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„A white russet coat with a straight or rolled collar constitutes the male dress; decorations and lapels are red, crimson or light blue. They are fastened with a belt of the same shade. (...) Boots are worn high. They wear shearing caps or straw hats, or black hats that are quite tall although with a narrow brim. The ladies of Sandomierz wear almost the same fashions as women in Cracow. If they wear fewer strings of beads it is only so that they can use more beads of different colours. The ruffs they add to their collars reach their shoulders”¹. The description of traditional dress quoted above comes from the „Przyjaciel ludu” magazine published in Leszno in 1846. This is how traditional dress worn by the inhabitants of the sandomierskie region had been described. Such descriptions were typical of mid-19th century ethnic studies, because their aim was to record the functioning aspects of folk culture. But can we say that contemporary ethnological descriptions differ substantially from their above-mentioned counterparts? The way in which different phenomena are recorded, analysed and interpreted had certainly changed. The description of the dress itself often serves as an introduction to a detailed analysis of the manufacturing and ornamentation processes. It may be a commentary on aesthetics and the fleeting nature of fashion, or an observation on the way popular and mass culture influence the functions of traditional dress.

5

Krystyna Hermanowicz-Nowak distinguishes three periods in the history of interest in rural dress: (1) prior to the First World War, when the researchers „charmed by how beautiful was the work of the people set out to (...) study and describe folk dress as a whole, and its respective elements”²; (2) the interwar period, during which many works had been written on the topic, mostly about areas in the East and North; (3) after the Second World War, when in 1949 the Polish Ethnological Society was inspired by Dr. Józef Grajek to publish the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume³. The first issue of this series, titled „Strój górali szczawnickich” (“Traditional dress of the Szczawnica highlanders”) was devoted to the dress of the highlanders from the vicinity of Szczawnica. It was published in 1949. The author was Roman Reinfuss, one of the series’ originators. The release of this issue marked the beginning of a project that lasts to this day. The aim of the project is to publish a series of monographs describing folk dress from a variety of regions of the country⁴, bearing in mind that their function has changed throughout the years. The final

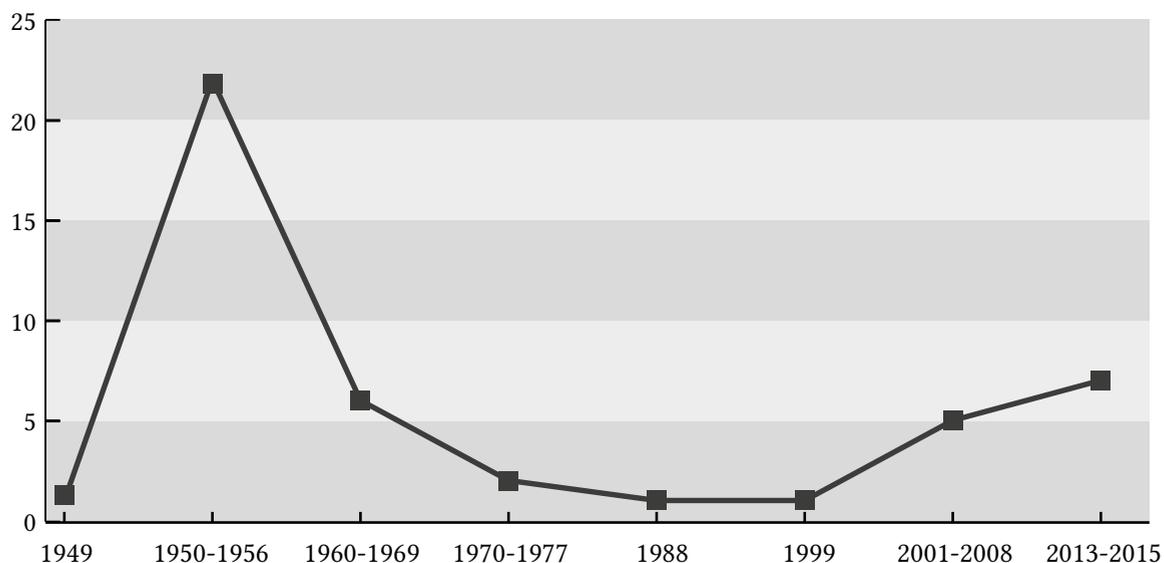
1 O. Kolberg, Radomskie, part I, *Dzieła wszystkie* vol. 20, Cracow: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, pp. 50.

2 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, Stan badań nad strojem ludowym w Polsce (próba oceny dotychczasowych osiągnięć) [The state of the research on traditional dress in Poland: an attempt to assess current achievements], „Konteksty. Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, No 1: 1977, pp. 3.

3 Ibid.

4 See: Gajek J., *Metodyka monograficznego opracowywania strojów ludowych* [The methodology of monographic studies on folk dress], „Lud” vol.41: 1954, pp. 797-805; Reinfuss R., *Instrukcja w sprawie materiału ilustracyjnego do Atlasu Polskich Strojów Ludowych* [Instructions for illustrations to the Atlas of Polish Folk Dress], „Lud” vol. 41: 1954, pp. 806-807. Some sources for research devoted to dress can be found in the archives of the Polish Ethnographic Atlas in Cieszyn. They are reviewed in: Brzezińska A. W., Słomska J., *Odzież ludowa na pograniczu polsko-słowackim w świetle badań atlasowych – wybrane elementy* [Remarks on folk dress in the Polish-Slovak borderlands in light of atlas studies], in: R. Stolićna, A. Pieńczak, Z. Kłodnicki (eds.), *Polska-Słowacja. Pogranicze kulturowe i etniczne* [Poland-Slovakia. Ethnic and cultural borderland], series: *Archiwum Etnograficzne* vol. 49, Wrocław-Cieszyn: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 2009, pp. 93-116.

38th issue was published in 2008. Its author was Barbara Bazieli⁵ who had been the series' editor for many years. Multiple researchers have studied issues related to folk dress over the course of several dozen years during which issues of the Atlas were published. The 1950s were the golden age of folk dress. 22 monographs were published in that period (see Figure 1). Afterwards, it was not infrequent to have gaps of several years between the monographs that were published. This was due to a lack of financial resources what would cover the cost of print, and reimburse the authors for the cost of gathering data.



1. Frequency with which issues of the Atlas had been published

2012 was a special year and one that, we hope, will permit us to proudly continue the work of our predecessors. The Polish Ethnological Society received funding in the framework of the Polish National Programme for the Development of the Humanities for the years 2013-2015 to finance a research project titled „The Atlas of Polish Folk Costume: a continuation of the publishing work, field research and source queries, as well as digitalisation of sources and sharing the information on the Internet⁶”. The main aim of the project is to ensure the continuity of cultural transfer and retain elements of cultural heritage regarding the phenomenon of Polish folk dress and its regional varieties in different environments (both local and scientific). Importantly, the project relies on field research as well as secondary sources, including museum collections. The aim is to create a catalogue of information on Polish folk dress collections in museums across Poland, including both festive and everyday wear. As part of the project, further issues of the Atlas will be prepared and published. The varieties of dress will include zamojski, pałucki, łączycki, łowicki (in the appendix), kościański, podhalański and the traditional dress of Bambrzy from Poznań. Each of the planned issues of the Atlas will be based on a thorough review of the sources complemented by field research.

5 In one of her articles Bazieli⁵ discussed the history of research on folk dress in Poland: *Badania nad odzieżą i strojem ludowym w Polsce* [Research on folk clothing and traditional costume in Poland], „Lud” vol. 78: 1995, pp. 193-210

6 Project No. 11H 12 0261 81

Furthermore, three research camps will be organised within the framework of the project. Their topics will be closely related to the manufacture of traditional dress. The aim of this part of the project is to document traditional craft techniques that are still used today: weaving, lacemaking and embroidery.

The implementation of the project will be conducted by the members of the Polish ethnological Society, who also represent research institutions from all over Poland, e.g. the AMU Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology from Poznań, the UMCS Institute of Cultural Studies from Lublin and Oskar Kolberg's Institute in Poznań. The Internet-based part of the project that popularises knowledge about folk dress has been realised in cooperation with the „Ethnographic Workshop” Association in Warsaw.

We hope to become a force for the activation and integration of Polish researchers interested in the topic of folk costume. In 2012, the Section for Polish Folk Costume has been established within the Board of the Polish Ethnological Society. A scientific conference devoted only to the topic of Polish folk dress was held in November 2012. As the first conference of its kind, it has drawn over twenty traditional dress researchers who conduct their studies in various regions of Poland. The problems of reconstruction of folk costume for a variety of purposes and audiences, and the phenomenon of folk dress as inspiration and resource for fashion and design were among the topics raised at the conference. Methods and techniques for preserving the garments, as well as maintenance of traditional costume in museums were also recurrent topics of discussion. On the second day of the conference, invited craftswomen who manufacture traditional garments (Halina Witkowska: kurpiowski dress - Puszcza Biała; Bogumiła Wójcik: krzczonowski dress; Anna Staniszevska: łowicki dress) were asked to present their work and discuss the most frequent challenges.

During the conference, the museologists raised a point that should be of some concern to the Section for Polish Folk Costume. They proposed that a glossary of terms should be prepared, covering the most frequently encountered traditional dress elements in all types and varieties that can be found in Poland. This is far from a simple task. Although the names of particular elements of clothing may be similar, or even identical they may refer to different items in different regions. We believe, however, that a volunteer for this task will come forward from this group of enthusiastic researchers. Importantly, it would be possible to consult our colleagues from Ukraine for guidance on this task, as they have completed a similar project. The project is described in more detail by Ludmiła Ponomar later in this book.

Among other authors we invited to collaborate on this volume are ethnographers, cultural anthropologists, museologists, conductors and members of folk bands - people whose everyday work revolves around the topic of folk dress. Not only do they collect resources regarding the traditional costumes of their regions, but also prepare publications on the topic and identify important trends and processes.

The articles that open this volume propose that contemporary studies on traditional dress need innovative research with a broad spectrum of interest. Folk costume and its elements have also been shown from the perspective of ethnodesign. The use of traditional dress in projects that, for example, aim to understand the identity of the wearer has been discussed. Furthermore, challenges faced by museologists who curate folk dress collections have been considered; old photographs, even those that seemed irrelevant to traditional dress have been identified as an important data source.

Imperfect reconstructions of traditional dress, usually prepared by members of folk bands, are also a problematic issue for researchers. The discrepancies are frequently attributed to lack of access to sources of information, but also to the diminishing availability of traditional fabrics and haberdashery, and extensive cost of faithful reconstruction. This is particularly true of those elements of traditional costume

that have to be made by a skilled craftsperson. Another difficulty lies in establishing which traditional dress is representative of a folk band performing in the regained territories, or in regions with substantial population exchange after the end of the Second World War.

There are several regions where traditional costume continues to be worn. Even there, however, it has undergone certain changes. Some are considered positive and accepted; others are worrying due to their scope and direction. Nevertheless, changes are inevitable. They result from the transformations that have taken place over the last several dozen years in those countries where traditional dress has survived.

The final group of articles consists of reconstructions of a variety of dress types that have not been adequately described before, and establishing where they can be found. This may well be the last opportunity to conduct such studies, as traditional dress is fading from the memories of the older inhabitants of many rural regions. The final paper in the book introduces a project by the „Ethnographic Workshop” Association in which information and resources regarding Polish traditional costume will be shared with a broader audience. It is the ambition of the Atlas’ editorial board to digitalise the issues of the series in the nearest future in order to share them on the Internet as part of the Polish Institute of Anthropology’s Digital Library. We hope that increasing the accessibility of the resources will mean that anyone who is interested in the topic will be able to access all the available information, and perhaps will prevent any future mistakes in traditional dress reconstruction efforts.

As the editors of this volume, and as members of the editorial board of the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume series we hope to follow in the footsteps of our predecessors: Józef Gajek, Barbara Bazielich and Janusz Kamocki.

*Anna Weronika Brzezińska, Mariola Tymochowicz
Poznań – Lublin, February 2013*

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES FROM ANOTHER PERSPECTIVE...
BETWEEN THE AESTHETIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL DIMENSIONS OF RUSTIC CLOTHING

Edward Taylor, one of the founding fathers of ethnology and cultural anthropology wrote with a characteristic rhetorical flair „But even among the rudest of our race, and in hot districts where clothing is of least practical use, something is generally worn, either from ideas of decency or for ornament”³. Therefore, research on clothing, whether rural, folk, ethnic or worn by subcultures, is clearly the task of the anthropologist.

Much has been written on the topic of folk dress⁴. It had been studied in relation to historical changes and regional differences. The development of different items of clothing, from simple shirts to elaborate bonnets, had been interpreted from the point of view of their practical, social and even magical applications. Folk costume research methods have changed along with the paradigms of ethnology and anthropology. Yet, rustic clothing as a whole is characterised by an artistic perfection of form. It is the reason why this cultural phenomenon may be analysed and interpreted from the aesthetic perspective. Due to the many functions that it performs, clothing has always been both an item and a sign. Its practical importance on both levels is undeniable.

In this paper, we take a broader perspective of clothing in general. We refuse to use the term „folk costume” with all its implications, as it is burdened (or not) by dozens of years’ worth of ideas and convictions. The term aimed to distinguish folk dress from the diverse array of clothing worn by the rural population. Where we draw this line, however, depends on our definition of the rural population, and the adopted time frame. Folk clothing has always constituted part of the history of clothing in general. Contemporary ethnographic research seems to relegate folk clothing to the margin, placing it within the scope of interest of traditional ethnography. We propose to review this meaning.

Seemingly, the aesthetic dimension of folk clothing is present in scientific discourse. The beauty of traditional dress appears undeniable. Yet, for many years ethnographers upheld the belief that the only direction for innovation is downward, from the upper to lower classes.

1 Hubert Czachowski, Ph.D. is an ethnologist working in the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń. Contact: h.czachowski@etnomuzeum.pl
2 Justyna Słomska-Nowak, Ph.D. is an ethnologist and museologist working in the Ethnographic Museum in Toruń. Contact: wydawnictwo@etnomuzeum.pl
3 E. B. Taylor, *Anthropology: an introduction to the study of man and civilization*. London: Macmillan and CO 1881, p. 236.
4 We use the terms: costume, dress and clothing interchangeably.

Undoubtedly, many gifted tailor-women, weavers and embroiderers had observed fashions in churches and mansions, but the process through which ideas are borrowed is far more complex than it seems. Rural clothing changes slowly, and in ways permitted by available weaving techniques. Clothes were treated with respect, carefully stored and inherited. Changes in the length of cloth required for different clothing items, such as decorative aprons and skirts, or changes in colour trends meant that different ornamentation techniques had to be used. At each stage of development, however, regional dress was a perfect and complete artistic form.

Clothing also served as a regional marker of rural identity. Some elements were shared, while others added an individual touch. The canon of beauty was based on that, which was acceptable, permissible or allowed. Throughout the ages, it had been refined by many years of aesthetic inquiries devoted to finding means of expression of self, but first and perhaps foremost, of finding a sense of communal „I”. In this way it became the glue that kept local communities together. Individual expressions of fashion or self can be seen in the aesthetics of manufacture of rural clothing. Aleksander Błachowski remarked „individual garments reflect the personality of a particular creator while stemming from the beauty canons that are embraced within the community”⁵.

The creative process involved in making folk clothing was ripe with the need to invent new solutions. The artistic value of traditional dress can be clearly seen in collections of ethnographic museums filled with garments that are works of art: aprons, shirts, kerchiefs, corsets, russet coats, belts etc. Is it a mistake to treat a folk apron from Wysokiennice or Opoczno as a work of art, and have it face similar aesthetic and artistic scrutiny? From our perspective, what was created by legions of anonymous weavers, tailor-women, embroiderers and other ordinary, yet extraordinarily gifted village inhabitants is art. Perhaps by taking this stance we can take rustic clothing out of its regional context and allow researchers to appreciate its artistic value. Contemporary museums made us appreciate the fact that each displayed item tells its story. Perhaps it is time to allow the aesthetic value of exhibits to become an equally important plot in the story we tell about traditional dress?

In order to do so, we must first learn about a largely unknown text, mostly absent from the scientific discourse regarding traditional dress. Thomas Carlyle, a well-known philosopher and author, wrote and published a book called *Sartor Resartus* (which is translated as „the tailor re-tailored”)⁶.

