had to do two things: reaffirm Catholic values and reaffirm papal power.

Increasingly, the Catholic reformation affected art in Catholic churches, according to the instructions of the treatises that had been written.¹ The Council of Trent, however, did not provide clear instructions concerning art. Paleotti, a doctor of law, the archbishop of Bologna and a Cardinal participated in the Council of Trent. He was directly engaged in the Counter Reformation and wrote *Discorso intorno alle immagini sacre e profane*, a treatise concerning post-Tridentine art in 1582. As he said, the artist must use different artistic techniques to manipulate and persuade the believer. Paleotti focused on the feelings of the spectator. He was the first to discuss the artist's technique and emotion defining the goal of art. In this type of communication with the believer, religious art was to educate, charm and persuade. In such a context, the art of emotion, magnificence, awakening, and the soul is created, offering the promise of salvation. After the Renaissance period, with the rediscovery of the values of antiquity and of a classic artistic language, Baroque rhetoric was assimilated into a discourse full of tricks, often designated "asianist," which is the term for the oratory style adopted by the Greek population in the conquest of the Near East. Cicerone distinguishes

¹ The three most famous ones: Charles Borromini (1538–84, Italy), Paleotti (1522–97 Italy), and Molanus (1533–85 France-Belgium).

two styles of asianist rhetoric: one moderate, but animated by some reflexive paradoxes and the other more outrageous, verging even on pathos.

We are talking here of the art of “effect.” The beholder is an important element in this process. The artist aims to create a dialogue with the believer. Regarding aesthetic communication, the spectator has been considered from antiquity until today, as a person who is watching, rather than an actor. At the same time, an internal form of communication is understood to take place as the beholder gives meaning to the artwork through his own interpretation and comprehension. According to Wolfgang Kemp (1998), an implicit spectator is hidden behind every work. In the context of the Counter Reformation, the believer was to return to reason, through a visual and intellectual process uniting the material, the colors and the relief with a transcendental light, which should conduct him back to the true faith. Baroque art is an art of exhilarated impression, of gestures, colors and forms, that is enchanting, guiding the believer to salvation through the passions of the soul. Images of the saints in ecstasy is emblematic of this period, which brings with them the question of metaphor, necessary for the representation of the unrepresentable. The artist tries to depict transcendence, removing doubt from the believer who is entranced. In the first part of this paper, we will outline the artistic innovations and use of metaphors to transmit a message in this particular context. In the second part, we will analyze its aesthetic aspects: how the artists play with verisimilitude, formal styles, polychrome, and finally with light. The question is: how did the artists of the seventeenth century materialize that which is not possible to materialize? Finally, we try to understand the religious sculpture of post-Tridentine Rome as studies in shadows and light.

Bel Composto—metaphor

Jacob Burckhardt mentions that Baroque sculpture is “a whole where we cannot recognize architecture from sculpture” (Burckhardt, 1992, 759–86). *Bel Composto*, being the union of art or the assembly of different arts, is the association of painting, sculpture and architecture, creating a set or a whole. It was not the technical ability that was of primary importance in Baroque art, but the genius of composition. The question was one of integrating sculpture into the “surrounding space” (Wittkower 1995), by considering the place, the architecture and the surrounding paintings. The artist acts as a conductor, using the environment in which the beholder is placed to highlight the work, by considering the light and the point of view. The sculpture is in interaction with the place—these different arts are not independent of each other. These media draw their inspiration from each other. They constitute a whole that

participates in the emotional response and education of the spectator and sculpture finds its space as scenery painting. Furthermore, the goal of the religious art of the period was the enrichment of the liturgy using all possible means; this may be the reason for such an artistic union. It was the relationship between the spectator and the artwork, not the artwork as an object, that had to be considered. The believer was communicating with it, raising his soul and embracing his faith.

Bernini is famous in terms of *Bel Composto* and an important figure in seventeenth-century Roman art. He had a huge capacity for work and a great number of significant commissions. He was, however, not the only one. A large number of artists from all over Europe worked in Rome from the end of the sixteenth century up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, including: the French restorer of antique sculptures, Nicolas Cordier; the French sculptor Pierre Legros Le Jeune; and members of the Bentvueghels society.² All of them, through their education, sensitivity and culture, demonstrated that the Baroque was to be considered a relationship between divergences and similitudes. This heterogeneity was made, in the Papal State, to align with religious expectations.

Rudolf Wittkower, in *Bernini, The Roman Baroque Sculptor* (Wittkower 2005) explains the connection between the Counter Reformation and Bernini's religious art—its “emotional identification” (Wittkower 2005, 56) through technical methods. It is the whole religious space that is at the center of his work, setting the scene of a story. This was to be a journey of faith so that Catholic belief becomes logical and clear for the beholder. In order to touch the believer deeply (Freedberg 1991), scenes of ecstasy were favoured, through representations of the saints physically experiencing their faith. As Emile Mâle said, “during the seventeenth century, the religious saints, foreigners to everything in this world, contemplate in ecstasy the Christ, the Virgin or the saint.”³ The transition is clearly marked in the representational act of fainting in front of transcendence. Architecture and ornamentation are the keys to spiritual visualization and they juggle different materials, colors, symbols and light. It is a convincing vision for the affirmation of ecclesiastical power. This art is a “solution for those who were starting to

² An artists' society, mostly from Flanders and Germany, who were known for their work representing quotidian life. See: *Les Bans-fonds du baroque; La Rome du vice et de la misère*, exhibition catalogue, directed by Francesca Cappelletti and Annick Lemoine, from October 7, 2014 to the May 24, 2015, between the Villa Medici at Rome and the Petit Palais at Paris.

³ Au XVII^e siècle, les saintes religieuses, étrangères à toutes les choses de ce monde, contemplent dans l'extase le Christ, la Vierge ou les saints (Mâle 1932).

doubt.”⁴ The feelings are expressed in draperies: “the drapery creates this zone that insulates the artwork from the banality of the outside, making it fit at the same time.”⁵

An example illustrating this is that of Albertoni’s chapel of the San Francesco a Ripa, which contains *The Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* of Bernini.⁶ The Marquis Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni, proprietor of the chapel, ordered the altarpiece by Gaulli representing *La Vierge à l’Enfant et sainte Anne*, immediately after Bernini had finished the sculpture in 1674. This sculpture must be perceived alongside Gaulli’s work, the angular stucco’s that surround it and the architecture that sets the boundaries of the whole scene. Every piece has its own function and all these works, although separately analyzable, should be considered together. The white marble suggests purity and divine perfection and, surrounded by polychrome, the blessed appears as a vision to the believer. He perceives the narrative, because the artist has chosen a particular point of action—the ecstasy. The spectator understands the preceding and subsequent scene, creating the effect. The beholder is subjugated. As the scenery makes this impression, the Catholic religion comes to the fore and its action is placed in front of the believer. But, if this moment appears real and unachievable at the same time, it is through the *bel composto*, unifying the point of view, that light finally appears on these heavy unrealistic draperies softly supporting the ecstatic body. This body does not sink into the drapery, on the contrary, it brushes past it; the body is raised up in front of the believer’s eyes. The brown sheet appears to be a mineral element, but with its flowery aspect and artificial yet harmonious folds, it combines the blessed bodily forms through long straight lines and tormented curved lines. The strong contrast of the colors enhances this divine appearance. The Baroque rhetoric sees flights of the majestic in sculpture, enacted by draperies and polychrome.

Saint Peter’s Basilica is, for Bernini’s work, a prestigious place, but a place of experimentation too. Here he applied his research into the post-Tridentate demands, tying together iconography and the formal style, and enriching the paintings, sculpture and architecture with each other. He creates a grand finale, a new ornamental vocabulary with the Quirinal Church,

⁴ échappatoire pour ceux qui commenceraient à douter, (Wittkower 1995).

⁵ le drapé crée cette zone qui isole l’œuvre d’art de la banalité du monde extérieur tout en permettant de l’intégrer à son environnement (Wittkower 1995, 123)

⁶ Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), *La Bienheureuse Ludovica Albertoni*, 1671–74, San Francesco a Ripa, Rome. The Marquis Baldassare Paluzzi Albertoni acquired this chapel in 1622 to pay tribute to the blessed Ludovica Albertoni.

produced between 1658 and 1678⁷ (Ferrari, and Papaldo 1997). The marmoreal polychrome queen, Ludovica Albertoni in her death throes, is added to the standard church plan, surrounded by stucco and paintings in harmony with the iconography. The eyes rise up from the principal altarpiece to the little angles in bronze illuminated by a hidden window, then to the cupola, and to the large Saint Andrew who is pointing with his finger to the divine light. All this is composed of stages that guide the eyes across the chapel and engage the believer. Bronze, stucco, marble and paintings are all actors in this effect, as is light. Bernini associates the visible and the invisible; the terrestrial and celestial; the human and the divine, by way of light. Tesauro, a seventeenth century writer from Turin, distinguished three types of figures: the harmonious, the pathetic and the ingenious. The first touches on the feelings, the second the emotions, and the last are “the most brilliant and spiritual, those who have as their target intelligence and riddle it with *concetti*.”⁸ For him, this ingenious manner transcribes things in a figurative way—the poetics of *concetti* that “without being true, imitate the truth.”⁹ The association of different realities makes a metaphor of a non-representative reality. This metaphor has a goal, the *argutezza*, which is the translation of an argument. Consequently, Baroque art is an art of metaphor where the artist transcribes an argument through stylistic processes and Baroque rhetoric is revealed through the characteristics of *asianism*. The *argutezza* is figured through formal and lighting effects in the enrichment of a singular liturgy.

LIGHT—verisimilitude and trouble

Light is “the transitional agent between the material and the spirit.”¹⁰ The analysis of the previous section urges a reflection on two facets of this religious art of seventeenth century Rome: verisimilitude and enrichment, both enacted by light. The responses given by the artists were, in their formal use of materials, directly related to light. Light creates the colors that give life and movement to the draperies, motivating the effect of *chiaroscuro* in the folds and smoothness of the marble. Light gives life and is close to verisimilitude. This verisimilitude troubles us because the compositions are, at the same time, both near and far from the physical and the unrepresentable

⁷ An inventory of the integral nature of sculptures done in Rome during the seventeenth century and meticulous in its sources.

⁸ les plus brillantes et spirituelles, celles qui ont pour cible l’intelligence et la criblent de *concetti*. (Hersant 2001, 11)

⁹ sans être véridiques imitent le vrai (Hersant 2001).

