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19.–20. 10. 2018

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MUSEOEUROPE 2018

Mirjana Koren, PhD, Director of the Regional Museum Maribor

This year's international symposium **MUSEOEUROPE 2018** is the fifth in a row and relates to our open depot of uniforms. Its opening marked the anniversary of the end of World War I. The rich museum collection of military and civil uniforms demonstrates the social need for uniformity. Uniforms warn, protect and provide recognizable signs of order. Particularly interesting for museum research are aspects of psychological, social and symbolic impacts of historical uniforms in modern times.

The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage to Society shifted the focus of attention from questions of protection of the heritage to its users. It also introduced into public debate the principle of the sustainable use of cultural heritage. The collection of uniforms at Regional Museum Maribor, consisting of around 3,500 items, is the biggest in Slovenia. A new approach to its management dictated a strategic decision to display it in an open depot, which is set up along the lines of a cabinet of curiosities. The main motivational tool of its communication here is enthusiasm about heritage, but at the same time the right of visitors to personal motives for their interest in particular heritage items is acknowledged. The added value of displaying uniforms in an open depot lies in understanding the whole of the visitor's perception.

The symposium involved 13 researches from four countries: Netherlands, Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. They come from different universities, museum and research institutes, but also include some independent researchers. The institutions involved are as follows: Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Netherlands; Museum of Yugoslavia, Serbia; Museum of Vojvodina, Serbia; Varaždin City Museum, Croatia; Military Museum of Slovenian Armed Forces, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; Archiepiscopal Archive Ljubljana, Slovenia; Museum of Recent History Celje, Slovenia; and Regional Museum Ptuj – Ormož, Slovenia.

The symposium was organised under the auspices of ICOM Europe by the Regional Museum Maribor. The papers in the proceedings were evaluated by an international team of reviewers, and prepared for publication by editors Nives Cvikl and Maja Hren Brvar.

I believe that the reading in front of you is of interest not only to researchers, but also to general readers.

UNIFORMS AND UNIFORMITY

Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar, Regional Museum Maribor

A uniform is a garment that is precisely defined by regulations. The fabric, tailoring and color of the uniform are unified for all members of a group, organization or profession that wear uniformed clothing. The uniform is a symbol of recognition, organization, unity, affiliation and tradition.

The beginnings of uniformity in the sense of unified designs and colors reach back to antiquity, however, only the first organized deployment of a regular army in the 17th century, produced military uniforms that are still in use today. They are worn by members of armed forces and paramilitary units. Over the centuries, tailored uniforms have varied from colorful to utilitarian. Parallel with the development of military uniforms, non-military civil uniforms emerged as well. Dress codes determined the differences between social classes and strengthened dress codes of various state officials and other corporations.

The Regional Museum Maribor keeps a Collection of Uniforms that consists of military and civil uniforms from the beginning of the 19th century, while the youngest items are modern uniforms of military and civil uniformed societies in Slovenia. The collection holds over 3,500 items, ranging from clothing, footwear, headgear to many other exhibits that represent a unique and valuable compilation in Slovenia.

In 2018, the Collection of Uniforms was presented in a new depot setup, which during the international symposium Museoeurope 2018 includes also an item from the visiting museum. This year, the National Museum of Slovenia is presenting a civil uniform from their collection, a *surka* of Stanko Vraz. The *surka* is a long-cut jacket with a solid stand collar and distinctive braided patches and nooses instead of buttons. It represents a uniform, which during the 19th century ethnic struggles became a distinctive sign of Slovene patriots and members of the Illyrian, the Young Slovenes and reading society movements. The *surka* of Stanko Vraz, a poet and literary critic (1810–1851), initiator of a renaissance movement and a committed advocate of the unified standard written language, attests to an affiliation to the aforementioned movement and is a visible and distinctive symbol of Illyrism.

Uniformity constitutes a unique position in modern society and has a great impact on everyday life. A unified appearance is used for practical or identifiable reasons and creates visible links with various institutions, associations, societies and subcultures.

A special word of thanks goes to the following group of reviewers, who were generously involved in helping to create the collective volume UNIFORMITY: Dr Maja Garb from the Faculty of Social Sciences Ljubljana, Dr Peter Mikša from the Faculty of Arts Ljubljana, Dr Blaž Torkar, Military Museum of Slovenian Armed Forces, Dr Tanja Petrović, from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr Uroš Svete from the Faculty of Social Sciences Ljubljana, Dr Katarina Nina Simončič from the Faculty of Textile Technology Zagreb, Dr Bojan Knific from the Museum in Tržič, Dr Rebeka Kunej from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dr Tomaž Pavlin from the Faculty of Sport Ljubljana and Dr Gojka Pajagič Bregar from the National Museum of Slovenia.

Thirteen authors from four countries presented their research findings and analyses under three headings: *The Role and Importance of Military Uniforms, Uniformity and Society* and *Civilian Uniforms and their Preservation*. The papers gathered in the collective volume of the Museoeurope 2018 are presented in the same order in which they were delivered at the symposium.

The introductory lecture to the symposium was given by Simona Pörš, curator from the Military Museum of Slovenian Armed Forces. With the title *From Civilian Clothing to Military Uniform* it presented the development of the military uniform since the first attempts to unify the appearance of soldiers until the end of World War I. It pointed out various milestones in history, related to the development of a military uniform.

The first group of lecturers under the title *The Role and Importance of Military Uniforms* focuses on the presentation of various military uniforms and their identification symbols. Aleš Žlebnik from the Student Dormitory Kranj in a paper entitled *The Last Decree on Military Clothing of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia* describes the last complete modernization of uniforms of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and describes this process through photographic material from the area of the Drava banovina.

In his contribution *The Uniform of Slovene Mountain Regiment 1911–1918 – the Imperial Austrian Mountain Troops Uniform and its Specifics*, David Švagelj from Adecco, Slovenia, describes the special features of the uniforms and equipment for surviving in the mountains, the differences between prewar and interwar uniforms, the modernization and the use of replacement materials during shortages in the years 1916–1918.

In her article *The Legend of Šajkača – a Famous Serbian Cap*, Katarina Radisavljević from the Museum of Vojvodina looks at the origin and the transformation of this significant element of Serbian traditional male costume: the šajkača, a cap recognized widely as a symbol of national identity.

Tim Streefkerk and Nathan Piccirillo, both from the Airborne Museum Hartenstein, The Netherlands, also focused on headgear. In their article *The Mark of the Airborne Brotherhood: The Meaning and Identity of the Red Beret* they described the red beret as an international symbol for airborne troops and tried to find an answer to why it was chosen, what did it mean during World War II and what is its current meaning?

The second part of the symposium, entitled *Uniformity and Society*, is dedicated to the interplay of military uniforms and civil clothing. Maja Hren Brvar from the Regional Museum Maribor opened this section with her article *In the Service of the Tailcoat*. She presents the historical and fashion development of the ceremonial jacket for men – the tailcoat and describes in detail the tailcoat that belonged to Dr Izidor Cankar, the Kingdom's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Katarina Šrampf Vendramin from the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts describes in her contribution *Military Fashion and How It Influenced Civilian Dress in Slovenia* the process of implementation and acceptance of elements of military fashion in the everyday clothing of the civilian population.

In her article *World War I Uniforms as Costume in the Choreography of Folk Dance Group Klas Horjul*, Marija Čipić Rehar from the Archiepiscopal Archive Ljubljana describes the research and reconstruction of World War I Uniforms and their adaptation for a folk dance group.

The section is concluded by Urška Repar and Sebastjan Weber from the Museum of Recent History Celje. Their article *Jeans: From a Uniform of Rebels to the Uniformity of All* talks about the history of denim and its impact on the global culture.

The third thematic section *Civilian Uniforms and their Preservation* looks at uniforms in civil use and their conservation. The first paper of this section by Ljerka Šimunić from the Varaždin City Museum on *Uniforms of the Varaždin Civil Guard from the Establishment to 1918* gives a concise overview of the development, design and basic characteristics of the historical uniforms listed as Croatian Cultural Heritage.

In her contribution *Uniforms of Yugoslav Sokols*, Veselinka Kastratović from the Museum of Yugoslavia presents the Sokol movement, uniforms of the Yugoslav Sokol Union and rules, regarding its use.

This section is concluded with two articles from the conservation and restoration work field. Eva Illec from the Regional Museum Ptuj – Ormož describes in her article *Conservation of the Uniform of a Member of the Association of Boys' Units* her preservation and conservation work on the boys' uniform of the gymnastics movement Orel (Eagle).

The last contribution by Irena Porekar Kacafura from the Regional Museum Maribor is entitled *Risk Determination in the Uniform Collection of the Regional Museum Maribor and Preventive Conservation Provision*. In her article, she looks at museum storage units as living organisms, subject to constant change, and explains the RE-ORG Method used to evaluate conservation and restoration risks.

FROM CIVILIAN CLOTHING TO MILITARY UNIFORM*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

This article is about the development of the military uniform since the first attempts to unify the appearance of soldiers until the end of the First World War. The development of a military uniform relates to various milestones in history, such as the Thirty Year's War and the French Revolution, and of course the First World War, and puts them in the context of social changes, as well as those in the field of armaments and the related mode of warfare.

KEYWORDS

military uniform, insignia, uniformity, armed forces, coat, headgear, battle uniform

INTRODUCTION

Uniform is unified dress differing from other types of clothing in appearance, cut, color and the method of wearing, depending on specific services. Uniforms in the armed forces are divided on the basis of service, branch, duty and unit. Another division is based on their purpose: peacetime uniforms (service, work, full-dress, guard) and battle uniforms. And based on the season, there are summer and winter uniforms. By wearing uniform, members of different armed forces are distinguished from civilians and the personnel of other armies. And, last but not least, uniform facilitates the maintenance of discipline, order and specific military relationships.¹

The first attempts at uniformity of military dress date back to Classical Antiquity. From the very beginning, it was ensured that the soldiers of the same unit were equipped with unified weapons and clothing. With regards to dress, this mostly applied to the color of individual pieces of clothing and their cut, and, of course, unified insignia in terms of shape and color and according to their purpose. Medieval armies also marked individual formations of their armed forces with, for instance, a cross in a specific color; soldiers wore coats with one of the sleeves the color of their commander's uniform; and their headgear was also marked, with leaves or straw stuck in them.²

FIRST UNIFIED CLOTHING

The introduction of regular armies in the 17th century and the changing of soldiers' armament, as bladed weapons were gradually laid down and successfully substituted with firearms, gave rise to the need for uniform clothing for "specific" purposes – the military uniform.

An important milestone crucially affecting political changes in Europe and, consequently, the development of military science was the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). Even though we cannot yet speak of uniformity during this period, there were tendencies towards the standardisation of armament and clothing for the members of individual units. Individual units within the same army already used specified weapons related to their role on the battlefield. When it came to clothing worn on the battlefield, the Spanish influence was still visible at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, but it was not long before changes occurred. A sleeveless coat, culottes and a small head covering were replaced by clothes which clearly originated in folk costumes, namely a loose knee-length coat, culottes, stockings and a broad-brimmed hat.³

The ability to distinguish between the members of different armies on the battlefield was and is a vital aspect of combat. The possibility of misidentification on the battlefield was substantial in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

*Translation: Katarina Rogelj

¹ Vojna enciklopedija, Vol. 10, 1967, Uniforme, p. 284.

² Ibid.

³ KRAUS, J. 1987, pp. 13, 15.

The armies of this period differed from one another in the color of their dress and decorations. During the first half of the 17th century, specifically during the Thirty Years' War, soldiers on battlefields wore mostly red and blue coats, although these were not the only colors. The color palette of coats was supplemented by green, grey, purple-red and orange. On the gunpowder smoke-filled battlefield, these colors created considerable confusion, which resulted in additional marking of soldiers with specific signs, such as sashes, cuffs, feathers, plumes, and pocket handkerchiefs stuck in hats. These markings in specified colors for individual armies – for instance, in the colors of the commander's coat-of-arms – became the distinguishing elements of their members.⁴

Many markings and colors used during the first attempts at uniformity of military dress were preserved even after the introduction of national uniforms, including sashes and cockades attached to headgear.⁵

The color of uniforms defined soldiers as members of specific military units and, more importantly, the countries and rulers they served and fought for. Nevertheless, national colors sometimes transcended the borders between countries: French and British artillerists wore blue coats, fire regiments often used dark green, the navy adopted dark blue and white, which is still in use nowadays, and aviation unit personnel have kept their lead-blue uniforms.

BEGINNING OF THE PATH TO MILITARY UNIFORMS

The second half of the 17th century represents the actual beginning of the path leading to the military uniform, when the idea of unified dress for soldiers really began to be implemented. The formation of professional armies, the equipping of infantry with fire arms, the changing and introduction of new equipment resulted in the development of new warfare tactics. That included efforts to achieve a certain level of uniformity in clothing, while taking into consideration the intended use and usefulness of the uniform. The aspects necessary for implementing the uniformity of the army in terms of dress clearly expressed the purpose and aim of the military uniform. The fact is that uniform dress would not have been possible without the ability of the economy to ensure mass production of clothes at affordable prices. The color and insignia of uniforms had to clearly indicate the affiliation of their wearers to specific armies, branches, services and units, and define their service ranks and functions. Consequently, uniforms defined the wearers' allegiance; as soldiers put them on, they lost their individuality, which led to the third aspect of uniformity – by wearing a uniform, soldiers relinquished their individuality in exchange for service to their rulers and countries. By entering military service, they also committed to the prescribed military conduct and customs. This brings us to the essential purpose of the uniform – to place individuals within the military community and achieve their compliance with military discipline and regulations.⁶

In the civilian fashion of this period, a style with a strong French influence prevailed, which was also reflected in military uniforms. Military dress corresponded to bourgeois clothes, with its most recognisable part being the fitted collarless coat (Fr. *Justaucorps*) with deep cuffs on the sleeves. Like coats worn by the higher and lower nobility, the coats of officers and generals who belonged to this social class were elaborately decorated with gold and silver braids and sashes. The coat was worn with a fitted long-sleeved *camisole* with narrow cuffs, relatively tight-fitting culottes and stockings. Neckerchiefs or scarves, the forerunners of neckties, were tied around the neck. The coat worn by soldiers did not feature any unnecessary decorations and was single-breasted with the buttons sewn close to one another. The rules on wearing uniform – the first were written at the beginning of the 18th century – applied mostly to soldiers, while officers and generals were free to tailor their garments to their own wishes. Their coats boasted decorations embroidered with gold or silver threads, and breastplates and crescent-shaped *gorgets*, the final remainders of the knight's armour, were also popular. During the 16th and 17th centuries, the *gorget*, which was part of the knight's armour, underwent change and became increasingly small due to its disappearing role as protection against shots, until it eventually became a crescent-shaped chestplate (*gorget*), suspended from a chain worn around the neck by officers, and served only as one of the officers' rank insignia.⁷

⁴ VRIŠER, S. 1987, pp. 9, 11, 12, 19, 22.

⁵ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 23.

⁶ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 11.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 31, 32.

The broad-brimmed felt hat was one of the more popular dress items. It was identical for civilians and soldiers, and worn with the edges turned up, thus creating head wear which became the symbol of the 18th century – the tricorne (or cocked hat). The left side of the brim was buttoned to the rim of the crown along with a socket for attaching the cockade in national colors, which represented the remnants of the past military insignia and provided the possibility of additional national identification. The hat worn by soldiers was often lined with colored or white ribbons, while officers' hats were decorated with feathers and ribbons. The hats of soldiers, non-commissioned officers and junior officers covered their braided hair, while senior officers and generals wore curly wigs as pertaining to their class. One of the first mentions of hair braiding originates in 1684, and addresses the need for soldiers to tie their hair with ribbons to avoid the hair "falling" in their eyes when shooting. There were, of course, other dividing lines between the worlds of the common soldiers, and the non-commissioned officers and officers – the right to wear crescent-shaped gorgets, sashes and cummerbunds, which were the forerunners of military belts, etc.⁸

At the beginning of the 18th century, not all armies were completely uniform. One such example was the Russian army, whose members' uniforms had the same cut, but varied in color within individual regiments. In addition, officers were free to dress as they wanted according to their preferences and personal taste until 1730. This practice changed by mid-century, and Russian soldiers started wearing dark-green coats, with the exception of artillerymen, whose coats were red.⁹

Recognisability and the ability to differentiate between ally and enemy soldiers are of vital importance in the military. In the mid-17th century, this role was given to color cuffs and coat lining. Specific colors became regimental colors, and therefore enabled the recognisability of specific regiment personnel within individual armies.¹⁰

Simultaneously with the first instances of uniformity, a major change occurred in armament. After the end of the Thirty Years' War, pikemen laid down their pikes and replaced them with a substantially shorter variation of the pike for the defence of musketeers against cavalry attacks; this, however, went out of use by the end of the 17th century. Pikemen were armed with a 4.5 metre-long pike weighing 3 kilograms, which was useful only in close-order combat formations for stopping cavalry charges at musketeers during their lengthy loading of muskets; swords were used in hand-to-hand combat. The pike was replaced by the bayonet, which enabled musketeers to defend themselves. The infantry usually fought in two-line formations, and while one line loaded their weapons, the other line protected the first one with bayonets. The rifle with the bayonet was approximately two metres long, which was perfectly sufficient for defence against cavalry. The pike and the halberd stayed in use only as a symbol of military rank and status. In the Austrian Empire, pikes with spearheads with curved wings, the *partisans*, were used for this purpose, while *spontons* based on Prussian polearms were in use elsewhere.¹¹

However, the real reason for the disappearance of pikemen was the introduction of the paper cartridge containing gunpowder and a bullet, which sufficed for one shot. The invention of the metallic cartridge solved the problems with breech loading and firing speed. A cartridge pouch was added to the soldiers' equipment. Grenadiers – offensive soldiers who carried hand grenades in their large bags – entered the battlefield; their task was to throw grenades during sieges. By the mid-eighteenth century, these units were no longer relevant, so grenadiers assumed the role of common musketeers, but still preserved their elite unit status.¹²

Grenadiers were distinguished by their special headgear, which developed entirely as part of the military dress. Due to its cone shape and wide shoulder-length bag, the grenadier cap resembled the mitre cap worn by bishops. It evolved in different directions within individual armies. The headgear of the Austrian Empire's army imitated the Hussar busby – a cylindrical fur hat with a bag of cloth with a tassel at the back, and a metal plate at the front. Later, in 1760, the French and British armies modelled their headgear on the grenadier cap, which completely disappeared under bearskin. Why did the grenadier hat appear in the first place? Grenadiers were infantrymen who threw hand grenades. The moment they had to switch muskets for

⁸ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 19. VRIŠER, S. 1987, pp. 10, 11. MOLLO, J. 1972, pp. 19, 31.

⁹ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 45.

¹⁰ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 32.

¹¹ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 36. Enciklopedija orožja, 1995, pp. 56, 57, 64, 65.

¹² KRAUS, J. 1987, pp. 20, 21. Enciklopedija orožja, 1995, p. 112.

grenades during combat, they swung the muskets onto their shoulders and moved them behind their backs. Broad-brimmed hats would hinder them severely during this movement, and also when throwing grenades, for which they needed both hands, so their hats had to be brimless. The Russian army followed the example of the Tatars and developed a special grenadier hat. It was made of cloth or felt and featured ear flaps which could unfold to protect the ears and neck against the cold. This hat was only used for a short period of time; however, it also served as a model for the Russian Red Army headgear.¹³

With regards to cavalry dress, the basic uniform of cavalymen of the first half of the 17th century resembled the infantry uniform. More interesting was the uniform of the heavy cavalry, the former cuirassiers, which in addition to a hat, a coat, breeches, stockings and boots, featured a breastplate, a leather buff coat worn under the armour, and sometimes a helmet with a nose guard. Heavy cavalymen were equipped with a heavy short sword, the *pallasch*.¹⁴ They appeared on the battlefield in this dress and with this equipment not only during the Thirty Years' War, but also in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. The changes in armament and the uniformity of soldiers' dress during this period laid the foundation for the changes taking place during the 18th century. The uniformity process of armies actually unfolded very slowly; the implementation of uniform dress took decades, since it depended on the political and economic situations of individual countries.

At the beginning of the 18th century, the development of military dress followed its own direction, separate from civilian folk fashion. A uniform cuts of coats, specific colors prescribed to individual branches, and various coat and headgear decorations increasingly distinguished soldiers from the rest of the population. Their uniform reflected not only their rank, but, more importantly, the army and unit they belonged to. Eventually, soldiers wore proper "royal uniforms" provided by the state. The ruler's symbols were featured on some of its parts – including headgear, ammunition pouches, breastplates and crescent-shaped gorgets. Adorned with these attributes, soldiers represented the servants and advocates of nobility powers. Nevertheless, soldiers of individual countries differed from one another, starting with their coat colors. The choice of basic colors, which was, one could say, rather practical in nature, resulted in the formation of two political camps which chose the coat color for their soldiers on the basis of their religion. Under the French and Austrian influence, German Catholic states opted for white, while Protestant states followed the Prussian example and adopted a blue uniform. A red uniform prevailed in the Nordic countries, and dark green in Russia. The political-religious division also affected the cut of coats. In the first half of the 18th century, coats were influenced by the French Baroque style and retained a wider cut, knee length and a narrow pleated waist. This comfortable cut remained in use until the end of the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). From 1718 onwards, a new, tighter style was gaining popularity, which was more economical since it required less fabric to make. The coat with shorter tails, narrower cuffs and substantially tighter cut introduced a close-fitting line of clothes, which was completely opposite to the flamboyant French style. During the period, this type of coat was adopted by Protestant German states, while other German states remained faithful to the more comfortable version and followed the Prussian model after the Seven Years' War.¹⁵

During this period, coats were also added a specific military accessory – the epaulette. As early as in 1759, French officers, who demonstrated their military ranks with crescent-shaped gorgets, were ordered to wear epaulettes on their shoulders. The novelty was not received well, and many labelled it as "unnecessary clutter", but despite that it has remained in use until today, and continues to denote the ranks of military personnel.¹⁶

From 1770 on, coats buttoned only to the middle of the chest. They no longer had frontal tails; they were only elongated at the back and resembled the tailcoat. The stand-up collar increased in height and was, along with epaulettes, the most visible dividing line between the military and civilian tailcoats. The silhouette of a soldier wearing fitted culottes, a tailcoat and a tricorne, which was substantially smaller than its predecessors, became a synonym for the elegant military uniform of the second half of the 18th century. On the other hand, there was a belief that soldiers should be provided with more comfortable uniforms, which would be suitable for wearing on the battlefield and would provide protection in different weather conditions. Therefore, soldiers were

¹³ MOLLO, J. 1972, pp. 45, 47.

¹⁴ URL: https://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konjeniški_meč (quoted 19. 3. 2018).

¹⁵ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 27.

¹⁶ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 49.

given a coat with a comfortable cut, which buttoned down the whole length and had no lavish decorations. But this outfit was limited to the Austrian Empire and Russia from the start; the soldiers of other countries were still dressed in traditional coats which grew increasingly fitted and failed to provide adequate protection. After 1785, the Prussian army also adopted the Austrian cut of coats, i.e. with a looser cut, high collar and cuffs in regimental colors, only to revert to the old impractical uniforms with too tight-fitting coats in 1798.¹⁷

During the Seven Years' War and immediately after it, there was a lot of experimenting with headgear and various helmet models, which reflected the Austrian influence. In 1769, the *casquette* was introduced as headgear for infantry and light cavalry, while grenadiers kept their typical mitre caps. The casquette fell into disuse in 1798 when the entire army, with the exception of Hussars, Uhlans and border infantry, were given crested helmets. The Austrian version of the helmet was made of leather and featured visors at the front and back, a leather-and-brass crest, a "comb" made of yellow and black wool or fur, and the Emperor's monogram. Different versions of this helmet were adopted by Russia, Prussia and Great Britain. Heavy cavalrymen continued to wear bicorne hats, and during the Ottoman Wars in 1788-1789 even wore the old cavalry helmets with nose guards. After 1798, crested helmets prevailed in heavy cavalry as well, but were shaped slightly differently from infantry helmets – some of them were a mix of the casquette and the crested helmet with a visor.¹⁸

Hussars and certain infantry border regiments wore visor-free cylindrical hats with plaits and rosettes at the front, which soon became uniform headgear for all Hussar units. After 1798, this Hussar hat gained a visor, thus forming into a *shako*. The *shako* became the most frequently used type of military headgear before 1870; in a few years it was adopted by nearly all other armies – only Bavarian units kept the crested helmet as their hallmark until 1886.¹⁹ From 1781 on, the Austrians also experimented with the fur cap of Polish Uhlans with a lined square-shaped top. In 1798, the cap gained a visor, giving it the signature elements of the later military headgear called a *czapka*.²⁰

After a series of failed experiments with grey fabric, the basic color of the Austrian infantry and cavalry uniform remained white. In 1798, Austrian soldiers were given new uniforms. The coat was shorter and had a looser cut. The infantry coat featured a wider collar and deeper cuffs, and an epaulette on the left shoulder. The uniform also consisted of white *culottes* and black *gaiters*, while soldiers from the Hungarian part of the country wore long pants. Officers wore a shorter black hooded coat, and for the first time also put on a knee-length coat with an open lined double-breasted collar. The high collars of cavalrymen were white and more close-fitting, and featured regimental color patches and narrow cuffs. The coats of both branches were single-breasted with buttons running the entire length. Artillerists wore brown coats, while riflemen and pioneers wore grey. Uhlans wore green coats with red collars, plastrons and cuffs, green waistcoats and white *culottes*. Hussars remained committed to the diverse colors of the Hungarian national costume.²¹

CHANGES DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution and its political and social changes abolished the rigid old-regime military system, and consequently brought about changes in warfare tactics. The hiring of foreign mercenaries gave way to compulsory military service, which ensured that enthusiasm and national consciousness became the building blocks of the army. The revolution profoundly impacted civilian men's fashion as well. It swept away the wigs, braids, *culottes* and aristocratic elements, as well as colorful clothes. The latter were replaced by new, bourgeois items – the top hat, the tailcoat and long pants. Tousled hair became a real fashion hit. The new style of clothing also altered military uniforms, but not before the turn of the century. The military equivalent to the civilian top hat and tailcoat were a high *shako* and a tight coat with an accented waist, which buttoned up completely at the front – the *colette*. Towards the end of the 18th century, tricorn hats were replaced by bicornes, which were worn in two different ways during and after the French Revolution: side to side, and fore to aft with the pointed end facing forward.²²

¹⁷ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 29. MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 90.

¹⁸ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 49.

¹⁹ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 86. KRAUS, J. 1987, pp. 39, 40.

²⁰ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 15. MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 86.

²¹ MOLLO, J. 1972, pp. 86, 87.

²² Ibid., p. 45.

An important function of headgear was that various national symbols and insignia could be pinned to them. With the French Revolution, one of the most important symbols became the *cockade* – a round insignia in national colors made of cloth or metal.²³

Military uniforms did not forego the colorfulness of their pieces – quite the opposite. The Napoleonic period brought with it almost overly varied and colorful military dress. This splendour was imitated by numerous countries. Cavalry uniforms, in particular, stood out among the French uniforms; they consisted of impressive helmets with horsehair tails resembling Ancient Greek helmets, chest plates and dolmans similar to those worn by Hungarian Hussars, whose uniforms were based on the Hungarian national costume. Their short coats, *dolmans*, were decorated with numerous braids and worn with tight pants. Next to sabres suspended from their belts they also wore sabretaches embroidered with monograms and other emblems, and high-crowned hats called *kalpaks*.²⁴

The appearance of the Austrian Empire infantrymen remained largely unchanged during the first half of the 19th century. The personnel of Austrian regiments wore *shakos*, short jackets, *culottes* and *gaiters*, while Hungarian regiments wore long tight-fitting blue pants. Long pants were also issued to Austrian regiments in 1830, and a few years later, the long pants worn by the officers of these regiments became light blue.

The end of the Napoleonic era did not bring significant changes to uniforms. They were consistent with the bourgeois fashion, but they also differed from it by preserving their colors and decorations. The military uniform was becoming an item of clothing which enhanced the prestige of the wearer in the eyes of the rest of the population, and was growing increasingly attractive to the broader masses due to its emulation of bourgeois fashion, and therefore the “bourgeois” character of the army.²⁵

During the first half of the 19th century, the critics of the military style of dress were getting louder. The existing uniforms were said to serve parade purposes more than field work, let alone combat use. The *shako* and the *colette* were completely inappropriate for battle. But despite the French battlefield experience in Russia with catastrophic consequences, which were partly the result of entirely inappropriately dressed and equipped soldiers, and later the experience on the North African battlefield, where soldiers made the arbitrary decision to discard the uncomfortable military dress hindering them in difficult battle conditions and change it for more comfortable coats and cloth hats, over a decade had to pass before these experiences contributed to a change of uniform for the entire army. The French armed forces entered 1845 with new jackets, headgear and improved equipment. These changes had far-reaching effects since they played a crucial role in the creation of the soldier's appearance before the First World War, and to some extent even until the present day. The three new and improved elements became the hallmark of the military uniform. The jacket no longer resembled the tailcoat, and provided protection to the soldier's entire body even in unfavourable weather conditions, which the *colette* had failed to do. With it, soldiers received their first item of battle uniform – a jacket which provided a greater ease of movement without requiring the extreme posture assumed in high-collared coats. It was first issued to infantrymen, and ten years later to cavalrymen. The 1850s was the period when the battle jacket was also introduced in other countries.²⁶

Changes in the armed forces also affected civilian men's fashion – in mid-19th century, the trendy tailcoat lost the battle with the short jacket. Along with the tailcoat, the top hat disappeared and was replaced by a smaller hat. In the French army, the heavy and uncomfortable *shako* was substituted with its lighter and more comfortable version usually made of cloth, from which the typical French military headgear later evolved – the *kepi*. This altered *shako* was adopted by most other countries, including the Austrian Empire. The second new headgear was the Prussian *Pickelhaube*, a spiked helmet which was designed to provide better protection against sabre blows and, due to its elongated front and back, against the sun and rain. This helmet also had a great symbolic significance – it was a symbol of unbending Prussian politics, militarism and reactionism during the revolutionary period of 1848-49. Despite its negative connotations it was adopted

²³ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 41.

²⁴ VRIŠER, S. 1987, pp. 11, 16. KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 42.

²⁵ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 147.

²⁶ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 55.

for use by other countries: Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Norway, Russia and USA. The Austrian *Gendarmerie* adopted the Russian model of the helmet in 1850. It was still used by the Prussian army at the beginning of the First World War, and became a powerful symbol of the German soldier.²⁷

The next novelty – a belt called a Koppel – affected the method of carrying military equipment. Up until this point, infantrymen carried most of their equipment on their shoulders; now they were able to suspend part of their equipment, like the heavy ammunition pouch, from the belt. They could also tie rucksack straps to auxiliary belt straps. They were thus able to distribute the weight of their load equally between their shoulders and back, which put less pressure on the body. The first to equip soldiers with the Koppel were the French in 1845.²⁸

The above-mentioned reform was deliberate and based on the needs of military service and the provision of its effectiveness.

Industrialisation forced further changes in the army, and in the mid-19th century brought about increased efficiency, especially in armament. Muzzle-loading firearms were replaced by breech-loading ones, i.e. loaded at the rear of the barrel. The breechloader could be loaded and fired not only while standing, but also while kneeling, lying down or in the saddle; in other words, it was much easier to handle than the old muzzle-loader. This innovation effected changes in military tactics, since the breechloader increased firing speed, and affected further introduction of changes to military uniforms. Most countries preserved their uniform colors until the end of the 19th century, while the Austro-Hungarian army opted for changes.²⁹

THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN ARMY MAKES CHANGES

In 1868, two years after the war with Prussia, Austria decided to change not only the colors, but the uniforms themselves. The infantry first bid farewell to white coats, replacing them with dark-blue coats with collars and cuffs in regimental colors and light-blue pants. The uniform headgear was a black *shako*. In 1909, uniforms in “battle” blue-grey color came into use, which the army called pike-grey. Coats with concealed buttons, four outer pockets and collars bearing patches in regimental colors and stars denoting the rank, and long blue-grey pants were intended for everyday use and for battle. The new uniform was worn by soldiers as well, but theirs also featured a shoulder roll on the right shoulder which provided protection against the sliding of the rifle strap. At around the same time, a cap was introduced which was made of cloth and featured a black leather visor, a metal cockade and ear flaps, which were buttoned at the crown of the cap. The uniform also consisted of a pike-grey coat with color patches on the collar, and three-fingered mittens to be worn in winter.³⁰

The pike-grey color was not new to the Austrian army. Uniforms in this color had been worn throughout the 19th century by riflemen, and also railroaders, engineers and signal unit personnel. By the beginning of the First World War, artillery units changed their clothing for grey uniforms. But the reform somehow bypassed the cavalry. The headgear of light cavalry was still the crested helmet, and their field cap was red. Light-blue battle jackets featured collars and cuffs in regimental colors. The *atilla*, a short coat worn over the battle jacket, was dark-blue and lined with black fur. The appearance of the uniform was complemented by red pants and high black boots. Hussars wore the *shako* in regimental colors, decorated with a 12-centimetre-long black horsehair plume and braids. Their jackets were light- or dark-blue, and tight-fitting breeches were red and worn with riding boots. Uhlans wore the *czapka* with the brim in regimental colors, a light-blue jacket called an *ulanka* with three outer pockets, a red collar and cuffs, and, like all cavalrymen, red pants with high black boots. All cavalrymen, including Hussars, were armed with cavalry sabres and guns. Officers and non-commissioned officers carried revolvers.³¹

We should also mention the territorial army – the German *Landwehr* and the Hungarian *Honved*. Their personnel wore quite different uniforms. The Landwehr wore light-grey uniforms with grass-green patches on the collar and epaulettes bearing the unit number. The coat was worn with pike-grey pants and the cap of

²⁷ KRAUS, J. 1987, pp. 55, 56.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 57.

²⁹ KRAUS, J. 1987, p. 60. Enciklopedija orožja, 1995, pp. 108, 130.

³⁰ MOLLO, J. 1972, p. 193.

³¹ Ibid., p. 196.

regular infantry units. The *Honved* had dark-blue coats with red cuffs and braided ornaments, and light-blue pants with the characteristic cord knot decoration called the *vitez kötez*.³²

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy preserved the insignia on collars, shoulder patches and regimental-colored cuffs, and expanded the color palette with additional shades of individual colors. Regiments with the same regimental color differed in the color of buttons and stars on collars, which were golden or silver.³³

UNIFORMS IN CAMOUFLAGE COLORS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Towards the end of the 19th century, the awareness was becoming widespread that new armament and the possibility of fighting at greater distance required that soldiers be dressed in such a way as to blend in with the natural environment as much as possible and thus become less visible to the enemy. The experience gained during colonial wars and the American Civil War revealed that the ability of soldiers to blend in with the environment with the help of uniform colors was of paramount importance on the battlefield. For this reason nearly all European countries introduced uniforms in camouflage colors during the first decade of the 20th century.³⁴

It is not surprising that European colonial powers were actually responsible for the realisation of ideas regarding the development of the military uniform towards the decreased visibility of soldiers. The British played a lead role in this endeavour. Extreme climate conditions in Asia and Africa forced them to dress their armed forces accordingly. They did so for the first time in India, where they replaced their units' white uniform with a clay-brown one – this uniform became known as the *khaki* uniform. In addition to this, the sand helmet came into use, which enabled better air circulation and cooling. British units also fought in *khaki* uniforms in Afghanistan (1878-1880), Sudan (1897-1898) and South Africa (1899-1902). In 1902, the entire British army was furnished with these uniforms which served as field wear, while colored uniforms were only worn for ceremonial purposes. The new uniform was characterised by a practical cut, with two breast pockets and two pockets on the lower portion of the jacket, which was belted with a wide belt supported by a narrower strap worn diagonally over the right shoulder. The belt had extra rings for attaching additional military equipment, from sabre scabbards to revolver holsters and binocular cases. Infantry officers wore this belt, called the Sam Browne belt, with straps over both shoulders. The uniform also consisted of a light headgear, comfortable laced footwear and puttees. Due to its camouflage attributes, the *khaki* uniform also found its way into other armies. The Germans issued grey and brown uniforms to their colonial forces in Africa, and prepared to introduce grey uniforms for the entire home forces. They started with covers for the *Pickelhaube*, and dressed all cavalrymen, riflemen and artillerymen in grey. In 1909, Austria-Hungary introduced pike-grey uniforms, Italy opted for grey-green, and Serbia and Montenegro changed their colorful uniforms for olive-grey ones. However, despite numerous experiments with grey-blue and grey-green uniforms, France did not adopt a new battle uniform and was, in addition to Belgium, the only country without this type of uniform at the beginning of the First World War. At the onset of the war, French cavalrymen covered their helmets with khaki-colored covers, and infantrymen put blue covers over their *kepis*. It was not until May 1915 that French soldiers first put on grey-blue battle uniforms, and finally parted with traditional blue coats and red pants.³⁵

CONCLUSION

The war brought about changes in headgear; the *Pickelhaube*, and *dragoon* and *cuirassier* helmet, provided practically no protection to the head. Before 1915, none of the belligerent countries was familiar with steel helmets. Several models were tested, and eventually, the French low-crowned crested helmet was selected – this was the Adrian model, named after the French general Adrian. That same year, the British introduced a helmet with a shallow crown and soup-bowl shape, and in 1916, the German army adopted the M16 model of the Stahlhelm. However, steel helmets were only worn on the battlefield; officers in the rear area still used the *Pickelhaube*. Austria did not issue its own helmets; its soldiers wore German helmets, and later the Austrian *Berndorfer* helmet.³⁶

³² VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 25.

³³ Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

³⁵ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 31. KRAUS, J. 1987, pp. 73, 74.

³⁶ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 31.

The cut and color of uniforms underwent changes during the war. Austrian pike-grey uniforms became grey-green in 1915 because they were made of German fabric, and remained this color until the dissolution of the Monarchy. Jackets lost their high collars, which were replaced by soft lined collars. The collars and the cut of the jacket introduced during the war were modelled on the 1906 mountain unit jacket. During the war, the Austro-Hungarian army removed the patches in regimental colors from jacket collars, and substituted them with narrow vertical strips sewn directly onto rank insignia. They introduced branch and unit insignia in the shape of numbers and letters worn on caps from increasingly lower-quality material each passing year. In addition to the prescribed uniforms, there were also many cuts in different ways; other dress items also varied. There were various different types of boots, shoes, puttees, etc., including worn-out uniforms in various shades of grey.³⁷ The First World War drastically changed the style of military dress. It brought an end to the period of colorful military uniforms, and introduced military greyness.

Approximately three hundred years after the formation of regular armies, the First World War ended the process of establishing uniform military dress, and laid the foundations for a new appearance of soldiers – the kind required by modern times. Nevertheless, even today's military world features elements which were created centuries ago and have been preserved, albeit in modern versions, to this day. Despite its departure from civilian fashion, the uniform has never been completely separate from it. Even today, soldiers wear service dress which is cut like the classic men's or women's suit, while battle dress is comparable with civilian sportswear and the protective clothing of certain civil services. Strictly speaking, the military uniform differs from civilian clothing in color and pattern; what makes it military dress are various insignia, from epaulettes to ceremonial braids and belts, as well as different accessories necessary for the uniform's intended use and effectiveness in tasks and situations specific to the military profession. Nowadays, the colorfulness of uniforms can only be seen in guard uniforms of some countries, which have used the military uniform in this way in order to preserve the memory of clothing from the past centuries.

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³⁷ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 32.

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je prikazana razvojna pot vojaške uniforme od prvih poskusov poenotenja videza vojakov do konca prve svetovne vojne. Razvoj vojaške uniforme se navezuje na različne mejnike v zgodovini, kot so tridesetletna letna vojna, francoska revolucija in seveda prva svetovna vojna, ter jih postavlja v kontekst tako družbenih sprememb kot tudi sprememb na področju oborožitve in s tem povezanim načinom vojskovanja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

vojaška uniforma, oznake, uniformiranost, oborožene sile, plašč, pokrivala, bojne uniforme

POVZETEK

Uvajanje uniform oziroma prvi poskusi uniformiranja segajo že v antične čase, ko so pripadnike iste enote opremili z enakim orožjem in obleko. Šlo je predvsem za enotnost v barvi in kroju ter za poenotene oznake. Ta trend se je nadaljeval tudi v srednjem veku, ko so se vojaki oblačili v oblačila v barvi uniforme poveljujočega in že označevali tudi svoja pokrivala. A šele uvedba rednih vojsk v 17. stoletju in menjava hladnega orožja z ognjenim sta povzročili potrebo po vojaški uniformi. Mejniki so bila tridesetletna vojna (1618–1648). V tem času seveda govorimo o uniformiranosti posameznih enot v okviru iste vojske in umiku španskega vpliva na oblačila vojakov. Zamenjala so jih oblačila, ki so jasno kazala povezavo z ljudsko nošo, dodali pa so jim še različne oznake, kot so manšete, lente, perjanice ... Pomembno je bilo, da je barva uniforme vojaka definirala kot pripadnika točno določene enote, pa tudi države in vladarja, za katera se je boril. V resnici se je pot do prave vojaške uniforme začela v drugi polovici 17. stoletja. Pri tem so upoštevali tudi njihovo namembnost in uporabnost, odločilna pa je bila sposobnost gospodarstva, da zagotovi množično proizvodnjo vojaških oblačil po dostopni ceni. Vojaška oblačila so bila v drugi polovici 17. stoletja pod močnim vplivom civilne oblačilne mode, pravzaprav je ustrezala meščanski modi. Vojaška oblačila generalov in višjih častnikov so se od oblačil drugih pripadnikov vojske razlikovala po bogati okrašenosti, tako kot so se razlikovali suknjiči višjega in nižjega plemstva. Eden najbolj priljubljenih oblačilnih kosov je bil vsekakor klobuk. Tisti s tremi zavihanimi krajci – trirogelnik je postal celo simbol 18. stoletja. Pod klobuki so vojaki imeli lase spete v kito ali pa so nosili lasuljo s kodri. Sčasoma so se uveljavile polkovne barve na podlagi barv manšet in podloge suknjičev. Konec 17. stoletja se je pojavilo pokrivalo, ki se je razvilo kot vojaška – grenadirski kapa stožčaste oblike, podobna škofovski mitri. K zanimivejši opravi lahko štejemo opravo težkih konjenikov, nekdanjih konjenikov oklepnikov, ki so zvesto ohranjali nošnjo prsnega oklepa in usnjenega jopiča pod njim ter čelade z nosnim ščitnikom tudi še v začetku 18. stoletja. Tedaj pa je šlo uniformiranje v svojo smer. Z enotnimi kroji suknjičev, predpisanimi barvami za posamezne rodove, okrasje in oznake na različnih delih oblačila je vojake vse bolj ločevalo od preostalega prebivalstva. Vojak je končno nosil »kraljevo« uniformo, saj mu jo je priskrbela država. Večkrat se je v krajših obdobjih spremenil tudi suknjič, postajal je vse ožji, izgubljal je sprednje krake, zapenjal se je le še do sredine prsi in vse bolj spominjal na civilni frak. Najočitnejša ločnica med njima je bil, poleg epolet, vedno višji stoječi ovratnik. Prevladujoča elegantna podoba vojaka je ostala stalnica v večini evropskih držav. Velika sprememba se je zgodila tudi med vojaškimi pokrivali. Vojaki so dobili čelado z grebenom, huzarsko pokrivalo z dodanim senčnikom je postalo bodoča *čaka*, pokrivalo poljskih ulancev pa osnova za vojaško *čapko*. Francoska revolucija je spreminjala svet, je pa tudi globoko zarežala v civilno modo. Pometla je z aristokratskimi elementi in barvitostjo. Vojaški odgovor na civilni cilindar in frak sta bila *čaka* in teliran suknjič – *kolet*. Ostala pa je barvitost. Uniforma je postala oblačilo, ki je povečevalo ugled njenega nosilca med prebivalstvom, zaradi posnemanja meščanske mode pa je postalo privlačnejše tudi za širše ljudske množice. Prva polovica 19. stoletja je postala čas daljnosežnih sprememb na področju uniformiranosti, saj so vplivale na podobo vojaka do prve svetovne vojne in do neke mere celo vse do današnjih dni. Bojni suknjič in pas za strelivo sta bila med pomembnejšimi pridobitvami. Proti koncu 19. stoletja je vse bolj prevladovalo mnenje, da bo zaradi spreminjenega načina bojevanja na vse večje razdalje in zaradi uvajanja nove oborožitve vojaka treba obleči tako, da se bo čim bolj zlil z okolico in postal za nasprotnika manj viden. Na podlagi izkušenj iz kolonij so skoraj vse

evropske države v prvem desetletju 20. stoletja uvedle uniforme v zaščitnih barvah. Prva svetovna vojna je poskrbela tudi za spremembo pri pokrivalih. Prva jeklena čelada iz leta 1915 je bila francoska, leta 1916 pa je Nemčija začela proizvajati čelado modela M16. Sledil je še avstro-ogrski model *Berndorf*. Dlje ko je trajala vojna, slabši je bil videz vojaka – vse do ponošenega oblačila v različnih odtenkih sive. Uniforme so bile sešite iz vse manj kakovostnega blaga, bile so različnih krojev, vojaki so nosili različne čevlje in škornje, gamaše. Na njih ni bilo več barvnih oznak. S prvo svetovno vojno je bila postavljena nova podoba vojaka, ki jo zahteva današnji, sodoben svet. Pa vendar lahko tudi pri uniformi in opremi posodobljene različice vojaka najdemo elemente, ki so nastali pred več sto leti in se obdržali do danes, prav tako kot še danes najdemo v njej elemente civilne mode. Le namembnost in uporabnost vojaškega oblačila sta drugi.

THE LAST DECREE ON MILITARY CLOTHING OF THE ARMY OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA*

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ABSTRACT

On 30 August, 1939, the Minister of the Army and the Navy, General Milan Đ. Nedić signed the decree Đ. Br. 18920. With publication in the *Službeni vojni list No. 28*, the last full update of uniforms of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia took effect. This decree replaced the upper part of the infantry uniform, known as a *korporan*, with a more modern blouse, thus bringing the uniform closer to the uniforms of the neighbouring countries by its style and usefulness. However, since this modernization would be felt by a large part of the Army, this raises the question of how the introduction of this regulation can be traced through photographic material from the area of the Drava banovina.

KEYWORDS

army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, infantry uniform, preparations for WWII

THE ARMED FORCES OF THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

The armed forces of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia began preparing for a new armed conflict in the second half of the 1930s, which can also be traced in the uniforms of its members. It was envisaged that, after the mobilization, 1,700,000 troops would be ready for deployment in two echelons. 1,200,000 (age 20 to 40 years) formed an operational army, the rest, and the elderly, a reserve. That number was divided into 31 divisions (28 infantry and 3 cavalry), 2 mountain detachments, 15 assembled detachments, a brigade and some others, with 15 garrisoned regiments in the fortified positions, 48 infantry regiments and other units. Drava banovina covered almost the Drava divisional domain, which in this part of the country enabled the enlistment of two divisions (Triglav and Drava) and a Triglav (mountain) detachment.¹

UNIFORMS OF MILITARY UNITS IN DRAVA BANOVINA

Given the presence of military units in the Drava banovina and the photographs used, the focus will be on the predominant land infantry units most represented in this part of the country.