The book is a masterpiece of a multidimensional narrative that seems contemporary even though it had been written at the beginning of the 19th century. It is firmly rooted, however, in 19th century culture and the literary experimentation of that time. Carlyle’s work could actually be categorised as belonging to the domain of cultural philosophy, historiography of ideas, or social theory - or perhaps all of these disciplines at once. It is unusual due to the way the narrative is constructed. Carlyle presents his convictions as research on the ideas of a German philosopher, professor Diogenes Teufelsdröckhe, whom he invented, and Teufelsdröckhe’s book *Die Kleider, ihr Werden und Wirken* („Clothes: Their Origin and Influence”). *Sartor Resartus* consists of dialogue between the narrator (representing the author?) and the

5 A. Błachowski, *Ubiór i krajobraz kulturowy Polski i Ukrainy Zachodniej w ikonografii J. Głogowskiego i K. W. Kielisińskiego [Clothing and the cultural landscape of Poland and Western Ukraine in the iconography of J. Głogowski and K.W. Kielisiński]*, Toruń: Muzeum Etnograficzne w Toruniu 2011, pp. 13.

6 The first Polish translation of the book was translated by Sygurd Wiśniowski and published in 1882. The authors used the book’s second translation from the book *Wszystko jest dialogiem* by Leopold Buczkowski (the text was translated by L. Buczkowski and Z. Trziszka). Quotes in English are taken from the original text.

philosopher discussing the hypotheses presented by the latter. The game played by the author becomes clear once we investigate the hero's name. It references Greek philosophy; Diogenes of Sinope, described by Diogenes Laertius, lived in a barrel and dressed in rags. But Diogenes' name also refers to Zeus, while Teufel means 'devil'. Therefore, a philosopher of clothes is at once a demiurge, creator and villain. The scope of his activities spreads between heaven and hell. Philosophy of clothing encompasses the whole cycle of life.

This is typical of Carlyle's text in general. He mixes autobiographical elements with complex fiction, seriousness with irony, and hope with pessimism. In fact, his own work can be described with the words of the author he invented, professor Teufelsdröckhe: „A work “interesting alike to the antiquary, the historian, and the philosophic thinker; a masterpiece of boldness, lynx-eyed acuteness”⁷. Due to space constraints we will not discuss the author's views regarding the civilisation of that time, nor his social criticism in its entirety. It is important to note that Carlyle invented the character of a German researcher on no other topic than the philosophy of clothing. The author chose this branch of knowledge as a vehicle for his own views on society and culture. *Sartor Resartus*

The author chose philosophy of clothing as an appropriate vehicle to convey his opinions on society and culture. *Sartor Resartus* is a persuasive essay. „In his book, Carlyle conducts an argument on the philosophy of clothing with himself as the book's author, with remarkable bravado”⁸. Although the references, or rather dialogues on the philosophy of clothing serve as a pretext for the Scottish thinker to present a set of much broader views, for the purpose of this paper we shall interpret them from a one-dimensional perspective. Let us see what can be learned about the philosophy of clothing from *Sartor Resartus*. In this way, we will approach Carlyle's metaphor literally.

Let us quote a fragment of the text that seems to be key for Teufelsdröckhe (narrator, or Carlyle) „For neither in tailoring nor in legislating does man proceed by mere Accident, but the hand is ever guided on by mysterious operations of the mind. In all his Modes, and habilitory endeavors, an Architectural Idea will be found lurking; his Body and the Cloth are the site and materials whereon and whereby his beautified edifice, of a Person, is to be built. Whether he flow gracefully out in folded mantles, based on light sandals; tower up in high headgear, from amid peaks, spangles and bell-girdles; swell out in starched ruffs, buckram stuffings, and monstrous tuberosities; or girth himself into separate sections, and front the world an Agglomeration of four limbs, —will depend on the nature of such Architectural Idea: whether Grecian, Gothic, Later Gothic, or altogether Modern, and Parisian or Anglo-Dandiacal.”⁹ This fragment alone seems to underscore how modern was Teufelsdröckhe's (and, by extension, Carlyle's) approach. For Teufelsdröckhe, the philosophy clothing is the discovery of a tight network of causes and effects. In this way, the professor seeks answers to a number of basic questions; questions that are not about particular items of clothing but rather clothing as a whole: „Let any Cause-and-Effect Philosopher explain, not why I wear such and such a Garment, obey such and such a Law; but even why I am here, to wear and obey anything!”¹⁰. A philosopher of clothing trying to answer the question „Why am I here” shows that for Carlyle philosophy of clothing is first and foremost a branch of anthropology; a science of mankind.

7 T. Carlyle, *Sartor resartus*, Project Gutenberg: 1831 (published 2008). n.p.

8 Z. Trziszka, *Dialog międzytekstowy [Intertextual dialogue]*, in: L. Buczkowski, *Wszystko jest dialogiem*, Warsaw: LSW 1984, pp. 130-132.

9 T. Carlyle, *op. cit.*,

10 *Ibid.*

„All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken, is not there at all: Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and body it forth. Hence Clothes, as despicable as we think them, are so unspeakably significant. Clothes, from the King's mantle downwards, are emblematic, not of want only, but of a manifold cunning Victory over Want,” he says. He concludes this thought with: „and the essence of all Science lies in the philosophy of clothes”¹¹.

Let us now go forward by some one hundred years, to Georg Simmel and one of the first research papers that analysed the notion of *fashion*¹². Can a comparison be drawn between fashion and traditional dress? We think that this is possible, bearing in mind that fashion in the sense contemporary to Simmel was a different phenomenon to what we understand it to mean now. Modern fashion is a fast-changing cultural phenomenon, where the changes in what is considered fashionable are motivated by the advent of new styles and driven by consumerism¹³.

Simmel had been aware of this difference as early as the beginning of the 20th century. For him, and many others, fashion was relevant to all types of societies. Naturally, some of Simmel's views regarding „primitive people” and „lower classes” are today considered either unacceptable or untrue. Nevertheless, many of his insights are still valid when it comes to the social power of fashion even in potentially conservative societies, such as 19th century European peasants. Bogatyrev had also noticed this relation between conservatism and fashion. First, he drew a contrast between fashion and traditional dress, only to later admit that the latter is not free of fashion able influences¹⁴. Fashion needs to be understood in a broader sense, as a socially and culturally driven compulsion rather than a phenomenon consisting of quickly changing tendencies and their short, but powerful influences. Edward Sapir pointed out that fashion is a historical notion and, as such, should not be taken out of its appropriate context lest it becomes impossible to interpret. For him, fashion depended on the dominating culture and social ideals: „under a layer of culture that is seemingly calm there are always powerful cultural trends”¹⁵. Particularly interesting are Sapir's thoughts on the unconscious forms of symbolism, colours, body language and other means of expression whose interpretations and symbolic references differ so widely in cultures across the globe.

Simmel built his whole concept of fashion around the social and psychological dimensions of imitation, which he considered its most interesting feature. „When we imitate, we transfer our claims to creative action but also the responsibility for our behaviour to someone else. This is how an individual frees themselves from the burden of seeking and appears to be a creation of the group, a vessel for social content”¹⁶. This aspect of fashion perfectly describes the nature of the emergence of new forms in

11 *Ibid.*

12 G. Simmel, *Filozofia mody [Philosophy of Fashion]*, in: S. Magala, *Simmel*, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna 1980, pp. 180-212. (translated from the Polish version)

13 An interesting analysis of contemporary culture in this respect can be found in a work entitled fittingly *Rozkoszna zaraza. O rządach mody i kulturze konsumpcji [A Blissful Pestilence. On the rule of fashion and consumerism culture]*, edited by T. Szlendak and K. Pietrowicz, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 2007. Of course, the authors understand fashion in a broader context, rather than referring merely to clothing trends.

14 P. Bogatyrev, *Funkcje stroju ludowego [Functions of folk dress]*, translated by Z. Soloni, in: idem *Semiotyka kultury ludowej [Semiotics of folk culture]*, Introduction and editing by M. R. Mayenowa, Warsaw: PIW 1975, pp.27. (translated from the Polish version)

15 E. Sapir, *Kultura język, osobowość [Culture, language, personality]*, Warsaw: PIW 1977, pp. 240. (translated from the Polish version)

16 Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 181. (translated from the Polish version)

traditional dress, but it is also a broader commentary on the kind of socialisation prevalent in peasant culture. Let us investigate a question that is seemingly quite simple: why traditional dress took a certain shape in one region, and looked entirely different in a community across the river. In order to not merely pose such questions, but answer them, we need to follow in Simmel's footsteps and connect the historical and social perspectives. „Only historical investigations inspire inquiries on which types of social order could supply content which is adequate (or inadequate) to develop or reject certain cultural forms”¹⁷.

From a sociological perspective, fashion is always an opposition of two inseparable concepts: belonging and exclusion. On the topic of belonging, Simmel wrote: fashion is „a satiating need for social acceptance, which makes any individual take the route that everyone else is taking”¹⁸. The sense of group belonging and establishment of social connection is manifested more readily in clothing than in speech. Establishing a common identity, however, requires separation from all other groups, whether horizontally or vertically. Thus, Simmel adds decisively: „unity and segregation are two basic inseparable functions; each is the logical opposition of the other but together they become the condition under which the other can be realised”¹⁹. To draw this demarcation line is important, particularly in cases like folk culture. Folk culture insists on separating itself from other groups in the social hierarchy, but also from neighbouring communities that are socially similar, but perceived as foreign.

Let us come back to Taylor, who points out that an ethnologists' spectrum of interest needs to be very broad when analysing clothing. He cites an example from the culture of his time: „These remarks may lead readers to look attentively into books of costume, which indeed are full of curious illustrations of the way in which things are not invented outright by mere fancy, but come by gradual alterations of what was already here. To account for our present absurd “chimney-pot” hat, we must see how it came by successive changes from the conical Puritan hat and the slouched Smart hat, and these again from earlier forms”²⁰. Although these opinions are typical of the evolutionist view, they still illustrate the multidimensionality of interpretation when it comes to clothing.

Research on clothing and fashion can be conducted using a variety of methodological approaches: from purely historical analysis, through aesthetics, sociological and anthropological functional analysis, to a structuralist approach to clothing as a system²¹, studies of everyday behaviour and oral history²².

Memories and reminiscences regarding clothes play a vital role in historical and ethnological studies. Cheryl Buckley, whose research focused on making and designing clothes at home, came to the conclusion that „making clothes marked out different stages [these women's] lives: connecting feelings and memories with family and friends. It related intimately to the specific places and locations in which they lived, rather than just the chronological, temporal sequence of their lives”²³. Buckley found out that

17 Magala, *op. cit.*, pp. 67.

18 Simmel, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 (translated from the Polish version)

19 *Ibid*, pp. 183 (translated from the Polish version)

20 Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252.

21 R. Barthes, *System mody [System of Fashion]*, translated by Maciej Falski, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2005.

22 L. Taylor, *Historia mówiona a badania nad dziejami ubioru [Oral history and research on the history of clothing]*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo. Kwartalnik”, R. 45: 2001, issue 3-4, pp. 145-166.

23 C. Buckley, *On the Margins: Theorizing the History and Significance of Making and Designing Clothes at Home*, *Journal of Design History*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1998), pp. 157-171

elderly women were able to describe the clothing they wore during important events in their lives, first dates and dances with exquisite detail, including the exact shade of the dresses they wore - even if they were talking about events from the 20's and 30's.

Lou Taylor stresses that clothing historians are very aware of the importance of oral history for the research process. Unfortunately, information about clothing can be difficult to find in men's reminiscences as opposed to women's; the issue of clothes worn at home is almost never talked about. A similar fate struck work clothes and everyday clothes, a topic almost completely neglected in research on traditional dress. Museologists have long been aware of the importance of individual memory. Whenever traditional dress is donated to the museum collection, care is taken to gather information about the individual pieces from the donor. Nevertheless, Taylor believes that this information is usually very basic and rarely permits further research into the topic.

14 We have discussed merely some of the multitude of aspects of the discussion regarding traditional folk dress. We believe that this phenomenon should be analysed anew in order to find hidden meanings and ideas, and the kind of *mysterious action* described by Carlyle. Let us view the topic of traditional clothing not as a well-researched phenomenon, but rather as a fresh and exciting project. At times, we might need to follow a philosopher's trail, on other occasions the key to a new interpretation will be found in aesthetic analysis. Festive dress is undoubtedly part of material culture and folk art. It is much less common to encounter an interpretation that classifies folk dress as a finished, perfect aesthetic form. Let us analyse and discover. And in doing so, let us turn the shirt of folk interpretation completely inside out.

TRADITIONAL DRESS
– FROM THE BIOGRAPHY OF AN OBJECT TO THE IDENTITY OF THE SUBJECT

INTRODUCTION

An ethnographic description of traditional dress ought to answer a number of questions: where the dress is worn; how it is made; what fabrics, patterns and ornaments had been used; what components it consists of; what differences there are when it comes to the gender and age of the wearer, and if different options are worn in winter as opposed to summer. The aim of these descriptions is to prepare a typology of dress. In 1926, Adam Fischer wrote “when it comes to the clothing of Polish folk, one should distinguish between everyday wear and festive or ceremonial wear, and also between clothing for winter and summer seasons. Men’s festive wear includes a russet coat, a vest and a żupan; women wear corsets and caftans”³¹.

Thanks to ethnographic investigations, it has become possible to classify traditional dress as well as establish its history and development; identify factors that influenced it; find causes for change and disappearance. This, in turn, made it possible for us to create a cultural inventory of this cultural domain. Traditional dress is studied in the context of material goods (we assume the tripartite division of folk culture) and became a significant part of many museum exhibitions.

Yet, to see a cultural phenomenon only in the framework of material culture seems unsatisfactory. Kazimierz Moszyński wrote: “All culture is in its essence spiritual, all culture is social. There is not, and cannot be culture that is non-social and non-spiritual. This distinction aims to underscore only the most characteristic features of a given discipline”³². Traditional dress allows the wearer to declare their local and regional identity. Thus, whoever wears festive traditional dress becomes a representative of their community. The aesthetic choices were guided by personal preferences, and a desire to express oneself. When used in a certain manner, the material aspect of dress reflected the personal history of the wearer. Cultural scientist Tim Edensor wrote that the ability to use a certain object, once habitual causes the human and the object to merge into one³³. This is why the history of the object (clothing), how it was created and used is at the same time a history of the wearer, expressed through the relation between the object (clothing) and the subject (wearer).

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31 A. Fischer, *Lud polski. Podręcznik etnografji Polski. [Polish folk. A handbook of Polish ethnography]*. Lviv, Warsaw, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich 1926, pp. 95.

32 K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian. Część I. Kultura materialna [Folk culture of the Slavs. Part 1. Material culture]*. Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1929, pp. 4-5.

33 E. Edensor, *Tożsamość narodowa, kultura popularna i życie codzienne [National identity, popular culture and everyday life]*. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2004, pp. 134.

Literature divides folk dress into three main categories based on the material from which they had been made. The first group consists of homespun cloth in natural colours, the second – striped and checked homespun cloth, the third – machine-made fabrics and patterns of non-folk origin³⁴. These criteria are applied to the classification of historical artefacts, used for the analysis and categorisation of museum exhibitions and, at times, acquisition of new items from certain regions.

At the same time, contemporary folk dress frequently consists of reconstructions, inspirations or stage costumes. What could be the criteria for the classification of such artefacts? For instance, in which regions the demand for reconstructed or reimaged traditional dress is the largest could be one criterion; or which groups use traditional dress and for what reasons. Thus, we are moving away from material criteria and towards more social issues. This tendency is also related to the fact that traditional dress acquired cultural value as part of cultural heritage. It has become both important and indispensable for contemporary rural life because “things that accompany humans belong to their world, and are a source of information on them”³⁵.

When it comes to regional demand, researchers need to take into account different approaches to local and regional traditions, and the extent to which different social groups consider themselves traditional. This type of information is available to employees of cultural institutions who cooperate, for instance, with local initiatives (e.g. Farmers’ Wives’ Associations) and folk bands. They have invaluable information regarding traditional dress, both in terms of its reconstruction and manufacture of accurate copies.



1. Pouches decorated with Łowicz embroidery by M. Madanowska, photo J. Słomska-Nowak 2005

34 For details see: E. Fryś-Pietraszkowa, *Strój [Dress]*, in: E. Fryś-Pietraszkowa, A. Kunczyńska-Iracka, M. Pokropek (ed.), *Sztuka ludowa w Polsce*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Arkady 1988, pp. 134-171.