¹⁰ l’agent intermédiaire entre la matière et l’esprit (Cloquet 1927, 155).

world. Here we speak of the non-speakable, as well as the representation of the unrepresentable.

Roger de Piles, a French art theorist of the seventeenth century, associated the effect created by an artwork with the simultaneity of the processes of vision and emotion; he also insisted on the effect of surprise. It was necessary for him to qualify the potential of an artwork rather than its purely plastic qualities. In the seventeenth century, this “surprise” was engaged both by enrichment and verisimilitude. This verisimilitude has two extremes: doubt and certainty. Roman post-Tridentine art combines these two terms; it associates doubt to the stability of the practice of religion, the representation of transcendence, and the absolute certainty of a metaphoric representation, of the divine light, omnipresent in the artwork, which guides the believer. There are three types of truth: simple, ideal and *ultimo*. The last one corresponds to a verisimilitude that is qualified by several, interiorized truths. The Abbot Batteux (Kremer 2011) points to the fact that it is important to make choices in nature with the goal of making the *ultimo* real; this is the work’s quality. We have to remember that verisimilitude appears as a question of *junction* between elements, which needs to be guided by a *master’s hand*¹¹ and meet Tesauro’s idea of *concetti*. The association of these resemblances gives verisimilitude; together these trouble us because they are art, and so not the “truth.” The marble diverges from the truth, the real, and the living, and speaks and gives life to the believer, to the representation of the saint, ecstasy, and faith. It is through light that life is brought into being. The logical continuation of this verisimilitude is found in the divine metaphor: “it can be physical, physiological, psychological, moral or emotional, the root word clearly concerns the sphere of sensation, of aesthesis, so of the aesthetic.”¹²

Richard Wollheim talks of the necessary conditions for the perception of pictorial representations and for the pictorial aesthetic, which we can attach to sculpture. He alternates between two concepts around the term *twofoldness*: a simultaneity between being aware of the surface and of the representation of the object in conjunction with the way that it is represented. Consequently, light is a driving element of the perception of artwork and more specifically of the whole. It focuses on some details of representation, verisimilitude, and trouble, that surrounds the metaphor, in the “asianist” images of Roman Baroque Rhetoric. Wollheim’s approach is useful in analyzing the metaphor

¹¹ Retenons que le vraisemblable apparaît comme une question de jonction’ entre les éléments, qui demande à être conduite par une «main de maître» (Cloquet 1927, 239).

¹² Qu’il soit physique, physiologique, psychologique, moral, ou affectif, le vocable concerne à proprement parler la sphère de la sensation, de l’*aisthesis* et donc de l’esthétique (Berthet 2015, 143).

and materiality of Baroque Art; the metaphor of the invisible is represented by light and the sensation of materiality. Here it is not a question of agreeing with him or not, but it enables us to think about the material, the polished marble, the sheets, the colors and finally the motivation of every aspect of the work.

We can use the motif of glory in order to consider light, its symbols, its role in the enrichment of the liturgy and its effect on the colors and materials used. This motif makes a connection between the celestial and the terrestrial universe, representing the unrepresentable by way of light.

This motif, generally in bronze or golden stucco, is placed around a window, above the main altarpiece. It is characterized by a golden sunbeam that materializes the light, clouds and angels. This is a metaphor for the divine, which is commonly associated with light and the color gold. According to Bartolo de Sassoferrato: “gold is the noblest color because it represents the light,”¹³ and this explains its use. As we have seen, glory has as its function the embodiment of the divine. Virgil also made reference to light as a “violent pass from the Tenebrae to the light”¹⁴ in his *Enéide* when talking about a painting of Apollodore. Glory ensures the transition between two states: in Virgil from the tenebrous, but here from the terrestrial to the divine, which is emblematic of the studies on religious sculptures in Rome of the seventeenth century. Light gives life to the compositions, to the ecstasy of the saint, and to a dialogue with the celestial: “amazement, pathos, contrast, those themes that appear equally in Appollodore’s work, call, as before, to the problematic of the coercive attraction of the gaze”¹⁵; the eyes are attracted to the strength represented by the play of light in the chiaroscuro (fold, draperies, light position). Caroline Combronde insists on the feebleness of the beholder and emphasizes the spectator’s submission and the connection of strength with light, which touches the soul and reminds us of the weakness of the human condition.

Consequently, light is the main element in Roman Baroque sculpture. To play with shadows and light is to create effects that impact strongly upon the soul; it highlights certain details of the composition and leaves others masked. The artist calls on the “blinding or subtle alchemy of contrast, which is able to make bright the halo, the visions and the spiritual staging.”¹⁶ We

¹³ le doré était la plus noble des couleurs car il représentait la lumière (Gage 2010, 89).

¹⁴ violent passage des ténèbres à la lumière aveuglante (Combronde 2010, 80).

¹⁵ Eblouissement, pathos, contraste, ces thèmes qui apparaissent également dans l’œuvre d’Apollodore, appellent, comme déjà auparavant, la problématique de l’attraction coercitive du regard (Combronde 2010, 83).

¹⁶ l’aveuglante ou subtile alchimie des contrastes, seuls propres à rendre halos

talk about volumetric points more than of perspective; Bernini practices chiaroscuro in sculptures, stimulating the viewer's empathy¹⁷ and an "adherence to the artwork."¹⁸ The "specialization" that we are talking of, assigned to art, is necessary to examine the artistic techniques of draperies, marmoreal polychrome, the architecturalization of sculptural composition and the union of art. The whole is perceived as a function of light, which guides one to salvation through the passions of the soul, represented, in the seventeenth century, in the ecstasy of the the saints.

Conclusion

This new Roman language, the rhetoric of enrichment, ornamentation and association was born in a particular context: the Catholic Church's Counter-Reformation aimed at reaffirming papal power and required a Catholic expression adapted to contemporary needs and the birth of a new artistic language. An art of "effects" developed by uniting different arts. This association is called *Bel Composto*; if we associate *effect* and *Bel Composto*, we can more easily understand the creation of a fictional place that comes into contact with the spectator. The believer is touched, as the artist plays with their emotions, and, finally, with his soul. Through metaphors, the representation of saints in ecstasy, the association of *concetti* and the representation of the argument in the Catholic faith, the believer perceives his faith materialized in the unseizable depth of the marble.

With the depiction of a saint's incarnation, clothing or draperies, the use of windows, which are generally hidden, and with the representation of visible transcendence, the artist plays with verisimilitude. The beholder is a victim of this artistic creation; they cannot follow any other way than that of reason and of the Catholic faith.

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lumineux, visions et rayonnements spirituels (Combronde 2010, 182).

¹⁷ For empathy see: *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* of Worringer

¹⁸ adhésion avec le produit de l'art (Combronde 2010, 187).

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HOLLYWOOD ON THE TIBER: OLD AND NEW FASHION

RAFFAELE RIVIECCIO

There was a period of about twenty years, from the end of the Second World War until the middle of the 1960s, when Rome and all of that Italian territory from the Bay of Naples to the big cities of art, with its natural beauty and monumental ruins, became a very large movie set—a scenic space, a real country, but also a reproduced image. The Italian Peninsula—that only some years before had been crossed by the Allied troops from the South to the North, as a reverse Expedition of the Thousand—was occupied again, peacefully this time, by other troops: by troupes of directors, actors and actresses, producers, Americans too, but commanders of extras, militias of technicians, and cinematic artisans. These troops, having their headquarters in Rome, could send their “second units” to other Italian cities. The Allied armies, most of all the American army, were provided with “embedded” divisions of photographers and machine operators who had to film, tell of, and create a propaganda narrative of military events and the relationship between the local population and their liberators. The US soldier, seen as a liberator, after decades of fascist dictatorship and a year and a half of Nazi oppression, was an emotionally charged figure among large parts of the Italian population; but also a plastic icon. The stereotypical image of jeeps advancing through the cheering crowd at Piazza Venezia was a symbolic, vision and a powerful image constructed by directors and military operators who reconstructed their military campaign, almost as a road movie *ante litteram*. This was a journey that penetrated into the unknown Mediterranean world, which was seen as archaic and passionate; dangerous and ancestral. This was a fascinating existential adventure, as was the parting of that cheering crowd from the recent world of dictatorship. Italy was still mostly agricultural and artisanal and this was a journey to liberty, modernity, the unknown, and to a cultural opening up, represented by the exotic jeep, sometimes with black soldiers, and all symbols of industrialized society. Films by authors, like the famous director John Huston, were already being made in color. Color on film was made as a *fil rouge*, or even polychrome, of

a world that was quickly disappearing and the dawn of a new civilization, based on a democratic structure and consumption. John Huston, in his personal journey after leaving the US army, told, with a strongly, almost expressionistic tone, in his documentary, *The Battle of San Pietro*, of the conquest of the papal city. But Huston, like many of his compatriots, was conquered by the beauty of the Eternal City, by classical Italian culture, and by the humanity of the local population.

At the end of the war, with the fall of the autarkic walls that had protected national and fascist cinematography, hundreds of overseas films piled up over almost five years in the seven thousand cinema halls of the country. Great operas and industrial films, masterpieces of classic Hollywood and forgettable consumer works, the whole film-star system of the west coast of America returned to occupy the cinema halls in Italian cities. With a sense of regained liberty and a desire for new values and new horizons, Italians did not wish to emigrate to the USA like their fathers and grandfathers had, but to live like Americans themselves. As seen in the verses of the famous Renato Carosone song *Tu vuoi fà l'americano* (You want to be an American), or in the hilarious comedy film of Steno *Un Americano a Roma* (An American in Rome). From the beginning of the 1950s, the famous character of Nando Moriconi in Steno's film, framed a typical character in postwar Italy of the young man or woman who accepted, without criticism, anything that came from the United States: every aesthetic, behavioral rule, and custom—not seeking to adapt it to their own culture, but trying to reproduce it and in doing so, hoping to become a little American. This included the imitation of American eating habits, of the language reduced to a few idioms and phonemes, and of the clothing and fashion in its most basic and stereotyped style; all this was referable to an existing collective imagination about American cinema and sport, drawing, in particular, on Western movies and baseball. Carosone sang: *Puorte o cazione cu' nu stemma areto/na cuppulella cu a visiera alzata...* (Dress trousers with a blazon behind/a hat with a lifted visor) while Alberto Sordi, acting the role of Nando Moriconi, dressed in jeans with big cuffs, camperos, a tight t-shirt and a baseball cap.