THE FIRST COMPLETE MODERNIZATION OF THE UNIFORM IN THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

After the creation of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (henceforth KSHS), the country was not able to produce sufficient quantities of uniforms for its army. The first standard/unified uniforms after 1921 were actually American; before that soldiers were dressed in uniforms with which some entered the army of the KSHS. This situation helped promote the domestic textile industry. The problem of raw materials was solved on 24 September 1920, with a decision on a state monopoly and a ban on the export of wool, skins and flax, as well as on the need to connect various manufacturers of military uniforms. Supervision, coordination of production of uniforms and equipment was entrusted to the Military-Industrial Committee.²

After the Great War, the problem with different uniforms was first settled with *Uredba o odeći suvozemne vojske* (Decree on the Uniform of the Land Army) No. 10862, dated 2 March 1922. It was intended to gradually introduce a new uniform of gray-olive color, known in Serbia before 1915. The upper part was a slightly impractical blouse – *korporan* – with a high collar and only two side pockets with flaps. It had an extended left chest wing with seven buttons, which started under the right shoulder. The cut itself was a step back, but it introduced one

*Translation: Aleš Žlebnik

¹ BJELAJAC, M. S. 2004, pp. 353–355. GAŽEVIĆ, N. (ed.) 1972, p. 113. HABERNÁL, M. et al. 2005, pp. 268–269. JAVORNIK, M. (ed.) 1988, pp. 327–328. TERZIĆ, V. 1982, p. 106. ŽABKAR, A. 2010, pp. 74, 75, 81–82, 85, 86–87. ŽABKAR, A. 2013, pp. 52–53, 75.

² ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 35–36, 37, 42. MILANOVIĆ PARAČIN, N. 2007, p. 8. VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 36.

useful detail from the Austro-Hungarian military uniforms: an extension of the right shoulder strap, under which, at the place where it was sown under the sleeve, a fabric roller was inserted, that made it easier to carry a rifle.³

Regarding trousers, it is important to point out that they were worn tucked into the boots, or in the case of shoes partially wrapped from the knees down under the binders. The characteristic head-covering was the *šajkača*. The last presented piece of the uniform was the coat, which in the decree of 1922 was preserved in the form in which it had been accepted into the Serbian army in 1861 and remained in use (in that particular style) also after WWII. From its features, it is necessary to highlight: two lines of six bone buttons in the color of the coat; rectangles in the color of service in the army, with dimensions 8 x 5 cm; rolled-up sleeves about 15 cm long; pocket dimensions 18 x 20 cm with flaps; a 5.5 cm wide band from the coat fabric; and two horizontal openings at the lower front of both coat wings, 3 cm from the lower edge, which allowed clamping them for the pocket buttons.⁴

In the subsequent years, new regulations followed, but these did not constitute a comprehensive update. In 1924 a decree was issued which prescribed the equipment of flight crews, the navy and royal guard troops. Supplements to all existing regulations followed in 1926, 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931, and 1932. The last one was particularly important because it prescribed new uniforms for officers and soldiers of mountain units, introduced some novelty in marking non-commissioned officers (henceforth NCO) ranks and extended the use of summer uniforms for two weeks (the new period of use was from 1 May to 15 October). Further changes were associated with the change of insignia on caps in 1934. In 1936 some changes were introduced for navy, and in 1937 for military aviation. But after 1922, the first major, and also the last, all-encompassing update followed in 1939.⁵

WAR IS APPROACHING

On 12 November 1938, an upgrade began for the upper part of the uniform, although the new look of the entire battledress was prescribed by the Decree on Military Clothing, dated 30 August 1939. On the basis that officers and military officials needed to buy a new uniform immediately, but NCOs, lance corporals and ordinary soldiers could wait until their units would get new uniforms, the old regulations on clothing would still be followed during that time.⁶

The uniform for NCOs, lance corporals and soldiers (with the exception of musicians, students of the NCO school, the military music school, and others) comprised:

- On the *šajkača*, NCOs had a metal embroidered emblem in the form of a white two-headed eagle with a crown and a coat of arms on the chest, on a shield in the prescribed color of service. A part of NCOs rankings also had in that color the upper fold of their head-covering, for which also better cloth was sometimes used.⁷
- The *bašlik* from coat textile⁸ was a hood-like head-covering with long straps for around the neck.⁹
- A blouse, regular, winter and summer.

The new winter blouse was in the same gray-olive color, lined with canvas, but now with four pockets with a sharp wavy edge on the pocket flaps (two on the chest and two on the hips) and at the upper end of the rolled-up sleeve with a fold, which in the case of some NCOs was of the same color as the rectangles on the collar. There were four different lengths/sizes¹⁰ of blouse, which in photographs remained the same, meaning that the lower edge of it reached the edge of lowered sleeves or it covered the slash on pants.

³ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 32, 36, 38, 41. MILANOVIĆ PARAĆIN, N. 2007, p. 8. MVM, 1922, pp. 46, 47, 59–60. VRIŠER, S. 1987, pp. 35, 36.

⁴ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 38–39, 48. MVM, 1922, pp. 46, 48–51. VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 36.

⁵ MILANOVIĆ PARAĆIN, N. 2007, p. 8. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 from 4. 7. 1932), pp. 1192–1220. URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁶ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 53. MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 88–89. Službeni vojni list, 12. 11. 1938, 31, LVII, Uredba – izmene i dopune u Uredbi o odeći suvozemne vojske (ĐBr. 23530 from 30. 10. 1938), pp. 1641–1644.

⁷ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 4, 6, 30, 31, 32.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 30, 32.

⁹ WIKIPEDIA, THE FREE ENCYCLOPEDIA, Bašlik, URL: <https://sh.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ba%C5%A1lik> (quoted 28. 12. 2017).

¹⁰ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 48, 53. MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 29, 32–34. VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 29.

The garment buttoned in the middle with seven buttons,¹¹ which were sewn on the end of the right blouse wing and which were, when buttoned to the band under the end of left blouse wing, completely hidden. The right shoulder strap stayed the same. Both straps were on one side sewed into the sleeves and under the collar fastened with smooth buttons, golden or silver/white (only for cavalry, engineers, pyrotechnics, veterinarians and orderlies); in the case of NCOs, the edges of the shoulder straps were in the color of the rectangles on collar. The additional labels on the shoulder straps consisted of a speciality band the same length as the straps, a quadrangular pyramid star placed where the strap was sewn in the sleeve and above it, in the case of individual units, prescribed symbols of units, monograms and Arabic (2 or 1.5 cm high) or Roman (I–V, 2 cm high) numerals.¹² Those numerals could not be worn on the battledress in war time.¹³

Along with those labels, NCOs sewed on the right sleeve, above the elbow, one yellow or white wool strip, dimensions 6 x 1 cm, for each completed military service (one 6 x 2 cm strip if they served five times).¹⁴

The uniform still had a high collar, which was fastened with small metal hooks. On it also remained two now slightly shorter rectangular markings (dark red for infantry, bicycle units and intendants; black for all artillery, pyrotechnic and artillery-technical units; cherry red for engineers, technical units and geodesists; gray for automobile and cattle driving units; orange for bakers and other craftsmen; brown for medical orderlies, veterinarians and farriers; dark blue for cavalry; purple for lawyers, vivid red and vivid blue for General Staff, Dukes, Army and divisional commanders). NCOs were the first ranks who had the upper edge of the collar and some other edges in the same color as these rectangular markings.¹⁵

The new summer blouse was of the same cut and color as the winter variety, with the difference that the textile was flax, hemp or cotton. In addition, this blouse was without color rectangles of weapons or service on the collar and without a rolled-up sleeve with a fold on the upper end of it.¹⁶ The period of use of this uniform was not specifically mentioned, so it probably remained in force one from 1932.

- parade shoulder straps were included for all enlisted men from the rank of sergeant down,¹⁷
- ordinary trousers were of the so-called 'English cut' and were slightly wider above the knee, with side pockets under the belt and an adjustable back;¹⁸ Tomislav and Višeslav Aralica compare this cut with the then popular wide knickerbockers and conclude that with new regulation trousers did not undergo any major changes,¹⁹
- shoes with binders or boots (only for ranks of artillery, cavalry, veterinary, transport and pontoon units, and for all those on horseback, who also got spurs); both types of footwear were made of black leather, for mountain units and those in Karst areas having shoes studded differently; depending on the natural features, the shoes also had rubberized soles,
- gray and white gloves,
- long coat or *šinjel* remained unchanged (not received by bicycle units, because they got a dolamica – a kind of short coat – and a cycling cape),
- a sabre or a knife with a sheath for NCOs and lance corporals, with associated belts,
- fur-lined jacket for guard duty, gloves and overshoes,
- protection against mosquitoes, including gloves,
- depending on the service, unit or needs, NCOs, lance corporals and soldiers would also receive a leather jacket, a driver's jacket, pyrotechnic equipment, non-studded or linen shoes, work clothes and a raincoat,
- all NCOs should have a regular and a summer hat or *šapka* with a coat of arms, regular trousers and overshoes,
- all sergeant majors and sergeants should have a festive *šapka* with a coat of arms, a summer festive blouse, a *mundir*, festive trousers and a coat.²⁰

¹¹ In November 1938, bone buttons were replaced by metallic. Službeni vojni list, 12. 11. 1938, 31, LVII, Uredba – izmene i dopune u Uredbi o odeći suvozemne vojske (ĐBr. 23530 from 30. 10. 1938), pp. 1641–1644.

¹² MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 29–30, 32–34, Pictorial annex 3–13.

¹³ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 51.

¹⁴ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 33–34.

¹⁵ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 41, 53, 54. MVM, 1922, p. 47. MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 32–34, Annex I.

¹⁶ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 35.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 30, 37.

¹⁹ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 51.

²⁰ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 30–31, 37–38, 39–41, 43–45.

As in 1922, after the Decree on Military Clothing published on 6 September 1939, or the annex to the 28th Official Military List,²¹ there followed more amendments and further partial regulation of the area. On 18 September, in the aforementioned list there followed a regulation on military equipment for officers and military personnel, except for aviation personnel, with a sample drawing of the officer,²² followed by the publication of a regulation regarding the uniform of the gendarmerie;²³ in May 1940, an entire annex to the Official Military List governed the uniform of *četnik*²⁴ and border units;²⁵ in August 1940 new symbols were prescribed for members of motorized, mechanized, motorized AT and motorized howitzer divisions,²⁶ followed by an annex to Regulation on the uniform of students at the Air Academy.²⁷

MOUNTAIN UNITS

Despite the fact that the first part of the decree covers the vast majority of members of the Armed forces in the Drava banovina, it's also necessary to highlight the mountain units. A part of these units – 1st mountain regiment, with the training centre in Bohinjska Bela – had a peacetime centre in the Drava banovina.²⁸

Even though these were basically all infantry units, their equipment and uniforms were somewhat different from those already described. In the 23rd issue of the Official Military List issued on 6 July 1932, in annex to the Decree from the Official Military List, 56/1928, these units were given a special mountain uniform,²⁹ by which they were said to follow French units.³⁰ With the Decree on Military Clothing, in August 1939, this uniform was subject to minor changes, but the regulation was more or less the same as that of 1932.

The uniform for NCOs, Lance Corporals and soldiers of mountaineering units (as well as for cable railway units) consisted of:

- a soft *šajkača*, without a peak,³¹ on which all NCOs had emblems,
- a *bašlik*,³²
- a mountain blouse, regular, winter and summer.

The usual winter mountain blouse was a gray-olive color, the same cut as officers, and for NCOs with the same dress edges in the color of weapons or service on the collar; it was made from loden material. This type of blouse was made slightly wider, which allowed the user to wear two other layers beneath it. In the middle of the back of the blouse, along the spine, there was a fold which slightly above the waist was stretched over with two bands with buttons, which enabled the width of the blouse to be varied.

On the lower half of the sleeves, there was the same rolled-up part with a fold on the far end,³³ but in photographs of soldiers and the lowest ranking NCOs, this detail is not apparent.³⁴ An example of this can be found in the picture of the Major of the Rišnjak Detachment.³⁵ An additional important detail on the sleeve was a short pointed strap around the lower edge of each sleeve. It enabled the closure of the wrist to be made smaller by one or two buttons.³⁶

²¹ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 30–31, 37–38, 39–41, 43–45.

²² Službeni vojni list, 18. 9. 1939a, 31, LVIII, Propis o ratnoj opremi oficira i vojnih činovnika vojske sem vazduhoplovstva, pp. 1765–1783.

²³ Službeni vojni list, 9. 11. 1939b, 40, LVIII, Annex: Uredba o odeći žandarmerije.

²⁴ An example of a cut of this uniform is available online via a link: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/sr/f/f3/%D0%A3%D0%B8%D1%84%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%B0_%D0%9C1940.jpeg.

²⁵ Službeni vojni list, 11. 5. 1940a, 17, LIX, Annex: Uredba – dopuna (ĐBr. 10844 from 24. 4. 1940).

²⁶ Službeni vojni list, 13. 8. 1940b, 31, LIX, Uredba – izmene (ĐBr. 22371 from 27. 6. 1940).

²⁷ Službeni vojni list, 6. 9. 1940c, 34, LIX, Supplement: Dopuna uredbe o odeći vazduhoplovstva – Odelo za pitomce i đake vazduhoplovne akademije.

²⁸ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 101. BABAC, D. 2006, pp. 8–9.

²⁹ Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

³⁰ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 37.

³¹ Ibid.

³² MVM KJU, 1939, p. 57.

³³ Ibid., pp. 52, 59.

³⁴ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5011a, LPn5228, LPn5954, LPn6827.

³⁵ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 103.

³⁶ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 53.

The next important difference, in comparison with a regular uniform, was a collar similar to one on a long coat. When it was raised it was possible to fasten it with a shorter strap that was sewn under the left wing of the collar to the button under the right wing.

The patch of color of weapons or service on the collar for these units were, according to new regulations, 3.5 cm wide and would stretch to the front edge of the shoulder straps or epaulettes. However, regardless of the rule, they looked like arrowhead tips, pointed at the shoulder straps (like those on the officer's long coat).³⁷

The pointed end could also be found on shoulder straps (in which the right one was made according to the same rules as for the ordinary uniform, except in exposed detail). In addition, the comparison of photographed uniforms also suggests that those straps on the mountain uniform may have been even slightly narrower.³⁸ For the color of the emphasized edge of the shoulder straps and rolled-up sleeve, the same rules applied as for the ordinary uniforms. An additional speciality of the unit was marked with a woollen band, black for mine-throwers, cherry ribbon for technical units and a live blue ribbon for members of the reconnaissance squad. In addition, on shoulder straps and epaulettes, all members of the mountain units, from 1939 onwards, wore a symbol in the form of a hunting horn (on the side where shoulder strap was sewed under a sleeve and in the case of a rank above the quadrangular pyramid stars). Above that came a 2 cm high Arabic number – a symbol of the regiment – and for members of mountain artillery batteries a 1.5 high Arabic numeral.³⁹ Roman numerals were a symbol of the regiment for those enlisted men in units outside battalion.⁴⁰ It is interesting to note that some members, despite the changed shape of the patch of service, did not change the old one and still wore markings of the regiment or battery on those patches.⁴¹ These numbers were not to be worn on battledress.⁴² The new 1939 regulation did not change the triangular mountain symbol. In the case of Lance Corporals and ordinary soldiers, in 1932 it was prescribed that these symbols should be sewn on the upper part of the left arm, while the rest of the ranks should wear such an enamelled symbol pinned above the right pocket.⁴³

Specific features highlighted above can be derived from the Decree on Military Clothing of 30 August 1939, but some of the details prescribed there raise additional questions as to how they were put into practice. One of these details involves buttons. The mountain blouse was divided into two wings, which fastened in the middle with six buttons – as in the 1932 regulation. For officers, these were metal and yellow in color with an impressed hunting horn (formerly made merely from burnishing metal), but for soldiers they were made from bone and this, in addition to the quality of the fabric, distinguished them from the officers'.⁴⁴

But photographs show that there were two ways to button it. In one, all the buttons on the uniform were visible; in the other, the ones behind the band under the edge of the left wing were completely hidden.⁴⁵ In addition, the decree does not specify a method of buttoning the blouse, only that the cut of the officer's mountain uniform differs from the prescribed ordinary officer uniform only in these specifics.⁴⁶ Tomislav and Višeslav Aralica have two photographs of officers and NCOs of mountain units, taken in the mid-1930s. Since all the photographed members of mountain units have visible buttons after fastening, it could be argued that this was a blouse design, a model 1932, as described by Babac,⁴⁷ in which special buttons would come to expression. A blouse with concealed fastened buttons, as on an ordinary uniform, could therefore be attributed to ordinary soldiers.⁴⁸

³⁷ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 17, 53, Pictorial annex 89. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5250, LPn5954, LPn6827, LPn6828.

³⁸ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5250, LPn5429, LPn5954, LPn6827, LPn6828.

³⁹ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 59, Pictorial annex 24, 26, 34. VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 37.

⁴⁰ BABAC, D. 2006, p. 16.

⁴¹ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5250, LPn5954.

⁴² ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 103.

⁴³ Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁴⁴ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 53, 59, Pictorial annex 88. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁴⁵ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5112.

⁴⁶ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 52, 59.

⁴⁷ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, pp. 101, 102. BABAC, D. 2006, p. 13.

⁴⁸ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828.

The last detail was four pockets, two on the chest and two on each side of the blouse, for which dimensions were not prescribed. A specific feature of the lower pockets was that they stretched from the lower edge of the blouse to the waist, and that their folded sides were sewn onto the blouse, which additionally contributed to spaciousness and increased usability. They were sealed with flaps with slightly sharp wavy edges (similar to those of ordinary uniforms), and a button to allow flaps to be attached to the upper edge of the pocket.⁴⁹

What about pockets on the chest? According to the 1939 Decree (and one from 1932), it was prescribed that on the outside these were only indicated with flaps (without mentioning any buttons), while pockets with a horizontal opening were actually inside the blouse.⁵⁰ In that way, the chest part of the mountain blouse (especially the one with concealed central six buttons) looked like any other ordinary uniform. But in photographs can be found mountaineers with patches of service in the shape of arrowheads (after August 1939), with blouses where the upper pockets were sewn onto the wings, with similar flaps and buttons as the lower ones.⁵¹

In 1939 it was decreed that the summer mountain blouse was of the same cut and color, but from a slightly thinner fabric, and on the collar there were no patches or any color of service on the edges of blouse.⁵²

The development of the mountain uniform is best summarised by Babac, who also clarifies the situation with pockets and buttons. Thus, in the first regulation of the uniform of 1932, in the decree on the clothing of the land army, he associates the above presented specifics, with “false” upper pockets, where the flaps are attached with buttons and large brass buttons for closing the blouse, with the officer blouse. But on questions about the appearance of a different cut, for which no parallels can be found in official regulations, he notes that there was also in wider use the officer mountain blouse with four pockets sewed onto it, which was mainly worn in the summer due to the material used. However, since in the photo library of the Museum of Recent History in Ljubljana, among studio portraits by the photographer Peter Lampič, it is possible to find pictures of soldiers with blouses that deviate from the official regulations of 1932 or 1939, confirming that the “officer” cut was also used for all those in mountain troops (except for buttons, colored edges and a rolled-up sleeve, which was not found in photographs of soldiers) – this blouse cut also had slightly longer collar wings.⁵³

- Parade shoulder straps.
- Mountain trousers were of the same cut for both officers and soldiers, with the difference that the latter had no emphasized edge in the color of service.⁵⁴ While Vrišer describes them as knickerbockers,⁵⁵ it is possible to add that from regulations and photographs it can be seen that these trousers were tailored very broadly and from the same material as the blouse. They had two regular side pockets, and they were additionally lined up in the area of buttocks and knees, and it can also be seen that they were stacked on the edge. Below, the trousers were closed with two cufflinks and clasps that locked them below the knees. Since these trousers were longer than they needed to be (15 to 20 cm longer than the corresponding part of the body), they fell freely from the point where they were stuck under the knees in a broadly collected fold, roughly to the middle of the shin. The summer trousers were of the same cut, the only difference was in the thickness and the type of fabric.⁵⁶
- Mountain boots, stockings, mountain socks and leather leggings (for those on horseback): according to photographs, it can be argued that the stockings, in the color of the uniform, were worn to protect the legs up to the knees. Below them, soldiers wore socks and black leather mountain shoes, which had studs with hobnails, not like ordinary shoes. Mountain socks were always folded a little over the upper edge of the shoes.⁵⁷
- Winter gloves and mittens, and gray and white gloves.
- The mountain cape was a kind of mantle with a hood made of loden or coarse woollen cloth in the color

⁴⁹ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 52. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn6827.

⁵⁰ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 52. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁵¹ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5954, LPn6827.

⁵² MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 54, 60.

⁵³ BABAC, D. 2006, pp. 13, 15–16. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828.

⁵⁴ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 58, 59, 60.

⁵⁵ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 37.

⁵⁶ BABAC, D. 2006, p. 17. MVM KJU, 1939, p. 60. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5112, LPn5954, LPn6827.

⁵⁷ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 37, 54–55, 57, 60. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5112, LPn5954, LPn6827.

of the uniform, the same cut for soldiers and officers. Expanded it covered at least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the circle, and when worn it reached to the knees and beyond. On the chest, both wings of the cape were fastened with four large buttons sewn to the right wing of the cape. The collar with patches identical to those on the mountain blouse was wide, so when it was raised it could protect the face. To facilitate the wearing of the unbuttoned cape, two-meter-long strips were provided, sewn inside under the collar.⁵⁸

- A knife with a sheath for NCOs and lance corporals with associated belts and most of the other parts of the uniform, which are listed at the end of the ordinary units of the Army.⁵⁹ For mountaineers, there was a special belt. The officers wore it with a strap over the right shoulder, or in the battle version of the uniform with two shoulders straps crossing over at the back.⁶⁰

REALITY

In spite of the Decree on Military Clothing of August 1939, it is possible to observe, in particular with mountain units, that some parts of the decree were interpreted in a very liberal way. How was the uniform worn? Here we can refer to the observations of Vida Košmelj - Beravs. From the spring of 1936 or 1937, she followed some of the conduct of military forces in the area of Železniki. With regard to the border units from the post at Zali Log, she remembered that they were always dressed in winter uniforms, with blouses and wide leather belts around their waist. Their trousers were narrow, comparable to knickerbockers, and stretched over their knees, where binders began. Over the latter in winter, border guards would put leather leggings. They always wore mountain shoes. Beside these soldiers, on her way to Ratitovec she met members of mountain units from Škofja Loka. In the summer they were dressed in white shirts of coarse material, and wore blouses from a thick, gray sackcloth, with binders of the same material and heavy-duty mountain shoes. Interestingly, these soldiers did not have socks, but white rags from white strong, usually unbleached cotton fabric, which they called *šufeci* (from the German words *Schuh* and *Fetzen*).⁶¹

Photographs are an additional source of information. As research for this article, the legacy of the studio photographer Peter Lampič from Stožice was reviewed, for the period after the publication of the last Decree on Military Clothing until the disintegration of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Among the pictures from this period, it was possible to find a large number of different members of the armed forces of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but only eleven members from the mountain units. Perhaps more interesting is the photograph LPn5429, from 12 November 1939, showing Vinko Zatler and Herbert Drevenšek. In that picture, one of them is dressed in a korporan and the other in a new blouse, but both have the symbol of a cycling battalion on their collar patches. The one wearing the blouse has on his right shoulder a strap under which a fabric roller can be inserted, and an Arabic number 1 on that strap, despite the fact that members of the cycling battalion were supposed to use Roman numerals.⁶²

But what about mountain uniforms? Photos of members of these units were taken in 1939, on 13, 20 and 27 August, and on 1 and 8 October, and in 1940 on 7 and 17 April, 6 October and 27 December. On all of them, soldiers were dressed in a cut of a uniform with four sewn-on pockets,⁶³ which Babac marked as an officer's mountain blouse, from a thinner fabric, which should be worn in the summer.⁶⁴ But none of the photographed soldiers were officers – only two NCOs. In addition, in 1940, all the photographs of mountain members were taken during the part of the year when the use of the winter uniform was prescribed – from 16 October to 30 April.⁶⁵

⁵⁸ MVM KJU, 1939, pp. 41, 55–56, 57, 58, 60, 61. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5250.

⁵⁹ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 58.

⁶⁰ ARALICA, T., ARALICA, V. 2006, p. 102. VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 37.

⁶¹ KOŠMELJ – BERAUS, V. 2002, Vida Košmelj – Beravs, Spomini na utrjevanje meje (Rupnikovo linijo), in: Loški razgledi, 1, XLIX, 2002, pp. 218, 221, 230, URL: <https://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-OENQWHTD> (quoted 29. 1. 2018).

⁶² MVM KJU, 1939, Pictorial annex 32. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5250, LPn5429, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828. Službeni vojni list, 12. 11. 1938, 31, LVII, Uredba – izmene i dopune u Uredbi o odeći suvozemne vojske (ĐBr. 23530 from 30. 10. 1938), pp. 1641–1644.

⁶³ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5250, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828.

⁶⁴ BABAC, D. 2006, pp. 15–16.

⁶⁵ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 34. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5250, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

From the remaining details on the photographs can be highlighted a large enamelled badge of the mountain units, which one of the NCOs had fastened above his right pocket, despite the expected triangle on the left upper arm. The black symbol of specialty on the shoulder strap of the other NCO makes it possible to place him in a battery of the mountain artillery of the 1st mountain regiment. In addition, eight soldiers wear the Roman numeral I. on the patch of color of weapons or service.⁶⁶ Babac wrote that these were the numbers of the regiment worn by members of the units outside the battalion,⁶⁷ indicating that these individuals were members of the 1st mountain regiment. The next thing that particularly stands out in terms of decree-compliance, are patches on the collar, with the new ones in the minority, even though Ivan Čurić was photographed with one on 13 August 1939. The remaining features captured in the photographic lens are two examples of uniforms with visible buttons after fastening, a triangle on the left arm that could represent the embroidered symbol of the mountain units, an inverse V (*chevron*) on the left arm in the color of the uniform, and the condition of trousers and footwear, for the majority of men from the mountain units in the photographs had the cut of mountain trousers and mountain shoes, but there are also cases with ordinary trousers and shoes with binders, or even mountain pants with ordinary shoes with binders.⁶⁸

The situation with army uniforms can be concluded with the assessment that in 1939 there was no immediate complement of units with new uniforms. Terzić also estimates that there were sufficient uniforms and footwear only for close to 75 % of the operational army, hence to a maximum of 900,000 soldiers or from 60 to 70 % of all the armed forces. For only 30 % of the operational army, there were blankets, backpacks and protective helmets issued.⁶⁹ That shortages of the latter occurred can also be deduced from the bidding ads for the purchase of 300,000 helmets in February 1940.⁷⁰

ATTEMPT TO RECONSTRUCT A BATTLEDRESS

The photographic material offers some help in understanding this issue, but the exact cut of the uniform of an infantry soldier is still an open question. Below is an attempt to draw one by tracing individual parts of the canvas summer blouse with the original designation 1940-127-1, and the trousers according to photographs of the exhibit N.8902 from the Regional Museum Maribor.⁷¹

The upper summer blouse of the infantry was stretched out and inside traced over the stitching (except in the case of the left wing of the blouse), while the trousers were drawn on photo templates. The material used for the uniform is shown in the photo on a sketch. But at the same time, mountain units in the Drava banovina had additional uniforms. Because they did not always follow the official rules, this led to the appearance of two mountain blouse cuts, but a particular problem is represented by trousers in connection with mountain shoes. In photographs, it is possible to find examples of soldiers with mountain pants with binders and ordinary shoes,⁷² or with ordinary trousers (as in above image) with binders and shoes.⁷³

⁶⁶ MVM KJU, 1939, Pictorial annex 25. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5250, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁶⁷ BABAC, D. 2006, p. 16.

⁶⁸ MVM KJU, 1939, p. 17. MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5028, LPn5065, LPn5111a, LPn5112, LPn5228, LPn5250, LPn5954, LPn5999, LPn6599, LPn6827, LPn6828. Službeni vojni list, 6. 7. 1932, 23, LI, Uredba (ĐBr. 14118 iz 4. julija 1932), pp. 1192–1220, URL: <http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/record/3000095256491> (quoted 4. 2. 2018).

⁶⁹ TERZIĆ, V. 1982, p. 125.

⁷⁰ Trgovski list: Časopis za trgovino, industrijo, obrt in denarništvo, 16. 2. 1940, 20, XXIII, Dobave – licitacije, p. 6, URL: <http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:doc-ONQVNBGN> (quoted 4. 3. 2018).

⁷¹ Regional Museum Maribor, Uniform collection, N. 8902.

⁷² Private collection: Košir Uroš, Podkoren, 20. 2. 2018.

⁷³ MNZS, fond Peter Lampič, LPn5112.

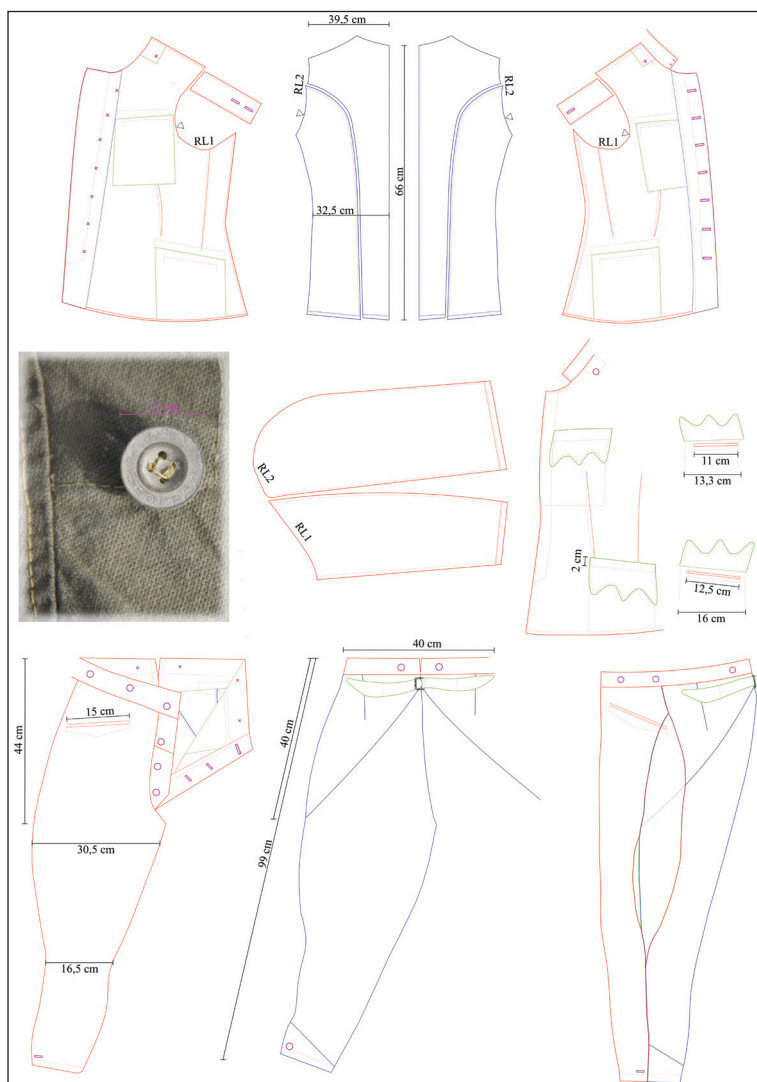


Image 1: Aleš Žlebnik, Blouse and trousers of the infantry members of Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with an example of the texture of the material of summer uniform, vector graphics with photograph, 2018.

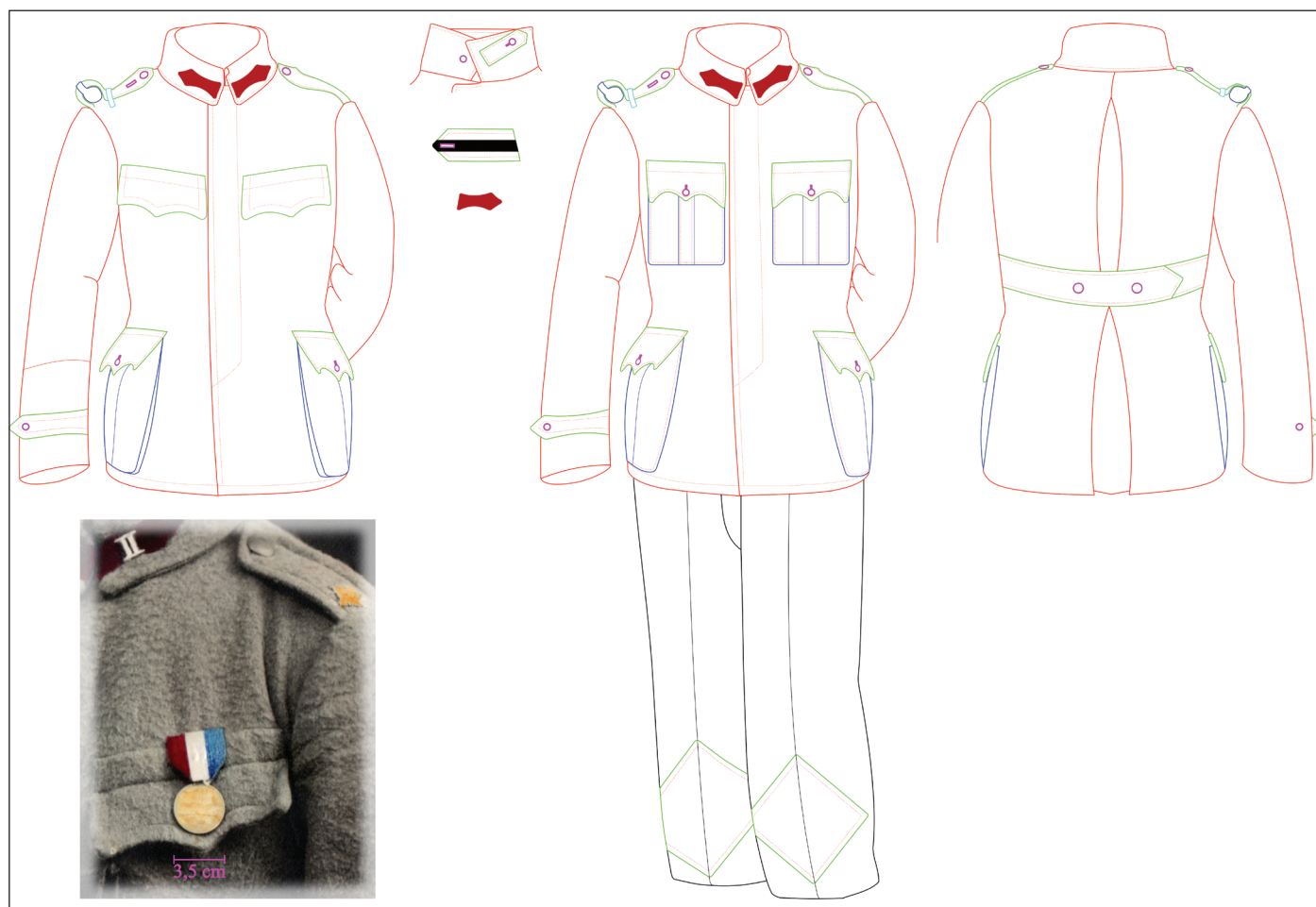


Image 2: Aleš Žlebnik, Blouse and trousers of men from the mountain units of the Army of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, with an example of the texture of the material used (private collection of Uroš Košir), vector graphics with photo, 2018.

Photographs of men from the mountain units from the Museum of Recent History in Ljubljana and the collector Uroš Košir were used for drawing. Where certain details were not evident on the templates, they were added in compliance with the regulations in the decree (for example, the lower half of the first frontal display of the blouse, the end of the stripe on back and the raised collar). Patches of color of weapons or service on the collar on the central part of the graphics were redesigned from the photo of the inventory list of the Regional Museum Maribor.⁷⁴ In this case, the left shoulder strap, above the patch, is drawn with a speciality band.

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ZADNJA UREDBA VOJAŠKE UNIFORME KRALJEVINE JUGOSLAVIJE

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Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

30. avgusta 1939 je minister za vojsko in mornarico, armadni general Milan Đ. Nedić, podpisal uredbo Đ. Br. 18920. Z objavo v Službenem vojnem listu št. 28 je tako začela veljati zadnja celostna posodobitev uniform vojske Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Pomembna je bila zlasti z vidika uporabnosti. Zgornji del pehotne uniforme, poznan kot *korporan*, je bil s to uredbo dokončno zamenjan s sodobnejšim bluzonom in tako se je ta kos uniforme po kroju in uporabnosti približal uniformam sosednjih držav. Ker naj bi to posodobitev občutil velik del moštva vojske Kraljevine Jugoslavije, se postavlja vprašanje, kako je mogoče uvajanju določil te uredbe slediti v fotografskem gradivu z območja Dravske banovine.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

vojska Kraljevine Jugoslavije, pehotna uniforma, priprave na drugo svetovno vojno

POVZETEK

Osrednji vir pravilnikov, določil in ukazov, ki so urejali življenje in delo v vojski Kraljevine Jugoslavije, je Službeni vojni list. Čeprav je ta neizčrpni primarni uradni vir opremljen z nekaj slikovnega gradiva, pa tega zopet ni toliko, kot bi si želeli, tudi na področju sledenja razvoju uniform. Ob izpostavitvi zadnje celostne reforme je treba pripisati, da je od vseh uredb z najobsežnejšo slikovno prilogo opremljena ravno omenjena Uredba o odeži vojske z dne 30. avgusta 1939 (objavljena 6. septembra 1939 v prilogi 28. številke Službenega vojnega lista). Kljub temu je videz pripadnikov mnogo bolje predstavljen na vzorčni risbi častnika, objavljeni 18. septembra 1939, za določene kroje v letalstvu pa je najbolj izčrpna priloga z dne 6. septembra 1940. Toda omenjeni vir je nezadosten, zato je treba za vsako sledenje razvoju uniform nujno poseči po fotografskem gradivu oziroma pogledati tam, kjer je mogoče predpisano tudi primerjati z ohranjenimi uniformami.

Po pregledu fonda ateljejskega fotografa Petra Lampiča v fototeki Muzeja novejšje zgodovine Slovenije in zasebne zbirke Uroša Koširja se je v primeru fotografij, ki so bile posnete po avgustu 1939, izkazalo, da pripadniki kopenske vojske Kraljevine Jugoslavije niso bili vedno oblečeni po predpisih. A če je pri nekaterih enotah videti, kot da še niso začele izvrševati novih predpisov (morda so celo čakale na popolnitev z novimi uniformami), ostaja odprto vprašanje, zakaj so bili tako, kot so bili, oblečeni pripadniki planinskih enot. Razen če se niso, glede na zadnje predvidevanje, pri fotografu Lampiču fotografirali pripadniki različnih planinskih enot, potem ni mogoče najti odgovora, zakaj je v raziskovanem obdobju mogoče najti pripadnike teh enot oblečene v nepredpisane kroje bluzonov, mešane z novimi in starimi laticami na ovratniku, in spodnjim delom uniforme, katerega deli so popolnoma sledili predpisom ali pa so odstopali, tako da sta bila en ali vsi deli tega dela uniforme prevzeti od navadnih enot kopenske vojske.

Ker pa fotografije zopet ne izpostavijo vseh podrobnosti, zlasti pa mi iz njih ni uspelo razbrati osnovnega kroja, je bilo treba poseči tudi po ohranjenih primerkih uniforme, sicer le uniforme kaplarja navadnih enot kopenske vojske, in po kroju odgovarjajočih hlač v depozu Oddelka za oblačilno kulturo Pokrajinskega muzeja Maribor.

THE UNIFORM OF SLOVENE MOUNTAIN REGIMENTS 1911-1918 – THE IMPERIAL AUSTRIAN MOUNTAIN TROOPS UNIFORM AND ITS SPECIFICS IN WWI*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

The subject of the article is the uniform of mountain units in the period 1911-1918: the *Landwehr Regiment No. 4* from Klagenfurt (hereinafter LIR 4) and the *Landwehr Regiment No. 27* from Ljubljana (hereinafter LIR 27). I shall describe the special features of the uniforms and equipment for survival in the mountains, the results of their use and the suitability of the uniforms. Differences between pre-war and inter-war uniform, modernization and the use of replacement materials during the shortages of the years 1916 -1918 are described. Special emphasis is placed on the officers' uniforms and the connection of the civilian sphere with the military in the period before and during WWI. The continuation of the tradition in the Slovene army and linkage with the uniforms of the Imperial Austrian Army are discussed, as is the re-enactment of the *Gebirgsschuetzenregiment regiment No. 2* and the LIR 27.

KEYWORDS

mountain troops, GSR 2, LIR 27, uniform, First World War, Slovene army

INTRODUCTION

Slovene soldiers served for almost 700 years in the Austro-Hungarian units, the vast majority of them honorably and faithfully, wearing a variety of uniforms. Slovene soldiers wore uniforms typical of the Imperial Austrian Army (hereafter IAA), which in the case of certain particularities even borrowed from the civilian or traditional costume. Among the most eye-catching uniforms, or the most "colorful" units, we should mention the cavalry and mountain units.

The subject of the paper is the uniform of IAA mountain units between 1911-1918, with a special emphasis on the uniforms of the *Landwehrinfanterieregiment No. 4* from Klagenfurt (hereafter LIR 4) and *Landwehrinfanterieregiment No. 27* from Ljubljana (hereafter LIR 27) from April 1917 onwards, renamed as the *Gebirgsschuetzenregiment No. 1* and *2* (hereafter GSR 1 and 2). The distribution of other Slovene units is not covered: due to spatial limitations I shall place only the two above-mentioned regiments into the scheme of the Austro-Hungarian army. Almost all Slovene troops served in the III. Armee corps (*III. Armeekorps Graz*), in Graz, which was nicknamed the Iron corps. This shows that even many years before WWI the Slovenes were recognized soldiers loyal to the Emperor. This loyalty and courage was confirmed both in Galicia and later on the Isonzo front. Both regiments were part of the 22nd Infantry division (*22. Infanterietruppendivision*) and within it they formed the 44th Infantry Brigade (*44. Infanteriebrigade*)¹.

The uniform of the mountain units of the IAA greatly differed from other infantry uniforms of Austria-Hungary. Its beginnings are mainly in the late 19th century, when the formation of the Austrian army, Home Guard and local militia (*Landwehr* and *Landsturm*) which arose first from the people's traditional attire with the addition of armbands and other military regalia (also hat cockades, feathers, sashes), and finally transformed and changed into the pike-grey uniform color of the IAA in 1889². The new flexibility of the parts of the uniform and the introduction of special equipment, which was to facilitate movement in the mountains, at the same time introduced a symbolic figure, which was seen in a positive light by the wearer.

*Translation: David Švagelj

¹ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.k._Gebirgstruppe (quoted 20. 4. 2018).

² REST, S. 2006, p. 80.

IMPERIAL AUSTRIAN ARMY AND THE SPECIFICS OF MILITARY UNIFORMS IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY (1866) TO 1918

After its establishment in 1867, the armed forces of the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy split into three parts:

- The common army (today we would say the active part) which was commanded by the War Ministry in Vienna, composed of infantry regiments, navy, artillery and partly cavalry. National service lasted for three years and the soldiers were further assigned to active reserve for nine years, while part of the reserve was continued in Landwehr units.
- Landwehr regiments (in the Austrian part called *Landwehr*, and *Honved* in the Hungarian half of the monarchy), were units of the second call, today we would call them Home Guard. They were commanded by the Landwehr ministry in Vienna and the Honved ministry in Budapest. These conscripts were to serve only two years, and roles were slightly more relaxed than in the common army, as in these units, the proportion of non-German officers was higher. The regimental language was used, instead of German. For a further ten years the soldiers were kept in the Landwehr reserve. The Home Guard even had their own military education and justice, only the General Staff was shared.
- The third call (*Landsturm* in the Austrian part, and *Nepfelko* in the Hungarian) consisted of soldiers who were too old or too young, or those only partially fit or ill.³ During the war, the reserve units were in such short supply that even these units were used on the front line, although they were unfit or ill-equipped for such a task.

Predominantly non-German parts of the monarchy (particularly Slavic ones) considered Landwehr units as their national army, because in those regiments the regimental language was the one spoken by the majority of the regimental members. This was true for all the regiments with a significant share of non-German speakers, all the officers and non-commissioned officers (henceforth NCOs) were obliged to know and use the regimental language, but the soldiers were required to be familiar with the so-called military German (*Militaer-deutsch*), which consisted of around 200 basic German words and commands. This facilitated NCOs and officers at least basic control of the units. In the Hungarian part of the monarchy, the Honved was also considered as the national army, and they even had substantial cavalry and artillery units. It is no surprise that sometimes soldiers or even officers explicitly asked to serve in Landwehr/Honved units. These units also had a disproportionately high proportion of officers of the same nationality as the soldiers, they were even better equipped and armed than the common army; Landwehr and Honved ministries in Budapest and Vienna of course preferred to spend funds for these units, and not for the common army. For instance, in the case of the LIR 27, Slovene was spoken in the vast majority of cases, while in the LIR 4, dominated by Germans, Slovene was used only in extreme cases.

Unlike today, the Army was the personal property of the monarch and, therefore, its members wore on their caps, shoulder-pieces and portepieces the Emperor's monogram (up to the year 1916 FJI, Franz Joseph I; after 1916 K, Charles I), and they swore their allegiance to the Emperor personally and not to the state.

TRANSFORMATION OF THE IMPERIAL AUSTRIAN ARMY AFTER 1866

After the defeat at the Koenigsgraetz (*Hradec kralove*) against the Prussian kingdom, the Austrians realized that the traditional white uniforms of the infantry were no longer appropriate for modern warfare. The uniforms of the IAA infantry, which included the Landwehr units, were modernized after the reform in 1868, the dark blue jackets and light blue pants becoming the standard uniform color, with minor variations at e.g. *Feldjaeger*.⁴ The uniformity of the IAA persisted for nearly four decades, but even in WWI, due to lack of funds and materials, some units wore old style uniforms. At that time, the first appearance of typical Austrian headwear is recorded. The cap had an upper part which could be pulled over the ears to protect the wearer against bad weather. This cap, lightly modified, kept appearing in former Yugoslavia, in the uniforms of mountain troops and the Slovene Home Guard (*Teritorialna obramba*). Since 1991, this cap has continued to be used in Slovene Army as part of their mountain uniforms.

THE EFFICIENCY AND USEFULNESS OF THE UNIFORMS DURING 1868-1906

The uniforms introduced after the defeat in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 were obviously better adapted

³ REST, S. 2006, p. 14.