35 J. Kruk, *Doświadczenie, reprezentacja i działanie wśród rzeczy i przedmiotów. Projektowanie edukacyjne. [Experience, representation and action among things and objects. Educational design]*. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 2008, pp. 29.

It would be interesting to consider certain elements typical of folk design in the broader context, particularly when it comes to their popularity in pop-culture. The use of these items, motives or elements of traditional dress represents the trend of ethnodesign, but it also relies on their commercialisation and mass production. A study that asks participants across Poland to identify common folk patterns and motifs would be an interesting pursuit. The motif of a rose, which had been borrowed from traditional hunting embroidery patterns, is becoming more and more familiar. Recently, it seems to have become a common pattern that is frequently encountered outside of the context of traditional dress. The fact that a single element from one of the more widely recognized types of folk dress³⁶ became so popular is a symptom of a broader tendency. Wojciech Burszta named it the national post-folklorism, which “is not only characterised by semantic simplification of message and its cultural load, but also by a complete disassociation from the original context”³⁷. This interpretation focuses on how elements that stem from traditional rural culture (such as traditional dress) function in an environment that is conventional and semantically impoverished. In situations like these, such elements undergo gradual degradation (Fig. 1 i 2).

The popularity of ethnodesign raises interesting questions. One reason behind it is that people search for meanings (their transformation, simplification or even lack of meaning); another that they look for a relation between the person and the object because “people live and socialise not only with other people but also with objects”³⁸. The anthropological relation between the user and the used object is rooted in a cultural context and the understanding of its symbolism³⁹.

Contemporary transformations of folk dress, as well as products inspired by folk tradition (more or less related to the original) are, in a way, taking a stand against fleeting fashions, canons and ever-changing trends. An object that has familiar features makes its user experience a sense of stability. Edensor writes: “the national nostalgia for certain objects manifests itself in the demand for craftsmanship, as opposed to mass-produces homogenous artefacts”⁴⁰. A single motif, pattern or ornament that stems from folk dress tradition can become the start of a personal journey for its user, a way to rebuilding their personal and cultural identity (Fig. 3).

36 The first national study on cultural competence in Poland on the topic of broadly understood folk culture had been conducted between 2002 and 2004 by a team of sociologists connected to the Institute of Rural and Agricultural Development of the Polish Academy of Sciences led by prof. dr. hab. Izabela Bukraby-Rylska. Part of the study was devoted to the recognisability of folk dress. The participants were shown photos of three types of traditional dress and asked to name the varieties. Highlander dress was the most readily recognised (in 87,1% of cases). Less familiar were the traditional costumes from Cracow (54,2%) and Łowicz (45%). To learn more about the study see: I. Bukraba-Rylska (ed.), *Polska wieś w społecznej świadomości. Wiedza i opinie o kulturze ludowej, rolnikach i rolnictwie* [Polish rural areas in social consciousness. Knowledge and opinions about folk culture, farmers and farming], Warsaw: Instytut Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa Polskiej Akademii Nauk 2004.

37 W. Burszta, *W obliczu współczesności. Trzy przykłady funkcjonowania wyobrażeń kulturowych*, in: W. Burszta, J. Damrosz (ed.), *Pożegnanie paradygmatu? Etnologia wobec współczesności* [The dawn of a paradigm. Ethnology vs. Modernity], Warsaw: Instytut Kultury 1994, pp. 106.

38 O. Kwiatkowska, A. F. Kola, *O przywróceniu zachwianej równowagi w refleksji antropologicznej. Głos podwójny w sprawie przedmiotów*, in: M. Brocki, K. Górny, W. Kuligowski (ed.), *Kultura profesjonalna etnologów w Polsce*. Wrocław: Katedra Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 2006, pp. 134.

39 J. Kruk, *Doświadczenie, reprezentacja i działanie wśród rzeczy i przedmiotów. Projektowanie edukacyjne* [Experience, representation and action among things and objects. Educational design]. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 2008, pp. 27.

40 Edensor E. *Tożsamość narodowa, kultura popularna i życie codzienne* [National identity, popular culture and everyday life]. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 2004, pp. 153.

In 2008, I conducted a series of interviews with the inhabitants of several villages in Żuławy who originally came from villages located on the Polish-Ukrainian border.

They moved to the north of Poland in 1947 as part of operation „Wisła“. These interviews were biographic in character, and focused on such issues as relocations, difficulties in adaptation, and gradual acclimatization to new social and cultural conditions. I have listened to memories of the most difficult, and most beautiful parts of the participants' lives; we browsed through family photos and looked at souvenirs.

All of the stories that had been shared with me had an underlying meaning. They talked about identities and how they are kept, constructed and maintained. Identity was understood in the national and ethnic sense, but also as something very personal. One's own identity was built in relation to building and supporting an ethos of belonging to a minority. All of the stories also mentioned traditional dress. One of the participants described her memory of a dance organised in her hometown in the Ukraine. Everyone was wearing Ukrainian shirts, and she was wearing “an Ukrainian skirt – a red one. It was decorated with blue and yellow ribbon”⁴¹. During the second meeting we browsed family photo albums, which contained photographs of teenagers posing in Ukrainian costume. Each photograph was explained to me: who wore what, why not everyone wore the same kind of shirt⁴². The third story told me about a valuable family heirloom – a woollen headscarf decorated in a flowery pattern. It used to belong to the interviewee's mother. The family was able to bring it to Poland from their hometown: “If you had a beautiful headscarf that you wanted to take you needed to hide it. My sister brought one with her, a large colourful scarf. We also have another one that is 80 years old. We had to hide them, otherwise they would have been taken away”⁴³.



3. „W rytmie folk”, a project by Ola Szymańska. Based on snutka golińska, a type of openwork embroidery. Project won 1st prize on the “Souvenir from Poland” competition organised during the NEW FOLK DESIGN festival Photo: A. W. Brzezińska 2009. [W wersji PL był tu odsyłacz](http://www.newfolk.pl/2009/) ⁴⁴

41 Interview with L.PP. born in Uhrynowo. Author's research, Marzęcino 2008

42 Interview with P.T. born in Uhrynowo. Author's research, Marzęcino 2008

43 Interview with A.H. born in Kornie. Author's research, Stegna 2008

44 <http://www.newfolk.pl/2009/> (wgląd 13 stycznia 2013).

These examples illustrate two important functional contexts of traditional dress and its elements. It may emphasize identity and convey tradition, or it may have personal value as a memory or souvenir. Józef Gajek, a researcher on the topic of folk dress from Pomorze (Pomerania), referred to the latter in his work from the end of the 1930's: "sometimes a trip down the memory lane is the only opportunity for the hands of an aging woman to present the world with these faded testimonies of the past. In their memories these items are still glowing with sumptuous colours, vibrancy of youth, and evoke images of past acquaintances and events"⁴⁵.

In the foreground, there is the person and their history, as well as the object they are connected with. The object is a witness of events that acquired its own history – a biography of sorts. Traditional dress can be viewed from two research perspectives: as a story of a single object (element of traditional dress) and as a clue, pointing us towards the history of its owner. The appearance of the dress, its cut, colour and decoration become a matter of secondary importance⁴⁶. Just as the functions of traditional dress, described by Krystyna Hermanowicz-Nowak as: "practical, aesthetic, magical; clothing helps define age, social and family standing, profession; clothing can also be festive or ritual"⁴⁷ have changed, the directions of research on traditional dress could change as well. Out of the enumerated functions, only the aesthetical function remains applicable to contemporary times⁴⁸ (e.g. research on ethnodesign). Other functions remain interesting from the ethno-historical viewpoint, while the elements of traditional dress serve as souvenirs and mementos.

THE ARTISTIC QUEST FOR IDENTITY

Let us begin the debate on the kind of personal and cultural messages conveyed by traditional dress with an artistic project described by art historian Ewa Witkowska. "The project in question, „Top Model Made in Poland” is a complex artistic and scientific endeavour by Viola Kuś. The artist travels through time and space to meet Polish rural women from bygone years, while at the same time attempting self-discovery. The large, colourful photographs show us portraits of women wearing regional dress from the main areas of cultural importance in Poland. Looking at the photographs, we may listen to the stories of the artist meeting each of these women, called "One – Ofiarodawczynie" (The Givers) from a portable MP3 player. A map on the wall shows us the locations of folk culture centres visited by Viola Kuś, and the route of her journey. Next to the colourful portraits there is a storage space filled with boxes of photographs that depict women the artist met, called "One – Spotkane" (The Acquaintances). Visitors can also access an office space containing ethnographic records of all the regional dress elements used in the project. In the office, visitors can view the virtual museum with a teleport room"⁴⁹.

45 J. Gajek, *Stroje ludowe na Pomorzu*. in: J. Gajek (ed.), *Struktura etniczna i kultura ludowa Pomorza*, Wstęp, katalog i redakcja Anna Kwaśniewska, Gdańsk, Wejherowo 2009, pp. 99.

46 Research of folk clothing and traditional dress in Poland was primarily conducted in the context of material (rather than symbolic) culture, as K. Hermanowicz-Nowak writes in her work *Stan badań nad strojem ludowym w Polsce (próba oceny dotychczasowych osiągnięć*. „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” 1: 1977, pp. 3-7. Odmienne podejście, wychodzące poza kontekst materialny odnajdujemy w tekście I. Turnau, *Ubiór jako znak*, „Lud”, vol. 70: 1986, pp. 67-83.

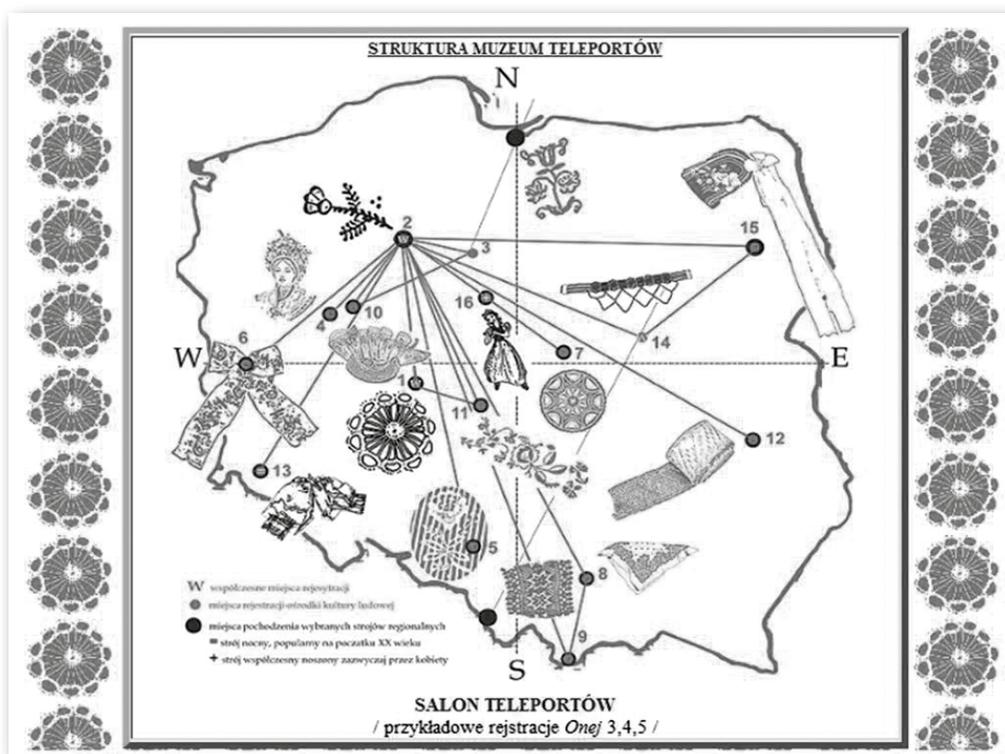
47 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Odzież*, in: M. Biernacka, B. Kopczyńska-Jaworska, A. Kutrzeba-Pojnarowa, W. Paprocka (ed.), *Etnografia Polski. Przemiany kultury ludowej*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1976, pp. 379.

48 See the chapter by H. Czachowski and J. Słomska-Nowak, this volume.

49 <http://top-model.bo.pl/> (accessed on:24.01.2013).

TOP_MODEL MADE IN POLAND is the title of the photography project by Viola Kuś, a Polish artist from Bydgoszcz. It was implemented in several stages through 2007. At the heart of the project was a journey in search of inspiration and answers to questions regarding the artist's social and cultural identity. In this way, the project became the artist's personal sentimental journey (Fig. 4). In the years 2003, 2005 and 2006 the artist went on 16 ethnographic journeys, travelling the distance of approximately 9 000 kilometres. She took photographs of herself wearing traditional dress from a variety of regions, each time attempting to recreate a particular scene or situation. An so, when the artist wearing the traditional dress of a married woman stares wistfully out of the window of a kashubian home she becomes a woman "waiting for the return"⁵⁰, and when she does chores in a traditional Bamberg dress she is "a painting carrier waiting for the procession"⁵¹. During the field research, the artist cooperated with ethnographers – guardians of memory⁵². These women made it possible for the artist to access a variety of collections, and wear the traditional dresses from various regions. In doing so, they became active participants in the artist's personal journey. The guiding principle behind the project was the metaphorical act of teleportation, that is travelling in time to the period between the end of the 19th century and the 1960s. Ethnographic space, autobiographical memory and mind were tools supporting this journey.

Each field trip in search of one of the female characters was completed by recording the gathered materials in several ways. Not only did the artist dress in the traditional clothes of a relevant region, she was also interested in the particular items the dress consisted of: beads, headscarf, bonnet, apron, booties.



4. „Structure of the Telexport Museum” – map of the journey. Source: <http://top-model.bo.pl/>

50 *Ibidem.*

51 *Ibidem.*

52 Artist's own term, *ibidem.*

Each element was catalogued and described creating a museum record that contained information about the origin of the item, its state, the material it had been made of, ornamentation, and its original user or wearer. Thus, the object – an element of traditional dress – became a carrier of information about its wearer, and the starting point of an investigation into her life story. Reliving everyday situations in interiors that were specially set up for the purpose was supposed to help the artist understand the “other” woman and the conditions in which she lived, for instance, the pałucka villages in the early 20th century.

The project consists not only of staged photographs and museum records, but also of black and white portraits of the owners of the traditional dress signed with their names and surnames⁵³. The artist, according to Marianna Michałowska (curator of Galeria 2piR): “seems to question the role of museums as archives of cultural heritage. She demonstrates the need to bring back the memory of objects that are held captive in museum catalogues. The artist herself admits, that the project “pays homage to the tradition of the richly dressed, ornamental woman”. Although much of the effort was devoted to record-keeping (finding the clothes, learning the methodology of making ethnographic records, creating artistic arrangements) the scope of the project goes beyond the world of cultural institutions. The work of Viola Kuś ventures outside the walls of a museum to tell us a story about its heroine. Ethnography is merely a costume worn by a much more interesting cause. The artist borrowed the clothes from the private collections of their owners. Wearing them, she became a model in the ethnographic scenes that she had staged; a mannequin in an ad-hoc museum”⁵⁴. The memory of these women and girls, mothers and wives was brought back through the artistic creation and recreation of reality. Viola Kuś has named this part of her artistic journey “One - ofiarodawczynie strojów regionalnych z terenów Polski po 1945 roku” (They – The Givers of Polish regional dress after 1945).

We will discuss three photo shoots by the artist. The first features a woman wearing traditional female clothing typical for Tursk, a village in Wielkopolska. This opening scene of the project is a self-portrait that the artist shot in her grandparents’ backyard. In the photographs, a sombre woman sitting under an apple tree looks into the lens, or bends to reach an apple on the ground. She removes parts of the fruit in order to “remove the pain of the fruit”) (Polish: „wykroić bóle w owocu”)⁵⁵. It is worth noting that the Artist’s sister, Anna, helped in the production of the photograph. The journey into the past becomes a personal journey into the history of one’s own family. Finding out about different aspect of womanhood makes the artist ask questions about herself: who she is, who she wants to be, what roles she finds fulfilling (Fig. 5).

The second photo shoot features the author wearing traditional dress from Kujawy in a contemporary setting - her own apartment in Bydgoszcz. The self-portrait shows the artist standing in her kitchen, wearing traditional dress for married women. Titled “Waiting for boiling water”, this photo made the artist want to perform the role of a good housewife⁵⁶ (Fig. 6).

53 Multiple ethnographers were involved in the project: women working in traditional and open-air museums, members of folk bands. They were considered experts with regard to a particular type of traditional dress, but they also allowed the artist to feel the ambiance of the relevant time period and location. They also permitted the use of museum records for artistic and ethnographic study.