A framework of laws—in part protectionist and in part aimed at building exchange between the powerful American cinema industry and the ruins of a fragile and still semi-artisanal Italian industry—succeeded in creating, in two or three years, ideal conditions for an invasion of skilled US workers, directors and producers, who helped with the rebirth of local cinema. American celebrities, stars, directors and producers maintained a powerful position, making more and more films in Italy, particularly big-budget movies, thanks to the low costs of Italian technicians with high levels of sophistication, creativity and professionalism in building set designs, in the

mise-en-scene of the masses, and from many other technical points of view. Cinecittà, inaugurated during the fascist era, guaranteed quality and professionalism of the highest level, essential to support such a complex and itinerant industry as cinema. Rome, with the birth of the Experimental Center of Cinematography, the foundation of Cinecittà, and the modernist and totalitarian philosophy of *la cinematografia è l'arma più forte* (cinema is the strongest arm), was able to present itself to overseas producers as a cinematographic district; it had a body of structures and professionals, and a crowd of background actors desiring to work in a film to earn some money. Most importantly, costs were cheaper than those of Californian studios.

Apart from economic reasons, with the co-production system and the participation of Italian actors and actresses in American films, the US presence in the Italian marketplace was reinforced. The presence of the American film troupes over longer periods was also due to the hospitality, wine, food, history, monuments, climate, and natural beauty of the territory and the city. This was a territory permeated by a thousand years of culture and one which engaged an American nostalgia for Europe. American directors and tourists came to discover a far away and exotic world and experience a *slow life*. US armies, first the military and then the cinematographic one, pop music, global brands, food and mass products all brought about changes in values and aesthetics. These changes were complete after no more than twenty years, marked by Pier Paolo Pasolini's *Where have all the Fireflies Gone?* A period of twenty years—antithetical to the preceding fascist period—between the postwar period and the middle of the 1960s and coinciding with the years of *Hollywood on the Tiber*—a great Marshall Plan of images and imaginary used by Hollywood to colonize Rome and Italian cinema. Italian cinema, until that moment strongly related to a narrative iconographic heritage, opened itself up. From the end of the 1940s, international producers and co-productions saw Italian sets crowded with the most famous international stars and the best Italian actors and actresses crossing over to the United States. Associations were founded to pressure politicians and legislators to draft regulations, agreements, and bilateral pacts, to support the national industry and, most of all, the inflow of capital and productions brought employment. If the arrival of American productions in Italy had taken place in a political, economic, normative, occupational, and cultural contest, all this had a plastic performance in the life of the capital city and was contaminated with a real dimension—*neorealist*; and a dreamlike dimension, *Fellinian*, of the cinema world, of stars, press agents, and gossip-photo reporters (soon called *paparazzi*). Rome, at the periphery of the studios and near the ancient consular streets, became itself a set in its wonderful historical center, for the everyday life of Italian and foreign stars; a set of

marble and *sanpietrinos*, not of *papier-machè*, but a symbolic, metaphorical, and abstract space, more part of the unconscious than of reality. A stage for the Olympus of big and small divine beings, constructed by magazines, radio programs, and later on, TV programs. A stage between the ancient beauty of Italy and the very recent technology of Vespa and Ferrari. Strangers adapted themselves to the slow manners of the time and became little Romans. They lost their cultural unfamiliarity, no longer aliens—Martians in Rome—like in the novel by the humorist and screenwriter Ennio Flaiano, thinking implicitly of the actor and director Orson Welles who was for many years related to Italian cinema and Rome. If Rome was a *hyperset* containing real sets for shooting, the center of this set, a stage almost theatrical, was the few hundred meters of Via Veneto (Veneto street) that closed for about fifteen years—a part of Italian cultural and cinematographic life and of American holidays. The street, was filled with fashion and gossip and was on show from sunset late into the night. It had different time slots: the first, when Romans and tourists went for coffee and to the bars and clubs; then, later, the real stars and directors came out; at the end, before sunrise, only the *paparazzi* remained to comment on the gossip and glamour of the evening that had just finished. Around the events and photos, *paparazzi* were the ones to build a tale—a mythology for the national and international audience far from Rome and far from Via Veneto.

Around this economic, social, and cultural motor of the Italian and US cinema industry, other economic sectors moved and changed genetically, related to or influenced by the world of images and most of all by the publishing sector and fashion. Fashion dictated the look of the actresses and the look of the actors, in the earlier decades before *Hollywood on the Tiber*, through clothes. With the proliferation of the media and the new *multiverse* of female and male images multiplied to infinity in a *warholian* way through films and magazines, *haute couture* became *prêt à porter*, then popular fashion and finally *Made in Italy* was born. It had existed before, but now it was established on images and film by the stars of American cinema. The Italian style, especially in the sector of industrial design, was inspired, and sometimes influenced, by American style, most of all in the methods of mass production. In Italy, fashion dictated the new stylistic trends from the level of haute couture to mass produced goods. Haute couture recovered, in a symbolic way, the class, culture, and style of a population that had created classic Renaissance art. In car design, from the end of the 1940s to the beginning of the 1950s, cars of a lower level imitated the style of American giants; soon enough in the haute couture of car design, Pininfarina, Touring, Bertone, Zagato and then Giugiaro sketched and conceived a style that the Americans succeeded only awkwardly in imitating.

The dressmaker most closely identified with the period of *Hollywood on the Tiber*—and with the film at its apex Fellini's 1960 work, *La dolce vita*—is the atelier of the Fontana Sisters, Zoe, Micol and Giovanna, who made some of the female attire in *Fellini's* masterpiece. Having arrived in Rome in the 1930s, and opening their tailor's shop in 1943, the Fontana Sisters distinguished themselves in the fashion world through dressing Gioia, the daughter of Guglielmo Marconi. In 1949, when Rome began to be frequented by overseas stars and productions, the city and the creations of the Fontana Sisters were selected as the location and *costumes* for the wedding of the century between the young actress, Linda Christian, and the famous star, Tyrone Power. The media coverage of the ceremony, with films and pictures that toured the world for many months, was a formidable *reclame* for the bridal gown of Linda Christian, created by these young dressmakers. At that moment and simultaneously with the explosion of the cultural, economic and social phenomenon of *Hollywood on the Tiber*, the Fontana Sisters became the emblem of the nascent *Made in Italy* in the fashion sector, competitive in innovation and costs with French fashion. Many personalities and members of the jet set chose the creations of the Fontana's atelier, including: Grace Kelly, Audrey Hepburn, Anita Ekberg, Deborah Kerr, Jacqueline Kennedy, Soraya, Gina Lollobrigida, and Liz Taylor. The star who honored the creativity and class of the Fontana Sisters was Ava Gardner who livened up the nights of the *dolce vita* period and the sets of various productions shot in Rome. Ava Gardner, with her films shot on Roman sets, the gossip about her lovers, her caprices and scenes, and her fidelity to the clothes of the Fontana Sisters, was the actress who, more than any other, symbolized the spirit of those years.

The atelier received orders to dress the most beautiful and charismatic American and Italian stars, both for public occasions and for the set. The sisters created pieces expressing elegance and class for the real and the media world. In the end, they were both fashion creators and authors of the films in which they were taking part by supplying their dresses. It is not accidental that the more significant inventions of the Fontana Sisters are ascribable to the myth of *dolce vita* and to its *topoi*. Fellini's film, shot in 1959, finished almost a decade of social evolution and spoke to a transformed Rome, a city that had emerged from the ruins of war and defeat to become a new center of the world whose magnificence was not made of monuments, archways, and amphitheaters, but of backstages and backdrops. The Rome of *Hollywood on the Tiber*, with all its contradictions, saw a transition from religious, rural, autarkic Italy to a modern, industrial, consumerist, and cosmopolitan country. In the middle, between these two influences, was the empty suspended space of *Dolce Vita*, a part of the dreamlike intoxication of *Hollywood on the Tiber*

and a universe that encouraged stars to fall towards the city and land in Via Veneto. *Dolce vita* was an unattainable myth, both utopian and dystopian, which saw in film the synthesis of cinema and the media, but that was also closed and self referential. Among the dresses created for and worn by different actresses in films was one worn by Sylvia—a character interpreted by Anita Ekberg—on the occasion of her visit to the Vatican, which had been organized by her press agent for the promotion of an imaginary film set in Italy. The dress is a *pretino* (little clergyman's suit). It reproduced the black, clergyman's suit, with a line of red buttons running the complete length. The *mise* was completed by a hat with a large brim and red ornament, while on the chest there was a long rosary with a big cross. The dress was snug and formfitting, and even though it reached to the knees, it seemed, when worn by a woman, very sensual. Obviously, this effect was amplified when worn by beauties like Ava Gardner or Anita Ekberg. The Fontana Sisters' skill was to make with the *pretino* an oxymoron through fashion. This was a male dress drawn by a woman; a dress that was chaste and moral, but which was used to display the female form and eroticize it. This was particularly so because the body was concealed, but not disguised by an outfit that had for centuries identified the clergy. The cultural, aesthetic, theological, and perhaps blasphemous short circle presented by the *pretino*, could be taken as an image for the city of Rome in the period of *Hollywood on the Tiber*. It was a city full of sensuality and libido; of American stars and Italian pin-ups; dressed in an architectural *pretino* of churches, side chapels, Vatican gardens, and vestiges of the classical world, lifeless stones that contrasted with the vitality of the city. The *pretino* unveiled the contradictions of the city and of Italy at that moment, a moment of passage and transformation, absorbing them into a dress where they could coexist and underline both the duplicity and the hypnotic sensuality of the age. Another important model created by the Fontana Sisters was the uniform for the hostesses of Alitalia, the new Italian airline company. The atelier modernized the old uniforms of the airline company in a way that brought them into the world of cinema and show business. They were the *stage costumes* of a new, leading location of *Hollywood on the Tiber*. Civil flights, which had been successful in the USA since the 1930s, arrived in Italy with the images of the many stars of the American cinema and music who came to Italy and the smaller number, of Italians who departed for a *tourneè* or American sets. The Ciampino airport, in the 1950s, and Fiumicino, after 1960, were the Italian stopovers that received Hollywood stars when they arrived on the Tiber. Civil aviation, at first a symbol of the jet set and luxury, burst onto the Italian scene. Italy, still at the dawn of mass motorization—in 1953, in William Wyler's *Vacanze romane* (Roman Holiday), the principal means of transport was the Vespa—