⁴ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 24.

to use on the battlefield, but the cut and style fell more in the period of the first French Empire and Napoleon (1804 -1815) than at the turn of the century and just before the WWI. The uniforms, for example, did not have external pockets, the soldier carried his personal belongings in a bread bag or field pack (*Brotsack* and *Kalbtornister*),⁵ both of which tended to get wet and were not designed for comfortable use on the battlefield, but the military appearance of the wearer. Furthermore the insignia and sabres were very important, as was high officer's headwear; these details were meant to instil fear in the enemy, and boost the self-confidence of the units concerned. The footwear was often unsuitable for long marches, and the officers demanded an immaculate appearance at daily inspections, regardless of whether the unit was in the barracks, or on maneuvers or even on the battlefield. After the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 it was even clearer that the then uniforms were inappropriate and there was a need to introduce a new one, which would be more suitable for mountain troops. From this point onwards, I focus only on the uniforms of mountain troops and not to the rest of IAA.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE IAA: MOUNTAIN UNITS, THEIR UNIFORM, EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENTS 1906-1911

In 1906, new combat uniforms for the Tyrolean land rifles (*Tirolerlandeschuetzen*), namely the I. regiment in Bozen and the II. Regiment in Trient,⁶ were introduced when these units were transformed into mountain troops. In 1909 the process started for the III. Regiment of the Tyrolean land rifles in Innichen and the LIR 4. Celovec (Klagenfurt), and in 1911 also for the LIR 27 (Ljubljana). Following the change of uniform, weaponry and gear were changed to make them more suitable for mountain warfare. These units were entrusted with the defense of the border with the Kingdom of Italy, which was since 1866 the principle opponent of the IAA, in spite of their membership in the Triple alliance (which Italy joined in 1882) and from which it de facto withdrew on 23 May 1915, attacking the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The latter started the war with five mountain troop regiments: the I., II., and III. Tyrolean land rifles dedicated to the defense of Tyrol, the LIR 4 Celovec (Klagenfurt), which was dedicated to the defense of the Carniola and the LIR 27 Ljubljana, which covered the area from Predel Pass to the sea. These units used to practice military skills in the summer on the same parts of the border they would defend in the case of war with Italy. They got to know the terrain and its particularities, and other natural features, which could prove useful later. Unfortunately, most of the active army and Landwehr units went to Galicia at the beginning of the war, where a lot of them fell, and this knowledge was not put to proper use.

COMBAT UNIFORM OF THE IAA MOUNTAIN UNITS

The new uniform was light-grey, so-called pike-grey (*Hecht-grau*), material was made from Tyrolean loden, which is a very durable material, already used for a long time by hunters, foresters, and the mountaineers. As a curiosity I should mention that even common soldiers could purchase their uniform from a tailor, but it needed to correspond with the official cut prescribed by the Erar.⁷ Loden is extremely durable, waterproof and easy to maintain, and so is somehow a "natural" choice for a uniform. Leggings, stockings and under garments were made from wool, which is the only natural material that remains warm even when wet. The shoes were made from leather and had nailed insoles. The uniform was not changed only by the new color, even more important was the change of function.

The high collar was replaced by a lower, padded collar, which if necessary could be turned up and buttoned to cover the back of the head and neck of the wearer. For the first time, pockets with flaps appeared, two at the chest and two on the hips. The sleeves were fastened by two buttons; the upper part of the uniform had a pleat at the back to enable movement. The trousers were very wide above the knee, and below they were as tight as possible; ideally, they followed the legs perfectly. Alongside puttees, the use of long, knitted wool socks was prescribed. On top of the lower part of the pants they were able to wear them as well as puttees, which were 15 cm wide and two to three meters long, made of same material as trousers. With woollen long socks they could wear knickerbockers. All of this was intended mainly to facilitate movement in the mountains. The boots were swapped for mountain shoes (*Goisern*) with hob nails, and they were to be a size bigger, so the soldiers

⁵ The field pack was calfskin with the hair on the outside, which had been in use by the Austro-Hungarian army to approx. 1915/16; the bread bag was a canvas bag, hung from the right shoulder to the left flank, where the soldier kept personal belongings and the daily bread ration.

⁶ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/K.k._Gebirgstruppe (quoted 20. 4. 2018).

⁷ Erar: logistics, warehousing and supply the army.

could wear double socks in winter conditions, avoiding frostbite. Instead of a classic infantry coat, there was a cape with a hood.⁸ Instead of puttees, long wool socks were later preferred, and a wind jacket was introduced, made from oiled sailcloth or waxed canvas, to make it waterproof, lighter and more suitable to wear than the classic army infantry coat. The cap was made of softer material, in front there was a leather visor, and on the left side a small pocket facing forward to hold a grouse plume,⁹ a symbol of the Austrian mountain units. The cut of the cap was quite high before the war and had inserted a paperboard or celluloid ring to retain the shape, but during the war, the height of the cap was reduced and the internal ring disappeared. In addition to the grouse plume, these units had on their collars two dark green rhomboids with an Edelweiss sewn on; both the grouse plume and Edelweiss were unmistakable symbols of IAA alpine troops.¹⁰

Under the uniform, soldiers wore a cloth shirt with a straight detachable collar, made from cotton or cellulose, or in other cases a neck cloth independent of the shirt. In winter conditions they wore wearing wool underwear. In winter the use of grease to protect against the cold was recommended, as were extra linen and woollen socks and over gloves.



Image 1: Švagelj, NCO in summer combat uniform with alpine equipment, 2013 (Photo: V. Švagelj).

⁸ REST, S. 2006, p. 90.

⁹ A grouse plume is a group of black and white feathers from the tails of black grouse which is very popular both in Slovenia and Tyrol (in the popular costume) and is considered a sign of courage and preparedness for defense.

¹⁰ VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 30.

Dark green was the color of the mountain units and light infantry in the IAA, and indicated special purpose units, in order to distinguish them from the ordinary line infantry. The definition originates from the Napoleonic era, when the regular infantry units fought in line, while light infantry and other special purpose units fought and act independently of the army. During the summer, units wore a summer uniform made of cotton, which was lighter and more suitable for warm temperatures. Except for the material (cotton instead of wool), the summer uniforms were identical to the winter ones.

There was almost no difference between the combat uniform of officers and other ranks. The most visible difference was the officer's shoulder pads, which were dark green, dressed with a silver-piping on the edges. In the middle, there was an embroidered imperial monogram with an imperial crown, (up to 1916 FJI, after 1916 K),¹¹ while officers wore an embroidered Edelweiss on their collar rhomboids, and they had an embroidered imperial monogram on their caps. Other ranks had a metal Edelweiss, and a metal cockade with FJI and K respectively, they also had no shoulder pads. Other ranks had six-pointed stars, made from bone or celluloid indicating rank, and officers had the same embroidered. On the brass belt buckle, other ranks wore the two headed eagle (coat of arms of IAA empire), and officers the imperial monogram (see above).

Given the terrain in Tyrol, the new uniform was specially developed for use in the mountains, for which also the color should serve; in those days, it was believed that pike-grey provided extra level of camouflage against the blue sky above the mountains (as the invader would see the Austrian mountain troops on the heights above). But, after the beginning of the war, the majority of the peacetime army was sent against Russia, and it is not difficult to imagine what effect this uniform had against the meadows and forests of Galicia. The losses of the IAA in the period from the beginning of the war to the end of 1914 were greater than the rest of the war combined (three years!). In the following years, pike-grey has become the official uniform color of all IAA land forces, with the exception of part of the cavalry.¹²

EQUIPMENT AND ARMAMENT OF THE MOUNTAIN UNITS

The equipment was adapted to survival and fighting in the mountains, as until WWI there had been no major conflict fought in the mountains, due to their inherent limitations and dangers. It is enough to know that in WWI, for every fighting soldier above 1500 meters above sea level, seven soldiers were needed to support him. Also, in the first winter of the war, the majority of victims came from frostbite and avalanches, instead of enemy fire.

Extract from the booklet *Mountain War in the Winter (Gebirgskrieg im Winter)*¹³

For each member of mountain units:

- backpack with two breast pockets,
- mountain stick (*Alpenstock*), up to two meters long stick with metal tip, to help movement in the mountains,
- one pair of snow bindings (one and a half meter long strips, designed to prevent the entry of snow in the shoes),
- a pair of snow goggles (protection against glare of snow and snow blindness),
- a pair of crampons with four spikes.

Equipment of each member of the high altitude companies (*Hochgebirgskompanie*) additionally:

- one pair of crampons with ten spikes,
- a pair of skis and ski sticks,
- avalanche rope (30 m long red cord, with which soldiers were attached to each other on dangerous snow slopes, intended to help locate the avalanche victims),
- waterproof cover for shoes,
- additional fur mittens,
- anorak,
- wind pants,
- white camouflage suit.

¹¹ REST, S. 2006, p. 252.

¹² VRIŠER, S. 1987, p. 31.

¹³ LVKT, 1915, p. 63.

For each four members additionally:

- ice axe,
- one can of protective grease (wind, snow, frost),
- a spirit cooker burner, and spirit.

Equipment of independent high altitude detachments and patrols also had: an altimeter, thermometer, electric hand-lamps, additional ski tips (for repair), ski repair-set, first-aid and light signal apparatus. They were also given extra, warmer gloves, hats and jackets to be worn under the uniform. These units were to act independently; they were given specific tasks, so they had to be independent also in terms of logistics and equipment. During WWI, supply was so poor that soldiers even used civilian sweaters, gloves and caps.

Officers wore leather leggings instead of boots, buttoned over the trousers, between the knee and top of the shoe. They were meant to protect the lower leg against the vegetation and weather conditions.

Also the armament was adapted to fighting in the mountains. As a basic weapon a Steyr Mannlicher M95 shortened carbine was provided, with a five shot magazine. The carbine also had a special wearing belt with metal eyelets, which was shortened or extended quickly and practically. Units were additionally armed with revolvers or pistols (most commonly the Steyr M12 or *Gasser Armeerevolver*), with bayonets, and NCOs and officers with short swords, on which there was a portepee with an imperial monogram. Swords were seen before WWI as a symbol of rank, and were abandoned almost immediately after the start of the conflicts and were barely used again at the front.

FORMAL AND CEREMONIAL UNIFORM OF THE OFFICERS OF THE MOUNTAIN UNITS

In addition to the combat uniforms, a number of different uniforms were used by officers of the mountain troops, either for ceremonies and parades, or for walking out. Uniforms were purchased privately, ordered at specific tailors or sewing companies specialized in this type of production.

Parade uniform of the officers of the mountain units

It consisted of a bright blue jacket with two columns of eight silver buttons bearing the number of the respective regiment (Tyrolean regiments had Roman numerals, and Slovene regiments Arabic ones, which was the only difference between the uniform the two formations). There were six silver buttons bearing the number of the regiment on the lower part of the back, and two pockets. The jacket was custom-made to fit each wearer, as it was privately purchased and adapted. The shoulder pieces were very unusual for the IAA, because they were elongated, rectangular, and slanted on the sides facing the collar. Their lining was dark green. The upper side was patterned with silver braid bearing an embroidered imperial monogram and an Austrian crown. The shoulder pieces were detachable, so the user could move them to another uniform. On the tunic, two loops of silver braid were sewn, through which the bottom part of the shoulder pieces were pulled and fastened with two press-studs. The trousers were pike-grey and narrow, with two dark green stripes on the outside of the legs. The uniform was made of *gabardine*, which is a very durable fabric that breathes but is waterproof.

With this uniform they wore low black shoes and an infantry Saber M1861. The headgear was the Jaeger hat (*Feldjaeger* units) made from black felt; on the front there was a golden hunting horn with a silver regimental number (in the case of Tyrolean regiments there was a silver Tyrolean eagle). A horn was mounted on a pocket on the left side of the hat, in which black grouse plumage was inserted, which symbolized manhood and gave a military appearance. The hat was outlined with black/gold metallic twine, which ended at the back of the hat with two golden acorns. Around the waist, a gold-black sash with the imperial monogram was worn, as well as white gloves. This uniform was worn at official parades, when the wearer was not leading the formation. It was also worn on specific occasions (some public holidays, the Emperor's birthday, etc.). If the officer led the unit, he was dressed in combat uniform with a short sword intended for mountain troops. He wore a cap with grouse plume, knickerbockers and wool leggings, and a leather belt. Other ranks did not have parade uniforms, but wore their combat uniforms.

Officer's walking out uniform

In addition to the parade and combat uniforms, officers could also wear a so-called walking out uniform, which was comprised of the tunic from the parade uniform and black trousers with thin dark-green piping that ran on the outer part of the legs. With this variant of the uniform, a black official stiff cap was worn, with the imperial monogram and the Austrian crown above, while the chin strap was held by two silver buttons with the regimental number. On the left side, a sewn-on pocket was placed, to hold the grouse plume. Under the imperial monogram a small Jager horn with the number of the regiment was pinned (for Slovene troops, for Tyrol it was the Tyrolean Eagle) the black officer's cap was also one of the most characteristic features of the Austrian military uniforms by the end of 1918. They were worn by all the officers of the army, also at the front line and not just for official duties. With this uniform the gold-black sash was worn, with an infantry Sabre M1861, and black low shoes.

THE SYMBOLIC ROLE OF THE MOUNTAIN UNIFORM AND ITS WEARER IN SLOVENIA

Especially after the beginning of the war with Italy (23. 5. 1915), the figure of the defender of the Soča (Isonzo) was embedded in the eyes of people living in this part of monarchy. He might be hungry, often wounded, but with his last strength was defending the motherland against the attacking hordes. The Austrian propaganda made brilliant use of the advantage of the publication of the London Agreement, whereby the United Kingdom offered substantial territorial concessions in the case of Italy's entry into the war on their side. Of course they could be very generous, because they were not offering territory they owned, or their own inhabitants. Austria-Hungary printed this map with new frontiers and distributed it among residents and soldiers, who looked at it, of course, with mixed feelings. Furthermore, on the Soča front a much higher percentage of Slav soldiers, specifically Slovenes and Croats, served than on any other WWI front. As the Slovene mountain regiments were seen as "our" army, the Slovene population of course considered them as defenders of the motherland. This was especially true for two reasons: these units had a large number of Slovene soldiers from nearby places and these regiments were trained before WWI on the border areas, which later became the battlefields so they were known to local residents and they were trusted, as long as they wore Edelweiss on their collars.

This symbolic role is also present also on the series of postcards "Vojska v slikah" (The Army in Pictures) created by renowned Slovene artists of the time, often depicting soldiers of the mountain units with a grouse plume on their caps, defending Slovenia from the slopes above the Soča River. Moreover, the poet Gregorčič in his beautiful poem from 1882 foresaw the events that would occur:

*Bitter steel will strike upon these lands,
And you will flow full of blood:
Our blood will nourish you,
The enemy's will muddy you!
Remember then, limpid Soča,
The commands of your fervid heart:
All the waters stored
In the clouds of your skies,
All the waters in your highlands,
All the waters of your blossoming plains,
Rush it all up at once,
Rise up, froth in a dreadful stream!
Do not confine yourself within the banks,
Rise wrathfully over the defences,
And drawn the foreigners ravenous for land
To the bottom of your foaming waves!¹⁴*

These lines were printed on several postcards, with a picture of a mountain trooper with a grouse plume on his cap, firmly gripping his rifle and looking across the river. A second postcard shows the soldiers of the mountain units that defended the Soča Valley, while in the sky above is a silhouette of Gregorčič.

¹⁴ <http://www.travel-slovenia.si/in-words/simon-gregorcic-to-the-river-soca/> (quoted 26. 4. 2018).

WARTIME CHANGES AND GENERAL LACK OF MATERIALS IN THE YEARS 1915-1918

Immediately after the beginning of the war in 1914, after the catastrophic losses in Galicia, it became apparent that the uniforms developed and manufactured in peacetime were unsuitable for combat. The biggest problem was the color of the uniforms, which, as already mentioned, was not suitable for forest and plains environment in Galicia. Later, in the Carpathians, during first winter of the war, the uniforms also proved inappropriate regarding warmth, while knapsacks lost their shape after they became wet, and the general supply of food and materials crashed. To make matters worse, the IAA was a victim of the continental blockade carried out by the United Kingdom and France.

This halted the import of foreign cotton and wool, which was replaced by domestic wool and sometimes even artificial fibers. The leather tanning process was shortened from one year to a few months, which reduced the quality of leather products. It has also become very hard to get the appropriate tanning chemicals. When livestock was slaughtered to feed the soldiers, the skins were often inappropriately stocked and thus started to rot very quickly.



Image 2: Švagelj, NCO in winter combat uniform with helmet, 2013 (Photo: V. Švagelj).

The lack of quality replacement uniforms began almost immediately after the start of the war, because the army was not actually ready, its warehouse and logistics system was unable to ensure appropriate replacements. Because of this, as well as other reasons, the biggest change was the introduction of the grey-green (Feld-grau) uniform, which was cut the same as the pike-grey, but offered much better camouflage on the battlefield (the Emperor's Decree 16.8.1915),¹⁵ which for the mountain units meant, of course, capes, knickerbockers and other specific parts of the uniform manufactured in the new color. The metal buttons, and

¹⁵ REST, S. 2002, p. 34.

cockades of other ranks were painted in olive green. After 1916 a standard blouse with a soft collar, mountain trousers and a coat that was prescribed for mountain artillery was the standard uniform for the whole army. After the death of Emperor Francis Joseph in 1916 and the inauguration of Emperor Charles, the whole army needed to change cockades and imperial monograms from FJI to K. They also needed to replace sashes and portepees.¹⁶ Officers were also obliged to change the shoulder pieces on the combat and parade uniforms, and wear a new monogram.

It is interesting that at this point, the regulations allowed the wearing of old combat uniforms until they were worn out and postponed the new parade uniform production until the expected changes. This was due to the lack of materials and expected changes, particularly simplification, of the uniforms in the near future. The IAA hence became one of the most diverse armies in history, and you can see pictures of the soldiers in the same unit, wearing a wide variety of uniforms. There are even individual pieces from the year 1866, from the uniform before the reform of 1906, and after the breakthrough at Kobarid 1917 large quantities of uniforms made from confiscated Italian materials of sea-green color, which were mostly not worn at the front, because of the risk of friendly fire. A lot of any other material was used, confiscated from civilian companies. Of course, these textiles varied extremely in quality, color and resilience. In 1917 the officer's belt with an imperial monogram was replaced by a simple one buckle belt, made from linen. A tremendous amount of replacement (*Ersatz*) materials were used, as shown in the table.

Table 1: The introduction of substitute materials in the IAA during WWI

Material prior to 1914	Replacement materials used during the war
Wool	Nettle and hemp fiber, canvas
Leather	Pressed paper and paperboard, metal, canvas, burlap
Brass	Steel or iron
Steel	Track iron (recycled)

Towards the end of the war the uniforms appeared in brownish tones, whose color was intended as the new color of the uniform, but they were not introduced officially due to the end of the war and the inevitable collapse of industry and logistics in the empire. A growing quantity of nettle fiber was used, predominately for summer uniforms, underwear and secondary parts of uniforms.

In 1916, steel helmets begin to be used: the German model of M16 and M17, and later the Berndorfer (own production). This was due to the large percentage of head injuries, and ever more powerful artillery. Helmets were first distributed to assault units, followed by infantry in the first line, but there were never enough helmets for all. The IAA command even suggested the use of confiscated Italian helmet, which of course risked injury from friendly fire. So these helmets were repainted and used mainly in on courses and in the rear. Gas masks also began to be used and daggers replaced bayonets.

THE LANDWEHRREGIMENT (LIR27), 2. GEBIRGSCHUETZEN (GSR 2)

The *K.k. Landwehrinfanterieregiment No. 27 "Ljubljana"*, which was drafted from the area of today's Slovenia, was established on 1. 10. 1901 and on 1. 3. 1911 re-equipped as a mountain unit. In 1916, according to the statistics, 88% of the men were Slovene,¹⁷ so it was the most Slovene unit of the IAA. The LIR 27 was drafted mainly from the regions of Carniola and Gorizia. In 1916, it was renamed as the GSR 2. The transformation into a mountain unit also meant changes in the uniform, equipment and training of the soldiers, while the regiment was entrusted with the defense of the border with Italy. In compliance with this, the companies trained in this area during the summer months, where they were accepted as a domestic, Slovene regiment. In 1914, they were sent to Galicia and suffered heavy losses. In 1915, after the Italian entry into the war, they defended the Karst plateau, and were later deployed to Tyrol. In 1917, they were sent to Piave, where they remained until the ceasefire. The GSR 2 returned to Gorizia, but had to leave under pressure from Italian troops. They arrived in

¹⁶ REST, S. 2006, p. 90.

¹⁷ ŠVAJNCER, J. 1990, p. 12.

Ljubljana, where the regiment was renamed as the Yugoslav mountain Regiment No. 2. After the final collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire these troops defended Slovene borders, especially in the area of Carinthia.

We should also mention a sister unit, the LIR 4 Celovec (Klagenfurt), which was drafted mainly in Carinthia, and had many more German soldiers and ended the war as the GSR 1.

THE SLOVENE MOUNTAIN TROOPS AFTER THE BREAK-UP AND IN THE WAR FOR THE NORTHERN BORDER 1918-1919

Slovene forces initially participated in their old Austrian uniforms, changing only the imperial cockade/monogram on the headgear and sometimes adding a band in Slovene national colors on the headgear; officers and NCOs wrapped the portepees on their sabres and daggers with bands in Slovene national colors to cover up the Emperor's monogram.¹⁸

A special feature of Slovene army uniform at that time was the NCO and officer's cap, which differed from the Austrian as well as Serbian cap, or later from the NCO and officer's cap of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. They were similar to the Czech and Polish legionary caps. According to the memoirs of one wearer, they were dark blue, with a strip of velvet on the edge. The velvet was different for different arms. The cockade was in Slovene national colors, usually metal. This feature disappeared in 1919 and was replaced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia uniform.¹⁹ For the spring offensive in 1919, steel helmets were distributed to all Slovene army units. To distinguish them from the enemy, a black line was drawn on the helmets, or a band in Slovene national colors, since members of the *Volkswehr* used the same type of helmets.²⁰ The equipment and armament of the Slovene army was the same as in the IAA. The Slovene Alpine regiment was formed from the former GSR 2 and in July 1919 it was renamed as the 47th Infantry Regiment (47. *pešadijski puk*).

THE TRADITION OF SLOVENE MOUNTAIN TROOPS AND THE RE-ENACTMENT GROUPS GSR 2 AND LIR 27



Photo 3: Švagelj, Officer in winter combat uniform with a black formal cap, 2017 (photograph V. Švagelj).

¹⁸ ŠVAJNCER, J. 1990, p. 82.

¹⁹ ŠVAJNCER, J. 1990, p. 83.

²⁰ *Volkswehr*, partially voluntary formation, which has been fighting in 1918/19 in Carinthia and Styria against the Slovene army.

In Yugoslavia, mountain troops were stationed across the whole country, including Slovenia. The uniform of these units was the same as the usual infantry uniform, and the cape with a hood was almost identical to the IAA one. The cap was also very similar to the IAA cap, but rounder in appearance. Both buttons were placed on top of it and not at the front. It was used only in the Slovene territorial defence force, while the other republics used an army style cap (*Titovka*). The Slovene army used the same cap, but in camouflage color until the reform. Today, units of the first brigade of the Slovene army have metal cockades on their headgear, the central part being a stylized grouse plume. So after more than a century, the image of a brave Slovene soldier is again crowned with a symbol of courage, symbolizing the willingness to defend.

The re-enactment group the GSR 2, which is an integral part of the *Društvo Soška fronta* from Nova Gorica, began by reviving the image of the IAA soldier in 2005. The group presented mainly winter and summer other ranks uniforms, alongside equipment and arms after 1916, after the introduction of the field-green uniforms. It was very active until 2011, but after the centenary of the LIR 27 it almost ceased to exist.

After a short break a new group appeared, the LIR27, which preserves the memory of the regiment, in particular with combat and officer's parade uniforms. It participates in different events in Austria and Italy, but also in Hungary, Germany and France. Most of the visitors, but also the organizers of these events, are impressed when they can see and feel these uniforms, which down to the last detail are similar to those of a hundred years ago. The purpose of the group is to keep the memory of our predecessors alive.

CONCLUSION

From 1867 to 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its military system have been adjusted to the political system of the country. The uniform of the Austro-Hungarian military units in the period 1911–1918 represented the most advanced military clothing of that time, adapted for use in the mountains. Together with specific equipment it allowed living and fighting in the mountain areas. Formal dress and evening uniforms remained specific features of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The Klagenfurt and Ljubljana Militia Regiments, which were primarily composed of Slovenian boys from the territory of present Slovenia, have been designated as early as before World War I in order to defend the borders against the Kingdom of Italy. The uniforms' distinctive features emphasize the visibility of the soldiers as defenders of the Slovenian soil against the aggressor. The outbreak of the war quickly showed that material was lacking and prewar uniforms proved to be inadequate for modern warfare. Therefore changes occurred immediately in 1914 and the largest in 1916, when the uniforms have been significantly redesigned. During the second half of World War I the share of replacement materials and equipment was increasing, as the need for them was born out of necessity and the continental economic blockade, the victim of which was Austria-Hungary. The Slovenian regiments wearing these uniforms exemplified an inseparable part of the society of Slovenian states in Austria-Hungary. The image of the Isonzo defender was given a substantial symbolic significance also on postcards entitled "Vojska v slikah" (The Army in Pictures) that were created by renowned Slovenian artists. By the end of World War I the numbers of uniforms, at least the ones of notable quality, had dwindled and the number of replacement materials had raised; however, they could not replace the quality or quantity of the amounts lost. Later on, the memory of Slovenian military mountaineers and their uniforms was lost for seventy years. In 1990–1991 a new Slovenian Army was formed, a part of which is the 1st Brigade. Its members are wearing a metal cockade on the berets, depicting the black grouse, which was a sign of the Slovenian military mountaineers in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Tradition has been passed down through illustrational examples of the Mountain Shooting Regiment GSR 2 and the Infantry Regiment Lir 27.

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SLOVENSKE GORSKE ENOTE IN NJIHOVE UNIFORME

1911–1918

David Švagelj, Adecco d.o.o., Slovenija

Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Predmet mojega prispevka je uniforma gorskih enot v obdobju 1911–1918, brambovski polk št. 4 iz Celovca (dalje LIR 4) in brambovski polk št. 27 iz Ljubljane (dalje LIR 27). Predstavljene so posebnosti uniforme in opreme za uporabo in preživetje v gorah, rezultati uporabe in ustreznost teh uniform za preživetje.

Opisane so tudi razlike med predvojno in medvojno uniformo, modernizacija in uporaba nadomestnih materialov ob pomanjkanju v letih 1916–1918. Poseben poudarek je dan častniškim uniformam in povezavi civilne sfere z vojaštvom v času pred prvo svetovno vojno in med njo. Tradicijo nadaljuje Slovenska vojska, saj je današnja uniforma povezana z uniformami avstro-ogrske vojske. Drugi gorski strelski polk in LIR 27 ponazarja ponazoritvena skupina.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

gorske enote, GSR 2, LIR 27, uniforma, prva svetovna vojna, slovenska vojska

POVZETEK

Avstro-Ogrska in njen vojaški sistem sta bila prilagojena politični ureditvi države v letih od 1867 do 1918. Uniforma avstro-ogrskih enot v obdobju 1911–1918 je bila za tiste čase najmodernejša in prilagojena uporabi v gorah, saj je skupaj s posebno opremo prvič omogočala bivanje in bojevanje v planinskem svetu. Posebnost v tedanji avstro-ogrski armadi so bile častniške svečane in izhodne uniforme. Celovski in ljubljanski brambovski polk, ki sta bila v veliki večini sestavljena iz slovenskih fantov z ozemlja današnje Slovenije, sta bila že pred prvo svetovno vojno določena za varovanje meje proti kraljevini Italiji. Posebnosti uniform poudarjajo prepoznavnost teh vojakov kot braniteljev slovenske zemlje pred agresorjem. Po izbruhu vojne sta se hitro pokazala pomanjkanje materiala in neustreznost predvojne uniforme za potrebe modernega bojevanja. Zaradi tega so se spremembe pojavile že takoj leta 1914, največja pa leta 1916, ko so bile uniforme znatno preoblikovane. V drugi polovici prve svetovne vojne je bil delež nadomestnih materialov in opreme vedno večji; potreba po njih je bila porojena iz nuje in celinske blokade, katere žrtev je bila Avstro-Ogrska. Slovenski polki so bili v teh uniformah neločljivi del družbe tedanjih slovenskih dežel v Avstro-Ogrski, podoba branilca Soče pa je dobila močan simbolni pomen tudi na razglednicah "Vojska v slikah", ki so jih ustvarjali priznani slovenski umetniki. Proti koncu prve svetovne vojne je bilo uniform, vsaj kakovostnih, vedno manj in pojavljalo se je vedno več nadomestnih materialov, vendar ne po kvaliteti ne po kvantiteti niso mogli nadomestiti izgubljenih količin. Spomin na slovenske vojaške gornike in njihove uniforme se je potem izgubil za dobrih sedemdeset let, leta 1990–1991 pa je nastala nova Slovenska vojska, katere del je tudi prva brigada. Njeni pripadniki na baretkah nosijo kovinsko kokardo, na kateri je upodobljen ruševčev krivec, ki je bil znak slovenskih vojaških gornikov v času Avstro-Ogrske. Tradicija se neguje s ponazarjanjem GSR 2 in Lir 27 v ponazoritveni skupini.

THE LEGEND OF THE ŠAJKAČA – A FAMOUS SERBIAN CAP*

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ABSTRACT

The paper analyzes a significant element of Serbian traditional male costume: the *šajkača* (pronounced [ʃajkatʃa]) – the cap recognized widely as a symbol of national identity. Two tracks will be followed in the analysis. The first relates to the origin of the name of the cap. The second deals with the transformation of the *šajkača* from part of a uniform into a national symbol and element of the traditional folk costume of Serbia. The *šajkača* originated from the military uniform of the Principality of Serbia, or more precisely from the period when the national army or militia was established in 1872. The state provided some parts of the uniform for all the male citizens declared by law to report for military service, including the cap today known by the name *šajkača*.

KEYWORDS

šajkača, uniform, Serbian male costume, national symbol

INTRODUCTION

In 2013 an anniversary was celebrated in Vojvodina, the Northern Province of the Republic of Serbia: 250 years since the establishment of a specific Habsburg military order, the Czaikisten (*Šajkaši*) Battalion of pon-tooners. It was formed at the confluence of the River Tisa and the Danube. This military unit was drawn mostly from the Serbian population, and was part of a wider military organization called the Military Border. During the celebrations, it was said that the *šajkača* cap, as an element of Serbian or more specifically Šumadija male folk dress, originated from the military cap that was worn by *Šajkaši* soldiers. That story was spread online, in newspapers and on local TV, so I decided to start my research on that topic.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SERBIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Prince Mihailo Obrenović established a militia or national army in the Principality of Serbia on 17 August 1861. This army was an important instrument of his foreign policy, with the idea freeing Serbia from Ottoman Empire control. All Serbian male citizens aged 20 to 50 were required by law to report for military service. The army was made up of citizens who were ready to fight when summoned. In a political sense it was a very good move, because Serbia came to be seen as a significant military force in the Balkans.¹

At first, in 1864, Prince Mihailo produced a rulebook for the uniforms entitled: *Code for the Suit and the Equipment of the National Army (Propis za odelo i spremu narodne vojske)*.² In the Code, the uniform was very similar to peasant dress. The elements of the uniform were: shirt, vest, trousers, a *dušanka* jacket, knee breeches, a cloak with sleeves, peasant shoes (*opanak*) and a fur hat or *kalpak*. At that time, parts of the uniform were obviously homemade. There is a note in the Code which says that the uniform colors were to be different, depending on the local colors of cloth. As researcher Pavle Vasić has observed, Mihailo was in a romantic mood when he initially decided that the militia uniform would be like peasant dress. However, the new rules of warfare, involving gunpowder and firearms, generated a need for change in military uniforms, and so they became less colorful and more camouflaged – mostly pale blue and gray.³

A serious reorganization of the militia happened in 1866, and the following year new uniforms were ordered. The state-provided uniforms were a bluish gray color.

* Translation: Katarina Radisavljević

¹ ЈОВАНОВИЋ, С. 1990, p. 413.

² Војин, 1864, p. 76.

³ VASIĆ, P. 1958, p. 131.



Image1: Eagle eye of our patrol (Photo: Tchernov, in: Andra Popović, *Ratni album* 1914-1918, Beograd 1926).

THE CZAIKISTEN (ŠAJKAŠI) BATTALION

When the Habsburg Empire established a new border with the Ottoman Empire, most of it was on the banks of the rivers Sava and Danube. Some time later, in 1763, as already noted, the Czaikisten Battalion, made up mostly of Serbian soldiers, was formed at the confluence of the Tisa and the Danube. At that time, this place was on the border with the Ottoman Empire and today it is part of the province of Vojvodina, only a few kilometers to the east of its capital, Novi Sad. Even today, this region in Vojvodina is called *Šajkaška*. The Czaikisten were a battalion of pontooneers.

The uniforms of border soldiers were in several colors, depending on the battalion. The *Šajkaši*⁴ had worn blue uniforms since 1772.⁵ As official headgear, the soldiers wore a *čako* (shako), a cylindrical hat with a leather visor.⁶ From the memoirs of the *Šajkaši* officer Avram Đukić, we can see that the uniforms were changed in the first part of 19th century, and that the soldiers started to wear linen field caps, which were at first white.⁷

By the *kaiserliche Entschliessung* or royal decree of 18 August 1808, the difference between home and war uniforms disappeared, but the difference between the campaign uniforms and camp uniforms remained. The central government supplied campaign uniforms, but camp uniforms had to be home made, with some compensation from regimental funds. According to the Article 2 of the mentioned royal decree, this included a *čako* and a linen camp-cap (*Foragiermütze*).⁸

The *Šajkaši* Battalion was disbanded in 1859 and the border infantry was merged with the administrative center in Zemun. The Military Border was abolished in 1873. Until the battalion was disbanded, the official cap had been the *kalpak* – a black fur cap with a tassel.⁹ In his memoirs, Avram Djukic listed all the changes through which the *Šajkaši* uniform had gone. As far as the camp cap is concerned, he writes that it was white

⁴ In the remainder of the paper I will use the term *Šajkaši* Battalion.

⁵ НИКОЛИЋ, Д. 1978, p. 112.

⁶ НИКОЛИЋ, Д. 1978, p. 119.

⁷ ЂУКИЋ, А. 1975, p. 199.

⁸ URL: http://www.napoleon-series.org/military/organization/Austria/ArmyStudy/c_AustrianArmyGrenz.html (quoted 24. 1. 2014).

⁹ НИКОЛИЋ, Д. 1978, p. 136.

until the Resolution book of 1851 determined that it would be made of blue woolen cloth with a bright red braid.¹⁰ In 1868, the Resolution book decreed that the camp cap had folded extensions for the ears. By the next decree from 4 April 1870, the cap was also given a neck guard for sun protection.¹¹

THE ORIGINS: WHY THE NAME ŠAJKAČA?

Research by Serbian art historian and uniform researcher Pavle Vasić, ethnologist Desanka Nikolić, and historian and archivist Lazar Čelap,¹² indicates that the connection between the *Šajkaši* Battalion and the *šajkača* is in the name of the cap.

According to archival material presented by Lazar Čelap in the mid-1960s, it seems that Serbia imported the cap and some other parts of the uniform from Austria. It was a time when the Serbian government introduced the concept of a national army and promoted the new military uniform. For this, we find confirmation in a remark by Major General Križ, the commander of the Zemun Corps Brigade, who attended the maneuvers of the Serbian militia in the autumn of 1869. In a report to his superior, Commander Weber states: "All soldiers from all arms of service are now in uniform. Those who are not yet will receive a *mundire* – the military jacket from the Austrian government. From the staff officers to lower ranks ... (everyone) will wear the blue *šajkača* cap similar to our older so-called camp hat - *lagermutze* ..."¹³ In the military records of the Principality of Serbia from 1871, this cap has the name *border cap* (in the original: *graničarska kapa*, in reference to the Austrian Military Border and the Serbs who were the majority in many brigades). In one census, the price of "uniforms" on 7 April 1871, item 8 states: "The things that belong to a uniform: the *border cap* – *kapa graničarska*," whose price is 10 grosz.¹⁴ Later, on 5 June 1876, we find in the *Regulations on Military Clothes* for the entire army: "1. – About the hat: All the elders, without exception, have to wear a *šajkaši* cap (in the original: *šajkaška kapa*), which is mandatory for all the members of the national army. The officers who do not belong to the senior staff will also wear a dark blue *šajkaši* cap."¹⁵

Thus between 1871 and 1876, there was a transformation in the name of the border cap into the more specific *šajkaši* cap, from which it almost certainly became a *šajkača* in everyday speech. Vasić notes that in the files of the military budget from 1879, the cap was for the first time called the *šajkača* cap (*kapa šajkača*).¹⁶ It is also significant that the uniform of the national army or militia, which got its final shape during the liberation wars of 1876-1878, served as the basis for the future uniforms of the Serbian state army and later the Yugoslav Army, all the way to the Second World War period.¹⁷

In an interview with Dragomir Plečević,¹⁸ an *abadžija* or artisan who produced *šajkača* caps, he claimed that the name for the cap came from the term *šajak*.¹⁹ However, the important fact is that he had never heard of the *Šajkaši* Battalion, just like many other citizens of central Serbia, but he, as well as them, was familiar with the term *šajak*. When I asked him to tell me exactly what *šajak* was, he explained that it was a homemade cloth for making traditional dress and that it is no longer produced today. However, he emphasized that *šajak* was too rough for making a *šajkača*.

THE ŠAJKAČA AS A PART OF SERBIAN TRADITIONAL DRESS

Serbian ethnologists consider the *šajkača* an element of clothing that came into the traditional male costume from the military uniform. This happened at the time of the Serbo-Turkish²⁰ or liberation wars that were waged from 1876-1878 against the Ottoman Empire. Since all the peasants were under an obligation to

¹⁰ БУКИЋ, А. 1975, p. 199.

¹¹ БУКИЋ, А. 1975, pp. 199, 201.

¹² VASIĆ, P. 1958, pp. 123-148. ČELAP, L. 1964, pp. 129-143. БУКИЋ, А. 1975. НИКОЛИЋ, Д. 1978, 1962, pp. 122-126; 1971, pp. 157-171.

¹³ ČELAP, L. 1964, pp. 137-138.

¹⁴ VASIĆ, P. 1958, p. 136.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 146.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 147.

¹⁸ Oral source: Plečević Dragomir, Arandjelovac, 24. 12. 2017.

¹⁹ *Šajak* was homemade woolen cloth, of rough texture, designed for making elements of Serbian peasant clothing such as trousers and cloak.

²⁰ URL: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Serbo-Turkish-War> (quoted 20. 8. 2018).

perform military service, they received a cap and other parts of the uniform from the state. Desanka Nikolić notes, when considering the influence of military uniform on Serbian male traditional clothing, that before the *šajkača* there was another military influence: the *fes*, a small red cap originating from the Ottoman military uniform.²¹ The *fes* was a widespread hat in Serbian male clothing until the late 19th century, when the *šajkača* gradually replaced it. Pavle Vasić notes that by the end of the 19th century, the *fes* has disappeared from the traditional dress.²² However, the most widespread male hat was *šubara* – a fur cap made of black or white sheepskin.²³ Even today, we can see men with a *šubara* on their heads, and it is the hat that has lasted longest as an element of traditional male clothing among most communities in the Balkans.²⁴

In Šumadija, western Serbia and around the Morava Valley, parts of the military uniform were incorporated into traditional male clothing in the late 19th century. As Milka Jovanović notes, this was after the Serbo-Turkish wars (1876-1878).²⁵ At that time, the *šajkača* was adopted by the younger people who participated in the war and had to perform military service. Older men still wore a *fes*. The *šajkača* was made of blue cloth at that time, because the military uniform was blue. Interestingly, the blue cap was worn by the inhabitants of western Serbia, and they were recognized by it for a long time.²⁶ After the Balkan wars (1912-1913), and after WW1 men started wearing the *šajkača* in all parts of the liberated Serbia.²⁷

A CHANGE OF SHAPE

At first the *šajkača* was mass-produced in textile factories, together with the other parts of the uniform. Čelap's archival analyses show that in the Principality of Serbia, uniforms were firstly imported from Austria.²⁸ It is still unclear where it was made in the Kingdom of Serbia, but it was probably imported just like the other parts of the military uniform. We can assume that in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia it was made in textile factories in Leskovac and Paraćin. These factories, run by the Teokarević and Ilić families, supplied the Yugoslav

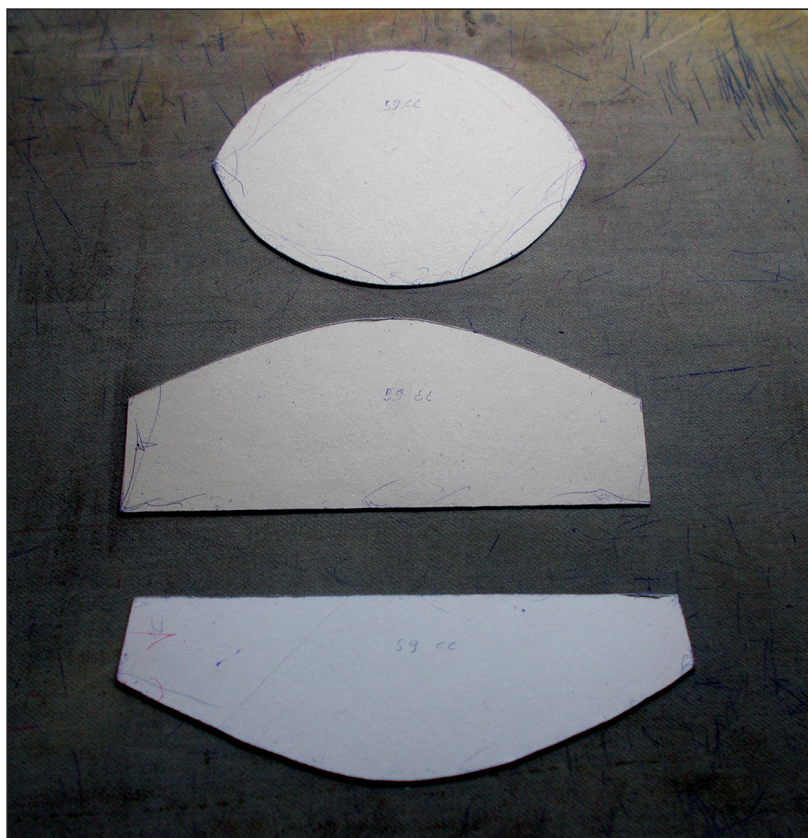


Image 2: Šajkača pattern, field photography, Aranđelovac, 24. 12. 2017. Courtesy of Dragomir Plečević (Photo: Katarina Radisavljević).

²¹ NIKOLIĆ, D. 1962, pp. 125-126.

²² VASIĆ, P. 1962, p. 117.

²³ JOVANOVIĆ, M. 1978, p. 58.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 211.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 58.

²⁶ Oral source: Plečević Dragomir, Aranđelovac, 24. 12. 2017.

²⁷ JOVANOVIĆ, M. 1978, p. 178.

²⁸ ČELAP, L. 1964, pp. 137-138.

army with cloth.²⁹ We can assume that the need for caps grew as their popularity grew. In time local artisans or *abadžije*, who had been making traditional clothes for centuries, started to make it, too. In Socialist Yugoslavia the *šajkača* was no longer a military cap, it was replaced by the *titovka*, a Partisan cap from WW2.

In Šumadija and most of western Serbia, the *šajkača* stayed local, and craftsmen continue to make it. But, the *abadžija* Dragoslav Plečević, from Aranđelovac, told me that he and his father before him made it from industrial cloth bought at the Paraćin textile factory³⁰ (the same factory where the state purchased textiles for the army). Nowadays, the *šajkača* is made of two types of materials: gabardine and kamgarn (worsted). Both materials have been used for making military uniforms, but there is a problem with the supply, because the Paraćin textile factory is no longer in operation. Mr Plečević said that the *šajkača* used to be much wider and with deeper sides. There was a difference between regions and even villages – e.g., in western Serbia whose population is called Ere, the *šajkača* was made of dark blue cloth, while in Šumadija (Central Serbia) it was gray-green. Today, the *šajkača* is mostly gray-green (army color).

The *šajkača* is made up of a twofold upright brim and bowl-shaped upper part which is drawn in, so that a characteristic hollow is formed in the middle, from the forehead to the back of the head.³¹ As military male headgear, the *šajkača* has the shape of a so-called ‘side cap’, which is “a foldable military cap”³² with foldable sides, which can be straightened for warming the ears and back of the head. The *šajkača* differs a bit from the side cap in that it has a flat top instead of the peaked one. The foldable sides of the cap were very useful. In earlier times, men wore a *fes* or fur cap, and in the winter they had to wrap a scarf around the head to protect their ears. Today, the cap sides are folded but they cannot be unfolded to cover the ears. Mr Plečević explained that the cap now has a solid form because of the fusible fleece which he puts on the inside of the folds. This simplifying of the design of the cap can be explained by a shift in its function. Nowadays, the *šajkača* is no longer worn in villages, but is part of the folk dance costume of Šumadija, and of course, belongs in the souvenir repertoire.

In an interview with the newspaper *Blic*, Mr Plečević says: “In the last few years, we have mostly been making the caps for folk-dance societies. The individuals who buy them are mostly younger men, and as a rule, I sell them most at the Guča festival.”³³ He also sells them at annual fairs across Serbia. There are no longer any differences in the cut and color, but there are new models, such as the *Mišićevka*, named after WW1 hero Marshal Živojin Mišić. This cap has a peak because it is an officer hat. Mr Plečević made it after he saw a portrait of Marshal Mišić in a museum. There is also the *Solunka* named after Serbian



Image 3: Contemporary types of *šajkača*, field photography, Aranđelovac, 24. 12. 2017. Courtesy of Dragoslav Plečević (Photo: Katarina Radisavljević).

²⁹ GAŠIĆ, R. 30. 3. 2018, web pp. 285, 286.

³⁰ Oral source: Plečević Dragomir, Aranđelovac, 24. 12. 2017.

³¹ PROŠIĆ-DVORNIĆ, M. 1989, p. 71.

³² URL: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Side_cap (quoted 30. 3. 2018).

³³ Blic, 27. 2. 2008, Petrović, M..

soldiers who fought on the Solun Front in 1917. This cap is much wider and rounded than the ordinary *šajkača*, and Mr Plećović made it by studying old army photographs.

SYMBOLISM OF THE ŠAJKAČA IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIA

Today we can consider the *šajkača* one of the key Serbian visual political symbols, which originates from peasant culture, together with the *opanak* – a simple leather shoe, the *gunj* – a peasant waistcoat and the *gusle* – a string instrument.³⁴ Anthropologist Slobodan Naumović notes that a national symbol which originates from the peasant culture suggests that at the moment of forming a country, the peasantry was the main force in the society, as was the case in 19th-century Serbia. The *šajkača* is thus connected with Serbian wars for independence from the Ottoman Empire. In the period referred to, which lasted from 1872 until 1913, most Serbian citizens had to perform military service, and most of them were peasants. So it is understandable that the simple cap together with another part of the uniform – riding breeches – became part of everyday life and an element of traditional peasant clothing. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the *šajkača* gained a symbolical role in political life as a symbol of fighting for national independence and freedom, especially in the Balkan wars and the Great War.

Today, the *šajkača* as a symbol has different meanings in different social groups. Unfortunately, it acquired a negative meaning in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. In everyday life, some people in Serbia may despise it as a symbol of militarism, misguided national aspirations or just primitivism. On the other hand, elderly citizens of Šumadija region, like Mr Plećović, and my father-in-law Mr Andrija Radisavljević, associate the *šajkača* with their local identity, so for them it has what could be called a neutral symbolism.