54 M. Michałowska, *Z kręgu teorii fotografii – Oddane spojrzenie – museum Violki Kuś [Theory of photography – A reflected sight – museum of Viola Kuś]*, in: *Top-Model Made in Poland. Muzeum teleportów Violki Kuś. Materiał artystyczno-badawczy...*, Poznań: Galeria 2piR 2007, pp. 14-15.

55 <http://top-model.bo.pl/> (accessed on: 24.01.2013).

56 *Top-Model Made in Poland. Muzeum teleportów Violki Kuś. Materiał artystyczno-badawczy...*, Poznań: Galeria 2piR 2007, pp. 44.

The third photo shoot, and the author's final artistic journey took place in the Kujawsko-Dobrzyński Ethnographic Park in Kłóbka near an 18th Century shrine of St. Anthony. This is the only photo where the artist is wearing contemporary clothes that are "described as typically worn by women"⁵⁷. The outfit consists of contemporary elements: pants from a fashion retailer and comfortable sandals. However, the artist has also added a personal touch – a girl's headscarf (Fig. 7). St. Anthony, the patron saint of loss and hopeless cases, is posited as a remedy for lost identity of the artist, whose family comes from the vicinity of Tursk, who lives in Kujawy but also travels, and is part of the global village. Małgorzata Jankowska, the curator of the project, wrote: "Each of these journeys is a journey in time. We go back to the past, relive childhood memories and years spent in the countryside. The data gathered throughout the project helps the artist understand the role of women in rural areas, and their thought processes. It guides her in an attempt to find her own identity, which had been shaped first by a village in Wielkopolska and later by the chaos of a big city"⁵⁸.



6. Wykrawające bóle owocu



5. Czekająca na wrzątek



7. Szukająca własnej zguby

Photos: Violka Kuś, source: <http://top-model.bo.pl/>

ETHNOGRAPHICALLY SUPPORTED IDENTITY

Violks Kuś approached the topic from two perspectives: museology (including record keeping and object description) and field research (experience based auto-ethnography). The author uses the metaphor of a teleportation device to explain a three-stage process of "dematerialisation, passage and materialisation"⁵⁹. This is a clear reference to the rituals of passage and liminality. The artist becomes someone new after every stage of her project. She assumes the social roles of the women she encountered, tries to understand them, and finally leaves them in order to move forward. With every iteration she becomes richer by new

57 <http://top-model.bo.pl/> (accessed on:24.01.2013).

58 M. Jankowska, Słowo od kuratorki projektu [A word from the curator of the project], in: Top-Model Made in Poland. Muzeum teleportów Violki Kuś. Materiał artystyczno-badawczy..., Poznań: Galeria 2piR 2007, pp. 8.

59 <http://top-model.bo.pl/> (accessed on: 24.01.2013).

experiences, observations and insights. It is a paradox that a project so entrenched in the past should tell the story of modern womanhood. Yet, it would have been impossible without the ethnographic descriptions, anthropological interpretations and museum collections of traditional dress. The author writes: “My analysis of time and custom is purely empirical. By taking self-portraits in regional dress I have begun to understand the mentality, reasoning and customs of women at the turn of the 20th century. I needed to find out if the dress would transform me, or send me back in time. My actions come from the desire to travel and learn”⁶⁰. The artist pulls the object into the spotlight and creates its personal history by recreating the story of its wearer.

Another project that focused on building biographies of objects in contemporary context was devoted to bringing back the camel scarves of Łęczyca. These scarves can be found only in the Łęczyca area. The Łęczyca Museum, together with the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź tried to revive scarf-making skills. The project was grounded in the historical context through ethnographic lectures and exhibitions of scarves from the museum collection. But first and foremost, it was designed as a contemporary practical workshop. The participants were 20 women who had taken up various crafts as a hobby. Teaching the participants how to make the Łęczyca camel scarves is an excellent example of ethnodesign. It is also an attempt to create a regional product that “could become an exclusive and unique example of craftsmanship”⁶¹.

A single element such as a scarf is consciously separated from the costume as a whole. It operates in the context of a specific kind of aesthetic and is used for marketing purposes. It becomes symbolic to a region. Because the project consisted of a workshop, the product was re-established as part of contemporary rural culture. The final stage of the project was a publication. It described the Łęczyca traditional dress in detail, as well as introduced camel scarves and provided instructions for their manufacture. But the most intriguing part of the publication is a series of interviews with project participants. Their contributions were quite intimate, and often revealed a lot of their personal life. All of the women who took part in the project had been photographed posing with the scarves they’ve made draped around their shoulders. The reader learns about their passions, but perhaps more importantly, their motivation to participate in the project. In this way the object (the scarf) becomes part of the personal context of family history, and a craft that can be passed down from mother to daughter. This element of traditional dress is entrenched in regional tradition and contemporary, folk-inspired fashion⁶² while also being personally important to its wearer and maker.

The ethnographer not only disseminates knowledge and registers the phenomena observed, but also points out potential interpretations of the dress and grounds it in a contemporary context. “Currently, to read the message contained in things is to put together fragments and traces, which seem to be disappearing at an ever-accelerating pace”⁶³.

60 V. Kuś, *Zabawa w antropolożkę współczesności – słowo od autorki [Pretending to be an anthropologist of the future – a word from the author]* in: *Top-Model Made in Poland. Muzeum teleportów Violki Kuś. Materiał artystyczno-badawczy...*, Poznań: Galeria 2piR 2007, pp. 6-7.

61 A. Dłużewska-Sobczak, A. Woźniak, *Łęczyckie chusty kamelowe [Camel scarves from Łęczyca]*. Łęczyca, Łódź: Muzeum w Łęczycy, Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne w Łodzi 2007, pp. 3.

62 A.W. Brzezińska, J. Słomska-Nowak, *Czy i jak badać dziś strój ludowy? [Should traditional dress be studied today, and how?]*, in: H. Rusek, A. Pieńczak (ed.), *Etnologiczne i antropologiczne obrazy świata – konteksty i interpretacje. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Zygmuntowi Kłodnickiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*. Cieszyn, Katowice: Uniwersytet Śląski w Katowicach 2011, pp. 71.

63 J. Kruk, *Doświadczenie, reprezentacja i działanie wśród rzeczy i przedmiotów. Projektowanie edukacyjne [Experience, representation and action among things and objects. Educational design]* Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 2008, pp. 40.

SUMMARY

Traditional dress is, among other domains, the object of ethnological research, studies on costume and museum studies. It can give insight regarding current tendencies related to its function outside of the theatrical stage and folk band contexts. It is an excellent source of information regarding the identity of its wearers, and those who chose objects inspired by folk design and decorative techniques. Contemporary migrations, globalisation of culture, the quick changes in cultural inventory and crossing cultural and social boundaries means that we have been reaching towards the heritage of other ethnic and regional groups bolder than ever before. This applies, for instance, to product design. Perhaps then contemporary studies on the changing functions of traditional dress could help us decide to what extent the widespread use of our (Polish, regional and local) folk designs is a conscious effort, and to what extent is it a fashion, or a fleeting trend. Jolanta Kruk wrote: “The road from a thing to an object is paved with experience. An object is not something given, or something named but rather a conceptual description that operates according to a set of rules guiding human perception”⁶⁴. Therefore, when recreating a single element of traditional dress and building its biography we may not omit the history of its user.

64 *Op. cit.*, pp. 29.

INTRODUCTION

Traditional folk dress is one of the most interesting phenomena in folk culture. To a greater extent than other factors, it is a stunning illustration of various aspects of rural life. Folk dress would in its various forms convey various meanings; most importantly, it sent a message about the person who was wearing it together with assigning them a place in a given community. Such is the motivation behind this attempt at description of the cultural image of folk dress on the example of female headgear. Two factors decide about the meaningful role of dress in folk culture: one of them is the significance of holidays, the other - the importance of dress in the emergence of group identity together with the need to participate in the community. In this context, the dress resembles a language as it is a system of signs and codes created to fulfil the requirements of a given community. Wearing diverse types of headgear is a symbolic sign with multiple meanings, various motivations and functions which are rooted in magical thinking and mythical assessment of the world. Hence the second reason behind this undertaking: when the cultural portrait of female headgear is reconstructed from the communicative viewpoint, not only a fragment of common conscience of our ancestors is being rebuilt, but also the deepest layers of Polish culture from the pre-Christian era are touched, and the changes in the Polish system of values are indicated. Headgear constitutes a distinctive element of folk dress as it describes its owner by telling who they are, but also by implicating who they are not. It would reveal differences regarding the wealth and age of the wearers (e.g. a girl and a grown-up and married woman, or a bachelor and an elderly farmer) which can serve as a base for reconstruction of the social, moral and ideological system of their community.

The aim of the paper is to decipher that system of signals hidden in female headgear and ornaments. The most interesting are here the contexts in which the dress expresses more than just its visual aspects and functions as a sign or symbol of immaterial phenomena or states. Due to the extensiveness of the topic, the most important matters have been discussed here as a background for more detailed analyses.

The research material concerns the region of Lubelszczyzna. It consists of verbal and non-verbal data excerpted from printed sources such as linguistic dictionaries; records of beliefs, customs and rituals; folklore texts; lexicons of symbols; collections of photographs and online resources⁶⁶.

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66 Photos and postcards presenting the traditional dress of Lubelszczyzna are stored by the National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw, The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum of Kraków, the Lublin Museum, the Museum of History of the Town of Lublin and the Museum of the Lublin Countryside.

As regards the time span of ethnographic literature, the limits have been set by the “Lubelskie” and “Chełmskie” volumes of Oskar Kolberg’s “Collected works”⁶⁷, together with the issues of Atlas of Polish Folk Costume dedicated to the types of dress of Lubelskie⁶⁸. They are a synthetic analysis of the changes and development of the costume. Another source is the work of J. Świeży on female folk headgear in Lubelskie voivodship, published in 1961⁶⁹. Therefore, most of the data concerns the very end of the 19th century and the times before that, while the cut-off point is the end of the First World War - when the festive outfit stopped being worn in the majority of the discussed area. Despite this quite wide time span and richness and diversity of female headgear in the region, until the end of the 19th century both the traditional form and method of wearing the headgear were adhered to, and thus the semantic value was maintained.

TRADITIONAL DRESS AS A MACRO-SIGN

26 Objects that belong to headgear category are macro-signs, and thus units built from elements placed lower in the hierarchy and carrying equally intricate meanings. Yet, they constitute a finite and orderly sequence, *one global sign*⁷⁰ that is a coherent whole, since its cultural image consists of elements *unified at the level of meaning*⁷¹. What is meaningful is the colour, length, cut, type of seams, form and shape, fabric, layers of the dress and everything that is nowadays called an accessory: ribbons or ornaments. Female headgear, especially that worn during the wedding rituals, included many such micro-signs⁷². The ritual was particularly solemn and considered unusual and magical, due to the prevailing belief that during a wedding the forces of good and evil appear to spar in a duel. The latter had to be skilfully driven away or deceived in order for the newlyweds to have a long and wealthy life. The most significant recommendations of magical and wishful character included:

THE COLOUR PALETTE:

- red - functioned as an apotropaic, anti-demonic attribute that was to avert all misfortune. Red pieces, in particular tied ribbons, sashes or beads etc. block the access for any demonic forces and remove spells. Red also symbolises the unique and ambiguous situation of the newlyweds who during the ritual do not belong to any particular world⁷³.

67 O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XVI, *Lubelskie*, part I, vol. XVII, part II, Wrocław-Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1962; O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XXXIII, *Chełmskie*, part I, Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964.

68 J. Świeży, *Strój krzczonowski [Traditional dress of Krzczonów]*, in: Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1952; J. Świeży, *Strój podlaski (nadbużański) [Traditional dress of Podlasie (Bug region)]*, in: Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1958; B. Kaznowska-Jarecka, *Strój biłgorajsko-tarnogrodzki [Traditional dress of Biłgoraj and Tarnogród]*, in: Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1958.

69 J. Świeży, *Ludowe stroje głów kobiecych w województwie lubelskim [Female headgear in the Lubelskie voivodship]*, in: „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, Wrocław vol. 18: 1961, part 1, http://tnn.pl/rozdzial.php?id=2619&idt_r=6628 (accessed on: 20 Nov 2012).

70 T. Dobrzyńska, *Tekst [Text]*, in: J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Współczesny język polski*, Wrocław: Wiedza o Kulturze 1993, p. 287.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

72 H. Biegieleisen, *Wesele [The Wedding]*, Lwów: Książnica Atlas 1928, p. 54 et seq.

73 A.P. Chenel, A.S. Simarro, *Słownik symboli [Diccionario de simbolos]*, transl. by M. Boberska, Warszawa: Świat Książki 2008, pp. 36-37.

- green - the greenery of flowers and coniferous plants is a symbol of life and immortality, hence it plays a predominant role in observances that aim mostly at enhancing growth, abundance and fertility⁷⁴. Young girls' rue garlands symbolised virginity, state of maintained harmony and undiscovered sexuality. Both leaves and twigs of rue and rosemary were also assigned aphrodisiac qualities, they were thought to improve fertility and used as apotropaic objects - sewn into the hems of aprons they protected against witches and curses⁷⁵.
- white - symbolises the ambiguous status of the newlyweds, the contact with both the sacrum and the evil forces⁷⁶. White stands also for cleanliness, maidenhood and hidden fertility⁷⁷.
- black - during the wedding ritual it indicates the contact between wedding guests and the afterlife. A black bonnet was given to a bride that was in mourning⁷⁸.

SHAPE:

- open or closed: related to either blocking or enabling various processes and changes. The circular shape allows for a change, while the closure stops any such action and creates a magical enclave, fixing the existing state of affairs⁷⁹. Maidens wore round headgear since their status was open and ready for transformations. Married women, however, tied their bonnets so as to block any further shifts of status (and not to become widows).
- roundness and circular shape: symbols of connection between cosmic spheres and continuity of time⁸⁰.

ACCESSORIES:

- flower wreath - symbolised the virginity of the bride and connected the participants in the ritual to the sacral and undifferentiated reality of the beyond. When they undergo the transformation, they go through the phase of ritual death as well. Wreaths provide magical protection to their wearers or those who stand within their symbolic field of influence⁸¹. Their magical properties were to impact the whole later life of the newlyweds. It was also believed that if the bridesmaid touched the wreath, she would marry soon⁸².

74 K. Moszyński, *Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce [Atlas of folk culture in Poland]*, issue I, Kraków 1934, issue II, Kraków 1935, issue III, Kraków 1936.

75 P. Kowalski, *Kultura magiczna. Omen, przesąd, znaczenie. Leksykon znaki świata [Magical culture. Omens, superstitions, meanings. Signs of the world: A lexicon]*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN 2007, pp. 500 et seq.

76 *Ibid.*, p. 226.

77 M. Oesterreicher-Mollwo, *Leksykon symboli [Herder Encyclopedia of Symbols]*, transl. by J. Prokopiuk, Warszawa: ROK Corporation SA 1992, pp. 16-17.

78 J. Świeży, *op. cit.*, (accessed on: 20 Nov 2012).

79 M. Eliade, *Traktat o historii religii [Treatise on the History of Religions]*, transl. by J. Wierusz-Kowalski, Łódź: Opus 1993, p. 365.

80 *Generally, everything repeats itself. Days of the week, days of the week and of the year... And wedding bands are also round, so they do not remind us of this end. (...) We think that, because such is life. If not us, then the next generation, and so the world goes round, round, round...* (Lutogńiew 2003, Anna Szpitalniak, as quoted in: K. Smyk, *Językowo-kulturowy obraz choinki. Cz. I, Symbolika drzewa i ozdób [The linguistic and cultural image of the Christmas tree. Part 1: Symbolism of the tree and its ornaments]*, Kraków: Universitas 2009, p. 165.).

81 P. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 592.

82 H. Biegieleisen, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

- jewellery - first and foremost, beads worn to important celebrations due to their high value, very rarely also amber beads⁸³. Additionally, women from Krzczonów would wear scapulars under the beads⁸⁴. These accessories belonged to the ceremonial dress of the bride. During the Lent or in mourning, white beads were worn instead of regular ones.
- flowers - are a sign of life, vital strength and connection with the other world. Further, colourful flowers were said to avert evil spells⁸⁵.
- ribbons - due to their length, they forecast wealth and good fortune of the farm and the family, they promise a long life⁸⁶. A bunch of ribbons in various colours symbolises the maiden state⁸⁷.