had to equip itself quickly with airports and employees to accommodate Hollywood's stars. The Ciampino airport was chosen as the star of the first television program of the nascent Rai in 1954. On the first day of transmission, the presenter, Mike Bongiorno, introduced this channel by receiving, greeting and interviewing famous personalities in his *Arrivi e partenze* (Arrivals and Departures) show. From the first moment, the television, which had been inaccessible to all but the elite a few years before, became a widespread form of entertainment and dedicated its debut to a most striking cultural and social phenomenon: not only *Hollywood on the Tiber*, but also Cinecittà in California. With the quality and functional beauty of the uniforms sketched by the Fontana Sisters for Alitalia, the iconic atelier of these years was chosen to provide the costumes for a film that repeated itself each time an American star came to Rome. It was a scene reconstructed by Fellini in *La dolce vita*, with the descent of the airstair, so similar to the descent of the stairs on the stage in theatrical performances of previous decades, and with the same descent on television. The Fontana Sisters represented and influenced the aesthetics and philosophy of that world that changed so rapidly in the 1960s. New cinema laws reduced the interest of the Americans in organizing sets and co-productions with Italian producers, gradually reducing this colorful cinema-scene of Italy. At the same time, Italian cinematography—after the worldwide success of neo-realism, Italian comedy, and the triumph of important film directors like Fellini, Antonioni, and Visconti, with a level of production that, for many years, at least numerically surpassed the American one—compared itself with less inferiority to overseas cinematography, in the unrealistic illusion that it could compete in the conquest of foreign markets. It was also the intrusion of new movements and of more casual trends that made the centrality of the Fontana Sisters suddenly peripheral. Their style was perfect for that illusionary bubble of the period of *Dolce Vita*, but now they were out of time and out of date. A new morality was advancing that was less hypocritical, but also less polished and it could never admire the ambiguous sensuality of the *pretino*.

Essential Filmography

- Il Principe delle volpi* (Prince of foxes), Henry King, 1949, with Tyrone Power, Orson Welles, Marina Berti.
- Botta e risposta*, Mario Soldati, 1950, with Louis Armstrong, Nino Taranto, Isa Barzizza, Wanda Osiris, Renato Rascel, Fernandel, Katherine Dunham, Carlo Dapporto.
- Stromboli (terra di Dio)*, Roberto Rossellini, 1950, with Ingrid Bergman, Mario Vitale, Renzo Cesena.

- Quo vadis?*, Mervyn Leroy, 1951, with Robert Taylor, Deborah Kerr, Peter Ustinov, Marina Berti.
- Bellissima*, Luchino Visconti, 1951, with Anna Magnani, Walter Chiari, Tina Apicella, Tecla Scarano, Nora Ricci.
- Otello*, 1952, Orson Welles, with Orson Welles, Doris Dowling, Joseph Cotton.
- Vacanze romane* (Roman holiday), William Wyler, 1953, with Gregory Peck, Audrey Hepburn, Eddie Albert, Paola Borboni.
- Il tesoro dell'Africa* (Beat the Devil), John Huston, 1953, with Humphrey Bogart, Gina Lollobrigida, Jennifer Jones, Peter Lorre, Saro Urzì
- Mambo*, Robert Rossen, 1954, with Silvana Mangano, Vittorio Gassman, Shelley Winters.
- Attila*, Piero Francisci, 1954, with Anthony Quinn, Sophia Loren, Irene Papas, Henri Vidal, Carlo Hintermann.
- Ulisse*, Mario Camerini, 1954, with Kirk Douglas, Silvana Mangano, Rossana Podestà, Anthony Quinn, Franco Interlenghi, Elena Zareschi,
- Viaggio in Italia*, Roberto Rossellini, 1954, with Ingrid Bergman, George Sanders, Anna Proclemer, Paul Muller.
- La contessa scalza* (The barefoot Contessa), Joseph Mankiewicz, 1954, with Ava Gardner, Rossano Brazzi, Humphrey Bogart, Valentina Cortese, Franco Interlenghi, Alberto Rabagliati
- Tre soldi nella fontana* (Three coins in the fountain), Jean Negulesco, 1954, with Clifton Webb, Dorothy McGuire, Rossano Brazzi.
- Un americano a Roma*, Steno, 1954, with Alberto Sordi, Maria Pia Casilio, Carlo Delle Piane, Galeazzo Benti, Leopoldo Trieste, Ursula Andress.
- La strada*, Federico Fellini, 1954, with Anthony Delon, Giulietta Masina, Richard Basehart.
- Tempo d'estate* (Summer madness), David Lean, 1955, with Katharine Hepburn, Rossano Brazzi, Isa Miranda.
- Elena di Troia* (Helen of Troy), Robert Wise, 1955, with Rossana Podestà, Jack Semas, Stanley Baker.
- Guerra e pace* (War and peace), King Vidor, 1955, with Audrey Hepburn, Henry Fonda, Mel Ferrer, Vittorio Gassman, Herbert Lom, Anita Ekberg.
- Il bidone*, Federico Fellini, 1955, with Broderick Crawford, Richard Basehart, Franco Fabrizi, Giulietta Masina, Lorella De Luca, Riccardo Garrone.
- Addio alle armi* (A farewell to arms), Charles Vidor, 1957, with Rock Hudson, Jennifer Jones, Vittorio De Sica, Franco Interlenghi, Leopoldo Trieste, Alberto Sordi, Memmo Carotenuto.
- Arrivederci Roma*, Roy Rowland e Mario Russo, 1957, with Mario Lanza, Marisa Allasio, Renato Rascel, Carlo Giuffrè.

- Le fatiche di Ercole*, Piero Francisci, 1958, with Steve Reeves, Sylva Koscina, Ivo Garrani, Gianna Maria Canale, Paola Borboni, Luciana Paluzzi.
- Anna di Brooklyn*, Vittorio De Sica and Sergio Lastricati, 1958, with Gina Lollobrigida, Vittorio De Sica, Luigi De Filippo, Peppino De Filippo, Amedeo Nazzari.
- La maja desnuda* (The naked Maja), Henry Koster and Mario Russo, 1958, with Ava Gardner, Anthony Franciosa, Amedeo Nazzari, Gino Cervi, Lea Padovani, Massimo Serato.
- Ben Hur*, William Wyler, 1959, with Charlton Heston, Stephen Boyd, Jack Hawkins, Marina Berti, Lando Buzzanca, Giuliano Gemma, Tiberio Mitri.
- Jovanka e le altre* (5 Branded women), Martin Ritt, 1960, with Silvana Mangano, Jeanne Moreau, Vera Miles, Carla Gravina, Richard Basehart, Romolo Valli, Pietro Germi, Giacomo Rossi Stuart
- La dolce vita*, Federico Fellini, 1960, with Marcello Mastroianni, Anita Ekberg, Anouk Aimée, Alain Cuny, Yvonne Furneaux, Valeria Ciangottini, Enzo Cerusico.
- La baia di Napoli* (It started in Naples), Melville Shevelson, 1960, with Clarke Gable, Sophia Loren, Vittorio De Sica.
- Totò, Peppino e la dolce vita*, Bruno Corbucci, 1961, with Totò, Peppino De Filippo, Francesco Mulè, Gloria Paul, Rosalba Neri.
- Barabba*, Richard Fleischer, 1961, with Anthony Quinn, Silvana Mangano, Vittorio Gassman, Jack Palance, Ernest Borgnine, Valentina Cortese, Arnaldo Foà.
- El Cid*, Anthony Mann, 1961, with Charlton Heston, Sophia Loren, Raf Vallone, Herbert Lom, Massimo Serato, Rosalba Neri.
- Sodoma e Gomorra* (Sodom and Gomorrah), Robert Aldrich, 1962, with Stewart Granger, Anna Maria Pierangeli, Stanley Baker, Rossana Podestà, Giacomo Rossi Stuart, Scilla Gabel, Anouk Aimée.
- Cleopatra*, Joseph Mankiewicz, 1963, with Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, Rex Harrison, Martin Landau.
- Il gattopardo*, Luchino Visconti, 1963, with Burt Lancaster, Claudia Cardinale, Alain Delon, Paolo Stoppa, Rina Morelli, Terence Hill, Maurizio Merli, Giuliano Gemma.
- La pantera rosa* (The pink panther), Blake Edwards, 1963, with David Niven, Peter Sellers, Claudia Cardinale, Robert Wagner, Capucine, Riccardo Billi.
- La ricotta*, Pier Paolo Pasolini, 1963, with Orson Welles, Laura Betti, Mario Cipriani, Lamberto Maggiorani, Tomas Milian.

- Per un pugno di dollari*, Sergio Leone, 1964, with Clint Eastwood, Gian Maria Volontè, Mario Brega.
- La Bibbia* (The Bible: in the beginning...), John Huston, 1966, with Richard Harris, John Huston, Stephen Boyd, Ava Gardner, Peter O' Toole, Gabriele Ferzetti, Eleonora Rossi Drago, Franco Nero, Pupella Maggio.
- Il segreto di Santa Vittoria* (The secret of Santa Vittoria), Stanley Kramer, 1969, with Anna Magnani, Anthony Quinn, Virna Lisi, Hardy Kruger, Renato Rascel, Giancarlo Giannini, Leopoldo Trieste.

SHAPES AND COLORS OF THE BAROQUE THEATRE OF THE SIGLO DE ORO

MARÍA NOGUÉS BRUNO

The breadth of Lope de Vega's (1562–1635) theatrical production allows us to analyze different styles of fashion of different periods. In his work, one can identify the clothing trends of the Spain of his time, which were strongly influenced by the Counter Reformation—first with Philip II who held power centrally; then reflecting a new atmosphere with more vibrant colors under Philip III; and finally, with Philip IV dark colors returned. This was reflected in the work of the Spanish playwright who underlined the colors of each period in the clothes used by actors. The fabrics of the Baroque era expressed a luxurious way of dressing that distinguished the ranks of different characters on stage. On many occasions, Lope presented stories related to daily life, but with happier endings, in order to win the acclaim of the people by telling of the triumph of love. The crowds rushed to the theater to enjoy these plays and the troupe cared very much about the clothes of the actors—the most important arrived with wagons full of theater clothing that symbolized the fashion of the era. In the Spain of the Counter Reformation, the Council of Trent was crucial. Every one of its precepts affected religious and civil society in Spain. Spain desired to protect its religious unity from the dangers of the domestic groups of heretics connected to the Protestants in the Spanish Netherlands (Motta). In line with its political and religious thought, secondary elements, such as modes of dress, had great symbolic value. Fashion was a clear reflection of civil and religious society and showed the post-Tridentine change in morality and the imposition of a different sense of ornamentation and humility to that of previous periods when Spain had welcomed different populations and different ways of dressing.