CONCLUSION

The paper analyzes a significant element of Serbian traditional male costume, the *šajkača* cap. Today, the cap is recognized widely as a symbol of national identity. The *šajkača* originated from the military uniform of the Principality of Serbia, or more precisely from the period when the national army or militia was established in 1866. The paper considers the origins of the cap and its name. In contemporary explanations there are two interpretations. One links the name and the appearance of the cap with the *Šajkaši* Battalion. The other claims that the name of the hat originates from the type of traditional cloth – *šajak*. Earlier research established that the connection with the *Šajkaši* Battalion is in the name of the cap, while the appearance of the *šajkača* originates from the military uniform created in Europe in the mid-19th century. Serbian ethnologists consider the *šajkača* as an element of clothing that came into the traditional male costume from the military uniform. This happened at the time of the Serbian-Turkish or liberation wars of 1876-1878, waged against the Ottoman Empire. Today the *šajkača* is one of the key Serbian visual political symbols, originating from peasant culture, together with the *opanak* – a simple leather shoe, the *gunj* – a peasant waistcoat and the *gusle* – a string instrument. The *šajkača* gained that symbolical role in political life at a national level in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. It was a recognizable element in fighting for national independence and freedom, especially in the Balkan wars and the Great War.

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LEGENDA O ŠAJKAČI – ZNAMENITI SRBSKI ČEPICI

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek analizira pomemben element srbske tradicionalne moške noše: *šajkačo* – pokrivalo, široko prepoznavno kot simbol narodne identitete. V analizi se posvečamo dvema sledema. Prva se nanaša na izvor imena čepice. Druga se ukvarja s preoblikovanjem *šajkače* iz dela uniforme v narodni simbol in sestavni del tradicionalne narodne noše Srbije. *Šajkača* je izhajala iz vojaške uniforme Kneževine Srbije ali natančneje iz obdobja, ko je bila leta 1872 ustanovljena narodna vojska oziroma milica. Država je zagotovila nekatere dele uniforme za vse moške državljane, ki so bili po zakonu dolžni služiti vojaški rok, vključno s pokrivalom, ki ga danes poznamo po imenu *šajkača*.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

šajkača, uniforma, srbska moška noša, narodni simbol

POVZETEK

Prispevek analizira pomemben element srbske tradicionalne moške noše, *šajkače*. Danes je čepica znana kot simbol narodne identitete. *Šajkača* izhaja iz vojaške uniforme Kneževine Srbije ali natančneje iz obdobja, ko je bila leta 1866 ustanovljena narodna vojska oziroma milica. Članek se posveča izvoru čepice in njenega imena. V sodobnih raziskavah obstajata dve razlagi. Prva povezuje ime in videz čepice s Šajkaškim bataljonom. Druga trdi, da ime pokrivala izhaja iz vrste tradicionalne tkanine, imenovane *šajak*. Zgodnje raziskave ugotavljajo, da je Šajkaški bataljon povezan z imenom čepice, medtem ko videz *šajkače* izvira iz vojaške uniforme, ustvarjene v Evropi sredi 19. stoletja. Srbski etnologi menijo, da je *šajkača* kos oblačila, ki je v tradicionalno moško nošo prešel iz vojaške uniforme. To naj bi se zgodilo v času srbsko-turških ali osvobodilnih vojn v letih 1876–1878, ki so jih vodili proti Osmanskemu cesarstvu. Danes je *šajkača* eden ključnih srbskih političnih likovnih simbolov, ki izvirajo iz kmečke kulture, skupaj z *opanakom* – preprostim usnjenim čevljem, *gunjem* – kmečkim telovnikom, in *guslami* – godalnim glasbilom. *Šajkača* je simbolno vlogo pridobila v političnem življenju na nacionalni ravni v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji. Bila je prepoznavni simbol v boju za nacionalno neodvisnost in svobodo, zlasti v Balkanskih vojnah in v prvi svetovni vojni.

THE MARK OF THE AIRBORNE BROTHERHOOD: THE MEANING AND IDENTITY OF THE RED BERET*

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Short scientific article (1.03)

ABSTRACT

The red beret is an international symbol for airborne troops. While this piece of uniform was deliberately chosen as a signifier to raise *esprit de corps*, a feeling of pride and mutual loyalty among British airborne troops in 1942, its inventors could not have foreseen how successful it would become as around forty countries have embraced it since. In 2017 the Airborne Museum Hartenstein presented an exhibition about the meaning of the red beret. Why was it chosen? What did it mean during the Second World War? What does it currently mean? And what connects the current wearers of the beret to the subject of the Airborne Museum Hartenstein: veterans of the Battle of Arnhem?

KEYWORDS

berets, red beret, Second World War, Battle of Arnhem, *esprit de corps*, airborne troops

INTRODUCTION

The Airborne Museum Hartenstein is a Dutch museum devoted to the Battle of Arnhem that took place from 17 to 26 September 1944. In 2017, the museum presented an exhibition on the cultural significance of the red beret. This topic was significant to the museum since the troops of the British 1st Airborne Division wore red berets during the Battle of Arnhem, and since then this simple piece of personal equipment has become an international symbol for the brotherhood of airborne troops. It has become a symbol for endurance, determination and aggressiveness. A British Pathé newsreel from 1944 was named “Red Devils at Arnhem”, for instance, and many books have been published since with a title inspired by the same theme. Partly a result of the lost battle of Arnhem, the red beret has been adopted from the British Parachute Forces’ uniform and has become a symbol for airborne troops around the globe.

Although the berets that were worn were actually maroon, the Red Beret has been exported around the world, also exporting the legacy of the British airborne troops in the process. Other items of personal kit have grown to a comparable mythical status. The green beret, worn by commandos and special forces, has a comparable international status among serving and retired soldiers as an indicator of elite training. But the red beret stands out, as it has a clear connection with some of the most striking acts of the Second World War. How was this tradition started, and what defines this typical airborne brotherhood? Why was this beret chosen in the first place?

In this article these research questions, posed in the 2017 exhibition, will be answered. Why was the beret chosen? What did it mean during the Second World War? What does it currently mean? And what connects the current wearers of the beret to the veterans of the Battle of Arnhem? In the first part, the questions regarding the historical background will be answered. In the second part the current meaning will be researched, with the help of the exhibition presented in the Airborne Museum Hartenstein.

THE AIRBORNE MUSEUM AND THE RED BERET

The Airborne Museum Hartenstein was established in 1949 with the aim of preserving and retelling the cultural history of the Battle of Arnhem. The museum has a wide collection of militaria, ranging from parts of

* Translation: Nathan Piccirillo

uniform such as helmets, to weapons and small vehicles. While the military perspectives from British troops have always been the central topic in the museum, the experiences of Dutch civilians — who saw their houses and property destroyed or who were literally trapped within the fighting — are coming to the forefront both in exhibitions and in historical research conducted by the museum. During recent years, the horizon has broadened further as the perspectives of the former enemies — that is the Germans — are also involved in the museum. In all projects there is an increasing emphasis on personal stories. In this context of a more personalized narrative, the museum set out to present a history of the Red Beret.

The Battle of Arnhem was part of a bigger operation known as Operation Market Garden. After the Battle of Normandy and the subsequent Allied push in the direction of Germany, Market Garden was an attempt to secure forward positions in German occupied territory. The plan was to capture a series of bridges in the Netherlands and to hold them, creating a corridor through which ground forces could advance. American divisions needed to capture bridges near Eindhoven and Nijmegen, both to the south of Arnhem, while the British 1st Airborne Division needed to capture the northernmost bridge, deepest into enemy territory, the grand prize: the road bridge in Arnhem spanning the River Rhine. If all the bridges were held, ground forces could then advance from the Belgian border along the corridor into Germany. That at least was the plan.

The operation failed dramatically. Only a small fraction of the British 1st Airborne Division was able to reach the city. They subsequently fought a very fierce battle close to the bridge. After numerous efforts to relieve the troops fighting near the bridge, the rest of the division set up a defensive perimeter to the west, in the nearby town of Oosterbeek. The divisional headquarters was set up in the Hartenstein manor house, the villa that since 1978 has housed the Airborne Museum. It was during this heroic battle of survival that the airborne troops — with their Red Berets — distinguished themselves. It was an important moment in the creation of this iconic piece of kit.

Different styles of the beret had long stood for exclusive groups before the adaptation of the red beret by airborne forces. A black beret decorated with badges, known in French as the *faluche*, is traditionally worn by French university students. In Eugène Delacroix's painting *Liberty Leading the People*, a young man stands to the side of the revolutionary figure of Lady Liberty, holding a gun in the air and a black beret on his head.¹ His beret signifies not an elite military group, but rather a civilian group called to arms in the midst of a revolutionary struggle. After their appearance among irregular militia, the beret was adopted by official armies. Soldiers loyal to the Spanish Bourbon dynasty in Spain wore either a blue or a red beret in the 1833 Carlist Civil War.² The uniform differentiated the monarchists from their opposition in an early example of the beret serving as a signifier of *esprit de corps*. The beret reappeared in the uniform of the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War of 1936, also in opposition to their fascist rivals. Take, for example, the photography of Robert Capa during that war: his renowned photo, known colloquially as *The Falling Soldier* is a highlight in his time in Spain. Among the many pictures are Loyalist Spanish Forces donning a beret in combat.³ After the end of World War I, the British Royal Tank Regiment wore black berets, as headgear when they were not in battle. These berets were easy to wear and easy to carry around; more importantly, they could easily be produced in different colors.⁴

When Frederick Browning was appointed as commander of the new 1st Airborne Division in 1942, he was convinced that his new formation needed its own identity. According to historian and biographer Richard Mead, Browning saw discipline and *esprit de corps* as essential to success in the field of any military formation. In earlier years Browning served with the Grenadier Guards, a British regiment with a particular strong identity (the history of the regiment dates back to the middle of the seventeenth century). While serving with this regiment, he must have been introduced to this concept of *esprit de corps*. Browning wanted to build a new identity to which every rank, from private to officer, could relate. According to Mead, Browning realized that headgear would be a good item of the kit to standardize and to reflect this identity for these highly specialized troops. The black beret of the British Royal Tank Regiment proved to be the piece of kit Browning needed.

¹ ZELAZKO, A. 2018, *Liberty Leading the People*, Encyclopaedia Britannica on the Web, 3. 5. 2018, p. 1, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Liberty-Leading-the-People> (quoted 11. 9. 2018).

² ESPOSITO, G. 2017, p. 45.

³ WHELAN, R. 2007, pp. 53-88, 134-206.

⁴ MEAD, R. 2017, pp. 70-71.

BUILDING *ESPRIT DE CORPS*: THE RED BERET

During the early years of the Second World War airborne troops were a novelty. It was the Soviet Army that initially pioneered the concept of parachute or airborne infantry. In 1936 a British group of army officials witnessed a large scale parachute drop in Russia. They found it a spectacular show, but in a report afterwards doubted the tactical advantage. Germany, however, was experimenting with airborne troops already in 1936. These German airborne troops were used during the *Blitzkrieg* campaign in the West and saw action in the Netherlands and Belgium during the summer of 1940. The French army in the meantime also developed their own airborne force.⁵

It was evident that these troops who attacked from the sky had serious drawbacks. The German command themselves were very critical regarding the results of their Dutch campaign. Winston Churchill — prime minister of the United Kingdom — would be the deciding factor in the institution of Britain's own airborne forces. By early August the first British parachute soldiers were being trained, and in 1941 the 1st Parachute Brigade was raised. Transfer to this new branch of the army was on a voluntarily basis, and all recruits that were trained in their new airborne role retained their old kit. They wore badges from their parent regiments on the fronts of their new berets, so their uniforms were not really uniform at all. As one eyewitness put it: "They wore head-gear of every known regiment of the British Army."⁶ The wide assortment of badges from previous regiments marked every new parachute soldier in a unique way, creating a wild visual mix in an otherwise uniform dress.

The various badges would be unified by their base: the Red Beret, which was destined for worldwide renown. The actual choice was for a darker red, a maroon red beret. The Red Berets, nevertheless, rose to worldwide renown. The choice is surrounded by some controversy. One explanation states that it was Browning's wife, British novelist Daphne du Maurier, who suggested maroon, as it was a color used by one of Brownings' race-horses. Although it makes a telling story, Du Maurier herself denied it after the war. A more likely explanation is that Browning's staff made a selection of colors including maroon red and Cambridge light blue. A committee, then, had to make the final decision, but was inspired by a private who modeled the berets and who preferred the maroon color. Browning was very eager to get production going, but bureaucracy slowed things down. During a meeting with his staff in February 1942, he stated that senior officers already agreed with the uniform change and that the War Office should proceed in granting the permission. On 29 July 1942 the red beret was finally taken up in the Army Council Instruction, and the first berets became available by May 1942.⁷

The airborne troops were first put to the test during a commando raid in France and the campaign in North Africa. In North Africa they received their illustrious nickname: *The Red Devils*. It is striking that this nickname was given by their adversaries. The troops, with their newly issued berets, instilled fear in their enemies. There is also room for discussion regarding their nickname. The question whether the term red devils referred to the red desert sand or to their red berets still goes unanswered. Frederick Browning concluded however: "Such distinctions given by the enemy are seldom won in battle except by the finest fighting troops."⁸ The stage was set, the nickname stuck around, and the illustrious reputation of the airborne troops grew even further. It was during the campaign in Normandy in the summer of 1944 that troops of the 6th Airborne Division, with their red berets, landed by glider very close to the Bénouville bridge (or Pegasus bridge) that they needed to capture. During the Battle of Arnhem the red beret became a synonym for endurance, fortitude and grit.

Browning thus succeeded in his plan to build *esprit de corps* with the Red Beret. There are countless testimonies about members of the division receiving their berets and the joy they felt when they were allowed to wear it. Their reflections on this moment create a sense of a coming of age within the division, a moment that has been called the "glamour of the Red Beret."⁹ Or as a veteran of the Battle of Arnhem put it: "The beret became the mark of an elite unit."¹⁰ The beret would now serve to distinguish the completed training, a prerequisite for the elite troop. The exclusivity behind it enforced the strong sense of *esprit de corps*.

⁵ ROYAL AIR FORCE, 1951, pp. 1-2, 225-229.

⁶ GEORGE SAUNDERS, H. St. 1950, p. 52.

⁷ MEAD, R. 2017, pp. 70-71, FISHER, D., LOCK, O. 2013 pp. 6-7.

⁸ THOMPSON, J. 1989, p. 69.

⁹ GEORGE SAUNDERS, H. St. 1950, p. 53.

¹⁰ HICKS, N. 2013, p. 61.

The red beret served as a unifier among somewhat divided airborne soldiers. Both parachute infantry and glider borne infantry built up airborne forces and were part of the airborne divisions. To be able to be dropped in the warzone by parachute, parachute infantry received additional training and additional emblems to prove that they had fulfilled this specialized training. As said, infantry that were carried by gliders were also part of the airborne divisions. Logistically, it simply was not possible to drop certain parts of the division by parachute: artillery pieces and jeeps could not be thrown out of an aircraft. This equipment and the people that worked with it were brought to the battlefield by glider. Gliders also brought in some infantry battalions. Furthermore, the glider pilots were also part of the division and were trained to join the battle after they successfully landed their glider. It was the red beret that unified all these different parts within the airborne division; whether they were the light anti-tank gun operators, divisional cooks or pathfinders, who were the first to be dropped by parachute and marked the landing terrains, they all wore red berets. Or as an Arnhem veteran put it: "That special *esprit de corps* was beginning to take a really good hold now between us airborne men."¹¹

THE RED BERET AS AN INTERNATIONAL SYMBOL

After the Second World War, the British Army maintained its Airborne Forces. While there were changes within the different divisions, regiments and brigades, the troops still kept their red beret. What is striking, however, is that different armies from around the world adopted the red beret for their own airborne forces. The *esprit de corps* that Browning tried to create so deliberately was simply taken abroad. While it is difficult to trace back this international tendency, as the literature on this topic in recent history is sparse, the history of the American airborne troops might serve as an example for a worldwide development.

The American airborne troops were as new to the action as the British. They were also raised at the beginning of the Second World War, and took part in all major war theaters. Interestingly enough, already in 1943 Browning granted a battalion of the American 509th Parachute Regiment the right to wear the red beret. Then, during the Vietnam War, Airborne troops were sent in to advise the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (the side fighting the Vietcong and that was allied with the United States). These airborne advisers wore the red beret. From 1973, the American Army encouraged the use of unofficial morale building headgear, and subsequently the red beret was used on a bigger scale among other airborne troops, signifying the cultural significance the red beret had at that stage. After a short ban from 1979, American airborne troops were again allowed to wear the red beret.¹² Even during the Second World War, the beret was important to a very small portion of the American Airborne troops. During the later years, other airborne troops gradually adopted the beret, which was finalized by an official decision in 1980.

Perhaps the most striking example is the use of the red beret by Polish airborne forces. Polish paratroopers also fought during the Battle of Arnhem. While the Polish 1st Independent Parachute Brigade was initially formed to play a role during the liberation of Poland, the brigade was attached to the British 1st Airborne Division to participate in Operation Market Garden. The brigade used British uniforms, but they did not wear the red beret. Instead, they wore grey beret with a Polish eagle as cap badge. Interestingly enough, the current Polish paratroopers wear a red beret. The grey beret is still in use in the Polish Army, but it is currently worn by an anti-terrorism unit. The adoption of the red beret for Polish paratroopers shows that the red beret became such a strong international symbol that it came to replace their own regimental or national history. The picture at commemorations is very striking: the last of the surviving Polish World War Two veterans who are able to travel to the commemorations proudly continue to wear their grey berets, while the Polish ceremonial guard of honour proudly wear their red berets.

Airborne forces around the world adopted the tradition that was started by the British airborne troops during the Second World War. The red beret became an international symbol for airborne troops around the world, and still connects them today. Currently the English Wikipedia page on the Red Beret has descriptions of 44 countries that have adopted the beret as their headdress when not in battle. Countries ranging from the United States of America to Chile and Slovakia, all adopted the beret.¹³

¹¹ CURTIS, R. 2014, p. 50.

¹² U. S. ARMY, A history of the use of berets in the U.S. Army, URL: <https://web.archive.org/web/20141001071949/http://www.army.mil/features/beret/beret.htm> (quoted 5. 3. 2017).

¹³ WIKIPEDIA, Maroon Beret, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maroon_beret (quoted 6. 2. 2018).

DUTCH RED BERETS

When the Dutch Airmobile Brigade was formed in 1992, it was an easy decision to equip them with a red beret. The Dutch army had already experimented with airborne forces, right after the Second World War. During the Indonesian National Revolution of 1945-1949, Dutch airborne troops captured strategic strong-points such as bridges or airports. For instance in the assault on the airport of Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Dutch parachute infantry played an instrumental role. These forces were part of the Special Forces and the Royal Dutch Indonesian Army (or KNIL) and wore a red beret. Somehow, the beret was not used on a grand scale in the Dutch army after their mission in Indonesia.

During the Cold War, the Dutch retained a large standing army with many conscripts. It was only a matter of time before the Soviet armies would invade the Western free world, so it was important to have a large reserve able to withstand the expected grand scale attack from the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union imploded in 1990, reorientation was needed. It was decided that the Netherlands did not need a large army filled with conscripts, but needed a specialist and quickly deployable army. Airborne troops would be the solution. During the spring of 1992 the Dutch red berets were re-issued.

Currently, the brigade is known as an extremely tough one. The training of the red berets approaches the training of Special Forces (such as commandos and marines) in both physical and mental expectations. While the expectations seem high, these troops are, generally speaking, dropped behind enemy lines, and they need to rely on their own fitness, skill and determination. Often it can be days or even weeks before reinforcements reach them, just as was the case during the Battle of Arnhem. Since the formation of the brigade in 1992, it has been deployed numerous times, with the conflict in Yugoslavia and Srebrenica serving as important formational moments. The brigade has been deployed endlessly in modern engagements: in recent years Iraq, Afghanistan and Mali.

The Airmobile Brigade tried to emphasize their link with the Battle of Arnhem, and thus their link with the tradition of the British paratroopers. Two of the three battalions are based around Arnhem, forging a strong regional tie. Furthermore, these battalions played an integral role during the yearly commemorations of the Battle of Arnhem, serving for instance as ceremonial guards and participating in the commemorative parachute drop at Ginkel Heath. Lastly and most importantly, the training of the new recruits is ended with a commemoration at the Airborne Cemetery in Oosterbeek. During the final march of their training, the recruits are taken to the cemetery where the Battle of Arnhem is being remembered, to create an even stronger connection with the Battle of Arnhem and the British tradition.

BRIDGING THE GAP: DISPLAYING RED BERETS FROM 1944 AND 2017

2017 marked the 75th anniversary of the Red Beret and the 25th anniversary of the Dutch Airmobile Brigade, making the *esprit de corps* and the cultural significance of the red beret a suitable topic for an exhibition. The Airborne Museum Hartenstein set out to create an exhibition about the cultural meaning of the Red Beret, then and now. What did the beret mean during the war? Why is it used by so many airborne troops around the world? What does the beret mean to the current Dutch troops wearing it? And how do they reflect on the Battle of Arnhem and the British tradition in general?

The exhibition was divided into two parts: the foundation of the British airborne troops was shown in the first part. The history of the foundation of the British airborne troops was shown through an introductory text, supported by different objects. As not many veterans of the Battle of Arnhem are still alive, this part of the exhibit relied heavily on written accounts and secondary literature. Still, the special *esprit de corps* instilled in the British airborne troops during the Second World War was the primary motif introduced in the first part of the exhibit.

The second part comprised the history of the Dutch Airmobile Brigade, and it revolved around the current meaning of the red beret. The question posed was: what is the significance of the red beret to members of the brigade? The question was answered in several interviews with current and former members of the brigade. These eyewitnesses and their personal narratives were chosen to symbolize certain key moments in the history of the Dutch Airmobile Brigade. Their personal stories were further supported by personal items that were

displayed in the exhibition. Through the interviews, the museum hoped to explore the current cultural meaning of the red beret among the Dutch wearers and further explore the possible links with international heritage of the red beret. What does the red beret mean to them and how do they reflect on the international brotherhood of airborne troops? A few reflections of the people interviewed for the exhibition will be described.

Carlo was involved with the brigade right from the start. As an air force officer, he was instrumental in making helicopters available to train the first elements in their airborne role. While he was involved with the brigade from the outset and worked very closely with them, he remained an outsider as he was still serving with the Dutch Air Force. At times he was mocked by members of the brigade, as he wore a different uniform and, more importantly, different headgear. For this reason he decided to sign up as a volunteer, to prove that he was fit enough to be able to earn the red beret. While the Air Force knew he was trying to pass the training, problems began to arise when Carlo became likely to pass. It was settled that he would wear his red beret, but with an air force clasp: a combination worn only by Carlo in the Netherlands.¹⁴ His styled version of otherwise uniform headgear is reminiscent of the British Parachute Regiment volunteers retaining a badge on their new berets, which marked their original regiments.

Andrea was chosen for the exhibition as she is one of the few female members of the brigade. Unlike the Special Forces, women in the Netherlands are eligible to join the Airmobile Brigade. However, they need to pass the same physical tests as the male recruits. Andrea was very eager to pass the training and when she did, the moment of receiving the beret was very emotional to her. Her personal object in the exhibition was the gas cooker that she used on several missions to cook food for herself and her comrades, reflecting on the brotherhood she feels with her fellow Red Berets.¹⁵

Hylke is a door-gunner in a Chinook helicopter, and recently joined the brigade. Only the airmobile brigade has soldiers with this specialism, making him a specialist among specialists. For him, the beret symbolized professionalism, discipline, being able to be deployed around the world at any moment.¹⁶ Rolf was with one of the first airborne classes of 1992 and still serves with the brigade. For him, the beret symbolizes a bond formed during the training, because the hardships that were endured together. He also mentioned that through the beret you know who you can trust. He called it a true brotherhood.¹⁷

Jos served with the brigade from 1996 to 2011. He was sent to Yugoslavia and served with the United Nations. He was taken hostage for 28 days by Bosnian Serb forces. For Jos, the beret symbolized comradeship.¹⁸

Among the interviewees was Dani a top pupil of the latest draft of recruits. He was the most promising soldier, who finished the harsh training as one of the best of his class. He even finished the training with one of his metatarsals broken. He was included in the exhibition to symbolize the level of commitment and strength that is requested by the brigade. For him the red beret symbolized persistence. He also reflected on the ceremony on the Airborne Cemetery during the last phase of his training. He saw it as part of the history of the Dutch Airmobile Brigade. He perceived the end of the training, when he finally received his red beret, as a very emotional moment.¹⁹ His personal item in the exhibition was the prize that he won when he was chosen as the best recruit of his class.

CONCLUSION

During the interviews, the current and former soldiers reflected on the red beret. They saw it as a symbol for professionalism and their elite status. Some also referred to the international airborne brotherhood and felt that they were part of it. The Second World War and the Battle of Arnhem were also mentioned in their reflections. This British military history played only a minor part, however, they knew it happened and knew about the links that were forged, but they did not see it as part of their identity.

¹⁴ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Carlo (22. 5. 2017).

¹⁵ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Andrea (22. 5. 2017).

¹⁶ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Hylke (22. 5. 2017).

¹⁷ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Rolf (22. 5. 2017).

¹⁸ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Jos (22. 5. 2017).

¹⁹ AAMH, Archive Airborne Museum Hartenstein, Collection Oral History, Interview with Dani (22. 5. 2017).

During the Second World War, Browning set out to create a specific identity, a newly created airborne specialism within the British army. Countless testimonies showed that he succeeded in his efforts. This is proved in popular histories about the war. Browning's effort was so successful that the concept of red berets worn by airborne troops was exported around the world.

While Browning and his Red Devils of Arnhem undoubtedly were the example that other airborne units followed, the red beret as a symbol has been detached from its original example. As is so often the case with symbols and motives from the past, the red beret has lost its original meaning and has established a meaning of its own.

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ZNAMENJE LETALSKE BRATOVŠČINE: POMEN IN IDENTITETA RDEČE BARETKE

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Kratek znanstveni članek (1.03)

IZVLEČEK

Rdeča baretka je mednarodni simbol pripadnikov letalskih sil. Ko so ta kos uniforme namensko izbrali za simbol krepitve pripadnosti, ponosa in medsebojne lojalnosti med britanskimi letalskimi vojaki leta 1942, njegovi izumitelji niso mogli predvideti, kako uspešen bo postal, saj ga je odtlej prevzelo že okoli štirideset držav. Leta 2017 je Letalski muzej Hartenstein pripravil razstavo o pomenu rdeče baretke. Zakaj so jo izbrali za simbol? Kaj je pomenila med drugo svetovno vojno? Kaj pomeni danes? In kaj povezuje trenutne nosilce baretke z vsebino Letalskega muzeja Hartenstein: z veterani bitke pri Arnhemu?

KLJUČNE BESEDE

baretke, rdeča baretka, druga svetovna vojna, bitka pri Arnhemu, *esprit de corps*, letalske sile

POVZETEK

Med intervjuji so sedanji in nekdanji vojaki podali svoja razmišljanja o rdeči baretki. Razumeli so jo kot simbol profesionalnosti in njihovega elitnega statusa. Nekateri so omenjali tudi mednarodno letalsko bratstvo in menili, da so del tega. V sklopu svojih razmišljanj so pripovedovali tudi o drugi svetovni vojni in Bitki za Arnhem. Britanska vojaška zgodovina pa je igrala le manjšo vlogo; vedeli so, kaj se je zgodilo in poznali so povezave v zvezi z njo, vendar je niso razumeli kot del svoje identitete.

Med drugo svetovno vojno se je Browning odločil ustvariti svojevrstno identiteto, novo posebno zračno enoto v britanski vojski. Nešteta pričevanja izkazujejo, da mu je uspelo. To dokazujejo tudi poljudne zgodovinske knjige o vojni. Browningova prizadevanja so bila tako uspešna, da se je koncept rdečih baretk, ki jih nosijo pripadniki letalskih sil, množično izvažal v svet.

Medtem ko so Browning in njegovi Rdeči hudiči Arnhema nedvomno poosebljali zgled, ki so mu sledile druge letalske enote, pa se je rdeča baretka kot simbol ločila od prvotne zgodovinske povezave. Kot je pogosto pri simbolih in motivih iz preteklosti, je rdeča baretka izgubila svoj prvotni pomen in ustvarila lastnega.

IN THE SERVICE OF THE TAILCOAT

Dr Izidor Cankar's diplomatic tailcoat*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The article presents the historical and fashion development of the ceremonial jacket for men – the tailcoat – and its use in various posts and civilian life. The design of the tailcoat originates in the 18th century, when it was part of the military uniform of officers. In the mid-17th century it spread among the bourgeoisie, while in the 19th century it became part of everyday wear. Since the second half of the 19th century, the tailcoat has remained a formal garment, intended for official evening occasions, festivities and similar events. The article describes in detail the use of the tailcoat in the employ of the diplomatic service of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, focusing on the tailcoat that belonged to Dr Izidor Cankar, the Kingdom's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

KEYWORDS

clothing culture, fashion, tailcoat, military uniform, civilian uniform, diplomacy

INTRODUCTION

MEN'S TAILCOAT

The tailcoat is a men's jacket of special design, the front of which is waist length, while the back is extended and divided into two tails, reaching down to the knees. It first appeared in the 18th century, originally as part of officers' uniform. Around 1670 it spread among the bourgeoisie. It was monochromatic and men accompanied it with light-coloured breeches. Long trousers only appeared in the early 19th century. In the mid-19th century, the tailcoat appeared in various lighter shades (brown, blue, green) and was considered an everyday garment. After 1850, it became an exclusively evening garment, in black, worn with a white pique waistcoat and a black top hat.¹

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAILCOAT

The tailcoat's predecessor was a jacket called a *justaucorps*, which developed from a uniform. During the war period of the 17th century, military units wore jackets and coats that resembled civilian garments. In 1670, the French army acquired a new uniform. It included a newly designed top garment, which had to be close-fitting due to the new way of combat. It was called a *justaucorps*, which in French means narrowly fitting the body. The coat had a flared skirt down to the knees, was straight at the front and decorated with embroidery. The infantry wore grey coats, the artillery azure blue, and the cavalry brightly coloured coats with a contrasting trim. This uniform was soon imitated by other European nations and the *justaucorps* soon appeared also as a civilian top garment.²

Around 1680, the coat acquired three slits. The one in the middle of the back eased sitting in the saddle, while the slits on the left and right hip were necessary because of the position of the sword. Between 1700 and 1720 the cuffs reached up to the elbows, while the skirt flared in a bell-like manner away from the hips. The edge and corners of the skirt were clipped at the front below the waist, so that the coat was fastened only in the top part, down to the waist. The fronts of the skirt began to be folded back for riding and fastened with a button. After 1770, there appeared standing collars. After 1786, the coat became wider in the shoulders, the sleeves became narrower and longer, while towards the end of the century the collars became exceptionally high and standing.³

*Translation: David Limon

¹ KYBALOVA, L. 1966, p. 531.

² MAJER, N. 2006, p. 8.

³ THIEL, E. 1963, p. 423.

While the English retained the tailcoat's simplicity and comfort, the French decorated it with lace, embroidery and other materials, and so it soon became a garment intended for different occasions and parts of the day.⁴

The changes introduced after 1790 created the basis for the present form of the tailcoat. The sleeves became narrow, the cuffs and side creases disappeared. Double breasted tailcoats began to appear, while the front tails of the skirt that had been folded back were now cut off and the waistline was shaped into an arch. In the 19th century the waist became horizontal and in the corners transitioned into a vertical line of the tails.⁵

Between 1790 and 1850, the tailcoat was a day and evening garment. It was worn either fastened or unfastened. Around 1803, the shape in the form of the letter M was fashionable and, after a short break, again became popular around 1870. Often, the tailcoat was worn with a tall, wingtip collar. The sleeves were narrow, slightly gathered on the shoulders. The tailcoat had a slightly wider chest section and narrower waistline, and sometimes men wore a corset under the tailcoat to emphasise their slim waistline.⁶

Around 1850, during the Biedermeier period, a single- or double-breasted waistcoat, a white shirt with a tall collar and narrow long trousers were worn with the tailcoat. Men tied a cravat around their neck, and wore spats on their feet and a top hat on their head. After 1850, the tailcoat did not experience any considerable changes. A corset was no longer used, the sleeves remained narrow and pipe-shaped with slits. The double breasted fastening with lapels was also retained.⁷

The cut in the waistline, slits and two material-covered buttons at the waistline have been preserved to this day. The tails began at the side and followed an arch to the back, ending knee high. The lapels were pointed, made of black satin. It had two rows of three material-covered buttons that were never fastened.⁸

Since 1880, the tailcoat has remained a formal garment, intended for official evening occasions and events.⁹

In modern times, the tailcoat is usually worn after five in the afternoon. It is worn for various festivities and special events (receptions in closed spaces, charitable balls, festive evenings, concerts, academic festivities, balls, etc.). The modern tailcoat must be made from black material and designed in such a way that the front ends at the waistline, while the back is elongated. The trousers have two black silk stripes running down the side. The tailcoat is worn with a white shirt with a festive collar and a white waistcoat.¹⁰

⁴ THIEL, E. 1963, p. 438.

⁵ MAJER, N. 2006, p. 10.

⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷ Ibid., p. 11.

⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰ PISANI, L. 2010, p. 13.



Image 1: Biedermaier tailcoat, Fashion collection, Regional museum Maribor (Photo: Maja Hren Brvar).

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE TAILCOAT IN SLOVENIA

The early form of the tailcoat in Slovenia can be found in the late 18th century. At the turn of the century, typical men's clothing included a tailcoat with a standing collar and revers, while another characteristic was large buttons and a short waistcoat. This fashion was reminiscent of the justaucorps. Men also wore narrow breeches and white socks, low shoes with a clasp and a wide tricorne which showed signs of turning into a bicorne.¹¹

The main men's garment worn by the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in the first two decades of the 19th century in Slovenia was the tailcoat. Long trousers reached up to the tailcoat's waist, while the shirt collar was high and the waistcoat was also fastened high. Men wore a cravat around the neck, high or low boots on their feet, and a top hat on their head.¹²

Farmers modelled themselves on the town fashions. In the 1840s sources show tailcoats made of rough material.¹³

According to a written record from 1842, the nobility and bourgeoisie in Styria followed the English fashion in their hunting attire: they wore red tailcoats and breeches made of white leather, with turn-down cuff boots and a black velvet cap.¹⁴

¹¹ VRIŠER, A. 1993, p. 44.

¹² BAŠ, A. 1987, p. 148.

¹³ Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁴ Mode, Der Aufmerksame XXXI, Grätz 1842, p. 134.

In the Empire period a tailcoat with a tall, turned collar became popular. During the Biedermeier period this type of collar was used mostly by older men, who did not dress according to the latest fashion, but insisted on the old designs. Their tailcoats were mostly black, dark blue or brown, sometimes with metal and gold-plated buttons.¹⁵

After the Empire period, the tailcoat changed slightly. The collar became lower, the gathered shoulders disappeared. The waistcoats had a folded revers, while the points on the shirt collar sticking out of the cravats increasingly became longer. This is how the collar known as *Vatermörder* (father killer) appeared, which can sometimes still be seen at special occasions. The revers of the collars were wide and often fastened on the chest. As through the decades the tailcoat collar became lower, the revers became narrower, while the m-notch revers was also fashionable.¹⁶

During the Biedermeier period in Slovenia men wore mainly tailcoats and redingotes. A top hat, which appeared as the Empire period bicorne's successor, was also obligatory. The tailcoat and redingote inherited from the previous period a high collar and sleeves gathered on the shoulder. The tailcoat's tails could be long or short, the tailors also put a great deal of effort into the coats' revers. The men's attire of that time also included a shirt, cravat and waistcoat, which was the main element of men's elegance.¹⁷

After the 1850s, men's tailcoats were increasingly considered a garment suitable for formal occasions. Shirt collars had characteristic points that protruded, which remained in fashion with tailcoats, while with everyday wear flat collars prevailed.¹⁸

THE TAILCOAT AS A MILITARY UNIFORM

In the 18th century, the development of urban fashion is closely connected with the contemporary development of uniforms. Both civilian fashions and uniforms had the same goal: making a practical garment that was elegant and facilitated free movement. The tailcoat, which was at first mainly a garment intended for horse-riding, fulfilled both conditions.¹⁹ The justaucorps gave way to a new jacket – the tailcoat. Its design coincided with the civilian coat that developed from the habit. Around 1800, a blue uniform with a red collar was worn, the uniformed attire of the provincial estates of the realm.²⁰ During the Napoleonic wars, civilians liked to wear similar clothes to soldiers, as a sign of support and national pride. After all, the uniform competed with civilian fashions.²¹

After 1790 and until the Crimean War in 1856, the tailcoat was part of the infantry uniform of the British Army. It was red, with the collar and cuffs in the regimental colours, while the front of the tailcoat was white.²² In the 1812 war, the Americans wore a similar uniform with a tailcoat in dark blue. It was in use until 1933. Officers continued to wear the tailcoat until after the Mexican War, when they became the official combat garment.²³

THE TAILCOAT AS A CIVILIAN UNIFORM IN THE CIVIL SERVICE

The word uniform originates in the Latin word *uniformis*, which means a monotonous, unified and coordinated image. Uniforms are a prescribed garment, where the material, cut and colour are unified for all the members of the group for which the uniform is prescribed. It ensures a visual connection with the institution and unites those wearing it in their joint duties, philosophies and standards. It serves as a symbol the group is recognised by, centring on functionality, supervision and tradition, and functioning as a code for expected conduct, defining appurtenance and unified appearance for practical or identification purposes. Military uniforms as standardised garments worn by the members of armed forces and paramilitary units kept changing through the centuries.²⁴

¹⁵ VRIŠER, A. 2006, p. 29.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 59.

¹⁹ THIEL, E. 1963, p. 431.

²⁰ VRIŠER, A. 1993, p. 55.

²¹ THIEL, E. 1963, p. 473.

²² URL: <http://19thfoot.co.uk/> (quoted 5. 7. 2018).

²³ URL: <https://www.jarnaginco.com/> (quoted 7. 7. 2018).

²⁴ HREN BRVAR, M. 2018, p. 3.

In parallel with military uniforms, after the 18th century there also appeared “non-military” or civilian uniforms. Clothing rules determined the differences between the realms of the estate, which were uniformed as a consequence. This is how the dictates about the attire of civil servants in administrative positions and the clothing of various corporations were affirmed.²⁵

THE UNIFORMS OF THE ESTATES OF THE REALM IN SLOVENIA

In the 18th century there appeared non-military uniforms, worn by the representatives of the estates of the realm. They wore characteristic black capes. A short jacket with narrow knee breeches, socks and the same cape were also worn by the court chamberlains, while red bows on the clothes and red heels on the shoes denoted the aristocracy. Clerks had more or less equally designed clothes in black, black gloves, a sword and the famous tricorne, decorated with a plume, with a powdered wig, known as an allonge, showing from beneath. The aristocratic clothing that the members of this estate of the realm used for various protocol appearances and when accompanied by the emperor and when serving the then authorities, were consistently and exclusively black, as had been traditional since Charles V and in the Spanish clergy. Gradually, black also became the official colour of courtrooms, town halls and other official positions.²⁶

Towards the late 18th century a new type of jacket gradually prevailed – the tailcoat, appearing in either blue or red. It was worn with a white waistcoat, white trousers, socks and low shoes with a clasp. The tricorne was soon replaced by the bicorne with a plume and a golden loop, while part of the uniform was also a sword with a portepee.²⁷

In the early 19th century, the members of the nobility and the knightly benches of the civil servants had to wear scarlet red uniforms, which were intended for solemn occasions, while for everyday use they wore blue tailcoats with scarlet chevrons and gilded buttons with the provincial coat of arms. Trousers could be white or blue, while a bicorne without a plume served as the formal head cover.²⁸

UNIFORMS OF CIVIL SERVANTS IN SLOVENIA

A similar uniform with a tailcoat was worn by the civil servants, but without stripes, gold embroidery and velvet chevrons, for which special provisions applied, depending on the person's income and position. They wore white waistcoats and cashmere trousers, which could be replaced by black or silk ones for everyday work, while on their hats they had silver loops.²⁹ The designs of the civil servants' clothing was modelled on the contemporary military designs.³⁰

From the 1814 decree until 1918, the rules for civil servants stated that they had to wear a green tailcoat with a standing collar and light-coloured buttons, while the waistcoats and trousers were white. They could also wear black trousers, fastened at the side with numerous buttons. In addition, they wore a bicorne with a black cockade and a gold or silver loop. They were divided into 12 classes. The higher class civil servants decorated their headgear with black feathers, while lower civil servants went without plumes. The embroidered decorations on the coats, showing their rank, also followed the class differentiation. Gold embroidery was prescribed for court clerks and silver for provincial clerks. Civil servants belonging to the first four classes had tailcoats embroidered on the chest, while the other eight classes differed in the stripes on the collars, coat rims, cuffs, waistline and back.³¹

In the mid-19th century the design of the civil servants' uniform with a dark green tailcoat was slightly modified in certain details (the markings on collars and stripes on trousers). In 1849, an interior ministry decree prescribed uniforms using the older designs, with a longer coat and a standing collar, and two rows of buttons on the chest and back. In 1885, the white festive trousers were replaced with dark green ones, while the new uniform designs became different from the military ones and came closer to the designs of civilian clothing.³²

²⁵ VRIŠER, S. 1991, p. 7.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

³¹ Ibid., p. 11.

³² Ibid., p. 12.

THE TAILCOAT IN THE SERVICE OF DIPLOMACY

OFFICIAL UNIFORMS IN SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In the 19th century, as a consequence of Serbia and Montenegro becoming more like the rest of Europe, the country introduced official clothing. The obligation to wear this clothing applied to soldiers, police officers, customs officers, financial employees, firefighters, postmen, railway workers, mariners, miners, foresters, those working in education, members of sports associations, and church and diplomatic representatives. All official clothing retained elements of the traditional, but the influences of the surrounding countries and other European countries in general were also followed, from the selection of the materials to the smallest decorative details.³³

In the 19th century diplomatic service official clothing was also worn by foreign ministry employees in the home country and the diplomacy employees for the duration of their missions abroad.³⁴ The obligation to wear diplomatic-consular uniforms is confirmed in letters by Laza Kostić, who was preparing to become a secretary of the Serbian embassy in Russia. In a letter sent to Miša Dimitrijević, Kostić asks Dimitrijević if he could urgently send him the books he had left in Novi Sad so that he could sell them to the National Library, because he needed money to prepare for entering the diplomatic service: "I am begging you, please hurry with the expedition, if not I will be in great trouble. After the assembly (1880), I immediately have to leave for Russia, I will have so many expenses that the state treasury will not reimburse them all. For example, I have to order a crazily expensive uniform, which will cost me 100 ducats, without this they will not receive me at the Winter Palace, where I will be standing in for the ambassador."³⁵

DIPLOMATIC-CONSULAR UNIFORMS IN THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

The first preserved rules about the obligation to wear official clothing at the foreign ministry and uniforms in the diplomatic-consular missions originate in 1931. A foreign ministry representative and construction minister, Dr Kosta Kumanudi, signed the "Rules on wearing of official clothing by the Foreign Ministry employees"³⁶ and the "Rules on the making and wearing of diplomatic-consular uniforms".³⁷ All foreign ministry employees had to wear the official clothing (winter and summer) and the official "MIP" mark, which was sewn onto the front collar of the coat (round collar).

The later rules described four types of uniforms dependent on the classes of diplomatic missions:

- 1st class: for ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary,
- 2nd class: for counsellors and general consuls,
- 3rd class: for first secretaries and consuls,
- 4th class: secretaries, vice-consuls and clerks.

The obligation of the diplomatic-consular representatives consisted of having to acquire uniforms within the prescribed period: the king's representatives prior to presenting their accreditation, but at the latest two months after being appointed; counsellors and general consuls, first secretary and consuls within 6 months; other diplomatic employees within a year, starting 1 April 1931.³⁸ The diplomatic-consular uniforms were used abroad on the king's birthday, unification day, at blessings in church or when required by the mission head. The occasions at which uniforms were worn in the country were determined by the foreign minister. The Protocol of the Foreign Ministry applied to the use of the regulations on the making and wearing the diplomatic-consular uniform.³⁹

According to the memoirs of the diplomatic-consular representative from that time, the uniforms were obligatory. Although the quality, material, colour and tailoring were strictly prescribed, there were deviations. In order to avoid any differences, a ministry protocol was adopted, which introduced new regulations on the making and

³³ <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/dipl-tradicija/diplomatsko-konzularne-uniforme?lang=laT> (quoted 19. 6. 2018).

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ MLADENović, Ž., KOSTIĆ, L. 1951, p. 352.

³⁶ <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/dipl-tradicija/diplomatsko-konzularne-uniforme?lang=lat> (quoted 20. 6. 2018).

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

wearing of the diplomatic-consular uniforms.⁴⁰ An appendix included drawings of all the uniform elements according to classes, created by Milica Babić-Jovanović.⁴¹ The diplomatic-consular uniforms remained unchanged until World War Two. After 1945, the use of uniforms for diplomatic-consular representatives was abandoned. For special occasions, both abroad and in Yugoslavia, uniforms were replaced with formal clothing.⁴²

The first class uniform prescribed a single-breasted tailcoat made of dark blue čoja fabric with seven golden buttons bearing the state coat of arms. The tails were embroidered with a *fleur-de-lys* pattern and trimmed with golden ribbons. The tailcoat collar was round, made of fine silk material in wild cherry colour, with embroidered branches and fleur-de-lys, and trimmed with golden thread. On the chest, there was an embroidered palm branch and fleur-de-lys, with a golden thread trimming. Sleeve cuffs were made of fine material in wild cherry colour, embroidered with fleur-de-lys and trimmed with golden thread. The back had an embroidery of a palm branch, interwoven with fleur-de-lys. Above the pockets was an embroidery of horizontal branches and fleur-de-lys. The trousers were made of dark blue čoja, with a double 4 cm-wide golden lampas strip on the side and wild cherry colour between the lampas and the heel. The cloak was also made of dark blue čoja, with a dark blue velvet collar. The attire included white gloves and a bicorne made of silk felt with a white ostrich feather at the top and the state cockade with the tricolour and with three golden threads on the right. There was also a sword with a flat blade, while the sheath was made of black skin and the handle was gold-plated. The holder with a white cover had a crown with a cross at the top and at the bottom a platelet with the state coat of arms.⁴³

The second class uniform included a tailcoat whose material, colour and design were the same as the first class one, while the tails were trimmed with golden ribbons. The collar was embroidered with an image of a palm branch, interwoven with fleur-de-lys. On the chest, there was an embroidery of fleur-de-lys, while the cuffs were made of silk in wild cherry colour, and also had an embroidery of fleur-de-lys and palm branches, as well as golden thread trimming. On the back of the tailcoat, there was an embroidery of a palm branch, interwoven with fleur-de-lys. The trousers were made from the same material as the tailcoat, the double lampas strip was three centimetres wide. The head cover was a bicorne in black, with a black ostrich feather at the top, the state cockade with the tricolour, and on the right two golden threads. The cloak, gloves and sword were the same as with the first class uniform.⁴⁴

The third class uniform comprised a tailcoat without embroidery on the chest and above the pockets. The trousers, cloak, gloves, head cover and sword were the same as with the second class uniform.