ACTIONS:

- unfastening, unbraiding - undone hair symbolises the transformational phase, as the bride changes her social status⁸⁸.
- keeping wedding ribbons, bouquets or traditional bunches of twigs was a magical action aiming at securing the permanence and happiness of the marital union⁸⁹. Rosemary bouquets made from the bride's garland were thrown into water at the firstborn's child first bath to assure happy upbringing⁹⁰. Sewn into corners of newlyweds' pillows, they were to bring happiness to the family. Leaves from the garland were also supposed to help with various ailments⁹¹.

The above are examples of microsigns utilised by the common consciousness to construct and reconstruct the traditional folk dress. They aim at delivering a specific message concerning group identity of the wearer of the dress; starting from regional identity, through the age, social class, or material wealth. They additionally underline the difference between the time of work and of celebration. What follows are possible readings of headgear as selected cultural codes.

DRESS AS A SIGN OF IDENTITY (ETHNOGRAPHIC AND REGIONAL BELONGING)

Apart from the fundamental function of protecting human body, dress has always served as a constructing base of group cultural identity, as a canon of "our" costumes differentiated us from "the others". Costumes as a criterion for division of territory between "our own" and "others" were analysed by Oskar Kolberg and Kazimierz Moszyński, who underlined the fact that some parts of clothing were basis for names and nicknames of local groups⁹². Such monikers were also - or perhaps predominantly - attributed to

83 B. Kaznowska-Jarecka, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

84 J. Świeży, *Strój krzczonowski [[Traditional dress of Krzczonów]...*, p. 34.

85 M. Eliade, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

86 *Smart girls had many of those ribbons. The longer, the better and richer life for them.* Zuzanna Czarnecka, Pusznio Godowskie, 2010. Own research.

87 O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XXXIII, *Chełmskie...*, p. 53.

88 P. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

89 H. Biegieleisen, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 129.

92 O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XXXIII, *Chełmskie...*, p. 47.

minorities⁹³. Moszyński indicated that women of Ukrainian origin residing in borderlands in Chełmskie were called “the horned ones” due to the construction of their *klobuks* with two horns at the sides of the head. Despite such hairstyles existing also among the Polish community⁹⁴, the nickname “horned ones” functioned as a description of Ruthenian women. Similarly, residents of each particular village were distinguished by their own type of headgear. Women from Krzczonów did not wear the “ugly half-cap” worn in surrounding villages, preferring a scarf resembling a sieve, or in Polish “sito” which earned them the name of “sitarki”. This demonstrates that headgear was one of the pillars for the distinction between “us” and “them” as well as manifestation of regional and ethnic identity⁹⁵.

DRESS AS IDENTIFICATION OF SOCIAL AND MATERIAL STATUS

Clothing or elements of costumes were treated as property mainly by that group of rural folk which could afford to satisfy their needs in this matter⁹⁶. The material status of both the peasant and the noble class of Lubelszczyzna was quite uniform, respectively. Despite that, noble tenant farmers and wealthier farmers paid attention to distinguishing themselves from their poorer neighbours, such as townswomen of Biłgoraj or nobility of Podlasie. Appropriate colours would also indicate the wearer belonged to the given class. Thus, women from boyar families of Międzyrzecz differentiated themselves from their neighbours by *kerchiefs* wrapped around their heads, decorated with traditional patterns of blue, white and red stripes. With time, fashions from the city replaced the patterns with colourful checks⁹⁷.

Clothing is a type of property that has been and continues to be often used as manifestation of wealth and social status. The manners of such manifestation are various:

a) economically speaking,

- ornaments made from noble metals, for instance resembling coins,
- more expensive fabrics (wool or silk thread)⁹⁸,
- intricate bonnet draping, performed by farmers' wives specialising in it⁹⁹.

b) aspiring to own as many headpieces as possible, made from the highest quality fabrics available:

- quantitatively, it meant putting an old everyday headscarf under the new one¹⁰⁰,
- qualitatively - wealthy married women of the Biłgoraj region wore laced and embroidered *nadkrywkas* (long linen scarves). Poorer women wore linen sheets woven diagonally which were also parts of their workwear¹⁰¹.

93 J. Świeży, *Strój krzczonowski [Traditional dress of Krzczonów]*, in: Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1952, pp. 22.

94 K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian [Folk culture of the Slavs]*, part I, *Kultura materialna [Material culture]*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1929, p. 400.

95 W. Koźmian, *Kilka słów o mieszkańcach parafii Krzczonów [A few remarks of inhabitants of Krzczonów parish]*, “Wisła”, vol. 16: 1902, issue 3, p. 311.

96 H. Bittner-Szewczykowa, *Odzież chłopska jako dobro majątkowe (Tezauryzacja ubiorów chłopskich) [Folk costumes as property (Hoarding of rustic clothing)]*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty”, vol. 30: 1976, issue I, p. 11.

97 A. Pleszczyński, *Bojarzy międzyrzeczcy [The boyars of Międzyrzeczczyzna]*, Warszawa 1892, p. 18.

98 O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XVI, *Lubelskie*, part I..., p. 42.

99 W. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-311.

100 “That’s how they used to do it. If a girl didn’t have any new, then any would do, just for warmth. But the new one on top.” Zofia Staniszevska, Stojeszyn, 2010. Own research. Translated from the Polish version.

101 B. Kaznowska-Jarecka, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

c) wearing clothes resembling ordinary city clothes:

- purchasing ready-made scarves, moving away from homespun cloth¹⁰²,
- as regards both form and names, switching from former customs towards new trends; changing colour sets (chiefly, the headscarves had to be colourful and bright) and dominating patterns¹⁰³ (e.g. from stripes to checks),
- girls from towns and cities would only wear flowers in their hair and resign from headscarves, while village girls would cover their heads with small muslin or wool kerchiefs¹⁰⁴.

Expensive scarves were certainly very valued and only worn on special occasions in order for them to be inherited by further generations. This is indicated by numerous lists and last wills enumerating various wraps and headscarves, most often when they were made of high-quality fabric and laced or embroidered¹⁰⁵.

30 DRESS AS A SIGN DENOTING THE AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

A universal rule stated that married women needed to cover their hair, while unmarried ones had to leave the plaits uncovered. Construction of headpieces was dependant on the rule: those for girls always had to be open on top and took mostly the form of garlands, rings or bands. Headpieces for wives, such as caps and headscarves, covered the head. Married women wrapped their hair without plaiting it, as girls would do; a wife "(...) undoes her hair for the wedding and never plaits it again until the end of her life"¹⁰⁶. Regional differences could affect numerous details of this basic rule. For instance, there could have been one or two braids, woven into a crown or a bun. During the ceremony of unveiling and capping, hair would be cut or only wound around a stiff pad called *chamelka*. Married women put on a cap or a bonnet and a headscarf; alternatively, a headscarf folded in a specific manner. To be seen in public with uncovered hair meant much shame and humiliation¹⁰⁷. A bonnet was namely an attribute of marriage and conventionalised sign for sexual initiation. Hence the unbraiding, hair cutting and hiding under the cap symbolises the closure of one and opening of another life stage¹⁰⁸.

Decorations of headgear also bore messages concerning the length of married life. In Zamojskie, caps of older married women were only embroidered in black. Those worn by younger women also had black embroidery, but with additional small red embellishments; they were also bigger and more ornamental¹⁰⁹. With age, the number and distinctiveness of ornaments would become limited, since "it

102 W. Sułkowski, *Strój lukowski [Traditional dress of Łuków]*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty”, vol. 22: 1968, issue 4, p. 182.

103 A. Pleszczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

104 *Ibid.*, 42

105 W. Sułkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

106 O. Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie [Collected works]*, vol. XXXIII, *Chełmskie...*, p. 50. Translated from the Polish version.

107 O. Kolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

108 O. Kolberg, *loc. cit.*

109 J. Petera, *Stroje ludowe Zamojszczyzny [Folk costumes of Zamojszczyzna]*, in: M. Fornal, D. Kowalko, S. Orłowski, (eds.) *Przyczynki do etnografii Zamojszczyzny [Contributions to ethnography of Zamojszczyzna]*, Zamość: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze Oddział w Zamościu, 1995, <http://muzeum-zamojskie.pl/wp-pdf/stroj.pdf> (accessed on: 20 Nov 2012)

was time to think about death and not love¹¹⁰. Thus, older women's clothes were mostly in black and grey, as a symbol of the end of life. Additionally, the shape and size of the cap presented information on the age of the wearer. Caps of younger married women were smaller (6.5 x 9.2 cm) and elliptic; those of older women were bigger (11.5 x 12 cm) and almost round¹¹¹.

DRESS AS A SIGN OF THE RITUAL

Participants of rituals performing different roles would wear different types of headgear. During the wedding, the headpiece indicated what the function of the participant was. The bride, the matron of honour, bridesmaid and the matchmaker would each choose different head embellishment. For example, the matron of honour in Chełmskie would put on a whole construction consisting of a garland of vinca and down adorned with weavings from colourful wool, galoons, bunches of white down, red ribbons and pieces of straw¹¹². In Wielącza (the district of Zamość), "(...) the matron of honour wore a crown-like wreath made from dried cereal ears, ripe grass and shiny straw curled in rings, decorated with dried twigs of viburnum or rowan, with berries. The master of ceremonies would also have a bunch of ripe oat sewn to the crown of his hat"¹¹³. Lavish embellishment of the matron's headgear refers to her important function. She was as it were the leader of married women with much respect and esteem in the community, as well as a good and responsible housewife. Thus, her plant-based headpiece was to symbolise and herald harvests and abundance for the newly formed family.

A girl invited to be the bridesmaid during the wedding also decorated her head in a specific way. In the region of Włodawa, she would put a kerchief on, just as the bride, but with fewer bows and shorter ribbons¹¹⁴. Since the wedding attire was mostly festive in nature, the character of the ritual manifested in accessories, such as special hair arrangement covered with a garland, colourful ribbons and other shiny adornments. A bridesmaid's headgear had to be particularly full of various ornaments since it symbolised the maidenhood with its playful light-heartedness.

The situation changed when decorations for the wedding attire resembling ordinary city clothes came into fashion. The bride's dress changed most rapidly. It borrowed the following elements from the city attire: a set of "white percale clothes, a skirt and a waist-long caftan with a muslin apron embroidered with lace. Over that, she wore a scarf, white with colourful flowers. It could also be light grey or yellow, but always light. Her hair was braided and put up, decorated with a lavish garland from artificial white flowers and several white ribbons hanging down her back"¹¹⁵. Poorer girls had to make do with cheaper fabrics such as fustian or plain hemp. The dress, even though it basically retained the typically folk

110 Staszak Maria, *Kolonia Rzeczyca Książę*, 2010. Own research. Translated from the Polish version.

111 J. Petera, *op. cit.*, <http://muzeum-zamojskie.pl/wp-pdf/stroj.pdf> (accessed on: 20 Nov 2012)

112 J. Świeży, *Strój podlaski [Traditional dress of Podlasie]*, *Atlas of Polish Folk Costume*, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1958, p. 30, ill. 41 and 45.

113 B. Szewc, T. Kleszczyński, *Zwyczaje i obrzędy weselne we wsi Wielączy w pow. zamojskim. Z materiałów nadesłanych na wystawę rolniczo-przemysłową w Lublinie w 1901 roku [Wedding customs and rituals in the village of Wielącza in the Zamość poviat. Materials sent to the agricultural and industrial exhibition in Lublin in 1901]*, "Wisła", t. 16: 1902, issue 3, p. 315. Translated from the Polish version.

114 J. Świeży, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

115 Z. Staniszevska, *Wieś Studzianki, Zarys etnograficzny [The village of Studzianki. An ethnographic outline]*, "Wisła", vol. 16: 1902, issue 3, p. 400. Translated from the Polish version.

elements, has changed character due to the new element of the caftan and new colours (previously uncommon in wedding costumes). The principle of autonomous folk wedding costume, distinguishing the peasant class, has been broken. Furthermore, with new costumes another rule was abandoned: the festive character of the clothes was no longer emphasised solely through headgear and accessories.

DRESS AS A SIGN OF THE FESTIVE SEASON

Holidays were an occasion to present the costumes, underline the importance of the festive season and manifest the owners' social status. The newest and most fashionable clothes made from fabrics more expensive than usual were donned, even if they did not necessarily match the season of the year: "Often also in the summer, regardless of the heat, they wear fustian skirts and wadded caftans, as long as they are festive"¹¹⁶. Further, various headscarves and scarves had to be delicate, thin and richly ornamented, as well as often draped in a certain way¹¹⁷.

The festive outfit was a visual symbol of the border between the times of work and rest. By putting on colourful headscarves from better-quality fabrics, the wearers emphasised how they switched to the festive season, and manifested their positive attitude to it or its crucial values. Taking off the everyday headscarves and donning the special ones made from muslin or lace was a ritual gesture. Whoever was dressed in their best clothes, behaved differently; in fact, it was their duty. In traditional culture, festive outfits could not have been worn at random. Instead, they were put on in specific situations uniform for the whole community. The most well-known and popular type of festive outfits is represented by Sunday clothes worn for religious celebrations. Headscarves for such days were bound in a special manner, one that was not applied to everyday scarves. Zofia Staniszevska in her description of life of Krzczonów inhabitants recounts how to bind the festive scarves. "The whole art of binding or rather fastening depends on the skilful highlighting of the embroidery; not every woman can boast of such a skill. Usually, before going to church the peasant women gather at the house of a famous neighbour with much competence, asking her for the fastening. The more durable the bind, the more appreciated it is"¹¹⁸. Such a bonnet would be taken off upon returning from the church and put carefully in the chest without being undone. Later, the ceremony would be repeated until the headscarf became completely dirty. Similarly, in the powiat of Biłgoraj, on a normal day the wives of sieve traders used to put up quite a high wrap from colourful headscarves, usually in nut-brown, white, light pink or skin colour, with flowers and patterns. For holidays, they would decorate it more, putting it up even higher, adding knots and bends or coin embellishments ("like the Greeks"¹¹⁹). In case of bad weather, it was covered by a larger colourful scarf that also protected the shoulders¹²⁰. In Podlasie, girls wore wraps for holidays and dances. Its ends would fall on the shoulders and then fly up during dancing. They also wore colourful headscarves or weaved colourful ribbons in specially braided hair¹²¹.

116 Z. Staniszevska, *Wieś Studzianki* [The village of Studzianki], „Wisła”, vol. 16: 1902, issue 2, p. 168. Translated from the Polish version.

117 O. Kolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

118 M. Stattlerówna, *Hafciarstwo ludowe w okolicach Ojcowa* [Folk embroidery in Ojców region], „Wisła”, vol. 16: 1902, issue I, pp. 47-48. Translated from the Polish version.

119 O. Kolberg, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

120 W. Śliwina, *Lud Lubartowski* [The folk of Lubartów], Lwów: Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1930, p. 10.

121 J. Świeży, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

The concern about the aesthetics of festive outfits was manifested among others through materials used for adornments: silk embroidery instead of cotton thread as in everyday clothes¹²², use of lace and ornaments¹²³, and the colour palette of the outfit. What mattered was the lavishness, elegant cut, vivid colour, ruffles and folds, number of times it was wrapped around head as well as the frequency of wearing - everything that constitutes the general outfit aesthetics¹²⁴.

CONCLUSION

Since the beginning of the 20th century, alongside the transformations of the society, changes in clothing and dressing customs have been observed. Deregulation of patterns, norms and conventions - which influence individual choices - has become the dominating trend that manifests itself also in the dressing customs of countryside inhabitants. The process has led to change in the basic functions of folk costume, now all unified under the umbrella of ludicity and folklore. Currently, folk costumes are mostly reconstructed and can be seen during national or church celebrations, or at various festivals devoted mostly to traditional folk culture. Out of the previous primary functions of the festive and ritual outfits, only the demarcation of the ethnographic identity of the wearer remained. The traditional dress is most often worn in the time of holiday and celebration. Its ludic character affects its form profoundly, manifesting itself in the decorativeness, lavishness and imitation or stylisation. Hence, modern folk dress ought to be called costume, as it requires new research methods and a new cultural code.