The *auto sacramental*, a particular form of religious drama with a highly allegorical character that was performed during the Feast of Corpus Christi honoring the Eucharist, brought the precepts of the Counter Reformation onto the stage. It became a weapon against heresy, gradually replacing the aristocratic idea of transcendence with a more bourgeois version. From a strictly religious point of view, the *auto sacramental* defended the mystery of

the Eucharist in order to explain the concept of transubstantiation and to reject the empirical science that, in the seventeenth century, was offering innovative ideas, making more fragile forms of faith begin to waver when confronted with rational analysis. The main characters are very allegorical and represent the deadly sins—Envy or Lust for example. They wore atemporal clothing, using precious fabrics and popular forms, with the purpose of attracting the public's attention and arousing a sense of wonder among the spectators and activating their senses through vision, music, and the scents of flowers. Everything had the aim of keeping the attention of the spectator. One can ascertain through the painting of the artists of the era, such as Francisco Zurbarán, that Baroque images and colors reproduced concepts enhancing the religious content of the Counter Reformation (the color black), particularly when compared to previous eras of fashionable, colorful clothing. The fashion of Muslim Spain had been characterized by strong colors, like “leonine” yellow and carmine, and had combined material made in Spain (less valuable) with expensive, imported fabrics. Many products traveled from north to south—the factories were located in the north, in areas where structural changes in production were taking place so that they were able to offer finished goods. The raw material came from the south, for example, the best wool—Merino—from southern Spain (the Island of Mallorca) and raw silk from Sicily. The best textiles were actually made with Spanish *Merino* wool but manufactured in Flanders where the first production centers of industrial handicrafts were founded (Motta 2013). Quality products were Flemish or English and came from Bristol, London, Bruxelles, Leuven, and Antwerp. Fabrics from Florence and the Netherlands were used to manufacture the finest shirts, which were purchased by queens, princesses and ladies-in-waiting. Silk was one of the main materials and was used in a number of fabrics, including taffeta, satin, and velvet, often using threads of silver and gold for the clothes of the Spanish royal family, which were adorned around the neck and wrists with precious lace. This type of clothing represented the power and the prestige of the Spanish monarchy (Albaladejo 2011). The multiplicity of tissues corresponded to a great variety of forms, influenced by Italian and foreign fashion. The “*saya francesa*” was a famous, high-wasted dress with large sleeves; the Italian models were called “*finestrella*” because the white shirt worn underneath appeared through its openings. Different influences coexisted and combined until the time of Philip II when, coinciding with the Counter Reformation, simple, moderate forms prevailed. In famous images, the king is dressed in sober black, his clothing more distinguished, but modest compared to previous kings. Painting, literature, and the first books on the subject of fashion present clear evidence of the new style presented by the royal family. The new trend was

particularly noticeable among women and the clothing of the queen and the *infantas* was the models to follow. As can be seen in paintings, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century the queens, Isabel de Valois and Juana de Austria, and the *infantas*, Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela, presented a new, moderate model for woman. The necklines worn by the ladies who had preceded them disappeared (Albaladejo 2013). They began to use structures that hid the female form, such as *las tablillas de pecho* or *verdugado (faldiglia)*, which reduced the silhouette to a geometric image formed of two opposing triangles—from the waist up and the waist down. This gave the body a formal, rigid shape that filled space by establishing both a real and a symbolic distance. These changes corresponded to the new trends established by Trent, according to which desire and lust were to be rejected and sexuality became confined to an exclusively private dimension. All clothes required decency to represent the purity of spirit. Philip II, after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, was very conscientious in following the fundamental precepts of chastity and decency established there. The daughters of Philip II were a model for those who took over and divided the House of Habsburg. Their clothing completely covered the body, which was wrapped up by the various parts of the ceremonial dress, creating artificial volumes and games. The clothes hid the structures that gave them rigidity and solemnity, like the *verdugado* and *tablillas de pecho*.

When the queen, the *Infanta* or a lady-in-waiting arrived, their appearance was theatrical. The *tablillas de pecho* accentuated the body's thinness and hid its curves; other elements, such as the *cota* and *almilla*, flattened the bust. The *cota* was a kind of armor for the body, made of leather in the first instance, then later with mesh and wire; the *almilla*, on the other hand, was a kind of corset (underwear), with sleeves, which protected from the cold and helped to give rigidity to the body. The *verdugado* gave volume and shape to the lower part of the body. It was used mostly by members of the upper classes, since this kind of clothing was very inconvenient for any activity that required one to move freely. The outer parts were composed of *saya*, *basquiña* and *jubón*, forming the ceremonial dress, and the feet remained completely hidden. The *guardapiés*, the bottom of the dress, with a *doblado* (hem) allowed one to sit without uncovering the feet, which was considered an inappropriate and unseemly gesture in that period. An important element of the fashion of this era was the *gorguera* that, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, acquired great importance, and assumed a particular shape. It had a high, curled neck, defined as *lechuguilla*—it was first used in women's clothing and then also in men's (in this case being called *gola*). The *lechuguilla* is a Spanish invention that began as a small lapel, high or curled, used for the neck of the shirt and of the *gorguera* in the mid-sixteenth

century. Made of Dutch tissue, it was formed into waves that resembled the leaves of a curly lettuce and was treated with azulene, a powder that came from the American colonies. The *gorgiera* served to highlight the beauty of women and at the same time made them untouchable, inaccessible, and extremely elegant. The folds were called *abanillo* or *abanico* and over time they became more or less numerous and varied in size, until reaching excessive dimensions between the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *gorgiera* became an important piece of clothing and was eventually separated from the suit.

According to the historian Marzi Cataldi Gallo, fashion adapts to the prevailing ideas of a historical period; the concepts of reliability and rigor in the age of Philip II were best represented by the color black, which became the characteristic color of Spanish society during his reign. After the American conquest, in order to obtain the color black, wood from the region of Campeche, a peninsula in Yucatan overlooking the Gulf of Mexico and covered with lush forests, was used. The Aztecs—writes Maria Albaladejo—used it to make a shiny, dark black color so beautiful that the Spaniards were won over—until that moment black had been a home-made dye from plant roots.

The documents of the Archivo General de Simancas refer to the clothing of the members of the royal family. In April 1579, René Geneli, the tailor of Isabel Clara Eugenia and Catalina Micaela—at the time twelve and thirteen years old—created two *sayas de raso negro* adorned with belts in *terciopelo* and *tafetán*. This black could expressed the luxury and distinction of the Court of Burgundy and was a sign of the simplicity and humility of the Counter Reformation itself. The painter Sofonisba Anguissola (1532–25), for some years the court painter of Philip II, left a series of portraits of the king's daughters. Thanks to her ability and her feminine sensitivity, Anguissola served the royal family and painted Queen Elizabeth of Valois and, after her death, her young daughters Clara Eugenia and Caterina Micaela. She painted the two *infante* (1573) in official clothes, often black, leaving an important testament to the style of dress at the court (Albaladejo 2011). They tended to wear black less assiduously than the king, who was obsessed with the idea of austerity—the result of his frustrated religious obsessions, which made him an intransigent enemy of Protestantism in Spain and Flanders. The conflict between the center of the Empire and Flanders occurred around the mid-sixteenth century and led to social and political revolts in the next century. In the second half of the century, power passed from Charles V to his son Philip II, who did not hesitate to carry out a strong program of centralization, particularly in the Flemish regions where Calvinism was already widespread. He used the religious element as a factor against those who supported the

autonomy of the country (Motta 2004). Philip was never able to come to a compromise with the ruling class and with the local groups that began to coalesce against him, stimulated into action by Philip's establishment of eighteen new bishoprics by 1561. The dissidents, led by William of Orange, challenged the decision and started an opposition destined to last. In 1566, the protest was radicalized around the request to abolish the Inquisition—the *longa manus* of the Counter Reformation. Philip II reacted by sending an army, led by the Duke of Alba, which bloodily suppressed the revolts and began the Eighty Years War. It was a particularly hard fight, but saw some calm periods due to the Turkish threat in the Balkans. In 1576, the Pacification of Ghent was signed. This treaty recognized Spanish rule, required the withdrawal of the imperial troops, and demanded religious tolerance and a semi-autonomous government. The following year, the new governor, John of Austria, revoked the freedom of religion clause causing the resumption of the conflict. The Flemish provinces split up into the Union of Arras (Catholic and unionist led by Alessandro Farnese) and the Union of Utrecht (Reformed and independentist, led by William of Orange). It wasn't until 1609 that Spain and the United Provinces (another name for the Union of Utrecht) signed the Peace of Antwerp, which recognized the new independent republic (The Republic of the United Provinces). Relations worsened again and then finally subsided in 1648, when Spain, defeated by the alliance of France and the United Provinces, officially recognized the Dutch Republic as a free country with the Treaty of Münster. The southern provinces, excluded from the Republic of the United Provinces and more closely linked to the imperial tradition, remained attached to Spain. As it is easy to see, the history of the relationship between Spain and its possessions in Flanders is long and complicated. Our paper focuses on how, in the Flemish area, which was a place of great reform, the capitalist development began that led to the growth of manufacturing, especially of textiles. It is no wonder that the path of fashion meets and is intersected by such complex themes as political history—with changes in alliances between states—and economic history, transforming the modes of production (Motta 2003). Returning more specifically to fashion, we wish to underline that the information that remains is largely related to the personalities of the upper classes and reigning dynasties. After the intransigence of Philip II, the political and religious atmosphere changed. During the reign of Philip III (1598–21) and later, the style remained almost unchanged, except for some innovations regarding the neck of the *lechuguillas*. With Philip IV some significant innovations in fashion can be detected. The sumptuary laws in Spain prohibited excessive luxury and consequently limited the use of lace and embroidery in clothes, leading to a smaller and more simple neck. The