The fourth class uniform included a tailcoat without embroidery on the chest and above the pocket, while the collar had embroidery of palm branches and fleur-de-lys. The back of the coat was also embroidered with small palm branches and fleur-de-lys, while the chest and the tails were only trimmed with golden thread. The cloak, gloves and sword were the same as the first class uniform.⁴⁵

DR IZIDOR CANKAR

Dr Izidor Cankar was born on 22 April 1886 in Šid, the eldest of the seven children born to his father Andrej and mother Marija, née Huber. Izidor's father originated from a Vrhnika family of tailors, while the mother was a German from the Srem region.⁴⁶ Even as a child, Izidor moved in wealthy circles, which strongly influenced his later lifestyle and good manners.⁴⁷ He was a priest, writer, critic, art historian, translator and diplomat, and a cousin of the famous Slovene writer Ivan Cankar. As a former Catholic priest, who had played a prominent role in the Slovene Catholic movement in the late stages of the Habsburg monarchy, he later left the priesthood in order to marry.

⁴⁰ <http://www.mfa.gov.rs/sr/index.php/dipl-tradicija/diplomatsko-konzularne-uniforme?lang=lat> (quoted 3.6.2018).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ MILENKOVIČ, M. 2000, pp. 139-140.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 143.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁶ RAHTEN, A. 2009, p. 23.

⁴⁷ CANKAR, F. 1971, p. 28.

The significant period of the transition from the Habsburg monarchy to the kingdom of Yugoslavia motivated him to play an active part in high politics.⁴⁸ In 1920 he became an assistant professor in the history of western European art at the University of Ljubljana and held this position until 1936.⁴⁹ He founded a history of art society and the art history bulletin *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*.⁵⁰ He was able to connect his superior knowledge with a number of different fields at the same time: from the history of art and literary criticism to diplomacy and politics.⁵¹

On 13 July 1936, following an order by the king's deputies, Cankar was appointed to the position of the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Buenos Aires in Argentina.⁵²

DR IZIDOR CANKAR'S DIPLOMATIC TAILCOAT

The clothing collection of the Regional Museum Maribor includes the diplomatic tailcoat worn by Dr Izidor Cankar at the time of his position of the ambassador extraordinary of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in Argentina. The tailcoat was part of the first class uniform intended for ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary.

The tailcoat is made of dark blue čoja, an almost waterproof and very hardwearing woollen material: a rough, thick, felted woollen fabric, used mostly for winter coats and uniforms. Usually, it is woven in olive-green, dark blue or grey. The Slovene name comes from the Serbian word čoha, which itself derived from a Turkish word meaning a better quality fabric, softer and at the same time firm and long-lasting, which was used mostly for uniforms.⁵³

At the front, the tailcoat fastens in a single-breasted fashion with seven golden buttons, bearing the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's coat of arms, containing the image of a two-headed eagle in flight, on a silver shield. At the top of the two eagle heads stands the kingdom's crown. The eagle has a shield on its chest, on which there are three coats of arms: the Serbian (a white cross on a red shield, with one fire striker on each section), the Croatian coat of arms (a shield with 25 alternating red and silver fields – a chessboard), and the Slovene coat of arms (3 golden six-pointed stars on a blue shield and a white crescent beneath them).⁵⁴

The tails are embroidered with fleur-de-lys and have a gold trimming. The collar is made from a wild cherry coloured fabric and there is again embroidery of fleur-de-lys and palm branches, and gold trimming. Palm branches and fleur-de-lys also appear on the chest, as well as golden thread trimming. The cuffs are made of wild cherry coloured fabric and embroidered with fleur-de-lys and trimmed in golden thread. The back of the tailcoat is also embroidered with a palm branch, interwoven with fleur-de-lys. There is embroidery of horizontal palm branches and fleur-de-lys above the pockets.

⁴⁸ RAHTEN, A. 2009, p. 37.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 17.

⁵² Ibid., p. 79.

⁵³ URL: http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=sukno (quoted 3. 6. 2018).

⁵⁴ Ustava kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev, 28. 6. 1921, Uradni list deželne vlade za Slovenijo, št. 87/1921, 27. 7. 1921, p. 423.



Image 2: Diplomatic tailcoat worn by Izidor Cankar (front), Collection of Uniforms, Regional Museum Maribor (Photo: Irena Porekar Kacafura).

The symbolism of the lily has a long tradition and goes back to Ancient Egypt, where it signified royalty, the dignity of the rulers, sophistication and untarnished beauty. Pharaohs often carried a sceptre in the shape of a stylised lily, while its petals decorated royal attire and grave goods.⁵⁵ The inhabitants of Crete chose it as a symbol of their country, while in Greece generally, the lily was dedicated to Hera, Zeus's wife. In all the countries of the eastern Mediterranean and Near and Middle East the lily was considered a symbol of beauty and princely dignity, a holy plant that belonged to the heavenly rulers and gods.⁵⁶ In the Middle Ages, lilies preserved their nobility and represented the most lavish beauty, purity and sophistication. In Christianity, lilies are considered to be a flower from paradise, symbolising the eternal beauty and happiness of the Garden of Eden. The lily was also Mary's flower.⁵⁷ Due to it being a symbol of rulers, a lily is the most frequently depicted flower on coats of arms in the heraldry of Western Europe. One of its greatest moments of fame came in the late 19th century, in the art of Symbolism and Secession.⁵⁸

The symbolism of a palm and its branches also has a long history. In Ancient Egypt, it symbolised the tree of life, during Ancient Rome palms expressed the welcome given to Roman soldiers, while Christians considered the palm a symbol of resurrection, and in general it symbolises victory.

⁵⁵ GERM, T. 2002, p. 69.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 73.



Image 3: Diplomatic tailcoat worn by Izidor Cankar (back with details - embroidery), Collection of Uniforms, Regional Museum Maribor (Photo: Irena Porekar Kacafura).

CONCLUSION

The men's tailcoat is a jacket with a special design, where the front stops at the waistline, while the back is extended and split into two tails, which reach down to the knees. Its predecessor was the justaucorps, which had developed from uniforms. In the 18th century, the development of the bourgeois fashion was closely linked to the gradual development of uniforms and the tailcoat soon became established as a top civilian garment.

In Slovenia, the tailcoat design became established during the Empire period and had a tall, standing collar. During the Biedermeier period, the collar became lower and the sleeves stopped being gathered at the shoulders. Tailcoats were usually dark coloured – black, blue or brown. The tailcoat was also worn by men in administrative service, by the representatives of the estates of the realm and many other officials; these were red or dark blue. Gradually, black became the official colour in administrative posts, courts and town halls. The design of the tailcoat was also used in the diplomatic service. At the time of the diplomatic-consular uniforms of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, a tailcoat was also worn by Dr Izidor Cankar during his service as an ambassador extraordinary in Argentina. The Regional Museum Maribor keeps his original tailcoat, made of dark blue čoha fabric, which is fastened at the front with seven golden buttons bearing the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's coat of arms, while the collar, tails and the central part on the chest display golden embroidery with symbolic images of the fleur-de-lys and palm branch.

Through the centuries, the design of the tailcoat changed in many details and in its purpose. Since 1880 and until today it remains a formal garment, intended for official evening occasions and events.

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

V članku je predstavljen zgodovinski in modni razvoj slavnostnega moškega suknjiča – fraka ter njegova uporaba v različnih službah ter civilni družbi. Kroj fraka izvira iz 18. stoletja, ko je bil del vojaške uniforme oficirjev. V sredini 17. stoletja se je razširil med meščanstvo, v 19. stoletju pa je postal dnevno, vsakdanje oblačilo. Od druge polovice 19. stoletja pa do danes je frak ostal formalno oblačilo, namenjeno večernim uradnim priložnostim, svečanostim in podobnim dogodkom. V članku je podrobneje predstavljena uporaba fraka v službi diplomacije Kraljevine Jugoslavije, natančneje pa izpostavljen frak dr. Izidorja Cankarja, pooblaščenega ministra in izrednega poslanika Kraljevine Jugoslavije v Buenos Airesu v Argentini.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

oblačilna kultura, moda, moški frak, vojaška uniforma, civilna uniforma, diplomacija

POVZETEK

Moški frak je suknjič posebnega kroja, pri katerem je sprednji del krojen do višine pasu, hrbtni del pa podaljšan in preklan v dva kraka, ki segata do dolžine kolen. Njegov predhodnik je bil suknjič *justaucorps*, ki se je razvil iz uniforme. Razvoj meščanske mode je bil v 18. stoletju tesno povezan s sočasnim razvojem uniform in frak se kmalu uveljavil kot civilno vrhnje oblačilo.

Na Slovenskem se je kroj fraka uveljavil v času empira, imel je visok in stoječ ovratnik. V času bidermajerja je postal nižji, gubanje v ramenih pa je izginilo. Fraki so bili temnejših barv, v črni, modri ali rjavi barvi. Frake so nosili tudi možje v službah uradništva, nosili so jih predstavniki deželnih stanov in številni drugi uradniki. Bili so rdeče in temno modre barve. Postopno pa je postala uradna barva uradniških služb, sodnijskih dvoran in magistratov črna. Kroj moškega fraka se je uporabljal tudi v službi diplomacije. Iz časa diplomatsko-konzularnih uniform Kraljevine Jugoslavije je frak nosil tudi dr. Izidor Cankar v času svojega službovanja kot izredni poslanik v Argentini. Pokrajinski muzej Maribor hrani njegov originalni frak iz temno modre črke, na sprednjem delu se zapira s sedmimi zlatimi gumbi s podobo grba Kraljevine Jugoslavije, ovratnik, krilca fraka in sprednji prsni del pa nosijo zlato vezenino s simboličnimi podobami cveta lilije in palminih vejic.

Tekom stoletij se je kroj fraka spreminjal v nadrobnostih in namembnostih. Od leta 1880 do današnjih dni pa še zmeraj ostaja formalno oblačilo, namenjeno večernim uradnim priložnostim in dogodkom.

MILITARY FASHION AND HOW IT INFLUENCED CIVILIAN DRESS IN SLOVENIA*

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ABSTRACT

Military uniforms and military fashion as such have undoubtedly had a strong influence on civilian fashion and dress. Whether these items of clothing have evolved due to climate specifics, the protocol or life in the army, some have in the course of the last century found their way into people's wardrobes thanks to fashion, and thus become staple pieces. Even before fashion designers put the khaki colour, cargo pants, bomber jackets and the like on runways, military decorative elements, as well as specific patterns and colours, had been influencing people's dress. Military influence could be traced in the clothing of the civilian population, or peasant population to be more precise, as far back as the 18th century. Men were particularly susceptible to such influences in their everyday clothing, to which they would introduce certain pieces, such as red cloth waistcoats, different coats, boots and underclothes.

KEYWORDS

military fashion, dress, peasants, waistcoats, coats, boots, underclothes

INTRODUCTION

A bomber jacket, safari or cargo pants, aviator sunglasses – regardless of whether they had evolved due to climate specifics, the protocol, tactical needs or life in the army, certain pieces of clothing have in the course of the last century found their way into people's wardrobes thanks to fashion, and thus become staple pieces. They have become part of people's everyday attire not only in the army but also among civilians. The popularity of numerous pieces of clothing originating in military uniform is proof of the military fashion having (had) strong influence on fashion trends past and present.

MILITARY FASHION AND ITS INFLUENCE

Even before the khaki colour, cargo pants, bomber jackets and the like were featured in fashion shows and in turn appeared in our wardrobes, military decorative elements, as well as specific patterns and colours, had been influencing people's dress.

The influence of military attire on contemporary fashion began as early as the Middle Ages. It was then that the need for manufacturing warfare apparel, such as lined jackets and tight-fitting protective clothing to be worn under the armour led to more detailed and complex tailoring, which also affected fashion in general. In the 16th century, in particular, tailoring techniques evolved additionally as warfare protective coats and jackets have acquired new forms and became part of civilian fashion, thus also becoming considerably more visible and widespread.¹

It was not only through the evolvement of tailoring techniques that the military influenced fashion. The trends that supposedly originated in the military circles even before uniforms were introduced included the cutting trends and the particoloured fashion, which were allegedly prompted by the appearance of Swiss mercenary soldiers.² Having defeated Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at the Battle of Grandson in 1476, they supposedly mended their tattered and battle-torn clothes with patches of silk and other materials they

*Translation: Alenka Ropret

¹ HOPKINS, J. 2011, p. 26.

² KRAŠEVEC POGORELČNIK, M. 1997, pp. 141-142.

had confiscated.³ The form of combining or patching up with different-coloured fabrics in the same garment was called *landsknecht* after Swiss and German mercenary soldiers. Soon, it formed the style that dominated European courts in the period of Renaissance.⁴

Although early origins of military uniform appeared in 3000 BC Mesopotamia and among other ancient peoples, the uniform as we know it only evolved with the development of firearms which led to the abolishment of heavy armour and helmets in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was then that the need for professionally organised large armies and the related need for army differentiation in the battlefield led to a more organised approach to soldier attire, to the creation of the military uniform and thereby military fashion.⁵

The link between military and civilian fashion became particularly prominent during Baroque, in the 17th century, when the influence of military fashion on the civil dress was clearly visible. *Justacorps* and *jerkin* were worn with breeches and fashionable heeled buckskin boots with spurs, and with an abundance of lace embellishments at wrists and other hems.⁶

According to Max von Boehn, the 18th century was marked by the desire to be uniformed, not only concerning clothing but also in architecture and other fields. At the time, similarities between military and civilian fashion were significant, which resulted in minimal differences in shapes and colours. It was then that military uniform began to be regulated by laws and regulations that stipulated the shapes, colours and embellishments, such as epauletts and other marks to distinguish the positions in the military hierarchy. Both regarding shapes and patterns, uniforms were then becoming increasingly similar to men's civilian attire.⁷

Military uniform popularised not only individual pieces of clothing to be worn outside the army in people's everyday life or on special occasions but also embellishments in the shape of braids or twines to be used generally, e.g. on men's coats and collars, and even on women's clothing. In the 19th century, military influence also showed in women's fashion. An example to have originated in military fashion was the so-called Garibaldi shirt which became a popular item of women's clothing in the 1860's. Worn by women, this shirt with long baggy sleeves made in black or red light wool fabric or white cotton originated in red shirts as worn by the Italian soldiers.⁸ A similar piece was the Zouave jacket, originating in the uniform of soldiers in French Algeria. It was a short, long-sleeved, open-fronted jacket,⁹ popular among women and young boys mostly in the 1850's and 1860's, and again at the end of the century. Its hems embellished with twine decorations, this jacket was often worn with the Garibaldi blouse and a skirt.¹⁰

MILITARY INFLUENCE ON MEN'S ATTIRE

In general, what military fashion influenced the most was men's attire. This was not only due to men being directly linked to military service, but also due to the social influence of the army beyond the uniform.

In the 18th and 19th centuries when significant changes occurred both in the economy and in society as such, i.e. when the boundaries between social classes began to loosen, differences were continually recreated

³ Demanding more fabric to be made, the fashionable and precious *landsknecht* style clothing could also be seen as a sign of prosperity. For additional information on the appearance of these soldiers, see HUNTEBRINKER, J. 2009, p. 82.

⁴ LAVER, J. 1969, pp. 77-78.

⁵ HOPKINS, J. 2011, p. 26, PFANNER, T. 2004.

⁶ HOPKINS, J. 2011, p. 26.

⁷ HOPKINS, J. 2011, p. 26, PFANNER, T. 2004.

⁸ Giuseppe Garibaldi was an Italian politician, revolutionary and army leader. His volunteers wore red shirts, *la camica rossa*, as their uniform. In many varieties of different colours and shapes, these red shirts became a fashionable piece in the 1860's. HUNT – HURST, P. 2015, pp. 187-188. SWEENEY, D. 2015, Deborah Sweeney, Fashion Moments – Garibaldi Shirt, URL: <https://genealogylady.net/2015/09/13/fashion-moments-garibaldi-shirt/> (quoted 10. 3. 2018).

⁹ Zouave women's jackets were short comfortable bolero-type jackets, usually worn open or buttoned at the neck. They often appeared in military uniform colors and with trimming and braiding resembling one on the military uniforms. The most popular form featured pagoda sleeves. SWEENEY, D. 2015, Deborah Sweeney, Fashion Moments – Bolero & Zouave Jackets, URL: <https://genealogylady.net/2015/09/06/fashion-moments-bolero-zouave-jackets/> (quoted 10. 3. 2018). BURGESS, Q. 2011. Quinn M. Burgess, Bolero and Zouave jackets of the mid-19th century, URL: <https://thequintessentialclothespen.com/2011/06/21/bolero-and-zouave-jackets-of-the-mid-19th-century/> (quoted 10. 3. 2018).

¹⁰ HUNT – HURST, P. 2015, pp. 187-188.

and reinvented. It thus became a vital recruitment device to create clear differences between the army and civilians. The military organisation had created a palpable, material image to tempt men. The combination of material elements, i.e. the uniform, and of physical strength showing in posture and presence was an attractive product that invited and recruited everyone wishing to possess heroic masculinity.¹¹

The aesthetically appealing uniform serving as a tempting bait, and soldiers who were supposed to invite potential recruits and volunteers were wearing their most dazzling uniforms. This was a tactic used commonly in the 18th and 19th centuries. Military recruiters wearing their finest ceremonial uniforms and accompanied by military brass bands were often seeking new recruits at fairs and on squares frequented by unemployed workers hoping to find work. To such simple men, the uniform could represent the potential for a life of much greater excitement and power than could be achieved in the civilian life.¹² The visually appealing, elaborate and always neat appearance of soldiers had been created and kept immaculate in order to charm and captivate.¹³

The bodily and clothing presence that was under the strong military influence even turned into a fashion trend when Beau Brummell,¹⁴ a British »dandy«, used it to create his signature style. Immediately after withdrawing from the army he became a well-known member of the London social elite. He developed his bodily and clothing manners based on his military training, also of the same precision and rigorousness. To this end, Brummell was hiring military tailors to fulfil his precise demands. He was wearing tight-fitting jackets, breeches and white shirts with elaborated ties. From the upper middle class, he rose to a respected position, made it to a life of high aesthetics and decadence, and created the dandy concept or rather cult, which has continued until now.¹⁵

Rulers also had a major influence on the popularity of uniforms. Such examples were Frederick William I of Prussia and his son Frederick the Great, Louis XVI, Joseph II, and also Edward VII and George IV who would often wear the uniform as court dress, their inclination bordering on obsession.¹⁶ Frederick the Great even abstained from fashionable clothes and opted to wear uniforms exclusively. At the time of his death, his clothing thus included five uniforms, eight waistcoats, four trousers, six pairs of boots, ten white and five pairs of black silk stockings and 16 well-worn shirts.¹⁷ The rulers' example was one of the reasons to have made uniforms an acceptable, if not even obligatory part of the court dress from the mid-18th century onward, which only added to their prevalence and popularity among the elite.¹⁸

However, it was not only by setting an example and creating the appearance that the military influenced fashion. There was also a material, more real and direct influence of national armies on the civilian dress. For example, the British Army in the 18th century provided its soldiers with uniforms, the payment for which, however, was taken from soldiers' wages. Soldiers were therefore allowed to keep their uniforms after their withdrawal from the army. Pieces of military uniform were thus entering the civilian clothing appearance directly.¹⁹

¹¹ PEOPLES, S. 2014, p. 17.

¹² Ibid., p. 17.

¹³ STYLES, J. 2007, p. 49.

¹⁴ George Bryan Brummell or Beau Brummell (7 July 1778 – 30 March 1840) was an iconic figure in Regency England and for many years the influencer of men's fashion. Brummell's name became associated with style and good looks and as a preeminent example of the dandy till today. THE EDITORS OF ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, 2018, Beau Brummell, Encyclopædia Britannica, URL: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Beau-Brummell-English-dandy> (quoted 9. 8. 2018).

¹⁵ PEOPLES, S. 2014, pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ MANSEL, P. 1982, p. 111.

¹⁷ BOEHN, M. 1976, p. 73.

¹⁸ MANSEL, P. 1982, pp. 111-112.

¹⁹ STYLES, J. 2007, p. 49.

MILITARY FASHION AND SLOVENIAN PEASANT POPULATION

Men's clothing fashion in Slovenia was possibly also influenced by uniforms of civic corps (*Bürgerliches Korps*)²⁰ and the national guard²¹, which were used in relatively high numbers among the bourgeois and nobility. In Ljubljana, their uniform before 1790 was most likely similar to what was being worn in other cities across the Habsburg monarchy. According to Vrišer, this was “an 18th-century military cut, composed of a *justacorps* with buttons, coloured decorative stitches and turned back cuffs of the same colour, a short waistcoat, breeches, stockings and low shoes. The ensemble was accompanied by a suitably marked cocked hat.”²²

An example of a direct transfer of a piece of clothing to the civilian fashion and exerting influence on the latter in Slovenia comprises the so-called *meksikajnarji* or Mexican boots and underpants, which will be discussed later. The possibility that such a transfer occurred with other pieces should indeed not be excluded.

Because of the attraction of military uniforms, it was not unusual for pieces of clothing originating in military fashion to become part of civilian attire. Certain men's coats, jackets and hats that originated in military uniform thus also found their way to the attire of the Slovenian peasant population. Such examples are the *Havelock* coat, several types of boots and waistcoats, and, of course, underpants.

As was mentioned before, the military service also helped spread and realise the concept of the healthy, strong, and cleansed body. The evolvement of military medicine in the 18th century began to have a decisive effect on the soldiers' hygiene and health conditions. What also became of major importance was to keep the uniform immaculately clean, which, in turn, was accompanied by the personal care and use of underwear which went hand-in-hand with the changing hygiene habits.²³

The idea of a cleansed body and the related changes in the use of underwear were popularised, among others, by Macaronis – eccentric young boys – at the end of the 18th century, and by Beau Brummell somewhat later. In higher ranks, their stellar influence had set the hygiene, clean body and immaculate underwear as a social virtue that distinguished the elite from lower classes.²⁴ This was actually a significant distinction, since underwear only became worn by Slovenian peasants, craftsmen and workers in the second half of the 19th century, and entered general use almost a century later.²⁵

In rural areas, the army had a significant influence in the introduction of underwear, naturally in line with the changing Central European clothing fashion and the introduction of long over-trousers. Peasants, craftsmen and workers were familiarised with wearing underpants during their long military service, which influenced at least some of them to develop the habit of wearing this piece of clothing and retain it after their return to the civilian life.²⁶

In Slovenia, data on the ready-made manufacture of underpants can be traced as far back as the 1830's. Orders for fabric and underpants by dioceses, military administrations and municipal police appeared in

²⁰ The main role of civic corps was “to defend their city from hostile invasions, to preserve order, law and security in the city, and to participate in parades accompanying various celebrations, receptions, processions on civic and religious holidays, etc. If required, the city dwellers were to ensure for important buildings to be watched, particularly when such services could not be performed by the army. Although corps rules only related to the incorporated members, in the event of universal hazard, any city dweller able to perform the task could be summoned to serve in the corps at the Emperor's command. The right to enter the corps was generally limited to men performing all the moral and material duties of sworn city dwellers. On top of what was already mentioned, their obligations included mutual social assistance, care for the destitute and sick members and their loved ones, as well as general humane attitude towards fellow city dwellers, propagation of generosity, etc.” VRIŠER, S. 1974, p. 20.

²¹ After the 1848 revolution, a semi-military organisation was established in cities with population above 1000 across the Habsburg Monarchy. Its role was to prevent the continuation of revolution and replace the soldiers that had left. Conscripts were men aged between 19 and 50 who had no regular employment or were not living on daily or weekly wages, which resulted in the national guard mostly consisting of the bourgeois, nobility and students. BAŠ, A. 1987, p. 244.

²² VRIŠER, S. 1974, p. 21.

²³ PEOPLES, S. 2014, p. 15. CRAIG, S. 2010, pp. 118-120.

²⁴ CUNNINGTON, C. W. & P. 1992, p. 98.

²⁵ KNIFIC, B. 2012, p. 26.

²⁶ KNIFIC, B. 2011, p. 57.

German newspapers published in Slovenia at the time. We can therefore assume that underpants were then already used regularly in the army, police and among the clergy.²⁷

The other piece of clothing showing an evident military influence is boots. In the 17th and 18th centuries, an example of the military style with high, stiff gaiters, was worn predominately by the nobility and bourgeois, as part of their riding outfit.²⁸ However, boots of military shape and appearance were also to be found among the peasant population. When describing a Krakovo resident in their Sunday best, Kordesch wrote that they had boots “of the finest leather, similar to uniform boots, and always shining like a mirror.”²⁹

The unique shape of military boots, the so-called *meksikajnarji* or the Mexicans, appeared in Slovenia in the second half of the 1860's. They were shod, creased in a particular way, the accordion style, at ankles and shins, and had an embellished upper hem. They were named after *meksikajnarji*, volunteers in the army of Maximilian I of Mexico, brother of the Austrian emperor Francis Joseph. In 1864, soldiers from Austrian lands, including many Slovenians, set sail from Trieste for Mexico to help suppress the Mexican resistance. The plans failed to realise and more than a thousand returned by April 1867. After the return of these volunteers, the special Mexican boots found their way into clothing as well. From then on, shoemakers in Slovenia began to make such boots by following the example of creasing leather along shins.³⁰



Image 1: Man in *meksikajnarji* boots, last quarter of 19th century (KNIFIC, B. 2014, p. 62).

Havelok, *kapenak*, *kabanica*, *burmus* are the names used among the Slovenian peasant population to describe an overcoat that was considered a fine, precious, also bridal garment “which had to be worn by each bridegroom, be it winter or summer. It was so precious that men were borrowing it from each other.”³¹ It appeared in one of the two forms: a long coat either with or without sleeves, always with a short cape. It was made of black or dark blue wool fabric, and was supposedly introduced in the peasant setting before the mid-19th century.³²

A heavy long wool coat, often with an additional cape, was worn by men for horse-riding and travelling at least from the second quarter of the 18th century on, but the prevalence of this coat among all ranks grew

²⁷ KNIFIC, B. 2011, pp. 56, 57.

²⁸ KNIFIC, B. 2014, p. 61.

²⁹ BAŠ, A. 1984, p. 68.

³⁰ KNIFIC, B. 2014, pp. 61-62

³¹ MAKAROVIC, M. 2016, p. 136. KOTNIK, F. 1926, p. 74.

³² MAKAROVIC, M. 2016, p. 136.

upon the introduction of uniforms for certain professions. This was also accompanied by regulations of the uniform and thereby the standardisation of garments, which included long coats.³³

In the French army, such a coat was known as *capote*. After the adoption of military regulations in 1767, such coats were introduced in the French army, but only for the soldiers keeping guard at night or in bad weather, and thereby belonging to the barracks or guardhouse equipment. Only after 1806 were they made part of the equipment of each soldier.³⁴

Once these long heavy cape coats were included in each soldier's equipment, the army undoubtedly contributed to their prevalence. They were particularly valued among the civilian population for their warmth. 19th-century Irish families, for example, were using them as blankets.³⁵

A coat of this kind is also visible on Goldenstein's portrayal of a peasant from the surroundings of Polhov Gradec, Dobrova and Vrhnika, which was most likely painted in 1837 or 1838. The peasant portrayed is wearing his winter outfit composed of a light blue cloth coat with a cape. The description related to the portrayal specifies that "the fabric for such coats originated in the Gorenjska region, more precisely in the surroundings of Radovljica and Begunje. Made coats were being brought from Gorenjska to various markets in the country and sold either separately or transferred to hucksters by the dozens to be resold. In the region of Dolenjska, black coats were sold in much larger quantities."³⁶ This is proof of the coat being a popular item that was certainly being sold across Carniola, whereas various sources also report³⁷ that it was known and worn well-nigh across the entire Slovenian territory.



Image 2: Peasant's from the surroundings of Polhov Gradec, Dobrova and Vrhnika portrayed by Goldenstein, 1837-1838 (STOPAR, I. 1993, p. 101).

Red waistcoats are also most probably of military influence. They were very popular among Slovenian peasants at the beginning of the 19th century, but also known prior to that. It is not entirely clear when and how the red cloth waistcoats with numerous buttons became established among the peasant population. Marija Makarovič assumes that their popularisation in the peasant environment was due to the influence of higher ranks wearing them. They are indeed confirmed to have been present in the Slovenian rural as well as the Central European bourgeois sphere in the 18th century if not earlier.³⁸

³³ YARWOOD, D. 2011, pp. 307-308.

³⁴ CROWDY, T. 2015, p. 64.

³⁵ CLEAR, C. 2013, p. 152.

³⁶ STOPAR, I. 1993, p. 100.

³⁷ MAKAROVIČ, M. 1999, MAKAROVIČ, M. 2007, MAKAROVIČ, M. 2017.

³⁸ MAKAROVIČ, M. 2016, pp. 278-280.

The data on red waistcoat-like garments used by the peasant population,³⁹ with regard to the Austrian Carniola, go back at least to mid-17th century. However, in inheritance inventories, the word waistcoat (Ger. *Weste*) only appears after 1750, and from 1770 on, the entries *Leibl* or *Wams* are always accompanied by a note saying that these are sleeveless, which hints at their being dropped.⁴⁰

Data for the second half of the 18th century certainly indicate considerable dispersion: it can be established based on inheritance inventories that red waistcoats were prevalent in the male wardrobe in the north and southeast of the Štajerska region as well as in the Austrian Steiermark.⁴¹ Among men in rural areas, such waistcoats remained popular until the final quarter of the 19th century,⁴² and they were worn across the entire Alpine dress area.

Such a waistcoat was also worn by the Trnovo fisherman as portrayed by Goldenstein: "His waistcoat, both the front as well as the back part were made of fine red cloth (*skerlát*), while also being embellished with gilded buttons and gold twines."⁴³ Similar descriptions appear in inventory lists. A butcher from Videm na Dravskem polju thus possessed two such waistcoats entered as "*roth tiechener Vesti (Leibl) mit silbern Bortl*," i.e. a red cloth waistcoat with silver buttons.⁴⁴



Image 3: Trnovo inhabitants portrayed by Goldenstein, 1837-1838 (STOPAR, I. 1993, p. 67).

We can assume that red waistcoats found their way into everyday and Sunday dress of peasant population from military ranks also due to the uniform of the Ljubljana infantry corps of 1793: "The equipment of a squaddie was composed of a blue cloth uniform, a jacket with red patches and lining, smooth yellow buttons, then a red, unbordered waistcoat with similarly smooth, but smaller buttons, trousers, black cloth spats and white canvas boot inserts (*Stiefelmanschetten*). The uniform of non-commissioned officers was the same as that of squaddies, the only difference being in the first one wearing gold-bordered

³⁹ It can be assumed more precisely that the waistcoat as we know it had not appeared before 1780 when it formed from the English gilet. Previously there were various pieces of clothing like *wams*, *la veste*, *gilet* and *camisola*, that were cut sleeveless and reminded of waistcoats. The difference between older types and the current one is in older pieces being entirely made of the same fabric, whereas today, a waistcoat features different fabric at the back from the one at the front. KÖHLER, C. 1963, pp. 775-780.

⁴⁰ MAUTNER, K., GERAMB, V. 1932, pp. 426-428.

⁴¹ According to inheritance sources, 57% of all inventories waistcoats were red. MAKAROVIČ, M. 2007, pp. 228-229. MAUTNER, K., GERAMB, V. 1935, pp. 294-295.

⁴² MAKAROVIČ, M. 2007, p. 230.

⁴³ BAŠ, A. 1984, p. 67.

⁴⁴ MAKAROVIČ, M. 2007, p. 229.

waistcoats and black panache with black and yellow ribbons on their hats.”⁴⁵

As shown by the source cited above, it was fashionable for 17th and 18th-century waistcoats of the civic guard and military units to be embellished with gold borders or twine,⁴⁶ which could be assumed as an aesthetic ideal by people from rural areas.

CONCLUSION

In the 15th and 16th centuries, a warfare revolution occurred: the previously knightly army was replaced by a mercenary army. Soldiers no longer constituted exclusively of nobility and knights; the service was now provided also by representatives of lower social ranks. In the 16th century Carniola, during the most severe Turkish invasions, each third male was called-up based on the new “defence order”.⁴⁷ The most valued soldiers were peasant sons, who after completed military campaigns never took it out on the civilian population.⁴⁸

In the 18th century, universal military service was introduced with a reform instigated by Maria Theresa. The obligatory military service was first established for life and then gradually shortened to sufferable seven years. Most commonly, only representatives of the lowest social ranks in cities and the countryside were called up.⁴⁹ The long military service, however, was not without consequences after the conscription ended: the influence of military discipline and rigour showed in clothing as well as in the presence, or, to use the terms of Marcel Mauss, in techniques of the body. The military training remains “beyond the career of a person dressed in a military uniform, and continues to be absorbed into the body of one’s civilian identity.”⁵⁰ It is very probable that men preserved their body and clothing related habits, such as wearing underwear. They possibly also brought with them other pieces of clothing which then spread into more general use and imitation.

In the late 18th century, Europe was awash with an obsession with the uniform. Militarisation of courts and monarchies in the period from 1760 to 1830 had raised the importance of military uniform and begun the process of forming civil uniforms for all court officials.⁵¹

In this period and later on, military fashion was a major aspect in determining the clothing appearance of adult men. In the second half of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century, the number of men serving as soldiers, sailors or in other uniformed positions was high, which made the military fashion textile industry an important player in the men's fashion market.⁵²

How strong this influence was, is shown in the data for France after 1800, when there was nearly a “militarisation of the fashion industry”. It was supposedly easy to come by military buttons, epaulettes and other insignia, while lower ranks and paupers were also following the military example. A British visitor to Paris in 1915 noted that “The predominant feature of the dress in Paris, and that which most strikes a stranger, is the prevalence of the military costume. In all the public places and walks in the Tuileries a great proportion of the men you meet are either in uniform or dressed more or less *au militaire*”,⁵³ which shows the scale of the textile industry affecting the dress of the civilian population.

The influence exerted by uniforms, as well as their attraction and power is reflected beautifully in what French politician Antoine Barnave wrote to Marie-Antoinette in a letter in December 1791: “Everything we do to pacify the public opinion is nothing compared to the effect of the uniform's face,”⁵⁴ and the uniform has preserved such attraction and power to this day.

⁴⁵ VRIŠER, S. 1974, p. 22.

⁴⁶ MAUTNER, K., GERAMB, V. 1935, p. 296.

⁴⁷ ŠVAJNCER, J. 1992, p. 44.

⁴⁸ BERNIK, V. 2006, p. 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵⁰ PEOPLES, S. 2014, p. 8.

⁵¹ MANSEL, P. 1982, pp. 119-121, 123.

⁵² Britain was a major trading power with a large navy and had spent most of the century in war, which made the military and navy institutions of major importance. It is estimated that the greatest number of uniformed men, i.e. around 437.000, was reached during the French Revolution war of 1795. STYLES, J. 2007, p. 51.

⁵³ MANSEL, P. 1982, p. 122.

⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 104.

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VOJAŠKA MODA IN NJEN VPLIV NA CIVILNA OBLAČILA V SLOVENIJI

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Vojaške uniforme oziroma vojaška moda na splošno je nedvomno imela in še ima močan vpliv na modo in oblačenje civilnega prebivalstva. Ne glede na to ali gre za oblačilne kose, ki so se razvili zaradi specifik podnebja, protokola ali življenja v vojski, so nekatere oblačilne prvine v zadnjem stoletju postale stalnice v sodobnem civilnem oblačenju. Krasili elementi, krojne in barvne posebnosti vojaške mode so vplivale na oblačenje ljudi še preden so modni kreatorji kaki barvo, cargo hlače, pilotske jakne itn. postavili na modne brvi. Vpliv oblačenja vojakov je mogoče zaslediti pri oblačenju civilnega prebivalstva, natančneje kmečkega prebivalstva že vsaj v 18. stoletju. Za te vplive so bili še posebej dovzetni moški, ki so v svoje vsakodnevno oblačenje vnašali določene oblačilne kose kot so npr. rdeči sukneni telovniki, različni plašči, škornji in spodnje perilo.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

vojaška moda, oblačenje, kmetje, telovniki, plašči, škornji, spodnje perilo

POVZETEK

Bomber ali pilotska jakna, safari oziroma cargo hlače, aviatorska očala so samo nekateri oblačilni kosi, ki so se v zadnjem stoletju s pomočjo mode zasidrali v naših omarah in tako postali stalnica v garderobah ljudi. Priljubljenost številnih oblačilnih kosov, ki so izšli iz vojaških uniform, kaže na to, kako močan vpliv ima oz. je imela vojaška moda na modne smernice tako v preteklosti kakor tudi danes.

Vpliv vojske je mogoče zaslediti pri oblačenju civilnega prebivalstva, natančneje kmečkega prebivalstva, že vsaj v 18. stoletju. Za te vplive so bili pri oblačenju še posebej dovzetni moški, ki so v svoje vsakodnevno oblačenje vnašali določene oblačilne kose kot so npr. rdeči sukneni telovniki, različni plašči, škornji in seveda spodnje perilo.

Vojaška moda je v tem obdobju in tudi pozneje predstavljala aspekt, ki je igral pomembno vlogo pri določanju oblačilne podobe odraslih moških. V drugi polovici 18. stoletja in v začetku 19. stoletja je bilo namreč število moških, ki so bili vojaki, mornarji ali so nosili katero drugo uniformo, zelo veliko in zato je postala tekstilna industrija, ki je proizvajala vojaška oblačila, pomemben igralec na trgu moške mode.

Neposreden prenos oblačilnega kosa iz vojaške v civilno modo in vplivanja nanjo lahko zasledimo v slovenskem prostoru. Kmetje, obrtniki in delavci so se namreč z nošenjem spodnjih hlač seznanili na dolgoletnem služenju vojske, pod vplivom katerega so vsaj nekateri razvili navado nošenja tega oblačilnega kosa, ki so jo ohranili tudi ob vrnitvi v civilno življenje.

Drug oblačilni kos, pri katerem je jasen vojaški vpliv, so škornji. Poseben kroj škornjev, *meksikajnarjev*, so v oblačilno modo v drugi polovici 19. stoletja vnesli vojaki, ki so se vrnili iz Mehike. Z gubanjem škornjev na golenicah, ki je sledilo zgledu, so jih od takrat naprej izdelovali tudi čevljarji pri nas.

Havelok, *kapenak*, *kabanica*, *burmus* so poimenovanja za vrhnji plašč, ki je med kmečkim prebivalstvom na slovenskem veljalo za boljše, dragoceno, tudi svatovsko oblačilo. Težek dolg volnen plašč, pogosto z dodano pelerino, narejen je bil iz volnene tkanine črne ali temno modre barve, se je v kmečkem okolju pojavil pred sredino 19. stoletja. Podoben plašč so moški nosili za jezdenje in potovanje vsaj že od druge četrtine 18. stoletja naprej, vendar se je pojavnost plašča med vsemi sloji razširila prav s pojavom uniform.

Najverjetneje pa imajo vojaški vzgled tudi rdeči telovniki, ki so bili med slovenskimi kmeti zelo priljubljeni konec 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja. Sicer ni povsem jasno, kdaj in kako so se med kmečkim prebivalstvom uveljavili ti

rdeči sukneni telovniki s številnimi gumbi, vendar pa nam krašenje z zlato obrobo ali vrvico, priljubljeno na telovnikih uniform mestnih gard in vojaških enot 17. in 18. stoletja, da misliti, da je moč njihov izvor iskati tudi v vojaških uniformah.

WORLD WAR I UNIFORMS AS COSTUME IN THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF FOLK DANCE GROUP KLAS HORJUL*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

The year 2017 brought the centenary of the end of the Battles of the Isonzo and the Folk Dance Group Klas Horjul have got the idea of preparing a choreography about the First World War was well accepted. The group wanted to show the spirit and mood of the soldiers fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army. The first part of the article is focused on a short review of recent decades with regard to the clothing of folk dance groups in Slovenia and the reasons why Folk Dance Group Klas Horjul decided to prepare uniforms. The second part describes the preparing of the uniforms and explains how they were interwoven into the choreography.

KEYWORDS

uniforms, World War I, Folk Dance Group Klas Horjul, costume, choreography, national costume

INTRODUCTION

Over recent decades, Slovenian folk dance groups have made an interesting journey with regard to clothing. To understand the current state of the art of folk dance groups and why the Folk Dance Group Klas from Horjul opted for World War I uniforms, it makes sense to review the last half century of folk dance clothing.

There were several folk dance groups in Slovenian lands before World War II (e.g. in Markovci, Cirkovci, Bojanci), but their work was interrupted by war (their clothing was hidden, animal skins were confiscated for the war effort); after the war, their clothing was improvised and stylised due to the poor availability of cloth. In some areas, local folk costumes had been a part of individual identification prior to the emergence of folk dance groups; after the war, the newly created groups co-opted the “folk costumes” of their localities. It is important to understand, however, that these “costumes” were not a precise reflection of clothing worn in the past, they contained innovations or were generalised. For example, women’s costumes were modelled on wedding dresses, which does not constitute an expression of an actual past. Folk dance groups procured their costumes with the help of municipalities and institutions, the tendency being to create a uniform appearance across the group. By the 1980s, the regionally recognizable “costumes” had been fully formed and generally accepted as such, e.g. the Štajerska costume with the blue male aprons, the Gorenjska costume with *avba* (an intricate headgear) and *sklepanec* (brass belt).

In parallel, major Slovenian folk dance groups (e.g. the groups Tine Rožanc and Emona from Ljubljana, Koleda from Velenje, Ozara from Kranj, Student folk dance group France Marolt from Ljubljana) incorporated dances from across Yugoslavia; their wardrobes contained mostly lavish costumes from other Yugoslav republics, which was the case until Slovenia’s independence.¹ With independence, these large groups put away the costumes from former Yugoslav republics and the time was ripe for a new change. The regional constriction of the 1980s became a restriction and the groups sought to be different, to stand out. As folk dance groups thrived, studies of local clothing traditions started to gradually emerge, driven by the interests of individual folk dance group mentors. These mentors usually worked in conjunction with Marija Makarovič, the curator of the clothing and textile collection at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. The groups had to invest a lot of effort in particular into gathering information in the field and finances, while the expert work was left to Makarovič. As well as conducting in-depth studies and making detailed drawings, Makarovič also worked with seamstresses in the entire process, from the purchase of cloth to the final product, and she often brought

* Translation: Sebastijan Maček

¹ KNIFIC, B. 2010, pp. 97-106.

pieces from the museum so that seamstresses could closely inspect the originals. Makarovič ended up authoring an extensive collection of works on local clothing across Slovenia and significantly contributed to improving the quality of folk dance group costumes.² Bojan Knific became active in this field at the turn of the millennium, contributing his extensive knowledge as adviser for folk dance at the Public Fund for Cultural Activities, and in recent years Katarina Šrampf Vendramin also joined the effort.

In last fifteen years, folk dance groups once again found themselves facing a similar predicament to the 1980s: the availability of printed sources from the late 19th and early 20th century – in particular the most tangible medium, photography – dictated the use of clothing from that period. Over time, it turned out that the groups became more uniform again: the presence of industrially made cloth and relatively uniform fashion across Slovenian lands produced similar costumes around the country. This harked back at the situation of several decades ago, when all groups were wearing Gorenjska costumes with headgear and brass belts.

At present, folk dance groups are once again diversifying. Many, such as the group from Šmarno pri Litiji and the group Gartrož from Nova Gorica, have therefore turned to the interwar period, while some reached back to the time after World War II, for example the group Leščeček from Veržej. One of the reasons for the change is cost: many clothes from the interwar and post-war period are still found in attics, and such clothing is not as difficult to make as 18th and 19th century pieces, which require significant sewing skill and a lot of manual work. Due to the demise of the Slovenian textile industry, it is also difficult to find the right cloth: for example, a complete mid-19th century female and male costume together from the Polhov Gradec area would cost a group around €8,000, which includes the collection of information, research, remuneration of experts, goods, labour, material, sewing etc.³ For a group, making one set of costumes means fully clothing eight women and eight men, plus a certain number of musicians. It is therefore logical that in future, groups will opt for 20th century costumes, with 19th century costumes relegated to the side-lines because of the significant financial input, the requisite knowledge of the mentors, the additional study of resources, etc.

In the last 30 years, the number of folk dance groups has increased substantially, whereas the content of their presentations has mostly remained the same: similar themes are being reworked over and over again, such as wedding customs, which has led to repetition and tedium. The preferences of certain folk dance groups have therefore shifted from classic choreographies, which mainly revolved around typical farm work (grape picking, corn shucking, flax scutching) or lifecycle customs (wedding, the draft), to imaginary events from written sources including newspapers, books and diaries. Significant costs combined with a lack of knowledge of clothing traditions, which is required for every decision on the selection of costumes for the group, have led groups to try to change their costumes with minimum cost. In practice, this means that only a portion of the costume is changed to achieve a new visual image of the entire group.

With Europe celebrating the centennial of World War I, the Folk Dance Group Klas from Horjul decided to celebrate the centenary of the Battles of the Isonzo with a themed choreography. The greatest challenge was to design a visual image for the group. The first contact with World War I uniforms was through David Švagelj, a member of the re-enactment group LIR 27, the 27th Ljubljana Defence Regiment, who regularly collaborates on documentaries in Slovenia and abroad and specializes in the equipment and weaponry of Slovenian units. With the help of a basic work in this field, the book *The Emperor's Coat*,⁴ which contains photographs and descriptions of all the units of the Austro-Hungarian Army and all the variants of uniforms, the group set out to design a uniform visual image. But because the decision was to topicalize deserting, and considering that towards the end of the war the uniforms varied due to increasing deprivation, with various types of uniforms that were dominant in individual years of the war gradually merging and the soldiers' appearance and neatness no longer important, we had no trouble deciding to have a variety of uniforms.

After the number of individual pieces required for the 18 performers was determined, the long path to fully equipping the group began. Re-enactment groups, which meet at numerous events, know each other and

² KNIFIC, B. 2010, pp. 97-106, 119-128.

³ Oral Source: Kobe Anita, Polhov Gradec, 2. 3. 2018.

⁴ REST, S. 2002, pp. 50-233.



Image 1: Poster for a concert of the Folk Dance Group Klas (Photo: Dominik Čepón).

participate in forums,⁵ are an extraordinarily useful source of information about uniforms, since their members regularly buy and sell individual pieces. That way, the group was able to procure the top layers of two uniforms, one in Slovenia and one in Austria. Additionally, there is an international meeting of collectors of antiques in Šempeter pri Gorici every April and October, organized by the Association of Isonzo Front Enthusiasts, where everything from badges and uniforms to grenades and cannons is sold.⁶ Their colleagues in the Isonzo Front 1915-1917 Association have similar fairs in March and November.⁷

Švagelj's experience indicated it would be very difficult to procure suitable cloth for uniforms, in particular colors corresponding to the colors from *The Emperor's Coat*.⁸ Indeed, it turned out it was impossible to acquire such cloth. Textile factories sell whole bales of cloth, not 10 metres, the quantity that we would require. In Tyrol we found a factory selling loden for €55-60 per meter, but the minimum order was 300 meters.⁹ Soldiers used to wrap cloth around their legs, starting with the instep and finishing just below the knee. These wraps were made of loden, a sturdy material, and were about 2.5 metres long and 10 centimetres wide. We tracked down cloth that was a close match in both feel and color in the Trieste area. The material and color of the trousers turned out to match Swedish World War II trousers. With the help of Ebay and Swedish online stores for uniforms, we procured the appropriate number of trousers from England, Poland, Ireland and Sweden. Seamstresses made corrections including removing the side pockets, and narrowing the trousers from knee to ankle for a snug calf fit. Sizes turned out to be a major problem: smaller sizes were all but used up during the war, leaving only large sizes, which required that the pieces be extensively narrowed and shortened. The shirts the group had represent the fashion of the early 20th century, but they needed to be simplified and military buttons had to be sewn on. Straps for jackets, hats and cockades were bought online in the Czech Republic; it appears that World

⁵ URL: <http://forum.prohereditate.com/viewforum.php?f=13> (quoted 8. 3. 2018). URL: <http://1914-1918.invisionzone.com/forums/> (quoted 8. 3. 2018). URL: <https://forum.axishistory.com/viewforum.php?f=31> (quoted 8. 3. 2018).