122 J. Świeży, *op. cit.*, p. 10; J. Świeży, Strój krzczonowski [Traditional dress of Krzczonów], in: Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1952, pp. 22-25

123 *Ibid.*

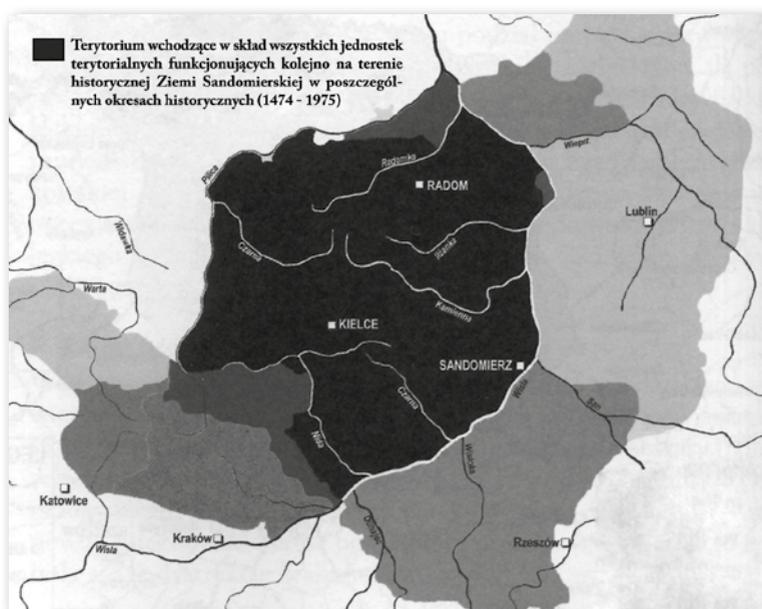
124 Oskar Kolberg writes about the townswomen from Biłgoraj: "They wear head wraps, rather tall, from fastened colourful headscarves, of nut-brown, white, light pink or skin colour with flowers and patterns; when dressing up for a holiday, they make it taller and more embellished, with more impressive folds and more numerous knots. On holidays they deck it with sequins (coins) like the Greeks; but tend to neglect that nowadays. On the wrap that resembles a Turkish turban from a scarf or scarves, they put a colourful headscarf which covers almost the whole face when they go to church or to the town during rain. (...) Before, they decorated it with trinkets, but do not do this these days." *O. Kolberg, op. cit.*, p. 42. Translated from the Polish version.

OBJECTIVES, FUNCTIONS AND NEW RESEARCH ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY STUDIES ON TRADITIONAL FOLK COSTUMES (BASED ON THE PAPER “FOLK COSTUMES OF KIELECCZYŻNA”)

INTRODUCTION

34

Traditional folk costume, which had been one of the most important determinants of cultural individuality for ethnographic groups in Poland until mid 20th century and had been used for various purposes in peasant communities, is a relic of the past. Nevertheless, researchers with both academic and museological background still find it interesting. Traditional folk costumes of Kielecczyżna are not an exception and the 2012 monograph published by Museum of the Kielce Countryside “Folk costumes of Kielecczyżna” is a case in point. The region is located on the border of Małopolska (Lesser Poland) and Mazowsze (Masovia). Both the character and the different aspects of traditional folk costume as a cultural phenomenon stemming from the region’s location deserve a comprehensive study. Problems generated by the contemporary situation of traditional folk costume, which nowadays is mostly used as a stage costume, are equally interesting.



8. Szukająca własnej zguby

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The area referred to as Kielecczyżna covers the territory between Vistula river and two of its tributaries – Pilica and Nida. Before the partitions of Poland this area was located within administrative borders of Sandomierz voivodeship¹²⁶. The turbulent history of changes in administrative structures entailed various changes in terminology. In the 18th century the territory was referred to as Sandomierszczyza while in the 19th century as ziemia kielecka and ziemia radomska (land of Kielce and Radom). The term “Kielecczyżna” first appeared in the 20th century. The territory has never actually fitted in the borders of administrative units, but was in fact their most stable and durable element. Its continuous affiliation to consecutive territorial units from the Middle Ages until 1975 allows to state that the Land of Sandomierz is home to a region that is deeply rooted in the local tradition. A region, that had been shaped in specific political, economic and migratory conditions and revolved around constant administrative centres – Sandomierz till the 18th century, Kielce and Radom in the 19th and 20th century¹²⁷. The region is situated in the north of Małopolska. The majority of inhabitants represented one of the ethno-regional groups Sandomierzanie¹²⁸. In the northwest, Sandomierzanie bordered with another group – Krakowiacy. Several subgroups of Krakowiacy identified themselves with different types of traditional costume. Skalmierzacy inhabited the southern part of Kielecczyżna. In the west and northwest Sandomierzanie bordered with Sieradzanie and Łęczycanie who lived along the right bank of Pilica. Mazurzy, a group from Mazowsze living on the territory between the mouth of Drzewica and middle and lower Chodcza (right bank tributary of Iłżanka) were Sandomierzanie’s northern neighbours. This illustrates the diversity of Kielecczyżna’s ethnographic makeup (referring to primal tribal settlement), which resulted in a great variety of traditional folk costumes. The long-lasting clash of influences from both Małopolska and Mazowsze translated into different types and forms of traditional folk costumes within the region. Such clashes tend to leave mark on all aspects of the local culture, including the traditional folk costume.

THE CHARACTER OF TRADITIONAL FOLK COSTUME IN KIELECCZYŻNA

The following types of traditional folk costumes were found in Kielecczyżna: Kielce traditional costume with a Włoszczowa variety, Świętokrzyskie traditional costume, Sandomierz traditional costume, Cracow traditional costume (eastern Krakowiacy), Radom traditional costume and Opoczno traditional costume. The taxonomy used by researchers interested in the Polish folk costume based on a number of criteria (the use of raw materials, form of particular pieces of clothing, type of ornaments and ethnic and linguistic premises) distinguishes between four groups of folk costumes on the territory of Poland from mid 19th to mid 20th century¹²⁹. Group one includes highlanders’ traditional costume, group two consists of costumes from Małopolska, Lubelskie and Podlasie, group three includes Mazowsze traditional folk costumes and

126 T. Koba-Ryszewska, *Przeszłość administracyjna ziem województwa kieleckiego*, in: W. Góra (ed.), *Z dziejów ziemi kieleckiej 1918-1944*, Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza 1970, pp. 9 – 25

127 J. Z. Pająk, *Historia podziałów administracyjnych*, in: G. Okła (ed.), *Mała Ojczyzna Świętokrzyskie. Dziedzictwo kulturowe*, Kielce: Zakład Wydawniczy SFS 2002, pp. 105-113.

128 J. St. Bystroń, *Etnografia Polski*, Poznań: Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza „czytelnik” 1947, pp. 25-26.

129 T. Karwicka, *Ubiory ludowe w Polsce*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1995, pp.54.

group four – Śląsk (Silesia), Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) and Pomorze (Pomerania) traditional folk costumes. The costumes from Kieleccyzna fall into groups two (Kraków, Sandomierz) and three (Kielce – Włoszczowa, Świętokrzyskie, Opoczno and Radom). They have the characteristics of respective groups. Typically Małopolska women's costumes were made of flax or hemp cloth. Later these fabrics were partially replaced by industrial ones. The characteristic elements included for example white muslin or cloth aprons. Striped fabric – woollen homespun cloth with a characteristic pattern – was not known. Men's russet coats were not cut off at the waist – gussets of fabric were put on the sides in order to achieve the flared shape of the garment.

One of the characteristics of Mazowsze costumes was the use of striped homespun fabric in order to make aprons and shoulder wraps – probably the most representative element of women's costume. Men's russet coats were cut off at the waist and consisted of two parts: a well-fitted waist (upper part) and a wide skirt-like garment pleated in the back (lower part).

36 However, it should be emphasized that the discussed characteristics of Kieleccyzna costumes can also be found in other groups. And so a russet coat typical for Małopolska can be found in Świętokrzyskie costume, which belongs to the Mazowsze group, and a pleated men's russet coat cut off at the waist, typical for Mazowsze, can be found in Sandomierz costume that belongs to Mazowsze group. This proves that the clash of cultures on the transition territories such as Kieleccyzna makes it difficult to unambiguously classify a cultural phenomenon (in this instance the traditional folk costume). Especially if one wishes to do so based on a single criterion, which in this particular case would be the cut of a given piece of clothing. It seems that the occurrence of transitional costumes (or varieties of costumes) not only between different groups but also within them, is a representative trait of the above-described conditions. The northwest part of Końskie powiat (former Radoszyce starosty) can serve as an example. The traditional peasant costume included elements representative for both Kielce and Opoczno: women's dresses "wełniaki" or white, braided men's russet coats.

CHANGES TO AND DECLINE OF THE TRADITIONAL FOLK COSTUME. OTHER PHENOMENA.

The formal unchangingness of the folk costume was one of the basic characteristics that allowed distinguishing between folk costume and ordinary clothes. However, this unchangingness was only superficial and applied to selected elements. Even in its prime – mid 19th and the turn of 20th century – when the traditional folk costume had been an accurate representation and a solidifier of the group identity, it had not remained unchanged¹³⁰. Depending on the users' initiative, it was altered due to changing fashion trends, availability of raw materials – fabric, dyes, haberdashery – and the particular taste of the makers who wanted to have a more colourful and festive costume. The contact with representatives of other regional groups and their costumes also had its significance. However, all of the formal changes were in fact adaptations that did not go beyond the traditional costume of a given group. The basic functions stayed the same, while ornaments, colours or the set of fabric and execution technique would change. Sometimes expansion of certain elements or complete costumes that would replace the local dress occurred.

130 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Odzież*, in: M. Biernacka (ed.), *Etnografia Polski. Przemiany Kultury Ludowej*, vol.1, Wrocław-Gdańsk, Ossolineum 1976, pp. 402-403.

The traditional folk costume, perceived as universal festive attire for the peasants, disappeared from Kielecczyzna at the end of the interwar period. It is worth emphasizing that vanishing of the costume was a multi-stage process affecting different parts of Kielecczyzna at a different pace. It started with the adaptation of new fabric and accessories (early 20th century), continued with the replacement of certain elements with new forms of attire usually adapted from the city – for example blouses instead of women’s shirts (the 1920s) – and finished with the actual replacement of the traditional folk costume with ordinary clothes (1930 – 1950). Men’s costume disappeared much earlier than women’s. Some elements such as shoulder wraps and szalinówka wraps were still noted in the late 20th century, however rarely and usually worn by mature or even elderly women.

It should be noted that certain aesthetic standards referring to traditional folk costumes still applied even after peasants took in the ordinary clothes worn by the inhabitants of the city. People from the countryside were inventive and combined different elements and even sets of clothing thus creating their own “rustic fashion” that was visible in the way people from the Kielce countryside used to dress between the interwar period and the 1970s. This can still be observed, but only in the elderly group. This interesting and pronounced phenomenon is usually overlooked in research on the dress of the countryside inhabitants. Nonetheless it is a determinant of their material culture. For that reason it would be pertinent to take up this subject and treat this phenomenon as a continuum to the tradition of the traditional folk costume – not as a continuous existence of certain forms (even though it is possible that such was the base for the creation of this new fashion) but as a tradition of difference in the way the peasants dress. It might not be a conscious act on the part of the users, but it might have been one of the most durable elements pertinent even in entirely different living conditions and with a changed social status. I think that the interest in this phenomenon could help to understand the factors shaping the attitude of peasants to their own dress and the factors influencing the choice of a given type of clothing creating a certain standard in the second half of the 20th century. In my opinion this could be a great start for further research on continuity and change in culture.

The transfer of customs relating to traditional dress from the adult members of the community to their children is also an interesting phenomenon accompanying the gradual decline of traditional folk costume in Kielecczyzna. It was most pronounced on special occasions (for example religious celebrations such as the Corpus Christi procession) when people would dress their children in a traditional folk costume. Sometimes the costume was altered, simplified or incomplete (for example girls would wear corsets, aprons and strings of beads paired with “ordinary” blouses and dresses).

THE FUNCTIONS OF TRADITIONAL FOLK DRESS IN THE CONTEMPORARY COUNTRYSIDE

Nowadays the “classic” traditional folk costume has returned to the countryside in a completely new role. Namely, it became a stage costume used mostly by numerous folk song and dance ensembles, bands and ritual groups from the region. Its current function consists in the decline of the costume’s primary role of the user’s determinant. Folk costume’s current function is similar to that of a theatrical costume. I will not discuss these functions as they have already been widely debated by researchers in numerous publications on traditional folk costume, especially those treating about folk costume’s current status. What I find interesting however is the fact that some of the functions are identical to

the ones of an exhibit¹³¹. Just like an exhibit the traditional folk costume perceived as a stage costume was stripped from its primary functions in order to operate mostly as a designate for a class of objects (this might have a negative effect – the folk costume might be treated like a uniform as group members often wear identical costumes) to be observed and used as a means of information. For that reason it is extremely important to raise awareness about this particular function among the contemporary users of traditional folk costume as it translates into the approach towards the costume and the authenticity of its meaning. The aim of a regional folk group is to be the expression of affection towards one's local tradition. Logically, this should oblige the members to look for a maximum authenticity in the selection of costumes. Even if that means that the stage costumes are not particularly colourful, attractive and different from what the potential users expect. The stress on the importance of a faithful representation of the traditional folk costume is in no way a symptom of inconsistency towards the statement about the changing nature of a costume dependant on factors such as fashion trends. The mentioned statement referred to the folk costume perceived as clothing and not as stage costume. Stage costume should by definition be a representation of the actual costume from the past and the selected forms should match respective sets of elements from a given period of time.

In order to achieve that one needs data. Publications such as “The folk costumes of Kielecczyzna” are a useful source of information. The publication has two goals. First, it was the need for a compilation accounting for the traditional folk costume as a phenomenon in a given region. Until now the only attempt made in this respect was the brochure published in 2001 by Museum of the Kielce Countryside¹³². The short form of this publication made it impossible to treat the subject in depth, as a result some important aspects of the traditional folk costume in our region were not even mentioned. Of course there are publications which present individual types of the traditional folk costume in Kielecczyzna – Atlas of Polish



9. Dziewczęta z Masłowa k. Kielc w odświętnych ubraniach, lata 30. XX w., ze zbiorów Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej

131 W. Gluziński, *Pojęcie przedmiotu muzealnego a początki muzealnictwa*, in: „Muzealnictwo” No. 21, 1973, pp. 13; Z. Żygulski, *Założenia teoretyczne wystawiennictwa muzealnego w świetle osiągnięć współczesnej nauki*, in: „Muzealnictwo” No. 33, 1990, pp.11.

132 M. Imiołek, *Strój ludowy na Kielecczyźnie*, Kielce: Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej 2001.

Folk Costume is the most prominent one. Relevant information on the regional traditional folk costume can also be found in other publications, both scientific and popular. However, usually they only cover selected aspects of traditional folk costume. Sometimes they are devoted to a specific costume or even its individual elements. Rough descriptions of the traditional folk costume from our region were also mentioned in more comprehensive studies both on the Polish folk culture and Kielecczyzna's folk culture and history. All of those publications are either too general or too selective to give an overview of the presented phenomenon in this particular region. An overview that not only describes certain forms but also clearly presents them as representations of the region's characteristic. For this purpose the authors tried to mention as many aspects of the discussed phenomenon as possible. Consecutive parts of the publication discuss different elements of this important phenomenon and consider it a part of rustic material culture as well as a semiotic transfer of cultural values and ideas that distinguishes a local group and solidifies its identity.

The second aim of this publication was to raise awareness about the actual form of the traditional folk costume in Kielecczyzna, formal changes over time and their causes. Such information is addressed to all of the people who use traditional folk costume as a stage costume – members of numerous folk and ritual groups, Farmers' Wives Associations etc. The common belief that the traditional folk costume is a colourful, festive outfit is not necessarily true. Such an association probably stems from the knowledge of most popular Polish folk costumes – Kraków costume, highlanders' costume and Łowicz costume. Thanks to connections to numerous regional folk groups over the course of my professional career I was able to discover the status of the contemporary folk costume in Kielecczyzna, especially from the perspective of stage costume. It often happened, particularly in the 1990s, that costumes used by a given group did not have a lot in common with regional, traditional dress. On several occasions the set of elements in a given costume was bizarre to say the least. However the costumes were colourful and heavily ornamented. This experience convinced me that an educational paper on the topic is essential. The publication should allow the reader to familiarize him/herself with the different forms of his/her regional traditional costume and point out to the fact that traditional folk costume has many functions. Additionally, it should stress the costume's importance with regards to cultural identity of the region and its inhabitants, even in the form of a stage costume.