Duke of Olivares was central to this process as it was he who put a stop to luxurious clothing by prohibiting excessive use of precious metals and silk and lace. The *lechuguilla* was replaced by the rigid *golilla*, formed with the support of cardboard lined with black silk and with a white neck called a *volana*. This neck, which forced one to keep the head erect, became a symbol of pride and solemnity among the Spanish nobility. The male dress, which was characterized by the color black and the *golilla*, also included trousers and a *jubón* that covered the shirt; on the *jubón*, the *ropilla*. The accessories were black woolen socks and shoes. The typical short coat, called *ferreruelo*, was used as “outerwear”; this was a kind of dress used throughout the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century. The changes in fashion over the years especially concerned the sleeves, the trousers, which became tighter and tighter, and the *golilla*, which was gradually adapted to the increasing length of the dresses. During the reign of Philip III, and also that of Charles II, women’s fashion diverged considerably from that of the rest of Europe; it followed its own guidelines, while adopting items of clothing quite similar to those of other countries. Spanish women did not give up on the *faldiglia*, but besides that they chose the *guardinfante*, a complicated structure made with wooden circles, iron wire, and other materials, which was joined together by strips of cloth or rope. The upper part was formed with wicker and had the purpose of broadening the skirt and highlighting the waist. The *guardinfante* was used on top of various underwear layers and the *pollera* was placed on top of it—a sort of petticoat made of rich fabrics in bright colors and, sometimes, quilted with wool in order to make the hips appear rounder. On top of the *pollera* was placed the *basquiña*. From around 1570, this was only used for ceremonies and other events, such as the *sacristán*. Subsequently, the *tontillo* started to be used in order to add volume to skirts. Finally, we should underline another gimmick of women’s clothing: the *cotilla*, a bustier with an armor of whalebone that served to give rigidity to the bust; the *jubón* was still used on the *cotilla*. Changes were particularly seen in the sleeves, the necklines and hairstyles, while the hair was collected in a chignon, which became increasingly high, exposing the neck.

Each piece of clothing has a function and a meaning, both in real life and theater. It is not by chance that Lope de Vega, at the beginning of the first act of *El legar en ocasión*, presents a nicely dressed lady who has a quiet beauty. The colors of her dress are not too bright and show a certain elegance thanks to the fabric, which is of velvet, and *tabí* (a type of hand-woven silk in order to “formar aguas”); there is a kind of underlying sensuality transmitted through the forms and colors.

In conclusion, we find ourselves in front of the image of a woman whose identity is manifested through her clothes; these became a real language that was addressed to spectators and had a didactic function:

Vetida de labradora/ competía con la aurora/ en colores, y hermosura, /para caminar segura/ de las malicias de ahora./ Verde y bien justo sayuelo./ agironado de grana/ Con fajas de terciopelo/ La saya algo corta, y llana/ de puro color del cielo./ El pie que a veces mostraba,/sobre blanca zapatilla./ chinela negra apretada/ que desechada pedilla/ pidiera amor para aljaba./ Sombrero largo e falda./ que un cordón negro ceñía,/ A manera de guirnalda/ que en su frente parecía/ de zafiro o esmeralda/ era azul el rebocío/ no aforrado en blanco armiño/ sino en dorado tabí/ que pienso que envuelto allí/ andaba el niño Jesós.

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DRESS AS A REFLECTION OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND DIFFERENTIATION IN THE SOVIET CINEMA OF THE 1950s–1980s

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Cinema and fashion are like an old marriage that has existed for many years in harmony and symbiosis. Individual and social identities, along with the concept of class, represent the social and cultural micro-level, which is often expressed, generally, in fashion or specifically in personal styles of dress. Identity and class is made visible through fashion and clothes. It has also become easy to portray through cinematic techniques, not merely for the sake of portraying fashion or identity, but for more important social issues, such as representing social change and stratification. All these issues were important in the Soviet Union, both in terms of the dominant ideology and global tendencies, as well as later democratic development. In the Soviet Union, the cinema had the status of a dictator of fashion; though there were emerging Soviet fashion journals here and there, there was no real fashion industry. Soviet taste was presented in the cinema hall. It was not the role of the aristocracy or politicians to become style icons, but of beautiful actresses, such as Lyubov Orlova and Lyudmila Tselikovskaya who became reflections of ordinary Soviet girls and women in a pursuit of an original style and self-expression.

On the other hand, these social agendas of fashion invite one to see, in the clothing styles and fashioned identities, something more than self-affirmation or artistic tendencies. Observation and intuition have prompted me to choose the dichotomy of imitation and originality in analyzing the image of fashion in popular Soviet movies. The construction of the social self through inventive or imitative tendencies, as shown on either the big or small screen in the Soviet Union in the 1960s–1980s, is analyzed here as a specific reflection of social stratification in Soviet society, which was officially egalitarian.

In order to better understand the general social situation, one needs to look back to the end of the Second World War and the subsequent death of

Joseph Stalin. There was a fear that any change could worsen the situation even more than before. This situation changed after Khrushchev's speech on the personality cult of Stalin, which opened a broader discussion and increased expectations, while also increasing demands and impatience for change for the better. After acquiring power, Khrushchev continued and even strengthened the egalitarian political-economy. However, with the beginning of the 1960s, active economic development and the accumulated reconstruction of the previous decade increased non-industrial expenditure (Zakharova 2013, 402–403). This was accompanied by changes in public life and the overall atmosphere. At this moment, the Soviet Union became more open to the world. International exchange and contacts were actively developed as Soviet delegations travelled abroad more often and foreign ones entered the country. The biggest event of the époque was the World Festival of Youth and Students in Moscow in 1957. In 1980, the movie, *Moscow Does Not Believe In Tears*, was shown. A French movie festival took place, and there were many Soviet celebrities: movie stars who looked very elegant and fashionable. Life was changing not only in its external presentation, but also in its internal dimension, as has been described by historians of the younger generation. These new trends and the changing atmosphere resulted in a phenomenon until then completely unknown to Soviet society: public opinion. It was at this exact moment and situation when fashion appeared in the Soviet Union too; it came to be considered an acceptable—within legal limits—and even important phenomenon, especially for the external image of the Soviet Union it publically presented, in terms of the socialist state, its economy, and everyday life.

According to the Russian writer and enthusiast of Soviet civilization, Sergey Kara-Murza, the Bolsheviks were made up of a group of people “experiencing trouble.” This was a specific, deprived and mistreated social stratum that included national and ethnic groups from countries destroyed by war in the first half of the twentieth century. The Soviet project that emerged from the peasant *Weltanschauung* did not help for that part of society that was successful and was trying to forget all its troubles, especially those of wartime. This part of society consisted of a growing urban population that was mostly young and educated, of middle income, and had fundamentally different desires to those of the peasants. Kara-Murza uses the concept of “image consumption” to highlight how once their natural, biological needs were fulfilled, images came to the fore. However, these images were not wholly abstract, but were closely linked to things. For peasants, the relevant images were of the integral parts of their way of life—nature, soil, environment, local community, etc. In the urban lifestyle, seemingly useless things turned into powerful images, leading to a kind of Soviet consumerism

(вещизм), which was suppressed by the authorities, but spread through the Soviet system from the inside out (Kara-Murza 2011, 638, 713).

The previously spartan and egalitarian type of individuality was no longer popular. The new consumer type had a distinctive hierarchy of values and displayed a desire for cars, dachas, expensive electronics, jewelry, and fashionable clothes. There was no longer *uravnilovka*, the ambiguous phenomenon of “equality in poverty,” as well as a growing critique of the privileges of the administrative and party *nomenklatura*. For the latter, the Brezhnev era was a time of permissiveness and impunity, which changed the social atmosphere, social psychology and behavior of the Soviet ruling class. Soviet society increasingly absorbed competitive individualism and freedom of expression through a variety of images and symbols of consumption. These processes gradually overwhelmed the previously important values of socialist equality and solidarity. Changes took place to the prevailing group identity, leading to the growing importance of personal identity, distinction and originality.

The social value of cinema is widely known and recognized. As a contemporary researcher on cinema and identity put it, “cinema has made both human consciousness visible and the otherwise elusive internal voice audible” and through that it started to “shape how we interpret the world (...) train audiences to read images and representations in predictable ways” (Finkelstein 2007, 6–7). Although movies often rely on stereotypes, standardized insignia, social codes and associations, “identity is collapsed into visual signs” and “we have learned to see ourselves and read the scene through the visual products on the screen” (Finkelstein 2007, 8). It is not the aim of this paper to answer how much cinema influenced actual looks, various lifestyles and social and personal identity construction in the Soviet society of the 1960s–1980s. It is assumed that such influence was unavoidable. The aim is to take a closer look at the visual discourse of cinema—the discourse that concerned such elements of everyday life as dress, fashion, and clothing styles; and the lifestyles of different social classes.

The late 1950s saw Khrushchev’s *Thaw* and the partial artistic liberalization and development of the Soviet cinema in genres and subjects: “the Socialist Realist model hero turned into a human being, and individuals in a domestic setting with everyday problems returned to the screen” (Beamers 2009, 112–15). Despite the political and cultural stagnation and tightening of control in the 1970s and early 1980s, Soviet cinema was rather dynamic and, in the period of 1980s perestroika, produced many great works and directors. For this research, several movies have been selected. Two criteria were taken into consideration. First of all, the popularity, or even

“cult” status, of a movie, which implies that it had big impact on Soviet audiences. Secondly, that the subject of the movie, and its details, should have some connection to the dimension of fashion and clothing.

The relationship between cinema and fashion is complex and dates back to the early 1920s. Some researchers have suggested that this relationship made both fashion and cinema influential factors in the integration, personal expression, and lifestyle of twentieth-century societies, especially among the members of the rapidly developing middle classes (Hendrykowski 2011, 14). Gilles Lipovetsky has described the role of fashion in the twentieth century, “the century of fashion,” as follows:

“political agencies stopped displaying the signs of superpowers, the symbols of their otherness with respect to society, quasi-divine figures arose in the ‘cultural field’; such *sacred monsters* enjoyed unparalleled honour and thus restored a certain hierarchical difference at the very heart of the egalitarian modern world” (Lipovetsky 1994, 77).