⁶ URL: <https://www.facebook.com/Zbiralci.starih.predmetov/> (quoted 6. 3. 2018).

⁷ URL: <http://forum.prohereditate.com/viewtopic.php?f=52&t=8829> (quoted 6. 3. 2018).

⁸ REST, S. 2002, pp. 176-207.

⁹ URL: <https://www.pustertal.org/de/highlights/museen-ausstellungen/lodenwelt-vintl/> (quoted 6. 3. 2018). URL: <http://www.oberrauch-zitt.com/herren/fashion.html> (quoted 6. 3. 2018).

War I is more present there, because there are many craftsmen and producers who make uniforms or custom pieces.¹⁰ It was even possible to purchase entire uniforms from them – shirt, trousers, two wrappers, a hat with a cockade – for about €400-450, but multiply that by the number of dancers and the final figure, €4,000-5,000, was unaffordable. Collar insignia for two uniforms were made with a variety of materials; Švagelj contributed the stars. A seamstress made one uniform from scratch. The choice of shoes was determined by the demands of the stage. The group would not be allowed to perform on high-grade wooden stages with shoes containing 40-plus rivets, which led to the decision to use existing black shoes. Other customary adaptations to the demands of the stage – pleated female skirts, broader sleeves on female costumes for easier lifting of the arms – were unnecessary. The uniforms were by design meant for demanding movement and did not have to be changed.



Image 2: Girls bringing food to hidden soldiers at the final national display of the best Slovenian folk dance groups in Žalec, 21 October 2017 (Photo: Janez Eržen).

Folk dance groups in Slovenia that opt for military themes usually stick to two themes: the draft and departure to service, none of which demand uniformed soldiers. The choice is probably motivated by the wide selection of military songs soldiers sang upon leaving their homes and their sweethearts. Most groups find these songs in Zmaga Kumer's book *Oj, ta vojaški boben* (Oh That Military Drum),¹¹ a collection of Slovenian folk songs about the military and warfare. But repetition of the same topics in the repertoires of the groups creates monotony on stage and may bore the audience, which should be borne in mind when groups prepare their stage appearances. Our group therefore selected a completely different topic: growing dissatisfaction with war, which intensified as civilians as well as soldiers faced increasing shortage of basic necessities, was accompanied by news of worsening military and strategic defeats on different frontlines, and censorship and oppression of the Slavic movement fanned revolt and dissent. Boys were no longer willing to fight for an emperor who left them hungry and freezing. More and more soldiers deserted, they hunkered together waiting for the war to pass. Girls helped them by bringing them food, but in exchange they wanted at least a bit of dancing. The army was searching for deserters to return them to the force, where they would be severely punished as a warning to others. But the smell of freedom was too strong, and the young boys had no intention of returning

¹⁰ URL: <http://www.militarie-repliky.cz> (quoted 6. 3. 2018). URL: <http://www.kukreplika.cz> (quoted 6. 3. 2018).

¹¹ KUMER, Z. 1992.

to the military, so they tried to ensure it did not happen. This story, enhanced by our artistic imagination, had to be presented through dance; the group avoids speech, which makes sense because performances are often outdoors, where sound dissipates, or abroad, where the spectators would not understand the spoken word.

The choreography starts with soldiers gathering in the woods, where, hungry and cold, they build a fire. Then the girls come and sing: *Every Sunday morning the birds come out in song, they come out in song as the boys howl. / Every Sunday morning the church sings praise to the Lord, but I walk in the meadow sad. / The mountains and the rocks, I'm tired of that and of flight day and night, / I'm tired of everything, no longer will I hide, / I'll head to the barracks even if I face the sword.* The song is from the album *Regiment po cesti gre* (The Regiment is on the March), which was published in 2007 by the Institute of Ethnomusicology ZRC SAZU.¹² This is one of the few songs that describe desertion, which is no wonder given that deserting was punishable by death in wartime and several years in prison in peacetime. The choreography continues with dances characteristic of central Slovenia, which have been adapted to the story: a soldier and a girl wrangle over a basket of goods through the *Ta potrkankan ples* (stamping dance); this is followed by the arrival of two officers looking for deserters during a *cvajšrit* (two-step dance), in which the typical traditional instruments such as accordion, clarinet, violin and base are replaced by more military ones: trumpet, baritone horn and clarinet; then the girls flee and the soldiers brawl; the finale involves some acrobatic elements and two officers tied up as a symbol of the end of the war, the demise of the Habsburg Monarchy, and the dispersal of young soldiers to all sides as the beginning of the creation of new states. The final part with the brawl is accompanied by Johann Schrammel's march, very well-known in Slovenia, *Vienna Remains Vienna*, which was first published in 1887.¹³



Image 3: Fight between soldiers and officers at the final national display of the best Slovenian folk dance groups in Žalec, 21 October 2017 (Photo: Janez Eržen).

The new costumes of the male part of the group created a new visual image that was well received by the dancers, and they completely changed the overall image of the group. The group performed the choreo-

¹² GOLEŽ KAUCIČ, M. et al. 2007, No. 16.

¹³ URL: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johann_Schrammel (quoted 6. 3. 2018).

graphy at multiple venues, whereby it quickly turned out that World War I uniforms are almost completely unknown: the public often inquired whether they are Partisans, which is absurd – if that was the case, they would be wearing Titovka caps – or whether they were Home Guards. To the best of my knowledge, the Klas from Horjul is the only folk dance group with World War I uniforms.

For the fourth year running Folk Dance Group Klas Horjul reached the final national display (*Državno srečanje folklornih skupin*), where the best folk dance groups present their programmes. Several obstacles had to be overcome before the national display. The 500-plus groups in Slovenia are first divided into children's and adult groups, and then to areas covered by the regional units of the national Public Fund for Cultural Activities. After the district festival for groups around Ljubljana, the group reached the Central Slovenian regional display, which is large but also very competitive, as it produced most of the subsequent participants of the national display.

The national display in Žalec on 21 October featured eight groups which were very diverse in terms of costumes, dance and song. The performance in front of a capacity crowd was exceptionally successful and the group was rewarded with lengthy applause from a crowd that appeared to have been captivated. All groups at the national display receive gold medals, but an expert jury also selects the best groups in the categories including music, singing, choreography and costumes. Up to three special commendations are usually awarded, but in 2017 the jury made an exception because of the high number of groups with demanding programmes: one group received the commendation for dance, another for costume design, the third for music, and the Folk Dance Group Klas from Horjul for the best overall performance.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the group has managed to create a unique appearance and it certainly stands out among folk dance groups with early 20th century costumes, in that it has created a completely new image involving uniforms. Considering that the centennial of the war is becoming more distant, it is unlikely many groups will decide in future to design World War I uniforms. The choreography *Ne bom več soldat* (I won't be a soldier any more) remains a core part of the repertoire; it is performed on tours abroad and it has become a signature choreography of sorts for the group.

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UNIFORME PRVE SVETOVNE VOJNE V KOREOGRAFIJI

FOLKLORNE SKUPINE KLAS IZ HORJULA

Mag. Marija Čipić Rehar, Nadškofijski arhiv Ljubljana, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Ob stoletnici soške fronte leta 2017 so na Slovenskem potekala številna praznovanja. Pridružila se jim je tudi Folklorna skupina Klas Horjul in se odločila pripraviti koreografijo o vojaki v prvi svetovni vojni. Prvi del članka je tako posvečen kratkemu pregledu razvoja kostumov folklornih skupin v Sloveniji v zadnjih desetletjih in s tem so povezani tudi razlogi, zaradi katerih se je Folklorna skupina Klas iz Horjula odločila za pripravo uniform prve svetovne vojne. Drugi del članka je namenjen predstavitvi nastajanja uniform, temu sledi njihova vloga v koreografiji in celoten opis izvedbe spleta.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

uniforme, prva svetovna vojna, Folklorna skupina Klas Horjul, kostumi, koreografija, narodna noša

POVZETEK

Folklorne skupine so na področju oblačilne kulture v zadnjih desetletjih prehodile zelo zanimivo pot: od druge svetovne vojne, ko je bilo delovanje zelo omejeno in skromno, vse do 80. let preteklega stoletja, ko so začeli nastajati tako imenovani pokrajinski kostumi. Od osamosvojitve naprej se je vse bolj povečevalo število folklornih skupin, ki so na podlagi bogatega terenskega dela Marije Makarovič ter njenih študij o oblačilni kulturi posameznih krajev in pokrajin lahko pripravile kostumsko podobo. Toda ta je v številnih primerih temeljila na oblačilni kulturi z začetka 20. stoletja, ko je bila precej podobna po vsej Sloveniji. Ravno zaradi te podobnosti se je Folklorna skupina Klas odločila za izdelavo uniform iz prve svetovne vojne, saj so s tem razbili kostumsko enoličnost.

Poleg tega vsepovsod po Evropi zadnja leta spremljamo raznovrstno dogajanje, povezano s stoletnico prve svetovne vojne. Tako se je tudi Folklorna skupina Klas iz Horjula leta 2017 odločila obeležiti stoletnico soške fronte in pripraviti koreografijo s temo prve svetovne vojne. Največji podvig je bila priprava kostumske podobe skupine. Pri tem je bila ključna pomoč Davida Švaglja, člana ponazoritvene skupine LIR 27, potreben pa je bil tudi temeljit pregled literature s fotografijami in opisi enot avstro-ogrske vojske. Skupina je del uniform dala sešiti, del pa je preskrbela s pomočjo forumov ponazoritvenih skupin in spletnih trgovin za uniforme.

Ko so bile uniforme urejene, je bil čas za pripravo koreografije. Skupina je na odru s stiliziranim plesom in petjem prikazala naraščajoče nezadovoljstvo nad vojno, ki je povzročilo dezertiranje vojakov. Pobegle vojake so iskali in jih hoteli vrniti nazaj v vojsko, tam pa bi jih drugim v poduk kaznovali.

Folklorna skupina Klas je splet poimenovala "Ne bom več soldat" in ga vključila v repertoar, ki ga izvaja na turnejah v tujini ter je zaščitni znak skupine. Z njim se je leta 2017 že četrto leto zapored uvrstila na državno srečanje folklornih skupin. Leta 2017 je 21. oktobra potekalo v Žalcu, na njem se je predstavilo osem skupin, skupina Klas pa je prejela plaketo za najboljšo izvedbo v celoti.

JEANS: FROM A UNIFORM OF REBELS TO THE UNIFORMITY OF ALL*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

This article talks about the history of denim or jeans, from Levi Strauss and his first work pants production, to the later mass production of jeans in the textile industry. Dealing with the history of jeans also means dealing with the development of the modern Western society and its influence on the Eastern one. In the post-war Yugoslavia, jeans were an important indicator of social conditions as well as a medium of newly constructed identities of young people. As an unofficial uniform¹ of groups and individuals, jeans have become a symbol of rebellion, creativity, and subcultural action. Thanks to their global orientation and extraordinary success in sales, jeans have managed to overcome various social, religious, cultural, generational, and sexual divisions, and to uniform the world.

KEYWORDS

Jeans, Levi Strauss, Yugoslavia, subcultures, clothing industry, unofficial uniform

INTRODUCTION

The history of jeans and their usefulness is undoubtedly one of the most successful stories of a product that emerged from a completely practical need; a product that later became a global sensation, as well as a social phenomenon that is re-examined by the humanities, used by the fashion industry, and exploited by capital. As such, jeans have crossed the boundaries of their original usefulness, and have become a synonym for openness, freedom, and equality. It is no wonder that some researchers even call them the essence of democracy.² Jeans do not distinguish between social classes, gender, religion, age, or nationality. Jeans have always only been jeans, regardless of who wears them, when they are worn, and where they are worn. Nevertheless, their beginnings did not indicate later commercial success.

MR. BLUE JEANS

When Levi Strauss began to sell strong and durable pants in the second half of the 19th century, physical workers, miners, and farmers were his primary customers. With his original name of Löb Strauß, Levi was a European emigrant who moved to the United States with his family in 1847, during the period of the gold fever. His family first settled in New York. Löb wished to create a new home in the USA, so he soon began to use the name Levi, which he found more appropriate and easier to pronounce in English. His first employment was at his brother's store; however, his sales talent led him to move first to Kentucky and then to San Francisco, where he founded the Western branch of his brother's company in 1853. Among other items, he also sold a stock of strong canvas, originally designed for various tarpaulins and covers. Among his clients were miners and farmers, demanding strong and durable work pants that would sustain the conditions of heavy work. Levi thus contacted tailor Jacob Davis, who tailored work pants with suspenders and pockets using Levi's strong canvas, and further reinforced them with rivets. The pants soon became very popular both among workers and farmers. High demand made Levi join forces with Davis and patent the Levi Strauss & Co.'s brand.³

* Translation: Andreja Terbos

¹ The authors of the article consider an unofficial uniform to be a garment worn by a certain group of people because of its symbolic meaning, which is also recognized by other members of society. In the case of jeans this means since the time when the first subcultures took them over as their characteristic garment, until the transition to the world of mass fashion.

² DANT, T. 2007, pp. 373–385.

³ WEIDT, N. M. 1990.

The material they used to manufacture these durable pants was denim. The name denim actually came from the name of the place where it was originally manufactured, Nîmes (in French: *de Nîmes*). However, denim was not the only material used: it was mixed with another strong fabric called *jean*, whose name derived from the word Genoa (an Italian city, the French equivalent of which is "Genes"). The sailors in Genoa were known for wearing durable work pants that they called *jean*. Their fabric was of different colors, but most often indigo, and it is known as some sort of a predecessor of modern denim.⁴

The Levi's brand grew and became increasingly popular among various groups of workers. The first patented pants were 501 originals, at that time called XX, which signified the highest quality fabric. On the back, Strauss equipped them with a piece of leather carrying the brand image. It depicted two horses trying to tear apart the pair of pants in vain. For many illiterate workers, this image symbolically represented the power of the pants suitable for hard work. Levi's has kept the brand image until this day. Another hallmark of these jeans were rivets and metal buttons which additionally ensured the strength of the pants, given the fact that workers used pockets for carrying various tools and materials. Metal buttons are an important part of the history of jeans, especially because the zipper came into use at Levi's only in 1954.⁵

Jeans had been work pants for miners, farmers, cowboys, and other physical workers for several decades. It was only in the first decades of the 20th century that painters and other artists working in the Southwest of the United States started wearing them, too.⁶ Jeans were initially a distinctive male garment, and were culturally appropriate only for blue-collar workers. In 1918, Levi Strauss & Co. tailored a first denim garment for women, namely a tunic called Freedom-Alls, intended for household chores and leisure. It was not until 1934 that the company launched to the market denim pants to be worn only by women.⁷ This was the period in which intellectuals, too, started wearing jeans. This was a way for them to be more easily identified with workers' values, and in some way they also adopted what is known as unisex dressing. In 1935, when the company first advertised jeans in the fashion magazine *Vogue*, and when they came to the New York stores, this began to pave the way for jeans to be massively adopted, and to become a part of the popular culture.⁸

THE JEANS GENERATION: JEANS DURING THE TIME OF YUGOSLAVIA

Jeans were introduced to the former Republic of Yugoslavia relatively late, only after 1950. The main reasons for this were closed borders, ideological criticism, and the rejection of everything that came from the West, especially popular culture based on music and fashion. Those cultural and historical discussions of socialism that mention jeans simply place this item of clothing in the context of Americanization, and treat them as a symbol of the Westernization, liberalization, or even democratization of the socialist society.⁹ The latter was particularly evident after 1960, when the liberalization of border regime actually took place, and masses of people went shopping for various Western products across the border. These products included jeans, which came with various names across Yugoslavia: they were called *kavbojke* in Slovenia, *farmerke* in Serbia, *traperice* in Croatia, *pantalone* in Bosnia and *farmarki* in Macedonia. The names were primarily the result of a very popular mythology of the Wild West and the Western genre at that time. Later, jeans were also called *leviske*, *rifličji*, *pantosi*, etc. These derived from the names of the most popular brands of jeans.¹⁰

In the early 1970s, jeans became the most imported and widely used product. In symbolic terms, jeans were an artifact whose importance was created by limited accessibility, unrelenting import customs regulation, combined with the arbitrary gray zone of non-compliance with these rules, the cultural practice of semi-illegal smuggling, contact with the West (especially Trieste, Italy), as well as the Italianness of jeans, crossing the border and contacts with customs officers, class differences that were reflected and created through consumption, the cultural hegemony of the West and dependence on its evaluation criteria, as well as the official discourse about jeans and about the mass smuggling of jeans.¹¹ All this contributed to the fact that

⁴ SAURO, C. 2016, s. p..

⁵ DOWNEY, L. 2014, s. p..

⁶ DAVIS, F. 2006, p. 102.

⁷ DOWNEY, L. 2014, s.p..

⁸ GORDON, B. 1991, p. 32.

⁹ LUTHAR, B., PUŠNIK, M. 2016, p. 44.

¹⁰ KOVAČEVIČ, I. 1980, p. 96.

¹¹ LUTHAR, B., PUŠNIK, M. 2016, p. 45.

jeans represented the most desired and sought-after fashion product of the West; a product that significantly influenced the part of the society that made jeans into a Yugoslav artifact *par excellence*.¹² Jeans became a social phenomenon, one which young people in particular considered as a part of their own change and rebellion against the existing political ideology that did not allow Western modernization of the society, although it was no longer possible to prevent it. For young people came into contact with the popular culture of the West through foreign radio stations (e.g. Radio Luxembourg) and magazines (e.g. Bravo), and skillfully introduced the culture into their own environment.

DIY ("Do it yourself") culture, as well as a great amount of creativity and ingenuity, were the key skills of young people, who until 1970 used jeans and wore them in different ways, naturally in the spirit of the period dictated by the West. Because the demand for jeans was increasing, Yugoslav industry took on a venture that reached its peak in the 1960s and particularly in the 1970s. The first textile factories to undertake jeans production were, among others, Toper Celje, Slovenia and Varteks of Varaždin, Croatia. Naturally, the domestic production of jeans needed decent propaganda; the Yugoslav press rapturously promoted the idea of the Yugoslav jeans that were supposed to replace unacceptable shopping and smuggling across the border.¹³ The propaganda was based on the fact that the Yugoslav jeans were different, but not at all of lesser quality - perhaps of even higher quality than the Western ones. However, the young people who wore these jeans were of a different opinion: they were convinced that the Yugoslav jeans were not close in quality or as fashionable as the ones across the border. It is therefore no surprise that shopping across the Yugoslav borders remained a regular practice of those who wanted fashion clothes in the 1980s.

When in 2017, the authors of this article organized a comprehensive exhibition of Celje popular culture, jeans were the main feature of the exhibition, entitled Jeans Generation:¹⁴ Celje's Popular Culture from Jeans to Cell Phone.



Image 1: All in jeans. Jeans was a fashionable hit of youth in socialist Yugoslavia, 1975 (personal archive of Tina Pregelj Skrt).

¹² LUTHAR, B., PUŠNIK, M. 2016, p. 42.

¹³ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁴ The title of the song by the band *Neki to vole vruće* ("Some Like It Hot").

For generations who spent their youth in the years 1950-1970, the importance of jeans was such that our witnesses and later the visitors to the exhibition fully identified with its title. Moreover, many of them called their generation the jeans generation, even though the percentage wearing jeans in the generations that followed the jeans generation was much higher. The introduction of jeans in Yugoslavia was, in fact, an opportunity for the kind of change and openness which these first post-war generations looked for. This is the reason why to this day, for this generation, wearing jeans is a symbol of rebellion and reform. At the same time, jeans also bring back a sense of nostalgia for their youth, pervaded with stories about smuggling jeans from Trieste, about the ban on wearing jeans at school, about brushing jeans legs so that they looked worn like the ones from the West, and about the first divisions into subcultures of rockers and posers.



Image 2: Jeans at the exhibition Jeans Generation:¹⁵ Celje's Popular Culture from Jeans to Cell Phone (Photo: Urška Repar).

JEANS AS THE UNOFFICIAL UNIFORM OF SUBCULTURES

Dressing is inseparable from the human body. Through clothes, we make the first step in our non-verbal communication with the world, and express – beside our outward appearance – our values, standpoint, and perspective on life. Our choice of clothes and clothing style help us gain attention, form relationships with others, express acceptance, rejection, or a collective stance in relation to what is socially desirable, acceptable, and moral. A person can hide behind clothes; clothes are thus a mediator between an individual and the environment or society. Moreover, clothes present identity in a specific way, individually or collectively, as well as identifying a person or society.¹⁶ They can thus be understood as multilayered messages: we interpret them, give meaning to their significance and to the identity of the person wearing them, as well as determining what the person wearing the clothes is communicating. Both dressing and fashion reflect our understanding of society and of social interactions. For this reason, clothes can be interpreted as a means of communicating our identity to others.¹⁷ Clothes carry a special significance

¹⁵ The title of the song by the band *Neki to vole vruće* ("Some Like It Hot").

¹⁶ TODORIČ, T., TOPORIŠIČ, T., PAVKO ČUDEN, A. 2014, p. 322.

¹⁷ PRAPROTNIK, T. 2012, pp. 87–88.

for members of subcultures because – by means of the signifying structure – the outward image of these members is expressed as a distinctive sign.¹⁸ Even though the key element to belonging to a subculture is sharing similar interests and activities, membership of subcultures and identification with them are also expressed through the choice of clothes, or by certain aspects of visual appearance through which belonging is outwardly expressed. Members transmit certain meanings and their own rules through their clothes. Moreover, they put their clothing into a new context, which gives the clothes not only a function and a purpose, but also a symbolic meaning.¹⁹

Thanks to their universality, durability, remodeling possibility, and affordability, jeans are attributed various meanings, as well as an informational value. Originally a uniform of miners, farmers, and workers, jeans have found their way around the globe and have been established as an everyday garment thanks to the subcultures that included them in their style, and thanks to the mass media that spread their appearance and popularity.

The concept of a subculture is inseparably linked with adolescents. The phenomenon of youth as a special period in the life of an individual, and the phenomenon of adolescents as a social group, are the result of the economic growth following World War II, the rise in the standard of living, and the prolonged period of education. Leisure time helped young people to socialize, and storekeepers to develop the youth consumption market, related to music production, album distribution, concerts, fashion styles, and the like.²⁰ The adolescents cultivated their own individuality that originated from the fact that they wanted to be the ones to decide what they would buy, and what clothes they would wear. This fact made them ideal consumers, which was exploited by the advertising media.²¹ The adolescents wanted to distance themselves from their mostly middle-class parents, which is why they took over the clothing style from other social groups. This is how jeans found their way from the working class to middle-class adolescents. Because young people wanted to shape their own style so as to grow independent from older generations and to resist the rules that conditioned dressing, they changed the way clothes were worn. In Western popular culture in the 1950s, people wore narrow jeans combined with shirts and leather jackets. This was their way to mimic the icons of rebellion in Hollywood films, James Dean and Marlon Brando, who were also among the most important promoters of jeans in their time.

In the 1960s, jeans were worn by the hippies, rock musicians, concert and festival visitors, anti-Vietnam War protesters, and all those who were influenced by Western subcultures. Jeans changed their appearance, with wide legs and combinations with other materials, particularly multi-colored cotton with various patterns with which the leg bottoms were patched. Young people, who wanted to rebel against the increasingly evolving fashion consumerism, often patched their jeans on their own. Being worn by musicians, actors, writers, and other famous people, as well as by their fans and followers, jeans gradually became a part of the cultural mainstream. Nevertheless, they did not lose the revolutionary charge that they were given by the transition to the world of juvenile subcultures and by the symbolic significance of this transition. With punk, which in the second half of the 1970s expressed its rebellion against social rules, class divisions, and consumerism with the DIY²² idea, jeans became very narrow, ripped, and with numerous safety pins. While the punks still remade their own jeans, those popularized by grunge musicians at the end of the 1980s were manufactured by the fashion industry. Jeans gradually became more widespread among different generations, and were a suitable item of clothing in different occasions. Fashion brands penetrated markets around the globe and with them spread the jeans that bore the names of these brands.

If a uniform is considered as a garment to be worn by a certain group of people aware of the connection that clothes create in the group with their symbolic meaning,²³ then jeans were the uniform of young people who wanted to build their identity on being different and rebellious against people older than them. In addition, jeans were also a clothing item with which people expressed their affiliation to the group, and

¹⁸ KOVAČIČ, M. 2002, p. 69.

¹⁹ TODORIČ, T., TOPORIŠIČ, T., PAVKO ČUDEN, A. 2014, p. 325.

²⁰ BABIČ, J. 2016, pp. 8–11.

²¹ YOUNG, C. 2016, p. 7.

²² "Do it yourself"

²³ FUSSEL, P. 2002, p. 4.



Image 3: Jeans as a part of punk uniform in the 1990s (personal archive of Jure Cvitan).

which externally separated them from others. Those who wore them expressed a strong message about the world they belonged to. In addition, jeans wearers also distinguished one another by their clothes. Just like we can recognize someone's function by the formal uniform they are wearing, jeans represented an unofficial uniform that was sufficiently widespread and recognizable in society to be understood both by those who wore them, and by those who did not.

Despite the fact that the main message of wearing jeans was rejecting class divisions, challenging authority, rebellion, and opposition to the dominant culture, the fashion industry, too, took advantage of jeans' popularity. By becoming a part of high fashion, a mark of prestige, as well as the main selling asset of trademarks and of the massive low-cost production of clothing, jeans began to express everything that they originally opposed – differences in wealth and status. Instead of the significance that jeans had as a clothing of rebels, the appearance and expression of social status came to the forefront. A similar phenomenon, for example, occurred in the punk subculture. A clothing style characterized by anarchist elements and ripped jeans was taken over by the mass media. On the one hand, television and films demonized punk by portraying it as a threat to the social order; on the other hand, commercialization showed the limits in the range of the activist side of this subculture. In fact, many young people were not drawn to punk by the movement's philosophy, but only by its clothing style.²⁴

Clearly, what happened to jeans is easily applied to many other areas that express how impossible it is to escape social stratification, as well as to abandon identities and social positions.²⁵ Alongside jeans, the adver-

²⁴ CHAPMAN, R., DIMENT, J. 2015, p. 449.

²⁵ BARNARD, M. 2005, pp. 175–179.

tising industry, the modern media, and other consumer mechanisms have also adopted previous rebellious elements, such as combat boots,²⁶ leather jackets, and even rebellion itself.²⁷

HOW JEANS HAVE UNIFORMED THE WORLD

Today, jeans are an extremely widespread and popular garment, as was revealed by Daniel Miller and Sophie Woodward in their Global Denim survey.²⁸ Their research work was based on several jeans-related questions, among which were how frequently and how much people like wearing them, and how many pairs they have at home. Miller and Woodward discovered that over half of the people observed and surveyed around the world wore them. On average, people wore jeans 3.5 days in the week; they were most frequently worn by Germans – as many as 5.2 days in the week. When the results from the greater part of the urbanized world were united, it was revealed that as many as 62% of the surveyed people claim that they like wearing jeans. The most positive response was detected in Brazil (72%), and the lowest in India (27%). The researchers also measured the number of pairs of jeans owned in individual countries. The number of those who do not own any at all was relatively low in all countries (e.g., 13% of Russians, 29% of Malaysians). On the other hand, Germans have an average of 8.6 pairs of jeans in their wardrobes, and as many as 14% of the Brazilian population has more than 10 pairs of jeans. The methodology of this kind of research can be very simple because a similar result can be achieved merely by observing people in their local environment, or by checking the stock in a clothes shop. Jeans are present virtually everywhere. Miller²⁹ explains why this is so by listing the properties that he attributes to jeans. It is a piece of clothing that has changed the least when compared to other fashionable clothing. Even when the length, width, the shade of blue, bleaching, and remaking change because of fashion trends, jeans remain jeans and the classic cut can still be found in stores. Because people think that jeans are suitable for almost any occasion, with the exception of those at which clothing shows respect, people wear them more often than other clothes. Moreover, people do not discard jeans as soon as they are worn, stretched, or ripped. It is difficult to find any other item apart from jeans that becomes more and more personal during its use. By changing their color, by being worn out, or when their leg bottoms are tearing, their material is softening, and when they stretch and fit around the body, jeans become a reflection of the person wearing them. While these are the reasons people would throw other clothing items away, they often like jeans all the more this way. On the other hand, jeans are also the most global piece of clothing. The reason for this is not only because they are so widespread around the world, but also because we establish a relationship with the world with jeans – our world that seems to be more extensive because of the presence of media and information which leaves people with a feeling of alienation. To wear jeans as they are worn by the entire world means to be a citizen of the world.³⁰ Jeans are the answer to how we can be like everyone else, but without losing our individuality because we give our jeans us personal touch.

CONCLUSION

Thus, if there is a piece of clothing worn by the entire world, it is undoubtedly jeans. If jeans can be treated as a unofficial uniform of a particular social group in the second half of the 20th century, they uniformed the world in the sense of unification in the 21st century. Jeans have blurred many differences in clothing styles around the globe. At the same time, people combine jeans with many other pieces of clothing, not only with sportswear and elegant clothing, but also with culturally and ethnically-marked items of clothing.

²⁶ In the 1960s, world-famous combat boots Dr. Martens were first worn by postmen, policemen, and factory workers thanks to their durability, protection, and lightweight soles. The boots were only later discovered by skinheads, punks, and members of other subcultures, whereby the shoes were not their first choice because of their practical properties but because of the looks that became a distinguished part of a subcultures' "uniform." In the 1990s, they were also worn by grunge fans. Ever since then and until the first decade of the 21st century, the sales of combat boots had been increasing exceptionally, and combat boot shops were opened around the world. MANZOOR, S. 2010.

²⁷ An illustrative example of how marketing and companies commercialize rebellion is the Telekom Slovenija advertisement created by Aljoša Bagola. In it, the director used scenes of young protesters wearing jeans, All Star shoes, and carrying raised flags. TVOJ ČAS, TVOJA PRAVILA. ITAK., 2013.

²⁸ MILLER, D., WOODWARD, S. 2012, p. 4.

²⁹ MILLER, D. 2017, pp. 124–129.

³⁰ A citizen of the world is someone who identifies themselves as a member of a community that encompasses the whole world, and whose work in the world contributes to common values and practices. ISRAEL, R. C. 2012.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

V članku sta predstavljeni zgodovina denima oziroma džinsa Levija Straussa in njegova uporaba, sprva za delovne hlače, kasneje pa množična raba v oblačilni industriji. Ukvarjanje z zgodovino džinsa je hkrati tudi ukvarjanje z razvojem sodobne zahodne družbe in njenega vpliva na vzhodno. V povojni Jugoslaviji je bil džins pomemben pokazatelj družbenih razmer in hkrati nosilec novonastalih identitet mladih. Kot nekakšna neformalna uniforma³¹ skupin in posameznikov je postal simbol upora, kreativnosti in subkulturnega dogajanja. Zaradi globalne usmerjenosti in izrednega prodajnega uspeha je džinsu uspelo premostiti različne socialne, verske, kulturne, generacijske in spolne delitve ter uniformirati svet v pomenu poenotenja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

džins, Levi Strauss, Jugoslavija, subkulture, oblačilna industrija, neformalna uniforma

POVZETEK

Zgodovina džinsa je mnogo več kot samo zgodba o razvoju iz njega izdelanih oblačil, kot tudi kavbojke niso samo hlače. V prispevku sta zato predstavljena nastanek in razvoj kavbojk od oblačila za fizične delavce, rudarje in kmete do prehoda v svet mladostniških upornikov in pripadnikov subkultur ter do njegovega razcveta, ko so preplavile ves svet. V Jugoslavijo so kavbojke zaradi zavračanja zahodnih trendov postopoma prihajale po letu 1950 in osvojile mlade generacije, ki so v njih prepoznale sredstvo za izražanje upora proti družbenim normam in omejitvam. Zato so v naslednjih desetletjih postale kulturni kos, povezan s tihotapljenjem čez mejo, skrivanjem pred starši in učitelji, ki so kavbojkam nasprotovali, ter pomemben atribut tvorjenja identitete mlade generacije in posledično tudi del njihovih spominov na mladost. To se je izkazalo tudi na občasni razstavi v Muzeju novejšje zgodovine Celje z naslovom Jeans generacija: Celjska popularna kultura od kavbojk do mobitela. Avtorja v prispevku izpostavljata vlogo in pomen, ki ga imajo oblačila kot sredstvo komuniciranja in izražanja vrednot in stališč ter pri oblikovanju občutka pripadnosti skupini, kar velja tudi za kavbojke, ki so postale neformalna uniforma ne le (sub)kulturnih gibanj, temveč z izjemno razširjenostjo tudi globaliziranega sveta.

³¹ Avtorja prispevka pojmujeva uniformo kot oblačilo, ki ga nosi določena skupina ljudi zaradi njenega simbolnega pomena, ki ga prepoznava tudi drugi člani družbe. To je za kavbojke veljalo vse od takrat, ko so jih kot svojo značilnost prevzele prve subkulture, pa vse do prehoda v svet množične mode.

UNIFORMS OF THE VARAŽDIN CIVIL GUARD FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT TO 1918*

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ABSTRACT

The article gives a concise overview of the development, design and basic characteristics of the historical uniforms of the Varaždin Civil Guard in the period from 1750 to 1918. Records from the preserved Rulebooks of the Guard, uniforms, equipment, weaponry, written and printed material, paintings and photos from the museum collections and archive material have been used in the study. The Civil Guard or Troop comprised of citizen volunteers was banned in the period from 1946 to 1990, when it was once more re-established. Today, it represents one of the most prominent symbols of Varaždin and is listed as Croatian Cultural Heritage.

KEYWORDS

Varaždin Civil Guard, grenadiers, fusiliers, uniform, Rulebook

INTRODUCTION

In the past the Varaždin Civil Guard was also known as the Varaždin Civil Troop, and referred to by citizens simply as *purgari*, *purgeri* or *grenadiers*. People from Varaždin were members of the guard: artisans, merchants and other professions who were afforded the status of citizens. The Troop was under the command of the city magistrate (today's mayor).

The Croatian archivist and historian Julije Janković (Varaždin, 1856-1919), a researcher into archive material of the city of Varaždin and Varaždin County, claimed that the Troop initially existed under the name of *militia civitatis Varasdiensis* or *banderium* and that it was of local origin,¹ but the exact date of its establishment has not been determined due to the lack of "historical records."² Hence, 1750 is considered to be the year of the Troop's establishment, marking the inclusion into the City Statute of the old custom of citizens enlisting as armed volunteers and forming a troop in times of war. The Statute was approved in 1750 by the Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa. In addition to the Statute guidelines there is a mention of armed citizens and the obligation of the commander in chief to line them up four times a year in order to assess the functioning of their weaponry.³

In a letter addressed to the Varaždin city administration, the Queen's confidante Count Ivan Nepomuk II Erdödy demanded a compulsory translation into Croatian of the Statute and its guidelines, along with its implementation.⁴ The Troop was divided into two units or companies: *grenadiers*,⁵ and *musketeers* or *fusiliers*,⁶ which differed in terms of uniforms and weaponry. Whereas in the 17th century grenadiers had been soldiers especially trained for the throwing of hand grenades, in the 18th century they became elite troops in the armies of many European countries, recognizable by their tall fur hats. The earliest records of the Varaždin grenadiers' uniforms mention clothes resembling tailcoats and paper hats.

Since its establishment, the Civil Troop⁷ or Guard⁸ was formed of citizen volunteers who defended the city and its residents in times of war. They especially distinguished themselves in the French-Austrian wars (1792-

* Translation: Iva Bosnić

¹ Varaždinski viestnik, 7. 8. 1897, VIII, no. 32., Julije Janković, Varaždinska c. i kr. poveljena gradjanska četa, p. 1.

² Ibid.

³ ŠIMUNIĆ, LJ. 2016, p.77. Varaždin City Museum, Catalogue of the Exhibition Varaždin under the Habsburgs, Varaždin, 2016, p. 76.

⁴ GMV Varaždin City Museum, Collection the Life of Citizens, inv. no. GMV KPO 9975.

⁵ Fr. *grenadier*, soldier trained for throwing grenades.

⁶ Fr. *fusil*, rifle, Ger. *Füsilier*, marksman, soldier equipped with rifle, Janković uses the term *fusuliere*.

⁷ In older records it appears under the name *Bürger Corps*, *Chor* or *Troop*.

⁸ The official name today is the Varaždin Civil Guard.

1815) and the events of 1848. At other times they ensured peace and order in the city. Dressed in solemn ceremonial uniforms with white belts, tall fur hats for grenadiers and flat caps, *tanjurače*, for fusiliers, armed with sabres and muskets, and trained according to military standards, they participated in every ceremonial event in Varaždin and Croatia. The guard had its own flag and musicians. Following the Second World War, in Yugoslavia, all forms of citizen associations were banned, including civil troops. In 1990 the Troop was re-established as the Varaždin Civil Guard. Maintaining its traditional formation, historical uniforms and weaponry, it once again became one of the most prominent symbols of Varaždin. It participates in many meetings of historical troops across Europe, its appearance and well-trained presentation drawing attention. It is listed as Croatian Cultural Heritage.

UNIFORMS, EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONRY

After being confirmed by the Statute in 1750, the record of the Guard's activities can be traced in the Books of Investitures of Varaždin County Prefects; in 1770 "a civil and uniformed troop" fired rifles in honour of the investiture of Count Ivan Nepomuk I Erdödy as the county prefect⁹ and in 1793 it saluted his successor Ivan Nepomuk II Erdödy, divided into two units."¹⁰ Later records from the late 18th and early 19th century mention it was comprised of two companies, *grenadiers* and *fusiliers*, under a single commander and this formation was maintained until the end of the Second World War.¹¹

More elaborate information on the Civil Troop can be found in the time of Napoleon's conquest of Croatian territory and the wars between France and the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1787, when the French conquered part of Slovenia and southern Croatia, it also posed a threat to the free royal city of Varaždin. The Troop was then reorganized, admitting all citizens eligible for battle. Taking into account that the official army of the monarchy was deployed on battlefields outside Croatia, the ones ensuring order in the city and preparing for its defence were members of the Troop.¹² The number of members increased to 250:125 in grenadier troops and 125 in the musketeers.¹³ In later conflict with the French in 1799, the Civil Troop was equipped with new uniforms. According to the historian Rudolf Horvat, until that point its members had performed their activities in their civil suits.¹⁴ The Troop's name was changed to the Royal Uniformed Civil Troop in Varaždin.



Image 1: Franjo Došek, Display of the members of the Varaždin Civil Guard in the period from 1811 to 1900, Varaždin, 1904 (tempera on paper, sign. d.d.k. Fr. DOŠEK 904, Varaždin City Museum, inv. no. 59052).

⁹ JANKOVIĆ, J. 1898, p. 53.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 66-67.

¹¹ ŠIMUNIĆ, LJ. 2016, p.77. Varaždin City Museum, Catalogue of the Exhibition Varaždin under the Habsburgs, Varaždin, 2016.

¹² HORVAT, R. 1993, p. 276.

¹³ The earliest records mention members of the company as musketeers, from the old rifle type called musket, as opposed to grenadiers equipped with hand grenades.

¹⁴ Croatian historian Rudolf Horvat, author of many books, articles, discourses and studies on Croatian history, wrote with the support of the City of Varaždin Assembly *Povijest grada Varaždina* (The History of Varaždin) in 1912, published in print not until 1993. The original manuscript was up to that point kept in the Varaždin City Museum.

Grenadiers or grenade throwers and fusiliers,¹⁵ marksmen equipped with muskets, were mutually distinguishable by their uniforms, equipment and weaponry.

At the time the grenadier uniform included a blue coat resembling a tailcoat¹⁶ and tailored white trousers tucked into tall boots.¹⁷ Since the tailcoat marked the fashion of the male aristocracy in the 18th century and became a significant feature of military and officials uniform after the French revolution, we can be certain that the military uniforms of that period greatly influenced the design of those of the grenadiers. Soldiers wore two white cross-belts over the coat, with a cartridge pouch attached to one and a short dagger in a black sheath to the other. The most distinguishing element was the hat made from thick, rough cloth,¹⁸ tall at the front and embellished with a black two-headed eagle and black silk ribbons; the back of the hat was lower.¹⁹ One interesting fact is that the grenadier hats were initially made of wooden sticks covered with thick, rough cloth. The exact design of the earliest grenadier hats is not known, being replaced with tall bearskin hats in 1811, which has been maintained in use in their basic form until this day. The musketeer uniform included a dark green coat similar to a Turkish *dolama*,²⁰ tailored red trousers embellished with a type of embroidery called *gaytan*, and boots. Presumably, they wore ankle boots or shoes. Attached to their waist belt was a sheath with a dagger. On their heads they wore tall pointed hats, most probably with a fur brim. The musketeers (later on fusiliers) had initially been armed with muskets, the main type of weaponry of the infantry in the 16th and 17th centuries. These were so heavy that the soldiers were not able to hold them while shooting, so each soldier carried a support consisting of two wooden cross bars joined with a nail or a screw.²¹ To achieve more precision, musketeers leaned their guns against this support while shooting. At the beginning of the 19th century muskets were replaced with lighter, flint rifles, whose barrel was widened at the end and which were seized by the Austrian army from the French in the battles during 1813-1815. From the French *fusil* (rifle) members of the musketeer unit armed with these new rifles started to call themselves fusiliers or fisiliers.²²

In order for a unit to be legitimate, its rulebook had to be approved by the monarch. Thus on 15th September 1806, city representatives adopted the *Regulamental-Verfassung der zwei Bürgerlichen Chöre der Königlichen Freystadt Warasdin* (The Draft of the Rulebook of the Two Civil Troops of the Royal and Free City of Varaždin).²³ However, not before the third request had been addressed to the king and Emperor Francis I was the Rulebook approved in 1810 and the Civil Troop granted permission by the Rulebook of the Civil Troop of the Royal and Free City of Varaždin (*Reglements für die Bürger Milliz der Königlichen Freystadt Warasdin*). The Rulebook arranged the Troop activity in great detail, in addition to prescribing the uniforms of the grenadiers and fusiliers. This had an impact on the increase in the size of both troops, at times numbering up to 500 members.

PRESCRIBED UNIFORMS, EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONRY IN THE RULEBOOK OF THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL PRIVILEGED CIVIL TROOP VARAŽDIN 1901

Members of the Troop had to finance the uniforms themselves. Honouring the arrival of Emperor Francis I and his wife Marie Louise in Varaždin on 13th October 1810, the grenadiers, fusiliers and musicians of the Civil Troop greeted them dressed in new uniforms. Since there is no record on any changes in uniforms, it is presumed that the original design and colour remained unaltered until 1835. According to the list of members dating from 1834 the troop consisted of 80 grenadiers²⁴ and 80 fusiliers,²⁵ as well as officers and petty officers. The Civil Troop band was formed the same year. The number of members increased from the existing six to twenty-two. The instruments included: clarinet (5), piccolo (1), bassoon (2), bass (1), trumpet (4), trombone (5), large and small drum, cymbal (1) and tambour drum (1). Later records and photographs of musicians show that sometimes the band had more members. In 1846 the design of their uniforms was also determined.

¹⁵ Fr. *fusil*, rifle loaded from the muzzle end, so called *ostraguša* rifle.

¹⁶ Fr. *frac*, male overgarment.

¹⁷ In the painting the first on the left is the image of a grenadier 1811.

¹⁸ Horvat points out that it was made from thick, rough cloth *darovac* (*sukno*).

¹⁹ HORVAT, R. 1993, p. 276.

²⁰ A type of Janissaries coat, became part of aristocracy and military uniforms.

²¹ HORVAT, R. 1993, p. 266.

²² Ger. *Füsilier*, marksman.

²³ Varaždin City Museum, Collection the Life of Citizens, inv. no. GMV KPO 12332.

²⁴ HR-DAVŽ 897. Personal Standvonden Bürgerlichen Grenadier Corps im Jahre 1834, 1834.

²⁵ HR-DAVŽ 897. Personal Standvonden Bürgerlichen Musquetier Corps im Jahre 1834, 1834.

In 1901 a new bilingual Rulebook, *Pravilnik ces. i kr. povelj. gradjanske čete u Varaždinu*, was approved and printed,²⁶ since the general attitude was that the old ones from 1811 and 1836, along with their obligatory translation into Croatian, were outdated.

Initially, the Guard was presented as a patriotic choir consisting of the citizens of Varaždin and gaining its privileges with the Statute of 12th August 1750.



Image 2: Rulebook of the Imperial and Royal Privileged Civil Troop Varaždin / *Reglement des Kais. Und Königl. Privileg. Bürgercorps in Warasdin / Pravilnik Cesaro i Kraljevske poveljene gradjanske čete u Varaždinu*, Varaždin (Print J. B. Stifler, 1901, Varaždin City Museum, inv. no. GMV KPO 12761).

Of utmost importance for the research into the uniforms, equipment and weaponry of the members of both units was the *Addition* to the Rulebook. In the description of particular items of uniforms of the Guard there are quite frequent comparisons and similarities with those of the official royal army of the Habsburg Monarchy, mostly infantry, which substantiates the notion that it derived from the army. Along with the records of equipment, clothes and weapons, there is also a list of emblems such as:

Flag (consecrated on 7th August 1897) made of gold and yellow silk, with indented trimmings, embroidered with imperial and royal coat of arms, with two-headed eagle on one, and initials of Francis Joseph I on the other side.

Ribbon banner made from light blue silk, gifted to the troop by patron Archduchess Blanca, the wife of Archduke Leopold Salvator of Austria. One ribbon has embroidered coat of arms with a crown and the inscription *Erzherzogin Blanca* (Archduchess Blanka) and the other the Madonna and the inscription *dem k. k. priv. Warasdiner Bürger Corps*.²⁷ On the other side is the year of the consecration of the flag, 1897, and the establishment of the Troop, 1750.

The sabres were embellished with the same ribbons as those of the infantry. The same rule applied to officer insignia: petty officers wore white silk stars and sergeants yellow. Fusilier petty officers wore a cap referred to as a *čako*²⁸ with yellow silk ribbons. A yellow metal lyre on the cap signified a musician, and a yellow silk ribbon a band master. The design of the *bandalier*, a leather belt used to aid carrying heavy instruments such as drums, was also prescribed. It was made from red thick cloth, embroidered in yellow silk, with gilded brass

²⁶ *Reglement des Kais. Und Königl. Privileg. Bürger corps in Warasdin / Pravilnik Cesaro i Kraljevske poveljene gradjanske čete u Varaždinu*, Varaždin, 1901, inv. no. GMV KPO 12761.

²⁷ German, Imperial and Royal Civil Troop Varaždin.

²⁸ Hun. *Csákó*, ceremonial soldier or officer cap from Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, cylinder shaped, made from felt, with leather brim.