SOURCES AND REFERENCES

In order to prepare a comprehensive study on traditional folk costume in Kielecczyzna that would meet both of the above-mentioned goals one must compile both illustrative and theoretical materials from a number of disciplines such as ethnography, history and sociology. Based on those sources it is possible to portray the cultural phenomenon of traditional regional folk costume as completely as possible. The semiotics, formal transformations and their conditioning are equally as important as the description itself. The author needed to present the historic, social and customary background for the presence and functions of a specific peasant dress that allowed distinguishing between different social and ethnographic groups, or like in Kielecczyzna, even within a group. A careful analysis of the source literature was essential in the process. Traditional folk costumes of Kielecczyzna are discussed in a number of publications, articles, joint publications and journals on traditional folk costume in Poland

40 — dating back to the 19th and 20th century. In the latter one usually finds studies devoted to particular elements or forms of a given folk costume. Museum folders published for relevant exhibitions are also a valuable and interesting source of knowledge. It has to be emphasized that Atlas of Polish Folk Costume is the starting and reference point for the characteristic of particular costumes from our region. Unfortunately the series does not provide a description for Radom costume. Because of the archaic elements present in the costume it is very interesting from the formal point of view and deserves a comprehensive description. The published materials are rare and do not approach the topic in depth¹³³ even though the region in question was the subject of research conducted by Radom District Museum and Museum of Archeology and Ethnography in Łódź in 1966-67. Admittedly the research focused on the folk culture as a whole and not the costume itself. Results of the study were presented in a paper published after a conference held in Kielce in 2007¹³⁴. Similar field study was conducted in 1984 by Museum of the Radom Countryside. Both of those could serve as a useful foundation for a monograph on Radom traditional costume that might be published in Atlas of Polish Folk Costume.

Archives can be another source of information on the Kielce traditional costume. Both descriptive texts and illustrations (photographs, drawings, field interviews) that can be found in the archives can prove useful. Museum of the Kielce Countryside has a vast collection of interesting archived materials on the Kielce traditional costume including results of research conducted by our Museum and Świętokrzyskie Museum (known as the National Museum in Kielce since 1971) as well as field research conducted by the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow. Copies of the results were handed over to the Museum in the 1990s¹³⁵. The research in question covered different parts of Kieleccyzna between the 1940s and 1980s.

Exhibits, which are extremely important when it comes to discovering forms of ornaments, fabric and execution technique of particular elements, are the third type of sources. In this case the author used the collections assembled by Museum of the Kielce Countryside, Kielce National Museum, the Ethnographic Museum in Tarnów, the District Museum of Sandomierz and the Regional Museum in Opoczno.

Conversations conducted while acquiring new exhibits for the museum's collection are also a great source of useful knowledge. A lot of people selling or offering historical elements of the traditional folk costume to the museum are representatives of the older generations who have first-hand knowledge about the subject. They are able to provide us with details about particular elements of the costume, its users and local manufacturers as they remember the time when the costume had been used on a daily basis.

133 B. Bazielić, *Strój ludowy w Polsce. Opisy i wykroje*, Warsaw: Fundacja Rozwoju Wsi 1997, pp.98-99; M. Kwarcinińska, *Kobiety strój paradny noszony do lat 30-tych XX w. w okolicach Koziennic*, „Wieś Radomska. Naukowe Zeszyty Muzeum Wsi Radomskiej”, vol.7, Radom 2004; E. Osińska- Piskorz, *Stroje kieleckie, świętokrzyskie i radomskie*, „Poznaj Swój Kraj”, no. 303, 1087, pp. 14; R. Reinfuss, *Z badań nad sztuką ludową w Radomskiem*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, 1955/1, pp. 39- 50.

134 J. Skotnicka, *Z archiwum Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach. Badania etnograficzne w latach 195 –76*, in: *Dziedzictwo Kulturowe Regionu Świętokrzyskiego (materiały pokonferencyjne)*, Kielce: bw. 2007, pp.114.

135 Archiwum Zakładowe Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej, *Strój ludowy*, sign. 810, 822, 823, *Strój ludowy z materiałów Instytutu Sztuki PAN w Krakowie*, sign. 2/89, 2/90.

CONCLUSION

Finally I would like to devote a few words to the previously mentioned publication entitled “Folk Costumes of Kielecczyzna”¹³⁶. The paper is an attempt to present a comprehensive overview of a particular cultural phenomenon in a specific area. The author took into consideration the phenomenon’s transformation and its consequences that often resonate in today’s reality. The publication was completed for the purpose of documentation and education. The author wanted to explore aspects that are either overlooked or unexplored by the existing research on traditional costume and peasant dress.

136 A DVD with a film entitled „Wesele wójtowej córki” (Mayor’s daughter’s wedding reception) is enclosed as a supplement to the publication. The film is a mise-en-scene of fragments of the wedding ritual. This is a context to the traditional folk costumes of Kielecczyzna presented in the publication. Both publication and film were co-financed by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage within the Cultural Heritage project.

„COLOURFUL HOSTS OF REAPERS”

– CAN PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL HARVEST HOME CELEBRATIONS
IN SPAŁA IN 1927 SERVE AS MATERIAL FOR RESEARCH ON TRADITIONAL COSTUME?

INTRODUCTION

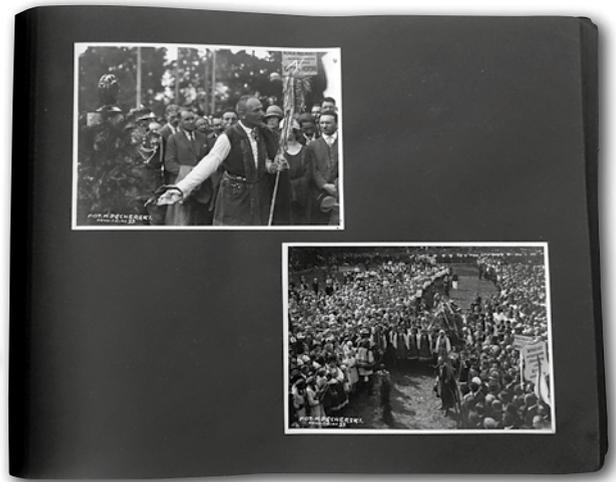
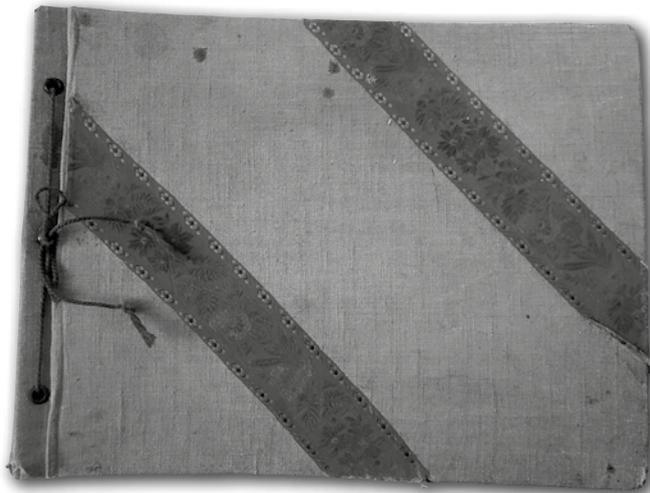
42 It is widely believed that photography is one of the best methods for documenting various aspects of reality. Today, virtually everyone owns a camera. Events and material things that we consider important are preserved in photographs, which means that the pool of iconographic materials for future researches is growing every day. It is also clear that photographs not only document reality – they create it. Although „the photographer’s intent and choice of frame” matter, „features that make a photograph seem objective still feature prominently in the definitions of photographic representation”¹³⁸.

This text revolves around a single collection of photographs documenting a national harvest home festival organised in the interwar period. The photographs are gathered inside an album with a grey linen cover bound with red string. The cover is adorned with two silk ribbons decorated with a flowery pattern. Girls in rural areas used to wear flower wreaths decorated with ribbons just like these. The album contains 55 photographs of various sizes, arranged and glued on 25 pages. Most of the photos are group shots of people wearing their best clothes, formal uniforms, or traditional festive dress. Some hold wreaths made of flowers and cereals. The most important person is easy to spot: the Host of the Festival, President of the Second Republic of Poland Ignacy Mościcki. The album does not have a title page or captions, although some of the photographs are signed “Fot. K. Pęcherski Nowy Świat 57”. Outside of context, the photographs may be interesting, but will not tell us much. “In the absence of context or description, it is difficult to identify a photograph, or tell its story. The image is, in a way, mute. Interpretation frequently depends on the subjective viewpoint of the viewer. The ability to read photographic images is essential to any museologist who deals with photography”¹³⁹. In this case, it was easy to obtain information about the photographs and the day they had been taken. The content of the images captured by Pęcherski is noteworthy, but the story behind the album, its “biography” perhaps doubly so. The story told by the photographs and the story of the album complement each other.

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138 J. Bartuszek, *Między reprezentacją a „martwym papierem”. Znaczenie chłopskiej fotografii rodzinnej*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo „Neriton” 2005, pp. 30.

139 J. Bartuszek, *Fotografia – niemy obraz rzeczywistości. O problematyce identyfikacji zbiorów fotograficznych w kolekcji muzealnej*, „Etnografia Nowa” issue 04: 2012, pp. 236.



10. Pages of the album, photo by A. Mironiuk-Nikolska

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION OF THE HARVEST HOME FESTIVAL IN SPAŁA

Photographs resembling those from the album are also found in a publication documenting the Second Presidential Harvest Home Festival in 1928. The special issue was called “Harvest Home festival in Spała. A special one-day issue was published on the occasion of the Harvest Home celebrations that took place in the residence of Ignacy Mościcki, the president of the Republic of Poland, on August 25th, 26th and 27th 1928”. It contains an article entitled “What was it like to attend last year’s Harvest Home Festival in Spała?” – a propaganda piece in honour of the “Head Gazda of Poland”¹⁴⁰. The writing appears superficial and stereotypically rustic in character. The author writes: “Who attended? Well-known ladies and colourfully dressed men from Łowicz; Silesians; Kurpie people from the banks of Narev and Bug; Volhynians; Belarussians; imposing Hutsuls from Żabie; individuals from the vicinity of the Nemunas river; swarthy

140 Gazda is a land owner from Podhale (translator’s note)

highlanders; Kashubians from the grey coasts of the Baltic Sea; people from Wielkopolska, etc.”¹⁴¹. The journalist describes the event in pastoral, idealised terms. Even though the event gathered 10 000 people from across Poland, the article contains no further details about the participants and organisers, except for prelate Mikołaj Bojanek, chaplain of the President. Photographs from the 1st Harvest Home Festival in Spała organised in 1927 are the only illustrations to the special issue. The reader is informed about the author of the photos, A. Fijałkowski, on the final page of the paper. Although print quality is good, details are difficult to see because the images are small and mostly comprised of group shots.

There are 53 photographs¹⁴² from Presidential Harvest Home festivals organised in 1927-1938 in the Polish National Digital Archives. Two are mistakenly dated as 1926-1939: a year before the first celebration, and the year when the festival was not organised due to the looming threat of World War 2. They can be found in the “Koncern Ilustrowany Kurier Codzienny – Archiwum Ilustracji” collection. None of the photographs features the name of the photographer or the name of the photography business. Despite the efforts of the Polish National Digital Archives to ensure that every photograph has an accurate description, the photographs identify by name only the political figures and members of local authorities who participated in the festival. Although they can be recognised in the images, many important figures from all around the country and representatives of villages and towns dressed in traditional clothing are not identified by name. For instance, the photograph marked 1-G-2504-2 is described as follows: “Speech by the Starost of the Harvest Home festival”¹⁴³. The president’s name, the head of his military office and his aide-de-camp are all mentioned by name while the man in the foreground wearing a Cracow russet coat remains unidentified.

Henryk Comte, president Mościcki’s aide-de-camp, wrote: “the Starost of the festivities wore a brightly coloured russet coat. He approached us and offered his best wishes to the host “on behalf of the whole of rural Poland”¹⁴⁴. Comte also failed to mention the man’s name, but the photograph he included in his book matches the one from the album. This confirms the date of the photo taken by Pęcherski.

The founder and organiser of the Harvest Home festival was the Union of Rural Youth. Past issues of the journal „Siew – Tygodnik Oświatowy, Społeczny i Rolniczy – Ilustrowany” (Siew – An illustrated weekly publication on education, community and farming) are invaluable sources of information about the festivities by explaining the images in the photographs and adding information such as, for example, the name of the Starost. This responsibility had been offered to Ignacy Solarz (1981 -1940), a farming engineer, teacher and employee of the Małopolska Farming Society who encountered the idea behind people’s universities during his visit to Denmark and developed it in order to establish such institutions in rural Poland. Solarz was deputy president of the Małopolska Farming Society and one of the leaders behind the “Young Farmers of Poland” movement. The name had been invented by rev. Bojanek, who

141 *Dożynki w Spale. Jednodniówka wydana z okazji dożynek urządzonych w Spalskiej rezydencji Pana prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej, Ignacego Mościckiego w dniach 25,26 i 27 sierpnia 1928 r. [Harvest Home festival in Spała. A special one-day issue was published on the occasion of the Harvest Home celebrations that took place in the residence of Ignacy Mościcki, the president of the Republic of Poland, on August 25th, 26th and 27th 1928]*, Spała, August 2nd 1928, pp. 6.

142 Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe [Polish National Digital Archives], online resource. Keyword search „Dożynki w Spale [harvest home festiwal in Spała]”. Photo signatures: 1-G-2504-1-12 (from 1927), 1-G-2505-1-15 (from 1928), 1-G-2506-1-6 (from 1930), 1-G-2507-1-18 (from 1933), 1-G-2508-1-2 (1926-1938), accessed on: 30.12.2012.

143 Ibid 1-G-2504-2.

144 H. Comte, *Zwierzchnia adiutanta w Belwederze i na Zamku*, Warsaw: LSW 1975, pp. 151.

used it to refer to the congregation during the pre-festival mass. “Siew” announced the festival as early as July every year, and reported about the preparations: “This year we begin the organisation of annual Presidential Harvest Home festivals with help from the Association of People’s Theatres”¹⁴⁵. Delegations of young farmers were invited to attend in traditional costumes because “Festive dress, beloved by our soil – traditional costume will glitter in the sunlight boasting a richness of colours and patterns”¹⁴⁶. Nearly fifty years later, Henryk Comte reminisces: “I participated in that first festival and I cannot forget the sight of a multitude of people in bright traditional costume. (...) Colourful hosts of reapers”¹⁴⁷.

A double edition of *Siew* (issues 36-37) was published on the 11th of September 1927. It was entirely devoted to „describing the unforgettable and tremendous celebration of the first Presidential Harvest Home festival in Spała”¹⁴⁸. The articles were illustrated with 25 images, mostly photographs by Pęcherski¹⁴⁹. These are the same images that can be found in the album. The text of the article is an elaborate description of the festivities: “And now a great wave of reapers is flowing in an even, steady stream. It is calm but powerful, like the unstoppable force of Vistula’s silvery waters. Reaper folk from białostockie, kieleckie, lubelskie, łódzkie; from Eastern and Western Małopolska; from Nowogród and Polesie; from Pomerania and Silesia; Wielkopolska, Wołyń and, finally, Spała”¹⁵⁰. Unfortunately, for the researcher such descriptions are too vague to become something else than merely colourful postcards that feed the imagination.

More details can be found inside the issue. The descriptions include “buxom women from Kurpie with beaded crowns on their heads”, “łódzkie voivodship being represented by a delegation from Sługocice”, “a group delegation from Podole and Pokucie”, “Pińczowianie”, “a delegation from Western Małopolska (Żywiec, Cracow, Mielec and Lubaczów)”, “Belarussians from the Nowogród area”, “representatives of Polesie”, “Pomeranian Farmers’ Society”, “Cieszyn Silesia and Upper Silesia bringing an orchestra”, “Wielkopolska”, a group from Krzemieniec, “a brightly coloured group from Łowicz”, “Delegations from the vicinity of Spała, Lubochnia in Rawskie and Smardzewica in Opoczyńskie”¹⁵¹. This allows us to make relatively precise associations between the photographs and the home regions of respective delegations.

Another source of information about the photographs are captions under the images published in the special edition of “*Siew*”. A group of girls wearing striped skirts and similarly patterned shoulder wraps is shown in one of the photos in the album. A very similar image was published in “*Siew*” and captioned “a singing delegation from the village of Złota offers a wreath to the President on behalf on the land of Sandomierz”¹⁵². The caption most likely refers to Złota, a village located in the municipality of Sambora in the current świętokrzyskie region, Sandomierz powiat. Another photograph is captioned “the President accepts a wreath presented to him by a delegation from his home village of Skierbieszowa in Zamojskie”¹⁵³.