In the Soviet version, one can locate these processes in Ken Jowitt’s shift from the “domination through terror to one emphasizing domination through coercive manipulation” (Jowitt 1993, 99–100). Symbolic control by the party and official censorship were integral parts of the Soviet cultural landscape. However, there were several ways for visual media to smuggle alternative, most often Western, images and models into the frame, which were later emulated on the large scale and multiplied through both formal and informal channels. The phenomenon of imitating the West was highly controversial in Soviet society. From the very beginning, it was associated with rotten or pernicious Western influence; it was considered extremely disloyal and was punished under a specific legal clause (За преклонение перед Западом, “kowtowing before the West,” Zubkova 2015, 119).

Originality and invention can be understood as processes of individualization of personal identity and it was the individual pursuit of self-expression, self-fulfillment, idiosyncrasy, distinction, and even freedom, that was partly accepted in later Soviet society.

In the specific context of Soviet social stratification, fashion, along with the concepts of originality and imitation, is especially interesting to analyze. Who in the Soviet cinema was original in both appearance and identity? Were there any imitative tendencies of alternative, Western, images and fashion? And what was the discursive role of these tendencies? In other words, was it considered normal to imitate or to be original? And what was the role of social class and social stratification? Imitation represented a means of being fashionable and trendy. Being a source of social skills or “savoir-vivre” for the Soviet audience, cinema—both in its Soviet and Western forms—also

acted as a source of role models by providing various images to copy and identities to choose from. However, along with social characteristics, such as class, it is important to grasp the concepts of imitation and originality, as well as other criteria, such as gender, age, profession, family status, etc., that can distinguish fashion, dress, and clothing styles.

An interesting and expressive moment in a movie of the mid-1950s directly concerned retail, consumption, and fashion. The plot of *Behind Show Windows* (Samson Samsonov, 1955) tells us about a large department store, especially the men's suit department, whose manager refuses to sell suits of inadequate quality to customers. While arguing with the plant manager on the mass-oriented production of these second-rate suits, the department manager exclaims: "every mass-oriented' suit becomes deeply personal for the customer!" The movie showed an extremely romantic, perhaps even utopian, vision of a Soviet department store, echoing some of Khrushchev's rhetoric on Western lifestyles ("Catch up and overtake America").

Researchers of Soviet cinema describe the 1960s as a period of visible change: "numerous films of the period showed the immediate effect of the Thaw on the present and focused on family life. Filmmakers were encouraged to be truthful and authentic and to avoid the glossy portrayal and falsification of Stalin era film" (Beumers 2009, 128). The personalities of the main male and female protagonists are shown to be full of ordinary human feelings, needs and even shortcomings. But were they ordinary people with no class or social markers?

During the mid-1950s, another box office movie came out—*Carnival Night* or *Carnival in Moscow* (Eldar Ryazanov, 1956). The depiction of life is still quite glossy, particularly the ways it presents the opportunities and lifestyles of the elite compared to ordinary people—there is a clear message about the bright future of Communism. Members of the Soviet working class and some of the layer of intellectuals, all enjoy a high living standard. They have their leisure organized in an almost luxurious style, wearing wonderful, stylish costumes and fancy carnival dresses. The main anti-hero in the movie—the local official—is made fun of not only because of his bureaucratic style, but also for his strong desire to do everything *comme-il-faut*, though not for the sake of ordinary people.

Comedy was a very popular genre and saw many box office hits. It could also leave the authorities at a loss because of the audience's "uncontrollable reactions, [that were] unpredictable and feared because potentially they could instill a rebellious feeling" (Beumers 2009, 140).

The late 1950s and early 1960s was the period when Soviet fashion started to become institutionalized on screen. In *Girl without Address* (Eldar Ryazanov, 1957), a girl takes part in a show as a model (having been talked

into it by a person looking for models on the street and later by the designer). She decides that it is not serious enough for her and chooses to go far away to work as a bricklayer on construction sites and build something more fundamental.

There is Such a Lad (Vasiliy Shukshin, 1964) provides another good illustration. The main male character informs his friends that a sort of a mobile fashion show is taking place later that night; his attitude to the beautiful models is clearly understood from his remark: “the legs are that thin.” At the show, there is a presenter who explains the clothing, its role, and especially its socialist (!) concept: “our clothes are beautiful, simple and comfortable. They are functional, they should correspond to your profession and job, one should not wear garish clothes, it is tasteless...”

There is another interesting point concerning taste, life-style, and dress in this movie. It occurs in a discussion between the main character, who is a truck-driver, and his accidental passenger, evidently an urban dweller, on the tastelessness of “merchant” consumerism and the possession of numerous unnecessary old-fashioned things. This conversation contains statements such as: “life can be beautiful, even if we start with details.” The main character develops this point and concludes with one of the most obvious sources of differentiation—the contrast of the urban and rural—“you are so outdated (here, in the village), guys prefer courting urban girls because one can talk about interesting things with them.” Later, a stylish urban girl comes to visit him in a hospital and makes him happy.

Another criterion of social differentiation was class and social background. An interesting situation is shown in *I Love You, Life* (Mikhail Yershov, 1960)—a not very popular, but interesting movie. Here, the main male character, an engineer at a confectionery factory, prefers an ordinary working girl from his factory to a stylish and more beautiful former girlfriend, who is also an engineer and has influential parents. In one of the scenes, she underlines, in an egoistic manner, that since life is easier now (compared to previous times of revolution and war), it is a time for every personality to develop and bloom. Such a moment occurs at a New Year party where some young people, including three girls from the factory in rather modest old-fashioned dresses, which contrast with all the other girls who are in New Look dresses, dance strange dances and play strange music—jazz and rock-n-roll. Later, the music is changed to a waltz to suit all tastes, including those less refined or fashionable.

Not all urban dwellers and members of the intelligentsia in these movies are rich and well-to-do. Money is the main topic of the comedy *The Zigzag of Success* (Eldar Ryazanov, 1968). One of the female protagonists is unable to afford to buy a beautiful outfit from a store window and cannot become

beautiful and find happiness in her personal life as a result. Only part of a big lottery win allows her to do so and become pleasing to her future husband. The issue of the price of good clothes arises in Vasiliy Shukshyn's movie *Pechki-Lavochki* (Happy Go Lucky, 1972). The main female character receives a nice, expensive shirt as an unexpected present from a fellow train traveler. Later, this piece of clothing turns out to have been stolen from some luggage. She realizes immediately and shows that this shirt is not for her, an ordinary villager, as it looks too expensive for her.

In the movie *The Girls* (Yuriy Chulyukin, 1961), an interesting distinction is made. The audience is supposed to be sympathetic to the younger, poorer, more naïve and humble character, who has strong principles and is also an orphan, rather than her more stylish, educated, arrogant, and shameless rival. Of course, according to cinematic convention, the happy ending comes to the less fortunate one. The basis of differentiation is a moral one.

A similar judgment appears in the box office hit *Ivan Vasillievich Changes His Profession or Back to Future* (Leonid Gayday, 1973). At the end, the main female character wears modest clothes and acts discreetly, unlike her fictional counterpart who has a fashionable look and wants to buy a popular sheepskin coat through illicit means; at the same time, she is unfaithful to her husband.

Another popular comedy, *Diamond Arm* (Leonid Gayday, 1969), shows the difference between classes and their supposed lifestyles. There is a good though somewhat naïve male character who wears ordinary, modest clothes, of domestic, Soviet production, as does his wife and most of his neighbors. The comen, on the other hand, are more stylish characters with Western-style clothes that are seen in a fashion show featured in the movie. In the end the stylish comen lose out to the modestly dressed everyday characters.

Moscow does not Believe in Tears (Vladimir Menshov, 1980), presented the most complex picture. Here, the sorces of social differentiation are not strongly connected to social roots, but to geographical background and local ties. A crucial factor that influenced social life and differentiation in the Soviet Union was the particular experience of social mobility. This was largely the result of the processes of industrialization and urbanization. During the 1960s, one fifth of the population migrated from the country to cities and towns. Among them, there were famous "limitchiks" in Moscow, as a result of the quotas on migration and registration in the capital. Most urban Soviet population were first-generation urban dwellers, pulled from their traditional rural environment and left alienated in the urban milieu. On the one hand, social mobility was facilitated by free education, but on the other it was regulated by non-economic restraints, which connected education to specifically Soviet forms of social differentiation, status, and prestige.

Later on, this resulted in a further intensification of social stratification in Soviet society, which was officially proclaimed as egalitarian, open, and democratic. In the movie, the character of Lyudmila looks stylish and wears fashionable dresses to emphasize that she is different. She chooses a lifestyle to make herself stand out from among the grey masses of the ordinary people. This distinction is part of a strategy to get “a better life in this lottery called Moscow.”

The personal matters of love and companionship are closely connected with new clothes and a new identity in the box office hit *Office Romance* (Eldar Ryazanov, 1977). In this movie, the main female character changes dramatically with the help of a beautiful dress, make-up, and a haircut, as well as the direct assistance of a younger and prettier secretary. She changes from a cold and heartless workaholic into an attractive and charismatic object of male attention. In general, the film emphasizes the close connection between femininity and the ability to follow fashion trends in clothing. However, there is also a typically Soviet form of differentiation. The secretary—a fashion icon—is praised by one her colleagues for her ability to “wear only imported clothes despite her modest secretary’s salary.” At the same time, a man of success, promoted to vice-chief, is implicitly mocked for his big and expensive Volga car, extravagant home interior design and the period of his career in Switzerland—unimaginable for an ordinary Soviet clerk—which are mentioned at every opportunity.

There are other Soviet movies that make numerous references to the topic of fashionable or ordinary clothing and its connection to social differentiation and identity in the Soviet Union. For example: *Domestic Circumstances* (Aleksey Korenev, 1977), *The Most Charming and Attractive* (Gerald Bezhanov, 1985), *The Messenger* (Karen Shakhnazarov, 1986), *We are Cheerful, Happy, Talented!* (Aleksandr Surin, 1986), *Lonely Woman Seeks Lifetime Companion* (Vyacheslav Kristofovich, 1986), etc. Analysis of these movies gives us several interesting examples of how the perception of clothing and social differentiation can be shaped by popular culture, and by movies in particular. The main themes include the differences between rural and urban lifestyles, as well as those between Western and local production of clothing. In 1950s and 1960s cinema, a strong image of artificiality, imitation and hypocrisy in the fashionable looks of the intelligentsia and evildoers is contrasted to the authenticity of the simple, but pure look of the ordinary workers and representatives of the Soviet people. Later, however, the issue of personal happiness—especially for women—and self-fulfillment, becomes more important as part of the individual and social identity of movie protagonists and the audience. In the 1970-80s beautiful, Western,

fashionable clothes presented prettier looks and hinted at a better future in both one's private and public life.