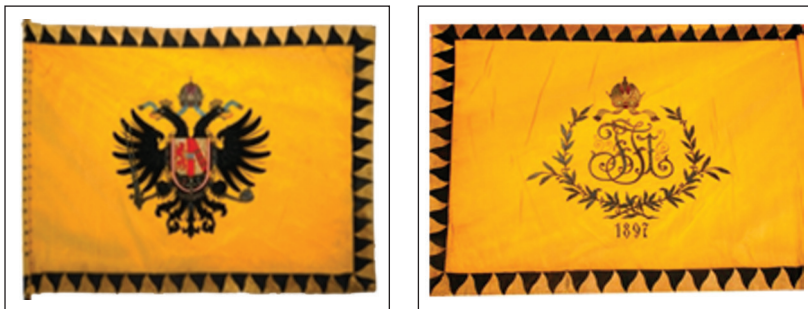


Image 3: Civil Troop flag from 1897 with the Habsburg coat of arms and royal monogram of the king and emperor Francis Joseph I (silk, silk thread embroidery, Varaždin City Museum, inv. no. 1404).

armour, red stick pouches and a gilded metal chain. The recognizable symbol of the band master was a mace 1.50 m in length, made from Spanish reed, coated in brass with a handhold. The mace was striped with black and yellow silk ribbon, ending in two tassels and embroidered symbols of the Monarchy: a two-headed eagle and a monogram of the Empire *FJI* (Francis Joseph I).

Article 4 prescribes the clothes, equipment and weaponry of the grenadiers, fusiliers and musicians. The uniforms of non-active grenadier officers, exempt from the battlefield, was especially designed. The tall fur hat was replaced with a hat decorated with a black rooster feather plume. The band master was dressed in dark blue-gray trousers with a red side band²⁹ and a shirt known as a *dobedrica*, the same as the one of the fusiliers, and on the head he wore a hat identical to that of a military band master. The rest of the musicians wore fusilier uniforms. The most distinguishing item of the grenadier uniform is a tall hat from black bearskin, with red lining, embellished at the front with a gilded flaming grenade and golden rose with the royal monogram along with a swan feather plume at the side. The shield and the strap were made of leather.

The grenadier blouse, *dobedrica* or *dobrenica*, is a short tailored coat made from dark blue wool fabric with a red collar, lapels, single breasted with six gilded buttons. The shoulders were decorated with golden ribbons and stars indicating the rank. The cuffs were embellished with a “bear claw” motif and passementerie with six horizontal and one vertical band.³⁰ The trousers, made from light blue woollen fabric, were embellished along the whole length with a red passementerie band, which in the case of officer uniforms had golden trimmings. In everyday situations officers also wore trousers with red side bands. Officers also had golden epaulets, while the guard had yellow ones.

The gloves were white, as well as the two belts called *uprtaci*, worn crossed. The officers wore a silk yellow and white belt or *ešarp*, with two tassels decorated with a two-headed eagle and a monogram. Along with the sabre they wore a black leather cartridge pouch decorated at the front with a brass grenade. Regarding



Image 4: Ribbon flag detail. Ribbon flag with the name of archduchess Blanka (silk, silk thread embroidery, Varaždin City museum, inv. no. GMV KPO 1404/1).

²⁹ *Passepoil*.

³⁰ The number of stripes is a symbol of the advantage of Napoleon's army over Varaždin Civil Troop of six to one.

footwear, there was a special instruction against embellished and patched-up shoes, instead boots and shoes had to be “polished in the summer and coated in the winter.”³¹

The most significant distinction between grenadier and fusilier uniforms was the hat. Instead of the fur hats, fusiliers had *čako* caps, that were also worn by officers and soldiers of the royal and imperial infantry. It is a type of oval shaped rough cap made from woollen fabric or *čoha*. The upper part was decorated with a passe-menterie band and the front with a smaller coat of arms of the Habsburg family. Both the brim and the crown of the cap were made from leather. Around the year 1870 fusiliers replaced the white cross-belts with black ones worn around the waist. Besides the dagger, they were also armed with single-shot rifles of the Werndl type, which were standard among infantry in the Austro-Hungarian army in 1867. The remaining items of the fusilier uniform and equipment were identical to those of grenadiers. Article 5 of the Rulebook prescribed the embellishment of the fur hats, caps and the flag during special ceremonial events with oak leaves in the summer and spruce in the winter. Members of both units were also obliged to attach black ribbons on certain parts of the uniform, the flag and certain instruments for commemorative purpose.

The new political developments which brought about the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, and Croatian lands subsequently joining the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, as well as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, and the forming of the independent State of Croatia in 1941, had an impact on changes in the Guard rules in 1922 and 1942. There were no significant alterations to the design of the uniforms, except for the state insignia. Since 1990 the popular *purgari*³² have again been formed as part of the history of Varaždin and today play a role as one of its prominent symbols, linking the city's history with its present.

CONCLUSION

The text is based on the preserved museum items from the Citizen's Life Collection within the Department for Culture and History of the Varaždin City Museum, as well as the documents from the National Archive in Varaždin. On display are uniforms, symbols and equipment belonging to the members of the Varaždin Civil Guard, which existed in continuity as an organized, uniformed and royal troop of the citizens of Varaždin from 1750 till 1946. Banned in the period of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, it was later re-established in 1990 as the City of Varaždin historical troop. Along with the preserved uniforms, the most relevant source of information are the Guard's Rulebooks approved by the sovereign in 1806 and 1901, which provide comprehensive data on their design and usage. The Rulebooks testify to the fact that the Guard was formed based on the Habsburg and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy military units.

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³¹ Reglement des Kais. und Königl. Privileg. Bürger corps in Warasdin / Pravilnik Cesaro i Kraljevske poveljene gradjanske čete u Varaždinu, Varaždin, 1901, p. 26.

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UNIFORME VARAŽDINSKE MEŠČANSKE GARDE OD NJENEGA NASTANKA DO LETA 1918

Dr. Ljerka Šimunić, Mestni muzej Varaždin, Hrvaška

Izvirni znanstveni članek (1.01)

IZVLEČEK

Članek ponuja kratek pregled razvoja, oblikovanja in osnovnih značilnosti zgodovinskih uniform Varaždinske meščanske garde v obdobju od 1750 do 1918. V raziskavi so uporabljeni zapisi iz ohranjenih pravilnikov o gardi, uniforme, oprema, orožje, pisno in tiskano gradivo, slike in fotografije iz muzejskih zbirk ter arhivsko gradivo. Meščanska garda ali straža, ki jo sestavljajo državljani prostovoljci, je bila prepovedana v obdobju od leta 1946 do leta 1990, ko so jo ponovno vzpostavili. Danes predstavlja enega najpomembnejših simbolov Varaždina in je del hrvaške kulturne dediščine.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

Varaždinska meščanska garda, grenadirji, strelci, uniforma, pravilnik

POVZETEK

Besedilo temelji na ohranjenem muzejskem gradivu iz Zbirke mestnega življenja Oddelka za kulturo in zgodovino Mestnega muzeja Varaždin ter na dokumentih Državnega arhiva v Varaždinu. Na ogled so uniforme, simboli in oprema pripadnikov Varaždinske meščanske garde, ki je kot organizirana, uniformirana in kraljeva vojska meščanov Varaždina neprekinjeno obstajala od leta 1750 do leta 1946. V obdobju Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije so jo prepovedali in ponovno vzpostavili leta 1990 kot zgodovinsko vojaško enoto mesta Varaždin. Ob ohranjenih uniformah so najpomembnejši vir informacij pravilniki garde, ki jih je v letih 1806 in 1901 potrjeval vladar in ki ponujajo izčrpne podatke o njihovi sestavi in uporabi. Pravilniki potrjujejo, da ustanovitev garde temelji na vojaških enotah habsburške monarhije in Avstro-Ogrske.

UNIFORMS OF YUGOSLAV SOKOLS*

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Review article (1.02)

ABSTRACT

The merging of the national Sokol movements of the South Slavs into a joint Yugoslav Sokol Union was the first step in efforts to expand the movement and increase its recognition. Along with the main concept, the Union adopted the working methods and appearance of the Sokol uniform from the Czech Sokols, although the latter was revised and altered over time. Their clothing evolved and was modernized, but the rules regarding its use remained the same. Members were required to wear their official uniforms at parades and formal ceremonies; training kits (sports clothes) at rallies and competitions; and regular urban outfits with an emblem for daytrips, traveling and socializing. National costumes were sometimes seen at parades and rallies. The Sokol uniform was not to be used in everyday private life, while wearing it to weddings and restaurants was strictly forbidden.

KEY WORDS

Sokol idea/concept, Sokols, Sokol uniform, clothing, *surka* (coat/jacket)

The *Sokol* movement (from the Slavic word for falcon), which in Yugoslavia marked the first half of the 20th century, affected many spheres of social life. It is credited with introducing physical education into schools, founding physical education colleges, promoting physical fitness and making sports more accessible to the masses. The equal and prominent role of women in the Sokol movement was a modernizing step forward that paved the way for political gender equality. Sokol reading rooms, libraries, theaters, and other activities of Sokol societies contributed to the education of many youngsters, particularly those in smaller towns, to whom it represented the only window into the world of culture. The tendency to achieve “attainable perfection”¹ was also reflected in their effort to make everything they did useful, appealing, harmonious, and of course readily visible on the members themselves, their behavior and uniforms.

In the first half of the 19th century, Slavic nations – who were ethnically in the majority in the Austrian Empire – tried to join forces in the Romantic movement of Pan-Slavism and encourage national revival and the preservation of their cultural identity. The First Pan-Slav Congress held in Prague in 1848 showed that these ideas needed to be expanded outside of intellectual, literary and academic circles. Demands to introduce Slavic languages as equal to German did not meet with approval from Austria. Cultural clubs and all activities that had a national character were proscribed. Physical culture was one of the few fields where national activities were possible.

The Prague Gymnastic Association was founded in Prague in 1862, in response to the attempt to Germanize Slavic peoples in Austria. Soon after, besides the gymnastic activities, the Association became the bearer of national revival. Its founders were Miroslav Tyrš and Jindřich Fügner. In 1864, at the proposal of Emanuel Tonner, the word *Sokol*² was added to the name of the association. The idea of its founders was to nurture a physically able and morally strong people who would be capable of defending its national interests and cultural distinctiveness, and hence they immediately began working on making their association recognizable, creating their own training exercises and introducing new fitness terminology.

* Translation: Miljana Protić

¹ ORGANIZACIJA JUGOSLOVENSKOG SOKOLSKOG SAVEZA, 1925, p. 2.

² Emanuel Tonner translated the folk songs published by Vuk Karadžić and was fascinated by the noble characteristics attributed to the falcon in oral literature. BROZOVIĆ, A. 1930, p. 10, URL: <http://www.radio.cz/cz/static/sokol/symbolika> (quoted 29. 3. 2018).

The Pan-Slavist, patriotic and liberating character of the Sokol movement was also reflected in its uniforms. The first Sokol uniform and flag were designed and drawn by the painter Josef Mánes, a Romantic and a proponent of Pan-Slavism. The uniform, which had a Pan-Slavic character, included: Russian *jute* trousers; a Polish revolutionary coat (*czamara*),³ a red shirt and a small round hat. At the suggestion of painter František Ženíšek and poet František Kožíšek, the Sokol uniform took on its final appearance in the Sokol grey color with a braided jacket, red shirt, and a Montenegrin hat⁴ with a badge in national colors; the falcon feather was added later. Jindřich Fügner suggested the introduction of a red shirt in the “Garibaldi style” to remind the Sokols of Giuseppe Garibaldi and his struggle for the unification of Italy and its liberation from Austrian occupation. Presumably, it was the fame of Petar II Petrović Njegoš and his willingness to contribute to the liberation and unification struggles of his Slavic brethren that led to the adoption of the Montenegrin hat as the symbol of the centuries-long struggle for freedom and survival.

Sokol ideas had supporters among South Slavic peoples who strove for political freedom and final liberation. The first was the “South Sokol”, established in Ljubljana in 1863; in 1874 the “Croatian Sokol” was formed in Zagreb. In Serbia, as early as 1857, at his art school in Belgrade the painter Stevan Todorović founded the “First Serbian Society for Gymnastics and Wrestling,” which can be considered a forerunner of the Sokol movement. However, the “First Serbian Society for Gymnastics and Wrestling” adopted the Sokol idea in 1891 and changed its name to the Belgrade Gymnastic Association Soko. In addition to the main concept, national Sokol associations inherited their uniform, style of training, public gymnastic performances and *slets* (gymnastic festivals) from the Czech Sokols.⁵ Male uniforms were the same, although the style of headdress varied from a Montenegrin cap to a *fez* to a hat. The ladies’ uniform, which was usually worn by head teachers, was similar to the male one, with long skirts replacing trousers. Younger members wore a costume not unlike typical bourgeois clothing, with the addition of a naval-style plastron.

As the Sokol movement grew, the Austro-Hungarian Empire began to ban the activities of its associations with increasing consistency, and prosecuted and arrested its members. The national associations’ intention and need to unite under a single umbrella organization was thwarted in 1914, when the First World War broke out.

The war troubles of 1914-1918 interrupted the activities of Sokol movements; many members were killed on the battlefields and their training facilities were completely destroyed. After the Great War and the formation of the joint state – the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – at a meeting in Zagreb in January 1919, pro-Yugoslav leaders of the national associations reached an agreement on unification. On 28 June 1919 in Novi Sad, all Sokol associations were merged into the Sokol Association of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (*Sokol-ski savez Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, SSSHS). In this new situation, Sokol organizations pledged that “serving the people, the unity and unification of Sokols could help and contribute to implement this process among the people outside of the Sokol movement as thoroughly, perfectly and harmoniously as possible, without crises.”⁶ According to their Statute, the task of the Sokols was to “create a physically healthy and able-bodied, morally and intellectually mature youth; a youth full of national consciousness; inspired by the spirit of Slavic solidarity; and educated in the spirit of the great universal ideals of humanity; a youth that will safeguard the legacy of the present generation – unification and independence.”⁷ In addition to nurturing morals and honesty, the aim was to promote brotherly amity and national unity, and to affirm the ideas of unification, Yugoslavism and Slavism in the “three-named” nation. At the general assembly in Maribor in 1920, the SSSHS changed its name to the Yugoslav Sokol Association (*Jugoslovenski sokolski savez*, JSS).

The Yugoslav Sokol Association had a good organizational structure that included the pyramid of its membership and managed their numerous activities. All members were equal regardless of gender, profession, and nationality as long as they were “pure in their private life.”

³ A *czamara* is a three-quarter length coat with tight sleeves, a high narrow collar, decorative buttons and braiding. It was popular among the nobility and considered the Polish national and patriotic costume. Similar models were part of the Czech national ceremonial costume, URL: <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Czamara> (quoted 29. 3. 2018.).

⁴ URL: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sokol> (quoted 29. 3. 2018.).

⁵ КРАГУЈЕВИЋ, Г. 2008, ŽUTIĆ, N. 1991.

⁶ BOGUNOVIĆ, D. 1928, p. 14.

⁷ BROZOVIĆ, A. 1930, p. 92.

The membership of the Sokol Association included: children aged 6-12; the Sokol youth, i.e. male and female pupils aged 12-18; and adult members of both genders aged 18 and above. Children and youth needed their parents' consent in order to be admitted into the Sokol Association. Candidates submitted an "application form" and were admitted for a trial period. If she/he proved conscientious, responsible and committed to the Sokol idea, after six months she/he received a membership card and a Sokol badge. All members were expected to actively engage in physical training until they turned 26, although this was often not the case. Male members trained with female head teachers, and female members with female ones. Members addressed each other as "brother" or "sister," and greeted each other with the salutation *Zdravo* ("Good health [to you]").⁸

The Sokol uniform was discussed at the assembly held in Novi Sad in 1919. The distinguished painter Oton Iveković suggested some changes to modernize the Sokol uniform. His considerations were focused on the practicality of the clothes and their appearance, as well the justifiability of appropriating elements of traditional Slavic costumes. Iveković wondered if the movement needed to continue insisting on national costumes even after the creation of Slavic nation-states; in addition, these costumes were originally not of Slavic provenance: "And has the *surka* [a type of coat/jacket] always been ours? No, it hasn't. Those who are of a different opinion might say that this costume was also worn by our ancestors. Yes, it was. But since when? A connoisseur of costume history will know that the *surka* is of Mongolian-Tatar provenance with elements of Byzantine taste. So, it is of Tatar-Hellenic provenance and therefore ours as much as anything Romano-Germanic. The Mongolian invasion in the 12th and 13th centuries swept over the Slavic population of Eastern Europe and the *surka* remains as a visible token of this influence, Tatar and Byzantine, which has affected our ancestors for centuries. And here are our trousers. Are trousers not a product of the West? Our fathers wore the *surka* with form-fitting breeches. What's the reason for this compromise – Eastern *surka* and Western trousers? And even our red shirt, it is a symbol of democracy inherited from the French Revolution. So this is an amalgamation of the feudal, bourgeois and revolutionary. The national element is another compromise of Slavism with the Tatar, Byzantine and Franco-German. I propose replacing the *surka* with a sports coat, which is both tasteful and practical, as seen in the sketch I've included here. It is to be worn with a hat during parades and with a cap for all other occasions. The trousers should be so-called breeches. They are practical and tasteful, and will remove any differences between Sokols on foot and on horseback."⁹

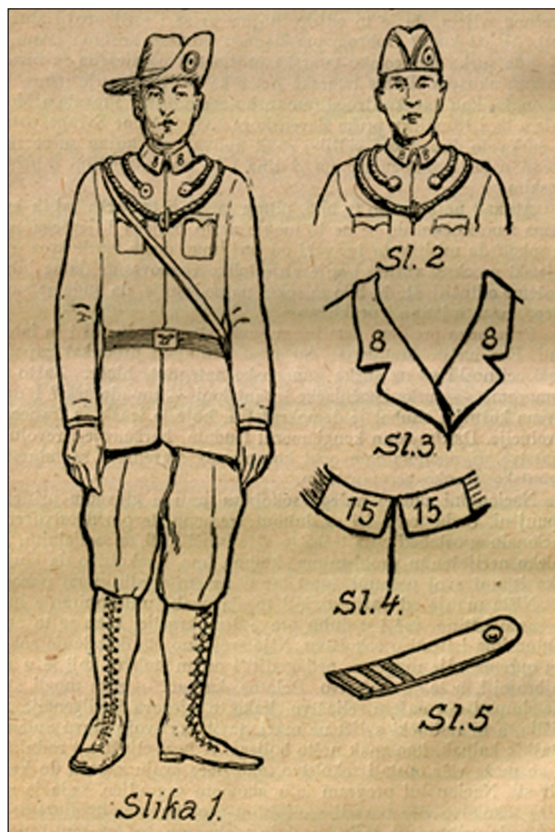


Image 1: Oton Iveković, sketch for the revised Sokol uniform (Sokolski glasnik, 1919, p. 502).

⁸ KASTRATOVIĆ RISTIĆ, V. 2016, pp. 14–16. SOKOLSKI GLASNIK 8, 9 and 10 (Zagreb) 1919, Ch. Sokolsko geslo i pozdrav, p. 302.

⁹ IVEKOVIĆ, O. 1919, p. 501.

In his critical assessment of the Sokol uniform, Iveković discusses the new role of the growing number of workers and peasants in the Sokol movement: “The national aims of our Sokol movement are mostly fulfilled. Now we need to keep up with the spirit of the times and, in addition to the realized national liberation, we need to highlight this more and to focus on still unresolved social problems – these are to be served by the Sokol movement, and it will thereby fulfill its mission among our unified people.”¹⁰

Oton Iveković’s proposed reform of the Sokol uniform was rejected. The assembly rebuffed some other proposed changes, suggesting instead that the technical and military-technical committee should consider the proposals and inform the Czech Sokols about the process. “The costume needs to be as durable, practical and affordable as possible, and should be appropriate for any situation a Sokol might encounter. We also propose to invite the Czechs to discuss the costume and to engage professionals who will help resolve the issue.”¹¹ Until the issue could be resolved, the same uniform remained in use, although the hat was replaced by the Serbian national cap (*šajkača*): “Formal Sokol uniform. 1. The headdress is the Slavic *czapka* like before, but altered into a *šajkača* shape, and with a wide black trimming like the Slavic *czapka*; above the left eye a feather at a 45° angle with a cockade in national colors and compliant with heraldic rules, with a white falcon attached on the outer edge of the red and white field. 2. The shirt remains the same Sokol shirt in yarn or wool, as before; 3. The *surka* (coat) remains the same Slavic shape and is to cover the hips. It is to have 12 fasteners on the front and 4 on the open sleeves; color: Sokol grey; 4. trousers (breeches) are to be long like before; 5. black shoes; 6. black belt in patent leather; 7. The ribbon on the *surka* is to be white with a 2.5 mm wide blue stripe on its upper edge and a red stripe of the same width on the bottom; the ribbon is to be 10 cm long and 2.5 cm wide; it is to have the name of the county (*župa*) on the upper edge in black lettering, and the name of the association in large letters below it; 8. The *surka* is worn draped over the left shoulder and attached to the right shoulder by short sturdy cords, and the long cords are fastened under the right arm and left shoulder. The Sokol uniform is to be worn in formal group appearances or as advised by the committee. This committee also proposes to denounce any misuse or imitations of the Sokol uniform in associations, which are not compliant with the Sokol idea.”¹²

The issue of the formal uniform and training kit was raised on several occasions at the assemblies of the Yugoslav Sokol Association. A well-groomed appearance was clearly very important for the general impression of Sokols. Their public lectures and rallies, daytrips and social events were meant to contribute to the promotion of the movement and to expand its membership. Along with a fit and healthy body, Sokols tried to



Image 2: The badge designed by Ilija Kolarević in 1924 for Sokol children; it remained in use until the breakout of WWII, which interrupted the activities of the Sokol associations (*Sokolski glasnik*, 1924, no. 9, p. 20).

¹⁰ IVEKOVIĆ, O. 1919, p. 501.

¹¹ SOKOLSKI GLASNIK, 1919, p. 302.

¹² Ibid.

make everything they did harmonious, appealing and noble. Hence the association worked with well-known artists who produced designs for badges, posters, and postcards or wrote music for their slets. Besides the composer Svetolik Pašćan, Ivan Meštrović, Lojze Dolinar, Frano Kršinić, Tine Kos, Ilija Kolarović and others all worked for the Sokol Association. Another notable contributor was the pioneer of Yugoslav design, Dragutin Inkiostri, who “in a decorative and patriotic fashion”¹³ made posters for the Pan-Sokol slet in Ljubljana (1922), and the slets in Veliki Bečkerek (present-day Zrenjanin), Skopje, and Sombor.

The management of the Yugoslav association called on its members to be worthy representatives of the Sokol movement and to be mindful of their appearance and manners. Critical texts about the inappropriate behavior of members were not uncommon in *Sokolski glasnik* (Sokol Herald), the official gazette of the association: The citation below is the consequence of the inappropriate behavior and dress of some members during the slet in Zagreb (1924). “Despite all regulations to keep formal and training uniforms exemplary and use them only in specified occasions, this has failed and the responsibility lies with the members themselves, i.e. their head teachers. Yellow shoes, regular (cotton) pants worn with the dress uniform, traveling in creased formal uniforms, a sweaty red shirt without the white collar, with the shirt sleeves rolled up – none of this is in the least becoming of a member wearing the Sokol uniform. The formal uniform is no longer formal, but on the contrary regular if no one cares what it looks like. This is what profanes it the most. One should never travel to and particularly from slets in formal uniforms, especially on a longer journey. The image of a brother in creased clothing lying around trains is not becoming in the least. And our sisters? They have no formal uniform, only their training outfits for exercising. And they are to use it instead of the formal uniform even in parades. Hence: it is to be used for exercising and parades, but not walking around or travel. And there are many objections to be made here as well: skirts of varying lengths, usually too long, clear silk stockings, and patent shoes with heels like chimneys for marches – is that the rule? Our sisters totter around as if on poles. The guidelines are clear: training shoes or regular low-heeled footwear. Some sisters have come wearing only their training kits (with overcoats) and wore the same outfits even after the slets for daytrips to Ilidža and the Bosna River, and on their journey home. This is not a training kit but an outfit for all occasions. Would you deem it appropriate if our male members traveled and walked around in their training kits? The way things are going, this might not be far-off, because if this continues, it won’t be long before we see sights and caricatures of all sorts. Among our sisters, only the Belgrade County was dressed appropriately and only they used the training kit for exercise and the parade.”¹⁴

In 1924 the Yugoslav association adopted a “Public Appearance Rulebook,” which regulated the type of clothing and appearance of male and female members according to the occasion and their activities. They were required to wear dress uniforms for marches and formal parades; “training outfits” at slets and competitions; and regular urban clothing with a badge for daytrips, traveling and socializing.¹⁵

In August 1924, at the Second Sokol General Assembly (*Drugi sokolski Sabor*) in Zagreb, new regulations on the organization of the association were adopted, along with guidelines for the appearance and usage of dress uniforms and training outfits:

I Members

- a) Dress uniform: black cap with a 4 cm-wide rim in the shape of the *šajkača*. Badge with a cockade in state colors above the forehead. The feather is to be 12 cm long and attached to the top of the cockade in an upright position. The red shirt is to be made of yarn or wool fabric. The *surka* is to be made of Sokol-grey wool fabric, with 13 sewn-on buttons on the front and 4 on each sleeve. The fasteners on the *surka* are to be as before – in the same color as the *surka*. A black patent leather belt with the appropriate emblem. Black leather shoes. A dark grey cape in camel-hair.
- b) Gymnastic outfits: dark blue trousers (tricot) with a white-and-blue sash; white sleeveless shirt with a 0.5 cm red trim; flat black training shoes with black socks.

¹³ VULEŠEVIĆ, S. 1998, p. 32.

¹⁴ III POKRAJINSKI SLET, 1924, pp. 150-151.

¹⁵ ORGANIZACIJA JUGOSLOVENSKOG SOKOLSKOG SAVEZA, 1925, p. 137.



Image 3: Members (Organizacija Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1930).

II Male youths (aged 12-18)

- a) Dress uniform: black felt cap with a 4 cm-wide upper rim in the shape of the *šajkača*; badge with a falcon with outstretched wings on the front of the cap. Red shirt with a black collar. Long trousers in Sokol grey. Black patent leather belt, no emblem. Black leather shoes.
- b) Training outfits: knee-length trousers in grey-brown cloth with a white-and-blue sash; shirtless and bare-foot.



Image 4: Male youths (Organizacija Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1930).

III Male children (aged 6-12)

- a) and b) Dress and training uniform (until further changes are made): knee-length trousers in grey cloth with a white-and-blue sash; red shirt; Montenegrin cap; black socks and black leather shoes.



Image 5: Male children (Organizacija Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1930).

IV Training outfits for female members

Red headscarf, with a 3 cm-wide trim in the same color; comfortable white blouse with elbow-length sleeves; prescribed national motifs sewn on above the 3 cm-wide trim; stitching around the collar ending in red pom-poms. Black or dark blue breeches buttoned above the knee. Dark blue knee-length skirt with pleating; 4 cm-wide red sash; black opaque tights and flat black training shoes. For marches use the same costume with black low-heeled shoes.

Note: these clothes are to be worn only at group performances and appearances. Wearing it for walks and parties is forbidden. The costume is to have no decoration, bracelets, necklaces or other jewelry. Leaders have their prescribed emblems and whistles.

V Training outfits for female youths

Dark blue skirt, knee-length and pleated; breeches in the same color, buttoned above the knee; white shirt, tight in the front, with a 3 cm-wide sash with fasteners to attach the breeches and skirt; a braided trim with a cord around the neck; sewn-on sleeves; 2 cm-wide trim above the elbow, national ornaments above the trim; 4 cm-wide sash in red yarn; white headscarf with a red trim; black opaque socks; black low-heeled shoes.¹⁶



Image 6: Female children, Belgrade, 1937 (Museum of Yugoslavia).

¹⁶ ORGANIZACIJA JUGOSLOVENSKOG SOKOLSKOG SAVEZA, 1925, pp. 136-139.

VI Training outfits for female children (aged 6-12)

Grey linen dress with red stitching along the edges of the sleeves (1.5 cm-wide) and along the lower part of the skirt (2.5 cm-wide); national motif below the neck; red cord around the waist, breeches in the same cloth, buttoned above the knee; headdress: Dalmatian cap in the appropriate size; black opaque tights; black low-heeled shoes.

In 1925, when the preparations for the slet in Prague were underway, the appearance of the “formal uniform” for female members was determined and included a hat, skirt, tunic and blouse. The accurate description, design drawn on paper (*Schnitt*) and a photograph of the dress uniform were available for purchase at the Association for 15 dinars. Those who had adequate sewing skills could make their own uniforms at a cost of 1,060-1,010 dinars. The formal uniform was also available for purchase at Branko Palčić's shop in Zagreb, where the costume made of fine fabric cost 1,524 dinars and a lower-quality version 1,454 dinars. Dark brown shoes and dark brown socks were also available for 220 and 36 dinars respectively. The hat was made of red felt, and the shirt of raw silk.¹⁷

Due to the importance of the slet in Prague in 1926, in which the Yugoslav Sokol Association participated for the first time, thereby returning the honor of having received the Czech Sokols at the Pan-Sokol slet in Ljubljana in 1922, the management of the Association often warned the Sokol head teachers that the youth needed to be appropriately dressed and well-trained for the slet. In mid-March 1926, in order to be as well-prepared for the visit to Prague as possible, some changes to the outfits of the female youth were adopted. With these changes and revisions, the training kit could be said to have taken on its final appearance. “The council of county leaders held in Đakovo accepted the proposal to alter the blouse of the female youth as follows: the blouse must be worn over the skirt and must reach 24 cm below the waist. It needs to be entirely smooth, no belt, and must have a 4 cm-wide trim along the bottom. The neckline should be square and have a 4 cm-wide trim. The sleeves are to be sewn on (rather than kimono-style) and can reach halfway along the upper arm. The skirt and headscarf shall remain unchanged; however, please note that the headscarf is to have 5 cm-wide ties made of red yarn and not all sorts of silk ribbons. The length of the skirt is to be measured as follows: when you kneel down, the skirt must be 10 cm above the floor. Participants in physical exercises who are going to Prague need to take special care to be adequately dressed. Participants whose clothing does not comply with these rules will be denied access to performances and parades. Female youths will do their exercises with no socks on, in black training shoes; for parades they are to wear long black stockings and low-heeled black shoes.”¹⁸

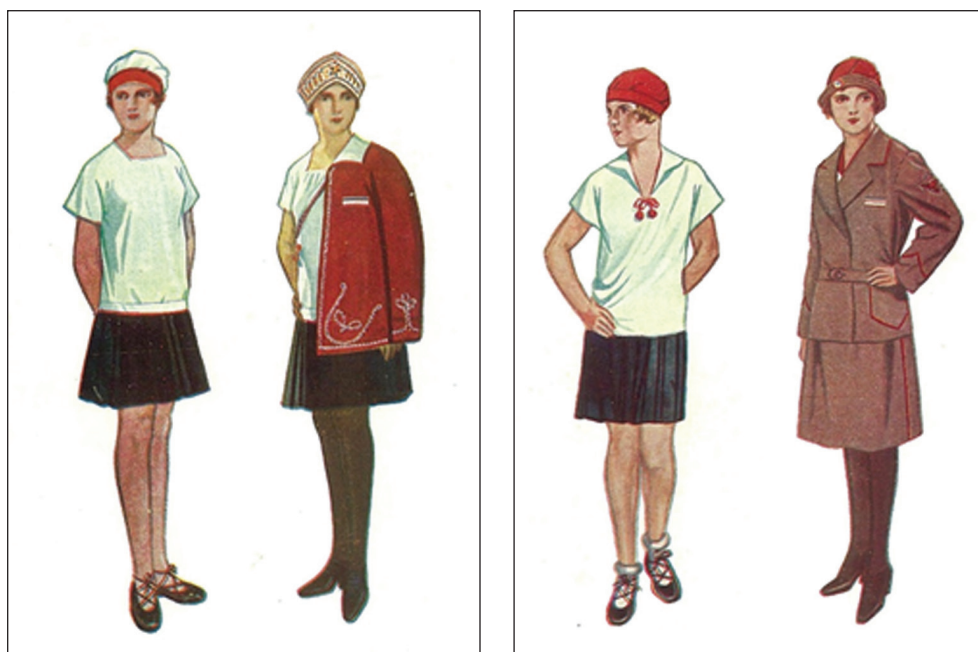


Image 7: Female members and female youths (Organizacija Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1930).

¹⁷ SLAVNOSTNI KROJ, 1925, p. 189.

¹⁸ TRDINOVA, N. 1926, p. 81.

When King Aleksandar Karađorđević introduced his personal regime on 6 January 1929 and banned all associations and societies, the Yugoslav Sokol Association briefly suspended its activities. In December 1929, however, the Act on Establishing the Sokols of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (SKJ) allowed the Association to resume its work. Over the course of the following year, the Association adopted rulebooks and operational guidelines which also regulated “formal and training uniforms for all categories.” Male costumes remained the same for all categories (members, youth, and children). Horsemen were to wear breeches and box or chevreau boots (not patent leather).



Image 8: Horsemen (Organizacija Saveza Sokola Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1930).

Small details were added to female outfits, which were meant to make them more modern: pleating on the skirt and training shoes with white soles (so-called “rhythmic” shoes). Female youths were also given their own formal uniform: “Headscarf (as specified), tunic, blouse, skirt, socks, and shoes; headscarf with the appropriate embroidered motif on the front; red felt tunic, with a silk lining, collar and two pockets; the tunic, pockets and sleeves should have cords (as specified), and the red collar is to be covered by a white protective fabric front halfway over the chest, which is only lightly stitched together along its upper edge (to facilitate washing). The blouse should be of white tricot fabric or cotton cloth, with 10 cm-long sleeves, with a square neckline. The neckline, sleeves and tunic have a 4 cm-side decorative trim. The skirt is dark blue (as for female members); socks and shoes are black.”¹⁹

During parades, besides their uniforms, members often chose to wear the regional costume of their county. This was particularly welcome during performances by peasant troops. If they performed any apparatus exercises, they were required to wear the same clothing as training members: “Sokol shirt, dark blue tricot breeches with a sewn-on white-and-blue sash, black socks and flat black leather shoes.”²⁰

Sokol badges that indicated the hierarchy of the Association and its societies were also part of the uniform. The most senior members of the Association wore a tri-colored sash across their chest in their state colors; others wore a braided ribbon in state colors on their right shoulder. The head teachers of the Association wore a dark blue sash across the chest, while county leaders had a dark blue ribbon with the name of their county on their left sleeve. Members of the Technical Committee wore a dark blue ribbon without any lettering on their left sleeves. All foremen and forewomen wore a dark blue braided ribbon on their right shoulder. Flag bearers wore a red braided ribbon on their right shoulder, while the leader of a cavalry unit wore a dark brown braided ribbon on the right shoulder.

The Sokol Association tried to make buying or sewing the uniforms easier for its membership by providing detailed guidelines. It was also aware that the uniform was not cheap, but tried to make it at least affordable

¹⁹ ORGANIZACIJA SAVEZA SOKOLA, 1930, p. 209.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 10

to allow as many members as possible to have one. As early as 1919 the Association considered the option of designating a single manufacturer or seller of uniform fabrics as well as gymnastics apparatuses. In 1925 the Association began directing its members to Branko Palčić's shop in Zagreb which sold all needed clothing material – from threads and buttons to decorative ribbons.

Yugoslav Sokols followed the model of Czech Sokols in all aspects, and all innovations in their activities or appearance were discussed with Czech leaders. Czech influence contributed to the founding of children's theaters and expanding the Sokols' educational activities. Hence it seems safe to assume that the changes to the outfits of the Yugoslav Sokols were implemented in agreement with the Czech Sokol Organization.

CONCLUSION

In the late 19th century South Slavic peoples adopted the Sokol movement and the idea of the persistent and patient creation of a spiritually strong and physically healthy youth that would be strong enough to preserve its cultural identity and rise to the challenge of national liberation. The aim of the movement was to become widespread and hence anybody could join as an equal member regardless of gender, profession, religious affiliation or nationality. The members were not allowed to manifest their political views in their Sokol societies.

Formed in 1919 after the merging of national Sokol societies, the Yugoslav Sokol Union strove to bolster brotherly concord and national unity in the "three-named nation" and to affirm the concept of Yugoslavism through its activities in the fields of gymnastic, education and culture. The Sokol uniforms were created to reflect this spirit and, besides the obvious Czech influence, also included some national features. The suits were made in the Sokol grey color with markings in the colors of the national flag; headgear was a stylized cap reminiscent of a *šajkača* and the caps worn in Lika and Montenegro; female clothes were embroidered with folk motifs. For formal processions members often wore their national costumes.

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Pregledni znanstveni članek (1.02)

IZVLEČEK

Združitev nacionalnih sokolskih gibanj južnih Slovanov v skupno Jugoslovansko sokolsko zvezo je bil prvi korak v prizadevanjih za širitev gibanja in povečanje njegove prepoznavnosti. Zveza je temeljna načela, delovne metode in uniforme prevzela od čeških Sokolov, čeprav so se slednje kasneje spreminjale. Sama oblačila so se sicer posodabljala, a pravila o uporabi sokolske uniforme so ostala enaka. Člani zveze so svoje uradne uniforme morali nositi na paradah in ob protokolarnih slovesnostih, športno opremo (športna oblačila) na shodih in tekmovanjih ter vsakdanjo opravo z emblemom ob enodnevnih ali daljših potovanjih in druženjih. Na paradah in shodih so včasih nosili tudi narodne noše. Sokolske uniforme niso nosili v vsakodnevnem zasebnem življenju, medtem ko je bila njena nošnja na porokah in v restavracijah strogo prepovedana.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

sokolska ideja, pojem sokolstva, Sokoli, uniforma Sokolov, oblačila, *surka* (plašč/jakna)

POVZETEK

V poznem 19. stoletju so južnoslovanska ljudstva prevzela Sokolsko gibanje in idejo vztrajnega in potrpežljivega ustvarjanja duhovno močne in telesno zdrave mladine, ki bi uspela ohranjati svojo kulturno identiteto in sprejela izziv narodne osvoboditve. Cilj gibanja je postala njegova širitev, zato se mu je lahko kot enakovreden član pridružil kdorkoli, ne glede na spol, poklic, versko pripadnost ali narodnost. Članom v sokolskih društvih ni bilo dovoljeno izražati svojih političnih stališč.

Jugoslovanska sokolska zveza, ustanovljena leta 1919 po združitvi nacionalnih sokolskih društev, si je prizadevala okrepiti bratsko in narodno enotnost v "troimenem narodu" in tako z dejavnostmi na področju gimnastike, izobraževanja in kulture utrditi načelo jugoslovanstva. Sokolske uniforme so bile oblikovane tako, da so odražale prav ta duh in poleg očitnega češkega vpliva tudi nekatere nacionalne posebnosti. Obleke so bile v sivi sokolski barvi z oznakami v barvah državne zastave; kot pokrivalo je služila stilizirana čepica, ki spominja na šajkačo in na čepice, ki jih nosijo v Liki in Črni gori; ženska oblačila pa so imela izvezone ljudske motive. Na uradnih prireditvah so člani pogosto nosili svoje narodne noše.

CONSERVATION OF THE UNIFORM OF A MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF BOYS' UNITS*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

An Association of Boys' Units uniform is kept at the Museum of the National Liberation in Maribor. It consists of a short grey jacket, vest, shirt, trousers, a leather belt, and a hat. When brought in to the Conservation and Restoration Workshop for Textiles at the Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum the uniform was dusty and damaged due to insects and the presence of rust. Analyses showed that the fabric of the jacket, trousers, and vest was wool, so we did not use the method of washing with deionized water. The dirt was pushed out of the fabric with air and vapor under pressure. In areas that were difficult to access, the insect residues and fragments of impurities were removed with a vacuum cleaner. The damage was stabilized by sewing a woollen fabric lining coloured in the appropriate colour tone. The leather belt was well preserved, as was, to a lesser extent, the hat, which was restored with the use of acrylic glue and fibrous fibres.

KEYWORDS

uniform, fabric, dirt, damage, insects, conservation-restoration, preservation

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, at the Conservation and Restoration Workshop for Textiles at the Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum, we conserved an uniform of the Association of Boys' Units, which is kept by the Museum of the National Liberation, Maribor. The Association of Boys' Units was founded in 1937 as the successor to the gymnastics movement called *Orel* (Eagle), which had operated since 1906. The development of societies such as the Eagles and Falcons in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries represents a pioneering period for exercise in Slovenia, and both societies were active in the national, cultural, and political¹ sense until the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1941. Their activities launched them into public life, and thus their appearance represented the Falcon and the Eagle societies. Throughout their existence, the organizations also took care of their uniform – special clothing for festivities and the gym.

In 1905-06, a Catholic gymnastic movement called *Orel* (Eagle) was founded in Slovenia. Like the *Sokol* (Falcon) movement, the organization was gymnastic, but it pursued wider, cultural, educational, and, of course, anti-liberal goals. The clothing worn by the Orli (Eagles) did not follow such a developmental path as that of the Sokoli (Falcons), which had been developing since the 1860s. When choosing a uniform, the Eagles leaned heavily on the Falcon experience from the beginning of the 20th century. The differences between the outfits were insignificant. More visible differences between the Falcon and Eagle uniforms came only after the First World War. After 1918, the Slovene Orlovstvo (Eagle Society) continued its activities in outfits that were worn before the First World War. Over the years, the Slovene Eagles had thought about updating the outfits, but this did not happen as the presidency of the unit rejected the proposals, saying that the old uniform was "artistically accomplished" and therefore it was better not to change it.

The Slovenska orlovska zveza (Slovene Eagle Society) and the Slovenska orliška zveza were disbanded in 1929 because of a law establishing the Association of Sokols (Falcons) of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. When the political situation in the country changed in 1937, a decision of the Ban's administration for the rules of the new Eagle Organization, called the Association of Boys' Units (Zveza fantovskih odsekov), a uniform for the whole of Slovenia was adopted. With this, new patterns were created, designed by the young architect Marjan Šorli².

* Translation: Tanja Osterman Renault

¹ Chronicle, 1990, number 1/2, year 38, Sergej Vrišer, Clothing of Slovene Falcons and Eagles during 1863-1941, pp. 43-49.

² GRAŠIČ, M., MATJAŠIČ, M. 1993, pp. 19-31.

The boys' outfit was made entirely for hiking: it consisted of a short grey jacket with trousers of the same colour, a brighter shirt hemmed with red, a wide red leather belt and a round grey fedora that had a red knit string instead of a band and a feather. Grey knee socks and low black shoes were included in the uniform.

With the end of the old Yugoslavia, the brief period of a relaunched Eagle Association ended. The boys' outfit was then used during the Italian occupation by the Voluntary anti-Communist Militia (*Milizia Volontaria anticomunista*), Partisans used some, but most were worn by people for everyday use and so few have been preserved to the present day.

DESCRIPTION³

The uniform of the Association of Boys' Units from the Museum of the National Liberation, Maribor, consists of a short jacket, a vest, trousers, a shirt, a wide leather belt, and a hat.

Jacket

The short jacket is made from the same fabric as the vest and trousers in a grey-brown melange (French Melange) colour. Located on each side there is an in-seam chest pocket. The pocket is made from a canvas of natural colour. The jacket is lined with a dark grey cotton fabric. It closes with three large, light brown buttons in the front, sewn on the right side. There are also two ornamental buttonholes and four buttonholes on the back; horizontal buttonholes are sewn in manually. On the sleeves are two smaller, light brown buttons on the sleeve vent. The sleeve lining is of light coloured cotton fabric with a striped pattern. Between the outer fabric and the



Image 1: An Association of Boys' Units uniform, first half of the 20th Century, Museum of the National Liberation, Maribor (Photo: Boris Farič).

³ Preservation report 2017, Hermina Golc, Eva Ilc, Preservation of the uniform of a member of the Association of Boys' Units, p. 5.

lining of the sleeves, there is a linen interline in the lower part to strengthen the lower part of the sleeve. On the inside of the sleeve, there are the initials of the name JH written in pencil. In the right pocket of the jacket were the remains of a cigarette and fragments of tobacco. On the paper is the inscription of the "Zeta" brand of cigarettes in red, with a five-pointed star on each side. Under the left part of the collar is a badge of a torch.

Shirt

The shirt is light grey with long sleeves. The collar has rounded ends. The neckline with a hem closes to the chest with three red buttons on each side. For the fastening, a red cord is sewn under the knob on the left side. The back of the shirt is sewn from two pieces of fabric. On the upper back is an insertion – a shoulder part that runs in an arc from each side to the middle. In the middle, under the shoulder part, there is a double inner crease that extends downward to each side. The back is longer than the front and is cut in an arch in the lower part. Below on each side of the shirt, is a slit. The sleeves button up with a single button that looks like a pearl. All the buttons have four holes, and they are sown to the shirt transversely with a red thread. On the inside of the collar is sewn a ribbon with the number 39.

Vest

The vest is a grey-brown melange colour. There is a patchy chest pocket on each side. The pocket has a striped, tri-colour pattern of blue, beige, and yellow. The vest is lined with a cotton fabric of sandy grey colour, and both sleeve openings and the neckline are wrapped with a viscose greyish-gold-coloured fabric. The vest closes with three buttons of different colours sewn on the right side. The buttons have four holes and are sewn to the vest transversally. In the past, they were moved closer to the edge. A push button is sewn between the lower button and the top two. There are two ornamental buttons and four buttonholes are on the back.

Trousers

The plus-four style trousers are made of tweed or Lingue in a greyish-brown melange colour. The wide cut allows the fabric to fall 10 centimetres below the knee where it is picked up. The wide trousers are closed below the knee with a buckle. In the front and back, they have a fold sewn in in their length. The 6 cm wide belt has a Y-shaped rip. The upper part of the gap is connected by a strip. Four belt loops are sewn around the waist on for the belt, which is attached to trouser legs underneath a waistband with small buttons on the circumference. The buttons are light brown. The same buttons are sewn on the right edge of the belt clip. In the past, they were 2 cm away. Under the buttons, there are two metal loops for the buckle, 3 cm away from each other. The buckle is 1.5 cm long and 0.1 cm wide and on the left side has an engraved floral pattern. The pants slit is closed with three hidden brownish-green with the phrase "MODE DE PARIS" engraved. There are four pockets. In the front are two internal pockets. Behind the right pocket, just below the waist, is another smaller sewn/in pocket. The inner pocket with a top is on the right side at the back. The inner side of the trousers is lined with a cotton striped fabric (in the same way as the jacket's sleeves) in the waist area. The pockets are monochrome. On the inside of the left front pocket, on the upper right, the initials H. J. are written with a marker, and on the other side, written with a pencil is a surname and the name "holc Jožef" or maybe "halc Jožef".

Leather belt

The leather belt is 6.5 cm wide and is brownish-red. It is a closed two-sided belt, with six lines of holes. From the wear of the holes and the traces (prints) of the buckles, we assume that the belt was most often closed on the third pair of holes. Slightly fewer holes of the second and fourth pairs are worn. This is followed by the fifth pair and then the first. The sixth pair of holes was still unused. The belt has a leather loop and a metal buckle on the hole closing. On both longer sides of the buckle is the inscription "God Lives" - "BOG ŽIVI". On the back of the belt under the seam of the buckle, the initials JH are written.

Hat

The hat is oval in shape, made of wool felt, greyish-brown. It has three sinkholes for fingers. This type of hat is called a buckwheat hat, as its colour resembles buckwheat grain. It is factory-made, not made by a milliner. It is clad by hand and consists of 110 - 120 g of wool after grinding. It is dressed with a shellac. Around the hat, a red S-band weft cord, which is hand sewn, is wrapped twice. Under the sweatband, about 0.4 cm from the edge, is a machine sewn blind seam. On the inside of the hat is a sweatband made of natural leather (goat or deerskin) in the form of a strip. Both ends of the sweatband are tied in the back with a textile strip and

glued together on the inside with paper adhesive tape. On the upper part of the sweatband in the back, 20.5 cm in length and 0.6 cm in width, are alternately "stamped" semi-circles and holes. A size adjusting tape was installed across the holes, the residue of which is a ribbon. On the sweatband, a sign is written with a pencil, which could also be the initials JH. The sign is 1.8 cm long and 1.3 cm wide.

For information about the materials and method of making the hat, we asked Sergej Pajek, a milliner from Ljubljana with a long family tradition in the making of hats. He assumes that the hat was not made in the territory of today's Slovenia, because there were no machines for blind sewing in the period between the two world wars in this area.

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES⁴

Described below is the technique of the weaving of fabrics, the composition of fibres, the twist direction of the yarn, colour, and thread density/cm.

The fabric of the shirt:

- aida binding; warp: mercerized cotton, Z-twist with multiple threads, grey, 32 threads/cm; weft: mercerized cotton, Z-twist with multiple threads, grey, 28 threads/cm.

The outer fabric (vest, jacket, trousers):

- tabby; warp: wool, Z-twist multiple threads, grey-brown melange (Fr. melange), 12 threads/cm; weft: Z-twist from multiple threads, grey-brown melange, 12 threads/cm.

Vest lining:

- 4-link twill with a weft effect; warp: mercerized cotton, Z-twist with multiple threads, sandy grey, 25 threads/cm; weft: mercerized cotton, Z-twist with multiple threads, sandy-grey, 30 threads/cm.

Pocket lining of the vest:

- tabby; warp: cotton, light Z-twist, beige, 15 threads/cm; weft: cotton, light Z-twist, beige, blue, and yellow, 21 threads/cm.

The marginal strip of the vest:

- one-sided weft twill; warp: viscose, no visible twist, grey-gold, 37 threads/cm; weft: viscose, no visible twist, grey gold, 25 threads/cm.

Base for strengthening the vest:

- tabby; warp: cotton, Z-twist, natural, 17 threads/cm; weft: cotton, Z-twist, natural, 9 threads/cm.

Base for strengthening the vest:

- tabby; warp: cotton, Z-twist, white, 12 threads/cm; weft: cotton, Z-twist, blue, 9 threads/cm.

Jacket and trousers padding (lining of the top of pocket and the strip of the clip):

- 5-link twill with a weft effect; warp: mercerized cotton, Z-twist, dark grey, 25 threads/cm; weft: mercerized cotton, Z-twist, dark grey, 30 threads/cm.

Jacket sleeves and the inside of the waist of the trousers:

- tabby; warp: mercerized cotton, Z-twist, beige and dark green, 23 threads/cm; weft: mercerized cotton, Z-twist, beige and dark green, 25 threads/cm (every 16 wefts in beige colour is one dark green weft).

Jacket lining:

- tabby; warp: cotton, light Z-twist, natural, 17 threads/cm; weft: cotton, light Z-twist, natural, 15 threads/cm.

Lining of sleeves and jacket pockets:

⁴ Konservatorsko poročilo, 2017, Hermina Golc, Eva Illec, Konserviranje uniforme člana Zveze fantovskih odsekov, p. 18.

- tabby; warp: flax, Z-twist, natural, 16 threads/cm; weft: linen, Z-twist, natural, 15 threads/cm, blue and red on the end.

Lining of the leg patent (trousers):

- a 5-band weft atlas with a gradual number of 3; warp (?): mercerized cotton, Z-twist from several threads, black, 38 threads/cm; weft (?): mercerized cotton, Z-twist with multiple threads, black, 27 threads/cm.

Trouser pockets:

- tabby; warp: cotton, light Z-twist, beige, 23 threads/cm; weft: cotton, light Z-twist, beige, 21 threads/cm.

Hat:

- felt, wool,
- band on the sweatband, reinforced twill; base and weft: viscose, from more yarns without visible twist,
- sweatband, natural leather - goat or deerskin.

Belt:

- leather, metal buckle (copper alloy).



Image 2: Conservation of uniform in a Conservation and restoration workshop for textiles at the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, 2016 (Photo: Boris Farič).

METHOD OF CONSERVATION⁵

On the uniform, there is mostly biological damage caused by the action of insects, and to a lesser extent, mechanical damage incurred when worn. In the past, some damage had been absorbed. The shirt is well preserved, with no major damage, dirty and wrinkled. Due to light, there are fewer variations in colour on the front and back of the shirt. At some places, there is minor damage and stains on both sleeves and on the back. The tear on the back of the collar has been patched before. The lower button on the left side is missing on the neckline. Insects damaged the woollen fabric of the jacket, vest, and trousers. We also found moth cocoons. In some places of the jacket, the backing is unstitched. The trousers have the greatest biological damage of all the parts of the uniform, more precisely on the right leg. In the past, some holes had already been lined and patched. We also found moth cocoons on the hat in hard-to-reach places, between the felt and the sweatband, under the string, and on the underside of the crescent. The leather belt is relatively well preserved.

The entire uniform was first fumigated at the Restoration Centre in Ljubljana in an anoxic procedure. In this method, objects are placed in an airtight enclosure and using carbon dioxide, nitrogen, or argon all the oxygen (air) is removed and the pests suffocate. Under such conditions, the objects are fumigated for 3-5 weeks. Due to the fragile state of the textile fibres and the possibility of felting of the woollen fabric, instead of washing with deionized water, the process of removing the surface contamination by blowing air was performed. We consulted with experts from the dry-cleaning service Labod in Ljubljana, where they advised the operation of air under the pressure of steam. The fragments of dust and insect residues in difficult to access locations were removed with an adjustable air suction device.

To repair the damage, the appropriate wool fabric was selected, which was the closest to the original in the raw material and technique of weaving. Fabric for relining and silk thread for sewing was dyed in the appropriate colours that matched the colour tones on the damaged areas. Ten colouring complexes with metallic complex dyes were required for different grey-brown tones with good resistance to light and damp.

The shirt was washed using a neutral detergent, an anionic surfactant, and dried in a horizontal position on a table. On the vest, jacket and trousers, it was first necessary to remove the previous patches, line the damage and stabilize them with stitching. The metal buckles on the trousers and a metallic belt buckle were also conserved. The buckles were first degreased with acetone, mechanically cleaned by ultrasound in deionized water with a detergent addition and washed in deionized water. This was followed by EDTA (Ethylenediaminetetraacetic acid) purification and mechanical cleaning with iron metallic brushes for the trouser buckles and copper fasteners. After re-degrading with acetone, a mixture of 10% lacquer solution and diluent was applied to the buckles, and they were dried under infra-red light. The leather belt was relatively well preserved, so it was only necessary to apply a leather cleaner and remove the dirt with a soft cloth.

To conserve the hat, the yarn of dyed woollen fabric was waxed, and the flakes of fibres were glued to damaged areas with acrylic adhesive. Based on the adhesives and deionized water mixing tests, the most appropriate viscosity and transparency of the adhesive, in a ratio of 5:1, was obtained.

⁵ Konservatorsko poročilo, 2017, Hermina Golc, Eva Illec, Konserviranje uniforme člana Zveze fantovskih odsekov, p. 26.



Image 3: Detail of damage on trousers of the uniform before (left) and after (right) conservation, first half of the 20th century, Museum of the National Liberation, Maribor (Photo: Boris Farič).

OPTIMAL CONDITIONS FOR STORAGE^{6,7}

The most important task for the curators and conservators-restorers who need to ensure that the natural process of ageing of textile materials is slowed down is to ensure optimum climatic conditions. The following criteria and limitations must be considered:

- temperature: $18 \pm 2^{\circ} \text{C}$,
- relative humidity: $55 \pm 5\%$,
- brightness: 50 lux, protection against UV light,
- dust: 99.9% air purity, SO_2 below 10 mg/m^3 , O_3 0-2 mg/m^3 , NO_x below 10 mg/m^3 ,
- maximum amount of light: 0.05 Mlux/year,
- UV light: 20 mW/m^2 or 75 $\mu\text{W/lumen}$.

TEXTILE MATERIALS AND CHEMICALS USED:

- wool fabric - wool flannel, heavy natural (Whaleys),
- silk threads: organsin (Tassinari & Chatel, Fontaines sur Saone),
- detaprofi detergent from serial FEREx for the removal of rust and metals, pH 4.0 (Büfa, Hude-Altmoorhausen),
- detergent Etopon LSP / A; anionic surfactant - contains sodium lauryl ether sulphate; pH 6.5-7, 1% solution (Teol, Ljubljana),

⁶ FLURY-LEMBERG, M. 1988, pp. 56 - 57.

⁷ Konservatorsko poročilo, 2017, Hermina Golc, Eva Ilc, Konserviranje uniforme člana Zveze fantovskih odsekov, p. 48.

- deionized water,
- metallic complex dyes: Lanaset (Ciba - Geigy, Basel),
- blower: Cibaflow CIR (Ciba - Geigy, Basel),
- equalizer: Albegal SET (Ciba - Geigy, Basel),
- Glauber's salt - Na_2SO_4 ,
- acetic acid - CH_3COOH ,
- leather cleanser: LM 250 (Uniters S.p.A., Italy),
- adhesive: Acrykleber 498 HV (Lascaux Colors & Restauro, Switzerland),
- for the degreasing of metals: Acetone,
- detergent for cleaning of metal: DBS paste (Henkel-Zlatorog, Maribor),
- metal cleaning agent: 5% Complex III: EDTA (Ethylenediaminetetraacetic acid) disodium salt dihydrate - $\text{C}_{16}\text{H}_{14}\text{N}_2\text{Na}_2\text{O}_8 + 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$ (Sigma - Aldrich, St. Luise),
- metal preservation: 10% Bedacryl 122 X lacquer (ICI, London),
- conservation of metal: Xylene (Xylenes-Sigma Aldrich, Mikro + Polo, Maribor).

Implementation of the conservation project:

- head: Dr. Eva Ilec (Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum),
- fumigation: Vito Dolničar (ZVKDS-Restoration Centre),
- cleaning of woollen fabric: Labod Dry Cleaning, Ljubljana,
- conservation of the uniform: Hermina Golc, Marina Čurin, Danilo Goričan (Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož).

CONCLUSION

The Association of Boys' Units was founded in 1937 as a successor to the athletics movement known as Orel (Eagle), which had functioned from 1906. The boys' uniform had a mountaineering emphasis: it was made up of a short jacket and tunic, and trousers (plus-fours) of the same colour, a lighter shirt with a red border, a wide red leather belt and a hat with a red cord. On the uniform from the Museum of the National Liberation, Maribor, that was conserved in the Regional Museum Ptuj-Ormož, there was mainly biological damage by insects, and to a lesser extent mechanical damage due to wear. The presence of rust and dust was also identified. In the past, some damage had been repaired. To dispose of the insects that eat woollen material, the Restoration Centre in Ljubljana fumigated the uniform using an anoxic procedure. Due to the fragility of the uniform and the risk of felting of the woollen material, instead of washing, a decision was made in favour of removing surface dirt that had penetrated the material. The dirt was removed at a dry cleaner's using air and steam. Fragments of dust and insect residues in less accessible locations were removed using a vacuum cleaner with variable suction.

For repairing damage a suitable woollen material was chosen that was as close as possible to the original in terms of the raw material and technique of weaving. Fabric for relining and silk thread for sewing was dyed in the appropriate colours that matched the colour tones on the damaged areas. Lanaset metallic complex dyes, which have good resistance to light and damp, were used for this.

Before the shirt was repaired, it was washed in deionized water with a neutral detergent (anionic surfactant) and spread out on a table to dry. On the tunic, jacket and trousers, the patches used for repairs were first removed, and then the damaged areas were lined and stabilised with stitching. The metal belt buckle on the trousers was also conserved. The leather belt was relatively well preserved and was simply cleaned with a cleaning fluid for leather applied with a soft cloth.

To conserve the hat, the yarn of dyed woollen fabric was waxed, and the flakes of fibres were glued to damaged areas with the acrylic adhesive Lascaux – Acrykleber 498 HV. Based on the adhesives and deionized water mixing tests, the most appropriate viscosity and transparency of the adhesive in a ratio of 5:1 was obtained.

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KONSERVIRANJE UNIFORME ČLANA ZVEZE FANTOVSKIH ODSEKOV

Dr. Eva Ilec, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož, Slovenija

Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Uniformo Zveze fantovskih odsekov hrani Muzej narodne osvoboditve Maribor. Sestavljajo jo kratek siv suknjič, telovnik, srajca, pumparice, usnjen pas in klobuk. Uniforma je bila ob prevzemu v konservatorsko-restavratorsko delavnico za tekstil v Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj - Ormož prašna in poškodovana zaradi insektov ter prisotnosti rje.

Analize so pokazale, da je tkanina suknjiča, pumparic in telovnika volnena, zato nismo uporabili metode pranja z deionizirano vodo. Umazanijo smo z zrakom in paro pod pritiskom izbijali iz tkanine. Na težje dostopnih mestih smo ostanke insektov in drobce nečistoč odstranili s sesalnikom. Poškodbe smo stabilizirali s šivanjem podložene volnene tkanine, pobarvane v ustrezen barvni ton. Usnjen pas je bil dobro ohranjen, nekoliko manj pa klobuk, ki smo ga restavrirali s pomočjo akrilnega lepila in razvlaknjenih vlaken.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

uniforma, tkanina, umazanija, poškodbe, insekti, konserviranje-restavriranje, hranjenje

POVZETEK

Zveza fantovskih odsekov je bila ustanovljena leta 1937 kot naslednica telovadnega gibanja z imenom Orel, ki je delovalo od leta 1906. Fantovski kroj je imel v celoti planinski poudarek: sestavljala sta ga kratek siv suknjič in telovnik ter pumparice enake barve, svetlejša, rdeče obrobljena srajca, širok rdeč usnjen pas in klobuk z rdečo vrvico.

Na uniformi iz Muzeja narodne osvoboditve Maribor, ki smo jo konservirali v Pokrajinskem muzeju Ptuj - Ormož, prevladujejo predvsem biološke poškodbe, nastale zaradi delovanja insektov, in v manjši meri mehanske, ki so nastale pri nošnji. Ugotovili smo prisotnost nečistoč (prahu in rje). V preteklosti so nekatere poškodbe popravi. Da bi odstranili insekte, ki razžirajo volneno tkanino, so v Restavratorskem centru v Ljubljani uniformo zaplinili po anoksičnem postopku.

Zaradi krhkosti in možnosti polstenja volnene tkanine smo se namesto za pranje odločili za odstranjevanje površinske umazanije, ki še ni prodrla v notranjost tkanine. V kemični čistilnici so umazanijo z zrakom in paro izpihali iz tkanine. Drobce prahu in ostanke insektov na težje dostopnih mestih smo odstranili s sesalnikom z nastavljenim zračnim vlekem.

Za podlaganje poškodb smo izbrali ustrezno volneno tkanino, ki se je v surovinski sestavi in tehniki tkanja najbolj približala izvirniku. Tkanino za podlaganje in svilene nitke za šivanje smo pobarvali v ustrezne barvne odtenke, ki so se ujemali z barvnimi toni na poškodovanih mestih. Barvali smo s kovinsko kompleksnimi barvili Lanaset, ki imajo dobro svetlobno in mokro obstojnost.

Preden smo na srajci zašili poškodbe, smo jo oprali v deionizirani vodi z nevtralnimi detergenti (anionski tenzid) in razpeto na mizi posušili. Na telovniku, suknjiču in pumparicah smo najprej odstranili predhodne krpe, ki so jih uporabili za krpanje poškodb, potem pa poškodbe podložili in jih stabilizirali z vpetim vbodom. Konservirali smo tudi kovinske zaponke na pumparicah.

Usnjen pas je bil razmeroma dobro ohranjen, zato smo nanegli samo sredstvo za čiščenje usnja in umazanijo odstranili z mehko krpo.

Za konserviranje klobuka smo razvlaknili prejo pobarvane volnene tkanine in kosmiče vlaken lepili na poškodbe z akrilnim lepilom Lascaux – Acrykleber 498 HV. Na podlagi testov mešanja lepila in deionizirane vode smo dobili najustreznejšo viskoznost in prosojnost lepila v razmerju 5:1.

RISK DETERMINATION IN THE UNIFORM COLLECTION OF THE REGIONAL MUSEUM MARIBOR AND PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION PROVISION*

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Professional article (1.04)

ABSTRACT

Museum storage units are living organisms, subject to constant change: rearrangement, expansion, research, preventive conservation, and so on. Storage units can be turned into functional spaces offering a secure place for various objects. In the clothing storage unit, the RE-ORG method was used for the collection of uniforms to evaluate the conservation and restoration risks with regard to: spaces and equipment, storage methods and materials used, and monitoring of environmental conditions. While arranging the collection, certain risks were eliminated and a list of recommended improvements was prepared.

KEYWORDS

storage unit, uniform collection, risk management, preventive conservation

INTRODUCTION

The main task of museum workers is the proper storage and preservation of museum objects because, in spite of modern technological aids, these remain the basis for our professional work. The task is a demanding one, owing to the fact that the number of stored objects is increasing, whereas financial resources are decreasing.¹ Since the preservation of collections is an endless process with cyclical repetitions, it is of vital importance that all staff carry out the preventive conservation activities² that are the basis for permanent preservation of the collected object. In this regard, small museums usually have an advantage over large ones because their employees take the initiative to work as a team, dividing responsibilities among themselves, and are able to coordinate individual phases of work. As a consequence, they use their limited financial resources more efficiently,³ as is the case with the team at the Regional Museum Maribor.

However, in order to successfully manage the preservation of museum objects (preventive conservation), the possibility of them losing their value needs to be reduced. This means that it is necessary to anticipate, record, and try to eliminate the risks to which they are often or only occasionally exposed. Based on the data on the museum object (origin, type, material, preservation level, dimensions, etc.), the conditions in which the object is stored, the data on the museum building, the environment in which the museum is located, and other factors that may influence preservation, it makes sense to carry out a risk assessment. The risk assessment methodology comprises identifying and analysing the risks for museum collections. It facilitates the taking of rational and objective measures in the risk management of cultural heritage.⁴ It is thus sensible to carry out a cyclical analysis of the state of the objects, as well as to identify potential risks that could arise during the storage, exhibiting, or transport of objects. What is important here is the experience of the museum staff working with these objects. Through the years of handling objects, the staff are usually the first to spot defects or irregularities that have occurred or may occur, which is why it is always important that the entire team participates in planning.

* Translation: David Limon

¹ ŠUBIC PRISLAN, J., FERLETIC, A. 2015–2016, pp. 277–278.

² Preventive conservation consists of indirect measures to slow down deterioration and prevent damage by creating optimal conditions for the preservation of cultural heritage to the extent that this is compatible with its social use. Source: ŠUBIC PRISLAN, J. 2014, p. 2.

³ MICHALSKI, S. 2011, p. 79.

⁴ ŽIVKOVIĆ, V. 2015, p. 26.

In the Regional Museum Maribor, monitoring activities were undertaken for certain storage units using the risk management approach to the preservation of cultural heritage, CHARM (ISO 31000 standard). This approach was established by the Canadian Conservation Institute in collaboration with the ICCROM and the RCE (the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands), and developed into a rational and systematic tool that can facilitate decision-making and evaluation in cultural heritage, so as to maintain it with minimal losses and costs.⁵ With this approach, the main risks to which museum objects are likely to be exposed were identified, and adequate measures and improvements to eliminate these risks or to try to prevent them were taken.

RENOVATION AND NEW STORAGE UNITS

In 2005 and 2006, the Regional Museum Maribor, with the financial support of the City of Maribor and the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Slovenia, partly renovated the museum building, i.e. the city castle. Because of construction and installation activities, the museum was forced to withdraw all permanent exhibitions, nor was there any room for setting up temporary exhibitions. All objects had to be moved to storage units. During renovation, the objects from the storage units were frequently and temporarily moved to available spaces in the castle. An external observer might consider such frequent relocation of museum objects unproductive; however, it provided for systematic dissection, stocktaking and re-documenting of most objects, which in turn improved plans for their later distribution in the storage units.

The Regional Museum is a general museum, storing objects made of virtually all materials, both inorganic and organic. In terms of quantity, most organic materials are made of wood, whereas most inorganic materials are metal. Depending on their material composition, the storage system is designed to be optimal for objects in terms of microclimate, lighting and handling, as well as the selection of materials for equipment and packaging. At the moment, only two storage units are organised by materials: the furniture and wood storage unit in the Partisan Cinema, and partially the clothing storage unit.

OBJECTS IN THE CLOTHING STORAGE UNIT

In the clothing storage unit, objects from the clothing, ethnological and historical departments are kept. What they have in common is that they are mostly made of textile or other organic materials (e.g. leather, fur, feathers, etc.).

This paper will focus only on objects from the clothing department, which will also be of interest in the later risk analysis. In this department, different types of object are kept and divided into individual collections:

- fashion collection (men's, women's, and children's clothing and accessories, footwear, headwear, fashion prints, fashion magazines),
- uniform collection:
 - a) military uniforms (uniforms and equipment from the Austrian, German and French armies before 1918, World War I and II uniforms, uniforms from the first and second Yugoslavia),
 - b) civilian uniforms (public administrators, firefighters, Sokol members, railway officials, customs officers, postal workers, police officers, aviation officers, traffic wardens),
- collection of liturgical garments (chasubles, mass sets, paraments / burses, chalice palls and veils, maniples, stoles / ciborium veils, banners, tablecloths, napkins, samples of fabrics),
- collection of textiles for other purposes (cushions, gobelin tapestry, tea cosies, bed linen, bedspreads, pillowcases, tablecloths, handkerchiefs, tapestries, embroideries, curtains, textile patterns),
- collection of theatre and film costumes.

There are 9,786 inventoried objects in the department, 3,471 of which are uniforms (2,904 military uniforms and equipment, and 567 civilian uniforms and equipment).⁶ Jackets, trousers, shirts, and coats represent 23%, footwear 2%, headwear 18%, and ornaments (epaulettes, badges, decorations, emblems, cockades, chevrons, sashes, belt buckles, buttons) 57% of the collection materials. The earliest objects originate from the 19th century (up to 1918): Austro-Hungarian headwear and uniforms of individual army branches, gen-

⁵ Risk management for preventive conservation, ICCROM, URL: <https://www.iccrom.org/section/preventive-conservation/risk-management-preventive-conservation> (quoted 28. 6. 2018).

⁶ The data is adapted from the Galis documentation program, last accessed 27 June 2018.

erals, guards and gendarmes; German parade uniforms with headwear, and a breast plate with a helmet of the French cuirassiers. Stored materials also include those from the periods of World War I (Austrian, German, and American uniforms, as well as the headwear of different armies), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (military uniforms, as well as formal diplomatic uniforms and headwear), World War II (German and Italian uniforms, headwear and helmets of various armies, some uniforms from the national liberation struggle, and the headwear of Slovene Partisans), Yugoslavia (objects from all branches of the Yugoslav National People's Army, with headwear), and the uniform of the Slovene Army from 1994. The collection of civilian uniforms includes uniforms of former public administrators, various associations (from the period of Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Republic of Slovenia), and the clothing of various uniformed services (firefighters, police, wardens, postal workers, railway officials, civil aviation officers).⁷

STORAGE CONDITIONS IN THE CLOTHING STORAGE UNIT

Premises and equipment in the storage unit

The clothing storage unit is located on the mezzanine floor in the western wing of the castle. In technical terms, the premises were arranged with the castle renovation and correspond to the arrangement requirements for such a storage unit: adequate static stability and ground-bearing capacity, window sealing, general lighting design, as well as adequate electrical and mechanical installations, fire and burglar alarm installations, adequate fire safety, etc.

The decision to place the storage unit on the mezzanine floor of the castle was, of course, carefully planned. Before that the floor was subject to long-term microclimatic parameter monitoring. It was established that its microclimate is relatively stable, which provides good conditions for object storage. Moreover, the possibility of water spillage on this floor is smaller because most plumbing is on the ground floor. The disadvantage of these premises is mostly their configuration: the spaces are partially arched and the storage equipment, especially next to the walls, is very diverse (of different heights and depths). The storage unit is below the curators' offices, and the connection with the conservation-restoration department is satisfactory. Such a location is rational because it enables easy access and carrying out professional supervision of the objects.

The storage unit spaces are divided into a part open to visitors and a "closed" part, and the equipment is adapted accordingly. In the viewable part of the storage unit, the equipment is of a higher quality and is mostly made to measure. Metal cabinets have tempered glass doors, the drawers slide on self-closing guides, and the handle design is functional and aesthetic. Individual cabinets are designed as showcases, shelves, or hangers for clothes.⁸ The first space of the viewing storage unit is characterised by a low showcase with a glass cover and side drawers decorated in imitation wood. The second one is also the workspace of the curator or conservator-restorer, who can review the material on a large central desk. The desk consists of two parts, of which the wheeled part can be separated and used as a trolley or auxiliary table elsewhere.

The central part of the closed storage unit has four sliding cabinets movable with a manual mechanism. In order to maintain the original flooring in these rooms, the tracks are not embedded in the floor but in shuttering panels. All the fronts of the sliding cabinets can be locked, and individual units are equipped with shock absorbers and dust barriers. The shelves are height-adjustable (perforation every 3 cm) and, where necessary, are equipped with protective lips. Within the sliding cabinets, it is possible to combine shelves and suspension brackets.

Chests of drawers, cabinets and racks are arranged along the walls and around the three pillars that divide the arched space of the storage unit. In closed storage units, a part of the equipment is standard. Metal cabinets have solid doors because the visibility of the material is not a priority. All cabinets in the viewable storage unit are locked for security reasons, which is not necessary in the closed part of the storage unit. Most of the cabinets have pull-out shelves with ball bearing slides. Because the storage unit holds textiles from all departments, metal nets are placed on the back of the rail cabinets as well as large racks, which

⁷ HREN BRVAR, M. 2018, p. 4.

⁸ MORE, D. 2008, pp. 11-13.

enables us to easily hang objects, such as banners or umbrellas, from hooks. The storage of carpets is enabled using a large stand (4.5 meters in length) with spools around which the carpets are rolled.

The auxiliary equipment that staff need when handling objects (ladders, rack trolleys, portable lamps, movable platforms, and hangers on rollers) is available in all the spaces.

Storage methods and materials used

Some objects in the clothing storage unit are preserved in boxes and on hangers, while others are kept on shelves in cabinets and chests of drawers, attached to nets, on freestanding hangers, and on display mannequins. The storage method used depends on the state of preservation, and the shape and size of the objects; correct storage helps reduce tensions in the material which may lead to additional mechanical damage.

Three-dimensional textiles are stored horizontally or vertically. The most sensitive objects are kept in wide chests of drawers or on pull-out shelves that support the entire item and enable easy access. For objects that can be hung, wooden hangers are used; these have recently replaced inadequate plastic ones. Because the sliding cabinets are protected by dust barriers, the object on hangers are not additionally protected with a dust sheet. While preparing and disassembling exhibitions, the objects hanging on freestanding hangers and exposed to dust for a long period of time are protected with custom-made covers from vapor permeable Tyvek foil.

Headwear is predominantly distributed on shelves. The majority of the remaining objects are kept in cardboard boxes with a lid, preventing possible dust accumulation on objects and facilitating easy handling. The boxes are not made of museum-quality cardboard.

Large flat textiles (carpets, flags, and banners) are kept rolled in order to prevent fibre breakage. For carpets, spools of adequate diameter are used, and they are hung on a metal stand. Banners and flags are kept attached to metal nets placed on the side panels of the sliding cabinets.

The objects include umbrellas in cases, and walking sticks. Some sensitive objects are kept on free standing display mannequins that are protected with a Tyvek dust sheet. The objects to be prepared for exhibitions, research, or inventory check are kept on movable stands, usually for a limited period of time.

Monitoring environmental conditions in the storage unit

Environmental factors (relative humidity, temperature, light levels, and the level of contaminants in the room) have a significant impact on the long-term storage of objects. Unfortunately, there are currently no international standards for environmental factors designated for the preservation of museum collections. There are a number of recommendations and guidelines, but it is up to museum staff to provide the environmental conditions adapted to the needs of collections and determined according to various constraints and options.⁹

Suitable preservation conditions for textiles and partly mixed materials are provided by relative humidity ranging from 45% to 60%, and a temperature between 16° and 20 °C. The adequacy of these microclimatic conditions is recorded manually at regular weekly intervals.

In storage units, direct sunlight on the objects is prevented by permanent window blinds, and the objects are mostly kept in cabinets with zero illumination. During work, the storage unit is illuminated with low brightness ceiling lights with a low UV radiation rate (below 40 µW/lm). Regular monitoring of light levels is not performed.¹⁰

The storage unit does not have any built-in filters to ensure the recommended air quality (monitoring of SO₂, NO_x, O₃, and dust particles).

Because of the sensitivity of textile materials, the museum collaborates with the National Laboratory of Health, Environment and Food for regular preventive disinsection of all objects.

⁹ ŽIVKOVIĆ, V. 2015, p. 26.

¹⁰ VODOPIVEC, J. et al. 2006, pp. 152-153.

IDENTIFICATION OF RISKS IN THE UNIFORM COLLECTION

In 2018, a new permanent collection of uniforms was opened. Setting up the permanent collection was an ideal occasion to thoroughly examine objects, eliminate documentation deficiencies, evaluate and eliminate risks, and introduce additional preventive preservation measures, given the fact that the object in the collection had never been systematically organised and examined. Arranging objects from the uniform collection thus involved finding solutions for a better and more transparent way of keeping and reducing possible risks to the objects.

A schedule of tasks to be carried out during analysis, arrangement, and evaluation of the collection was drawn up to ensure a well-organised uniform collection. It included:

- the drawing of the plan of the storage unit equipment with the walking route and the layout (the system of labelling cabinets, chests of drawers, shelves and drawers where the objects are kept),
- risk analysis of premises and storage unit equipment (implementation of improvements),
- analysis of the existing state of museum objects and additional inventory check (examination of objects, supplementing documentation, storage status record, division of objects into meaningful groups),
- analysis of the existing storage approach and of the packaging materials used (implementation of improvements),
- more precise object classification according to storage requirements (possibility of hanging, stacking, special storage requirements, etc.),
- analysis of environmental conditions in the storage unit,
- disinsection.

First, a walking route through the storage unit was determined, and on that basis a labelling system was created (layout). Individual cabinets, chests of drawers and groups of sliding cabinets were labelled with Roman numerals; sections in the interior with Arabic numerals; and shelves with letters. With a team of additional staff over a five-month period, most of the collection was reviewed, documentation was supplemented, objects were photographed and divided into meaningful museological groups, and their permanent location was established. The preservation status of objects was recorded, the objects were cleaned of dust, the packaging was replaced where necessary, or the storage method used was changed. Moreover, the actual and potential risks to which the objects were exposed were recorded.

Risks because of the storage space and equipment

The storage unit can be approached from two directions: via an open staircase and corridor, or through a storage space for ethnological material. The corridor contains stone monuments, a collection of statues, paper material (catalogues, leaflets) and packaging material. Due to the very nature of this material, these spaces contain many dust particles, which when entering we carry into the clothing storage unit. The storage unit can also be approached via the storage space of the ethnological and cultural-historical departments. Curators thus frequently bring materials from these departments through the clothing storage unit, or simply pass through to other rooms, which brings an additional environmental burden. Due to the unfinished renovation of the castle and the lack of storage space, some other objects from other departments are also stored here: iron chests, the numismatic collection and the philately collection. Because of this, the final arrangement of the storage unit is made difficult, as well as the distribution of materials in meaningful groups.

The storage unit has double arches, with intermediate pillars, and the walls are painted with porous paint, which to a certain extent prevents the collection of condensation on the external walls ("breathing"). The floor is covered with ceramic tiles (the original flooring), which are not non-slip, and dust and dirt quickly collect in the grouting. The window frames have been renewed, but they are not dust tight; the double window frames are double glazed, which minimises heat loss. When the sun is shining directly on them the windows are shaded by roller blinds, but there is no protective mesh, which means that the objects are potentially exposed to infestation by pests when the spaces are aired. Airing is carried out by the staff at their discretion.

There is no running water anywhere in the storage unit, which makes maintenance and cleaning more difficult; however, there is a water supply to a fire hydrant and to the gas stove on this floor, representing a potential threat of flooding. Fire alarms, connected to the security service, are present in every space. The

fire alarms are regularly serviced and a registered maintenance person issues a periodic certificate regarding their suitability. Electric installations have been renovated and examined. Lighting is general; spotlights are fitted to a track on the ceiling, which does not give the best light for work in the storage unit. It would make sense to install additional light sources, since some passageways between the tall movable cabinets and shelves are unlit. When making use of work surfaces (drawer units, tables), portable lamps can be plugged in.

The central part of the unit, where we keep the uniform collection, consists of two sliding cabinets on tracks, which can be moved with a manual mechanism, and each element can take a maximum load of up to 1000 kg. Objects are hung on hangers or kept on shelves, the height of which is adjustable. The cabinets have pull-out shelves and the doors open to 180 degrees, making it easier to handle material. All the furniture is made from stainless steel sheeting, spray painted and lacquered, constructed without sharp edges and raised from the ground in case of water spillage. The auxiliary equipment is also made from inert materials, durable and relatively simple to maintain.



Image 1: Pull-out shelves, which can be used as a work surface (Photo: Irena Porekar Kacafura).

In spite of this, we are aware of some limitations in the equipment, which represents a certain risk to the material. The tops of the sliding cabinets are on bolts, and through the narrow connecting slots dust particles can fall into the cabinets. Dust and dirt collect in the tracks, which are built into shuttering panels. Because of a lack of funds, the manual mechanism is not serviced and the tracks are not cleaned, which could cause great problems in the future. And since the sliding cabinets cannot be locked, staff often leave them open, exposing them to unnecessary external influences (dust, additional light).

In spite of an added lock and magnet, the tall cabinets close poorly. After years of use the door wings are slightly warped and the inadequate magnets do not guarantee appropriate closure. If staff do not check that the doors are suitably locked, the material is exposed to unnecessary risks.

It has emerged that for the storage of sensitive material from the uniform collection, larger drawers are required. Moreover, surfaces for putting down, handling and examining material are lacking, for part of the material is always in circulation.

Although when the equipment was installed it seemed that the passageways between cabinets were too wide and took up too much space, it has turned out that this space is precious as it facilitates simple handling of movable stands and trolleys, sufficient space for storing material which is, because of its sensitivity, kept on mannequins, and also the addition of small additional equipment.

Risk due to the storage method and the use of materials

The storage method is dependent on the state of preservation of the objects in the uniform collection. The sliding cabinets, in which we keep objects on hangers, are adapted to the available space, which means that their height is not optimal for hanging two rows of uniforms, one above the other. But because otherwise we would not make optimal use of the available space, the objects (primarily jackets) are in places resting on the lower support or the base of the sliding cabinets, which brings unnecessary stress to the material.



Image 2: Objects stored on hangers and lying loose on shelves (Photo: Irena Porekar Kacafura).

Most of the hangers for the heavy military jackets and coats are an appropriate shape, with an adapted resting place for the shoulders of the clothing object, which prevents an additional burden to the sleeves. Military trousers hang folded on the cross part of the hangers, but at times, due to the cut or weave of the materials, this leads to creasing and thus to the possibility of damage to the textile fibres. Hangers are made mainly from lacquered beech wood.

Larger headwear and metal helmets are kept on shelves, the smaller and more sensitive ones in boxes. Since the shelves are metal and the headwear could move when the sliding cabinets are moved or the shelves pulled out and bang into each other, the shelves have been lined with a non-slip polyethylene foam.

In spite of dust barriers, dust particles constantly collect in the cabinets, so the material is additionally protected. All hanging and shelved materials are covered by the vapor-permeable material Tyvek or polyethylene foil.

Quite a lot of material is still kept in old boxes made from inappropriate material. We try to compensate for this by lining them with museum-quality paper, which presents contact of the textiles with the inner surface of the box. These boxes are gradually being replaced with more appropriate ones, made from museum-quality cardboard.

With sensitive or very small objects kept in boxes we take particular care to ensure that they are not additionally burdened by being moved: sensitive spots are supported by twists of polyester, wool or paper. In spite of this, there are many small objects which should be additionally protected, since they lie adjacent to each other and damage occurs due to fibres breaking, objects rubbing together and so on. Flat textiles (e.g. military shirts) are also kept in partly unsuitable conditions in boxes, with most of them being placed in layers.

The mannequins on which uniforms are kept or exhibited are adapted to the size of the individual object. The shape of and support for these objects is ensured through the use of various padding from polyester wool. Most of the mannequins are made from unsuitable material (styrofoam), on which it is not possible to keep textiles in the long term.

Free standing objects are kept on plastic palettes (in case of inundation with water) from recycled polypropylene and for carrying objects to an exhibition or the conservation department, crates made from polypropylene or polyethylene.

Risks due to environmental conditions in the storage unit

We try to keep the relative humidity in the storage unit to between 45% and 60%, and the temperature between 16° and 20°C. The renovation project foresees the possibility of locally regulating the temperature and relative humidity with mobile units and digital monitoring of storage conditions, but currently regulation of microclimatic conditions is noted by hand during regular weekly rounds. We can only implement locally limited regulation of relative humidity with mobile humidifiers, the temperature cannot be regulated. In the summer months, relative humidity increases outside and also in the storage unit, sometimes approaching the upper permitted limit. In such conditions, microorganisms and, later, mould may start to develop, so material is checked non-systematically for such a risk.

Since the storage unit contains some material sensitive to light (the acceptable level is 50 lx), we ensure that the collective dose of light exposure, which is dependent on the intensity of lighting and the time of exposure of objects, does not exceed recommended levels (150,000 lx h).¹¹ Objects are kept in the dark and lit only during the limited time when they are handled. We occasionally measure light levels when working in the storage unit with a lux meter, which usually shows in the range 100 - 300 lx, which in view of the time of exposure is acceptable.

Gaseous contaminants and the content of solid particles in the air, which could additionally harm the objects, are not monitored, since the conditions for this are not in place. We ensure that when there are high values of PM₁₀, SO₂, NO₂ and O₃ in the air around the museum, we do not air the storage unit (the relevant data is obtained from the Republic of Slovenia's Environment Agency).¹²

Protecting textiles against moths is practically impossible, so we occasionally check material for possible infestation and carry out a regular annual disinsection. We lack the space in which to quarantine new objects, currently doing this in the conservation-restoration department. Staff are reminded not to bring new, potentially infested material into the storage unit.

LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION

When organising the uniform collection, we dealt with some recognised risks, while also preparing a list of recommendations regarding what needs to be improved in coming years, or guidelines of how to operate in future so that objects are exposed to risk as little as possible and kept in a suitable condition for future generations to enjoy.

¹¹ ŽIVKOVIĆ, V. 2015, p. 34.

¹² Air pollution, Agencija RS za okolje. URL: http://www.arso.gov.si/zrak/kakovost%20zraka/podatki/dnevne_koncentracije.html (quoted 3. 7. 2018).

Premises and equipment

In spite of the fact that the configuration and position of the storage unit cannot be influenced, we can implement some improvements.

It would make sense to arrange an access point for the clothing storage unit. The stone monuments and statue collection now kept in the corridor in front of the unit should be moved to another location (a storage unit for stone objects), and the corridor used for the storage of the support materials that we need in our work in the storage unit. Currently, various stands, exhibition mannequins, wrapping materials, boxes, crates and similar equipment is kept in the storage unit among or on top of cabinets, causing crowding and unnecessarily burdening the space. In this way, we would improve access to part of the viewing storage space, which is currently very difficult.

Despite the fact that renovation of the castle is not complete, by making better use of certain spaces (the arrangement of shelves) we could ensure better storage conditions for objects from other departments (particularly iron chests), which are currently kept with clothing, preventing the placement of additional drawer units for sensitive materials, as well as urgently needed surfaces for placing objects on. Let me add here that we cannot guarantee suitable microclimatic conditions for the storage of such objects, since they are dealt with in line with the requirements for textile materials.

The storage unit and indeed the whole western tract of the mezzanine lacks running water, which hinders the work of the staff, not only when handling objects (ensuring cleanliness), but also when maintaining the spaces themselves. Since there is a water supply (to the gas stove and hydrants), it should be possible in future, taking into account all the safety measures regarding water spillage, to install in the space where material is examined a tap and small washbasin, which would drain together with the condensation from the floor's gas stove.

We still need to talk to the manufacturer about a maintenance plan for the manual mechanism on the sliding cabinets. Larger, stronger magnets need to be installed on the doors, which in spite of the current magnets come open. Basically, the solution would be simple if the metal doors were made out of slightly thicker steel sheeting, but currently this change is not possible due to lack of resources.

Addition ladders with stable steps also need to be guaranteed, as well as stands on wheels, which we require when handling materials.

We also need to come up with a protocol for regular cleaning of the spaces, since quite a bit of dust gathers on and inside equipment, as well as training for staff to ensure that they regularly close the sliding cabinets, thus preventing the gathering of dust that may have a negative influence on stored objects.

Storage methods, protective materials and packaging

Sufficient space needs to be ensured for clothing objects that are hung in the sliding cabinets, while the hangers need to be suitably padded to prevent damage to fibres or creases. For objects such as military headwear, footwear and belts, we have to make supports to ensure that the shape of the objects is not distorted in storage. We also need to take extra steps regarding objects that are placed one on top of the other, that are touching each other, or that are moved. Moreover, we need to provide extra drawer space for the most sensitive objects that are stored lying down.

We must also change unsuitable packaging materials as soon as possible, especially boxes, which are still not made from museum-quality cardboard, and also ensure that the right materials are used for all additional equipment and when objects are being transported. We shall prepare a list of materials and their properties that can be used in contact with textiles (glass; stainless steel; pure, unbleached, untreated cotton and linen material; museum-quality paper; polyethylene, polypropylene and polyester without harmful additives), as well as a list of materials that might have a harmful effect on the objects (materials that emit acid or alkaline, formaldehyde, hydrogen peroxide, contain softeners, and other substances) and teach staff about these.¹³

¹³ ILEC, E. 2004, pp. 24-26.



Image 3: Storing headwear before and after the uniform collection was arranged (Photo: Irena Porekar Kacafura).

Particular attention must be paid to handling objects in the appropriate way and to ensuring that after various procedures (research, examination, exhibitions), staff return objects to their proper place. We have realised that the better organised the storage unit, the higher the staff awareness about how to handle objects correctly.

Environmental conditions in the storage unit

We shall prepare a precise protocol for monitoring environmental risk factors and make staff responsible for checking and regulating relative humidity and temperature, as well as the risks connected with these two factors (above all, checking for the development of microorganisms); for monitoring levels of gaseous pollutants in the town centre (data from the Environment Agency) and preparing a regime for airing the storage and other spaces; monitoring and measuring light levels (putting in place a dosimeter to measure light exposure levels); and possible infestation of textile materials with pests (the placement of pheromone traps), with a protocol for measures to be taken should infestation occur. We also need to prepare a protocol for receiving new objects which are potentially infested, for we currently have no separate space where things can be quarantined, and so this takes place in the conservation-restoration department.

CONCLUSION

Understanding the effects of different environmental factors such as relative humidity, temperature, light, the dangers posed by pests and dirt, equipment, packaging, handling by staff, and the way that these can harm textile objects, is of crucial importance for their preservation. Examining the environment in which objects of cultural heritage are stored or displayed, the taking of appropriate measures and removing risks (preventive conservation) is often a more cost effective and comprehensive solution for preventing the deterioration of the condition of objects than carrying out remedial conservation or restoration.

When organising the material from the uniform collection we looked for ways to improve the storage of the material and make it more manageable, as well as reducing possible risks. The collection has been organised to the extent that the objects are appropriately documented; individual objects can be found in less than three minutes and are exposed to smaller risks than before. But this does not mean that the work is close to being completed, for it is necessary to counter all the risks that we have identified during our work and to prepare protocols for dealing with these. Certainly, the policy of preventive conservation needs to be improved, as does control and monitoring of microclimatic conditions, and checking the condition of objects in the uniform collection or all the objects that are kept in the clothing storage unit.

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OPREDELITEV TVEGANJ V ZBIRKI UNIFORM POKRAJINSKEGA MUZEJA MARIBOR IN ZAGOTAVLJANJE PREVENTIVNE KONSERVACIJE

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Strokovni članek (1.04)

IZVLEČEK

Muzejski depoji so živ organizem. Nenehno jih spreminjamo: urejamo, dopolnjujemo, v njih raziskujemo, izvajamo preventivno konservacijo ... S svojim delovanjem jih lahko spremenimo v funkcionalne prostore, ki nudijo varnost predmetom. Z metodo RE-ORG smo v depolu oblačilne kulture za zbirko uniform opredelili tveganja s konservatorsko-restavratorskega vidika: glede na prostore in opremo, princip hranjenja predmetov in uporabljenih materialov ter nadzora okoljskih razmer. Med urejanjem zbirke smo določena tveganja odpravili, hkrati pa pripravili seznam priporočil za izboljšanje stanja.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

depo, zbirka uniform, obvladovanje tveganj, preventivna konservacija

POVZETEK

Razumevanje učinkov različnih okoljskih dejavnikov, kot so relativna vlažnost, temperatura, svetloba, nevarnosti, ki jih povzročajo škodljivci in umazanija, oprema, embalaža, človek z rokovanjem, ter načinov, kako lahko ti dejavniki poškodujejo tekstilne predmete, je bistvenega pomena za njihovo ohranitev. Pregledovanje okolja, v katerem so hranjeni ali prikazani predmeti kulturne dediščine, ter po potrebi izvedba določenih sprememb in odprava tveganj (preventivna konservacija) je pogosto stroškovno učinkovitejša in celovitejša rešitev za preprečitev poslabšanja stanja predmetov kot izvajanje kurativne konservacije ali restavracije.

Urejanja gradiva iz zbirke uniform smo se lotili v smislu iskanja rešitev za vzpostavitev boljšega in preglednejšega načina hranjenja in zmanjšanja morebitnih tveganj za gradivo. Trdimo lahko, da smo zbirko uredili do takšne mere, da so predmeti ustrezno dokumentirani, posamezni predmet lahko najdemo v manj kot treh minutah, ter izpostavljeni manjšim tveganjem kot doslej. S tem pa delo še zdaleč ni končano, saj bo treba odpraviti še vsa tista tveganja, ki smo jih ugotovili pri delu, in pripraviti protokole za spremljanje teh tveganj. Vsekakor bo treba dopolniti politiko preventivne konservacije, nadzora in spremljanja mikroklimatskih razmer ter preverjanja stanja predmetov v zbirki uniform oziroma to razširiti na vse predmete, ki se hranijo v depolu oblačilne kulture.

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