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POSTFACE

ANTONELLO BIAGINI

The two volumes of *Fashion through History: Costumes, Symbols, Communication* are the result of an international conference held at Sapienza University of Rome, on May 20 and 21, 2015. This is the third such conference that I have coordinated together with Professor Giovanna Motta after Rome Conference 2013, “Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th Century,” and Rome Conference 2014, “The Great War: Analysis and Interpretation.” “Empires and Nations from the 18th to the 20th Century” (Sapienza, June 20–21, 2013) was an important event that brought together scholars from all over of the world who enriched this already ample topic with their original contributions and elaborated on new directions in a broad, interdisciplinary context. We have seen how, throughout history, international politics has mobilized the state as its main actor and how it has gradually been established as the primary institutional model of organization, presiding over the peoples and territories of the European continent through the recognition of the principle of sovereignty. This integrated the commitment of non-interference, with the development of international law and the creation of a permanent diplomatic network among members of the “international community.”

Historiography has conventionally identified the two treaties of Westphalia of 1648 as the final consecration of this evolutionary process. Beginning from this point, the focus of the participants (about two hundred academics and representatives of civil society) analyzed the relationships between the multinational empires and the emergence of nation-states, with particular reference to two turning points in the history of international systems: the Congress of Vienna of 1815 and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. On the issues that were brought up and the many ideas that developed from them, a lively debate, enabling large-scale scholarly analysis, took place, opening up new research directions with suggestions on: national identity; sovereignty; nationality and supranationality; nation-states; cultural and social identities in multinational empires; colonial policies; nationalism as the regression of the idea of the nation; the great ideologies of the twentieth century; and the Cold War and its consequences.

The participants came from thirty-five countries: Albania, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Cyprus, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Italy, Latvia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, the Czech Republic, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, the United States, Sweden, Hungary, and Turkey. The Scientific Committee was composed of sixteen members and the working language was English, in which language the proceedings of the conference were also published, edited by Professor Motta and I. The working group of the project PRIN (Project of Relevant National Interest) took part, funded by the Italian Ministry of Education in conjunction with the Universities of Genoa, Teramo and L'Orientale of Naples. This was attended by a substantial number of professors, researchers and young scholars (below the age of forty) and produced significant results (publication of essays and monographs, organization of seminars, study days and more generally, cultural events).

The Roma Conference 2014 “The Great War: Analysis and Interpretation” was driven by the success of the previous one. The centenary of the First World War was an opportunity to verify how, over the years, historical facts have managed to arouse interest among younger generations, who also contributed with new perspectives. Over the two days of the conference, the analysis of historical dynamics encouraged lively discussion, something that can never be taken for granted, and a significant number of scholars from around the world took part in this vivid debate: more than a hundred, from diverse countries, presented their papers in twenty-one panels organized by an international scientific committee of twenty-seven members. The conference contributed to the reopening of the debate on the Great War, reconsidering traditional academic clichés through an interdisciplinary approach and enabled the study of lesser-known issues of this conflict that had opened the twentieth century.

Common themes included: ideological and historiographical debates; the use of propaganda and the mobilization of public opinion in 1914; military, social, political and economic history; psychological aspects of the war; the role of intellectuals and artists; the issues of minorities and nationalities; the war economy; international relations and politics; memory and popular narratives of the war. The papers presented used diplomatic and military archives, as well as more recent dedicated historiographical materials, newspapers, propaganda material, memorials, public initiatives and so on. This conference resulted in the publication of two volumes intended not only for experts in political science, economy, sociology, and geopolitics, but also for everyone interested in history and especially the history of the First World War, which was very much back in focus on its hundredth anniversary.

Following the extremely positive reactions to the first two events of 2013 and 2014, the Scientific Committee decided to organize a third conference the topic of which was to be one that could include both scholars and representatives of the economic sector and civil society. Thus, in 2015, the international conference, which had by now become something of a tradition at Sapienza, was dedicated to fashion in all its aspects and many forms.

Rome Conference 2015 “Fashion through History: Costumes, Symbols, Communication” examined the passage from costume to fashion over the centuries. In this case, in addition to the usual participation of members of national and international academia, experts from the fashion world and various other fields took part. The meeting addressed questions related to cultural studies, history, anthropology, art, literature, economics, sociology and communication. In a lively atmosphere of scientific cooperation and harmony, around a hundred and eighty scholars from twenty-seven countries worked together in a broad interdisciplinary context. They brought the experience of their individual sectors, testifying to the importance of this topic, not only in its easily understood aesthetic perspectives, but also because the field of fashion has wide reach in the “sick” economies of today in both the industrialized and developing world.

As in the previous two years, the conference was attended by scholars from various countries, including: Saudi Arabia, Armenia, Estonia, Japan, Israel, Pakistan, Sweden, Switzerland, and Vietnam. Their presentations, in English, French and Italian, were given in twenty-seven panels organized by an international scientific committee of thirty members. A very broad academic horizon was enacted, with cultural insights and substantial and detailed analysis of all kinds of things related to the world of fashion, seen in historical and cultural perspective, and followed by analyses on a whole range of areas, including: religious and traditional aspects; gender issues; art and literature; the sociological analysis of counterculture and marginality; the latest theories on fashion as a form of communication; advertising; the recent trends of ethical and “fast” fashion. A theme not missing was that of Made in Italy and its huge success—it is a label that is recognized worldwide. As can be seen in these two volumes, fashion has a thousand implications, regarding social aspects, political positions and the types of economy representative of each epoch. From antiquity to the Middle Ages, and from the Ancien Régime of the aristocracy to the French Revolution—an event that affirmed the rise of the bourgeoisie—the ruling classes have imposed their public and professional roles through their self-images, making full use of clothes, colors, symbols, fabrics and embroidery. It is undeniable that clothes have always been an integral part of individuals and their identities, providing

information on one's political and social role, economic standard, and gender, as well as on one's cultural, national and religious background.

The contributions of the authors analyze the clothes of populations distant in both time and space, such as the Hittites, the Medieval Church, court society, the post-revolutionary era, and the Belle Époque.

A rich panorama encompassing the whole of Europe emerges—including Russia and the Caucasus. Less well-known examples are represented, such as the evolution of “socialist style” where a sort of civil uniform was imposed, during the Stalinist period, which became iconic of the Soviet domain and which, ironically, was subject to the influence and also influenced the fashion of Western societies.

Other authors have dealt with diverse artisanal traditions and with national costume as an expression of national identities of remote areas, ranging from Eastern Europe all the way to China and Pakistan. I would like to emphasize how the element of national costume, seemingly a minor one, constitutes an essential component of the construction of nationalism. National dress is often seen as a cultural and ethnic patrimony and, in this sense, it is identified as one of the principal constitutive elements of a nation's specificity. National identities are linked to religious ones—sometimes very closely—and are revealed through the signs and symbols of religious clothes. These are the so-called “garments of the soul” of the principal monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam): clothes for religious ceremonies or worn by believers in their everyday lives; clothes that mirror the relationship between tradition and innovation (changes that also came under the influence of modernity). As an example, I may mention the cultural identity defined by the Islamic veil, which is today adopted by a new generation of young Muslim women who are redefining themselves by wearing fashionable hijabs. The importance of colors and their use in the construction and preservation of the hierarchy between men and women is also remarkable and it is a theme that introduces another segment well represented at the conference: history and gender differences. The participants have analyzed the social and gender dynamics of different epochs, ranging from eighteenth-century Rome to Japanese society. These analyses address both historical and more contemporary topics, such as: the development of high fashion; the relations between the sexes; fashion and power; the symbolic representation of power through fashion; the presence of women in positions of power; and the function of women's clothes in the world of business and politics. Space has been devoted to the styles of youth movements—such as the Mods, the Beat Generation and punk—and of marginalized groups; the issue of color in traditional wedding dresses, both in the East and West, has also been discussed. Other, more theoretical aspects

have enabled articulations with other disciplines, which have contributed to an analysis of the meaning of fashion in sociology and communication. The thought of sociologists, philosophers and linguists, such as Fausto Squillace, Christian Garve, Norbert Elias, Algirdas Julien Greimas and Roland Barthes is examined in detail. How the body became the key concept for understanding the new “fashion system”; how the study of fashion cannot be limited to clothing, but is also a means of examining how clothes are worn; how body shapes are hidden or accentuated, characterizing movements, gestures and attitudes, are also discussed. The importance of communication in fashion has been a common theme of many studies. These have analyzed the way fashion is presented by the mass media through language, photography, advertising, television; and, in the virtual world, by the Internet through social media, digital technology, websites, and blogs. Fashion language is fashion in itself, a cultural phenomenon, an effective system of values, hopes, ideas and experiences, offering interesting insights and valuable suggestions about society and its evolution. Communication, which is essential for the market, opens up the economy to analysis, which is an indispensable part of the fashion industry and fashion production. It also opens up the analysis of counterfeiting and copyright, designs, trademarks, trade secrets, technical development and innovation in materials; these are all fundamental tools of intellectual property and in the fashion industry have become elements of economic competition in an era of globalization and the integration of international markets. Since the logic of profit is often not only dominant, but also ruthless, it seems equally natural that even around fashion ethical issues and new trends arise (such as “green fashion”), which raise the awareness of consumers in their choices, presenting them with ideas around social commitment, as well as of the risks that certain products may pose for health of the individual and the environment.

This conference emphasized collaboration between scholars and the world of work; between the academy and the younger generation that is entering into the world of culture and the labor market. Scholars and students, journalists and sociologists, industrialists, artisans, artists, perhaps for the first time, had the opportunity to exchange their knowledge, discussing all kinds of issues, and offering an opportunity to students, especially those of the “Masters in Fashion Studies” degree, instituted in 2013 at Sapienza University of Rome. This master was established as an educational course for professionals in the sector of fashion, allowing students to study history, art, sociology and semiology, as well as providing them with activities in the field of communication, journalism, publishing, marketing and branding. The conference and subsequent proceedings aim to contribute to scientific awareness and research in this field of study, which is both innovative and

avant-garde and increasing in prominence. The numbers involved clearly express the interest that these three conferences (2013-2014-2015) have aroused: 576 participants, from 97 countries and the publication of the proceedings in six volumes, with which we wish to offer a new path to younger generations and encourage interest and enthusiasm in their futures.