145 *Siew. Organ Związku Młodzieży Wiejskiej. Tygodnik oświatowy, społeczny i rolniczy – ilustrowany* [*Siew – An illustrated weekly publication on education, community and farming*]. issue 27, 3 July 1927, pp. 1.

146 *Siew. Organ Związku Młodzieży Wiejskiej. Tygodnik oświatowy, społeczny i rolniczy – ilustrowany* [*Siew – An illustrated weekly publication on education, community and farming*]. issue 32, 7 August 1927 pp. 2.

147 H. Comte, *op.cit.*, pp. 151.

148 *Siew. Organ Związku Młodzieży Wiejskiej. Tygodnik oświatowy, społeczny i rolniczy – ilustrowany* [*Siew – An illustrated weekly publication on education, community and farming*]. issue 36-37, 11 Sept. 1927 pp.1

149 *Ibid* pp. 19

150 *Ibid*. pp. 9

151 *Ibid*, pp. 12

152 *Ibid*, pp. 9

153 *Ibid*, pp. 9

This type of information allows us to pinpoint the exact location where the delegations came from and, consequently, identify the type of dress. Such photographs begin to speak to us. They tell us about the headgear of peasants from Zamość, and the ribbons that decorated the headbands worn by Kurpie girls. We can see the type of knot that women from Łowicz used to tie their scarves, and how girls and women in the Opoczyn area wore their strings of beads. What else can be inferred from the photograph? Everyone is dressed in a festive manner. Naturally, the delegations that carried the wreaths are properly attired; but we also see sowers and ploughmen in festive russet coats; male and female reapers in horse-drawn carts; *Pellaczki*¹⁵⁴ carrying hoes, but also with strings of beads and dressed in ribbon-adorned corsets, white stockings and light booties. Some look natural, for instance the group of praying ladies from Opoczno whose festive costumes are appropriate for the celebratory service. Others look like actors dressed in stage costumes to perform on the occasion. This effect may have been deliberate, as one of the organizers of the event was Jędrzej Cierniak, founder of amateur folk theatres, editor in chief of the “Teatr Ludowy” magazine. He can be seen in one photograph wearing “a beautiful highlander costume”¹⁵⁵. Together with the folk theatre, Cierniak staged a performance of harvest home festival ceremonies, as well as a Cracow Nativity Scene. Lajkonik, a figure from the Cracow Nativity Scene, visited the harvest festival in Spała and was photographed by Pęcherski.

Why was Karol Pęcherski invited to take the photos? He had frequently taken Marshal Piłsudski’s portraits, to the extent that he was considered his official photographer. Their friendship was not a secret: “people from Sandomierz, who brought the main wreath” sang

“The President and the Grandpa
They are bosom friends
Let us pray that God
Keeps both in good health”¹⁵⁶.

Karol Pęcherski (1885 – 1951) is famous for his photographs of Warsaw, which was destroyed in the Second World War. He was remembered in 2012 when his granddaughter Zofia Adamowska donated 2000 of his photographs of post-war Warsaw to the Warsaw Uprising Museum. During the First World War, Pęcherski joined Piłsudski’s Legions. Perhaps this is why, as a former legionnaire, he displayed considerable cavalryman’s flair. He was the Polish cameraman for the 1926 French movie “Le Jouer d` échecs” (“The chess player”) directed by Raymond Bernard. He was in an accident on set when a group of camera operators failed to get out of the way of an “invisible stampede of cavalrymen”. It should be noted that marshal Piłsudski himself allowed the 5th and 11th Cavalry Regiments to star in the movie¹⁵⁷. Since 1945, Karol Pęcherski worked as record-keeper for the Capital Reconstruction Office, Department of Historical Architecture. His next workplace was the Department for the Preservation of Historical Sites where he worked until his death.

154 Ibid, pp. 5.

155 Ibid, pp. 14.

156 Ibid. pp.14 - 15.

157 <http://www.historycy.org/index.php?showtopic=92411>, accessed on: 13.01.2013.

The album belonged to professor Maria Biernacka (1917 – 2007), a renowned Polish ethnographer. After 1945, it was owned by a researcher from the Polish Academy of Sciences, and between 1973-1988 by the Head of the Department of Ethnology, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography of the Polish Academy of Sciences. Outside a respectable scientific career, professor Biernacka had an impressive war record having served as a liaison officer for the Headquarters of the Polish Peasants' Battalions. The inscription engraved on her gravestone informs us that she „attended the Władysław Orkan Popular University in Gać” as a young woman before the war; a fact less well known but important to understanding the album. The role of the university was to educate youth from rural regions. In the 1936-39 period, 542 students participated in 14 courses. Ignacy Solarz, who was the head of the first rural People's University in Szyce near Cracow in 1924-1931, later became the head and founder of the Władysław Orkan Popular University in Gać¹⁵⁸. Solarz was a vital part of the Rural Youth Association. Because Maria Biernacka was involved with the association, his name is a link between both stories.

SUMMARY

An album of photography has certain advantages over press reprints of photographs, namely the quality and number of the images. High quality photographs can be analysed in detail, allowing researchers to notice the type of beads used in a necklace, the particular shape of a cross, the pattern of a Cracow skirt, the embroidery on a corset, or even the pattern on the lining of *czółko kurpiowskie*, a type of maiden headgear. These insights might not be ground breaking, but they are an excellent source of additional knowledge about clothes that today are mostly seen in museum exhibitions.

158 People's University in Gać Przeworska http://www.gac.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=14&menu=82&strona=1), accessed on: 13.01.2012.

LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON THE TRADITIONAL COSTUME OF THE POLESIE REGION¹⁶⁰

INTRODUCTION

48

A description of selected phenomena of both symbolic and material culture, an analysis of its structure and development, as well as a cartographic study of the material are among many goals of the contemporary ethnological regional studies. Ethno-geographic work is a type of scientific research. Its main activity consists in superimposing the researched material on a map, systematizing the material, studying the spatial variation and determining the character of phenomena, which allows for a detailed typology. From a diachronic perspective, such type of work allows to understand the roots of the area where a folk costume developed and to set the boundaries of its occurrence, history of its origins and nomenclature. In this context the studies published in 1913 in “*Strój ludowy Polesia na prawym brzegu Dniepru od połowy XIX do połowy XX wieku – Atlas historyczno-etnograficzny. Słownik*” [„The folk costume of the Polesie region on the right-bank of Dnieper from mid 19th to mid 20th century – Historic and Ethnographic Atlas. Dictionary”] are still relevant. This book was the first publication that presented an atlas of folk costumes from the Polesie region on the right-bank of Dnieper – Kiev, Zhytomyr and Rivne regions. This area also includes a number of displaced villages and villages from the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Zone of Alienation.

RESEARCH AREA AND SOURCES

The project’s interest lays in traditional folk costumes from the Ukrainian Polesie located on the right-bank of Dnieper (geographic term), Western Polesie and Middle Polesie (ethnographic and vernacular regions of Polesie). Clothing from the researched area had specific traits stemming from the specificity of historic development, including neighbouring cultures and nations – Poland and Belarus. The territory around Pidbuzh, Brest and Pinsk is very interesting as it features the overlapping linguistic and cultural systems – especially from the West-Slavic group. Simultaneously, as indicated by Polish linguists, an

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160 The text is based on materials gathered for the purposes of research on the folk costume of the Polesie region from mid 19th till mid 20th century.

active cultural cooperation that „fosters the stabilisation of common phenomena, including Proto-Slavic words”¹⁶¹ takes place.

It is important to get the right scientific perspective and look at the cultural heritage of the region in way to “extract all original values of the Poland-Ukraine-Belarus borderline in order to enrich the European cultural legacy”¹⁶².

The atlas includes 60 annotated maps (lexical and ethnographic) that cover 347 towns and villages. All mapped cultural phenomena are color-coded as well as marked with geometric figures and lines. Local specificity, ethno-cultural bond and the ethno genetic aspect remain the foundation for the studies. The analysed period encompasses the time between mid 19th and mid 20th century, and meets the primary scientific goal of the project – showcasing the area where the specific clothing was popular together with accompanying phenomena (including: conservation of archaic forms or borrowings reflecting former tribal and national borders).

The later period allows tracing the development of types of clothing usually characterised by a strong diversity and the lack of clearly cloistered area. The Atlas is in fact a new study, and the juxtaposition of the proposed material permits to show specific traits of clothing as well as an ethnographic (and vernacular) distribution of regions and sub regions.

Folk costumes occurring on the territory between Bug and Dnieper rivers were superimposed on a map based on materials gathered during field research conducted in the years 1978 – 1980, 1987–1994 and 2006 – 2008. Both atomised and generic maps can be found in the atlas. They can be used in order to trace the spatial variation and determine the character of diversity for particular areas, including the typology for Western and Middle Polesie. Lines marking the boundaries of dissemination of last names and products also feature in the publication.

DESCRIPTION

During the preparations of the atlas a lot of material helpful both to general Ukrainian folk costume studies and narrower research on types of clothing in the different parts of Polesie was gathered. However, it does not exhaust the research tasks relating to studies on folk costume from the spatial perspective. Such studies require a comprehensive approach to the costume’s specificity. This applies especially to terminology that reveals the spatial variation. Wasyl Ławer, a linguist, emphasized that atlases and maps „are of crucial importance for studies on the history of language, inter-lingual and inter-vernacular contacts, the origins and classification of dialects and sometimes even for the history of a given nation, ethnography and culture...”¹⁶³.

A great deal of attention is devoted to words naming different parts of clothing. Generic maps with particular names marked in particular regions are especially important. A good example would be the area of the western part of Western Polesie where the terms *swyta latucha* was widespread. In the Polesie region the outer layer of clothing made of sheep cloth has different cuts: well fitted, with gussets

161 Translated from the Polish version: H. Pelcowa, *Kulturowa wartość słownictwa w gwarach pogranicza (na przykładzie gwar wschodniolubelskich)*, in: F. Czyżewski(red.), *Język i kultura na pograniczu polsko-ukraińsko-białoruskim*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2001, pp. 43

162 Translated from the Polish version: B. Walczak, *Bug nie musi dzielić*, in: F. Czyżewski... *op.cit.*, pp. 19

163 Translated from the Polish version: В. Лавер, *Дослідження діалектної фразеології в лінгвогеографічному аспекті*, в: *Дослідження лексики і фразеології говорів українських Карпат*, Ужгород: 1982, pp.113.

(called „wasy”), with folds or pleats. The following terms were used to name outer layers of clothing: *syrnieha* (*syrmiha*, *serniha*), *swyta* (*swita*), *swytka* (*switka*), *latucha*, *latuszka* (*latyszka*), *sukman*, *katanka*, *suknia*, *portiuch*, *kurta*, *kurtka*, *kurtasz*, *czemerka*, *serdak*, *bykiesza* (*bekiesza*), *kucak*, *burnos* (map no. 57). In the Western Polesie the biggest area was covered by *swyta* with gussets (*wasy*) and *syrnieha* (*syrmiha*, *serniha*). This lexeme has the following synonyms: *latucha*, *latushka* (*latyshka*) *sukman* – made of white, grey or black cloth. Hems were ornamented with haberdashery or embroidery.

The vernaculars using these names are the Brest vernacular and vernaculars North of Volyn Oblast. The majority of those have common terms existing side by side with *syrmieha*. Vernaculars that use *syrmieha* as the main term for this function use *latyshka* to express the meaning of *stara sernieha*. In numerous villages there was a concept of *czarna latuha* – festive attire worn for marriage ceremonies. Carrying this meaning, the word is also known in vernaculars from Belarus and Russia¹⁶⁴.

50 The fact that inhabitants wearing *swytu latuhu*, called them *latyshnyki* points out to their archaic nature. If one wants to pinpoint the time of existence of terms such as *latuha*, *latushka*, *latyshka* it should be noted that the affiliation to different ethnic groups could be a differentiation factor. If one wishes to determine the time when *latuha* was spreading he/she should note that term *sermjaga* was recorded in old texts dating back to the 14th century and that the area where *serniha* occurred matches the territory of Volodymir-Volynskiy principality from 11th – 14th century. Such a supposition is backed by the fact that the area of occurrence overlaps with an area of a traditional practice. Namely, cutting the hair of the bride short as a sign of a change in her marital status.

The information in the atlas is sorted by frequency of occurrence – starting with most frequent phenomena and ending with singular ones. The method used to superimpose the information on the map requires an interpretation of basic terms such as variation, contraposition, area. In my opinion the interpretation used in Ukrainian linguistic geography is the most accurate. It rejects the synonymous nature of “variation” (the determined phenomenon) and “contraposition” (which shows localisation). At the same time, it presents the analysis of differences in a given area not only through contraposition and differentiation, but also through variation and integration. This provides a wider range of possibilities available to present the mechanism of creation and identification, also with respect to vernacular differences¹⁶⁵. Such an approach is indispensable in order to interpret each of the maps. Map no. 10 “Woollen skirt. Names” is a good example. Cartographic material relevant for Western Polesie shows that a woollen striped skirt was widespread all over Polesie, but the name *litnyk* covers the biggest area. Skirts named with this word differed in colour, embroidery and execution technique. Our research reveals a difference that enabled us to differentiate between two groups of skirts: (1) with a polychromic bottom *litnyk* (*domotkan*, *dymka*, *kolman*, *ondarak*) and (2) with a monochromic bottom *burka* (*randak*, *pokozuszok*, *walkucha*, *synjawka*). This in turn allows classifying *burka* as a separate type of skirt. Based on the study I devised a version of development of the name within Slavic languages. The old name attests the long-term existence of a given type of skirt. One could hypothesise that old local types of skirts under a basic name *burka* still exist in Western Polesie.

164 Л. Пономар, *Назви одягу Західного Полісся*, Київ: 1997, pp.32.

165 П. Гриценко, *Ареальне варіювання лексики*, Київ 1990, pp. 130.

Short sleeveless corsets are another interesting example presented in the atlas by types. They are divided into two groups – old (mid 19th – early 20th century) and latter (early to mid 20th century). An old corset (made of linen, wool or industrial fabric) is a local garment from Western and Middle Polesie. In the majority of the Western Polesie territory corsets became widespread as a result of contacts between people from Poland and Polesie (namely in the 1920s and 1930s). They belong to a group of women's clothing made of industrial fabrics. In some villages this was a novelty, in others, as a result of Polish influence, new cuts of corsets appeared. Informers emphasized that corset is an old type of clothing later replaced by other types of jerkins ending above the waist. An old corset was referred to as *stanik*, *lichwyk*. A vest from Western and Middle Polesie was called: *kamizelka* (*kamzelka*, *komizelka*), *zilietka* (*żulietka*), *gorset* (*horsut*, *gorsat*, *gorsut*, *gursut*, *gyrset*), *korset* (*kurset*), *gorsyk*, *stanik*, *bezrukawka*, *bezrukawec*, *byzrukawczyk* (*bizrukawczyk*), *byzrukawok*, *nahrydnyk*, *litnyk*, *lichwyk*, *lejbyk*, *portianyk*, *katanka*, *serdak*, *tyklycia* (Map 24).

Such clothing differs with cut and affiliation to either women's or men's group of clothes. Such a situation resulted in a further differentiation in nomenclature that took into consideration these characteristics: *stanik* (long), *kamizelka* (short), *stanik* or *gorsut* (old). *Lichwyk* became popular later. In certain vernacular terms such as *litnik*, *bezrukawec* have lexical doubles within one vernacular: *kamizelka* – *litnyk*, *kamizelka* – *gorset*, *zeletka* – *bezrukawec*, *zyletka* – *korset*, *kamizelka* – *stanik*, *bezrukawka* – *serdak*. Some terms describing sleeveless pieces of clothing are proper names (*nahrudnyk*, *litnik*, *bezrukawec*, *bezrukawka*, *portianyk*), others appeared as borrowings. The role of the Polish language is especially important – it served as an agent in the borrowing process (*kamizelka*, *gorset*). A long mid-thigh jerkin (*kersetka*, *korsetka*) with gussets (3-15) is popular both in the Middle (Kiev) and Eastern Polesie, as well as in the central and northern part of Ukraine (Map no. 21).



The maps also present archaic phenomena. The northern part of the region (located in the watersheds of Horyn) is characterised by a large number of smaller areas and occasional phenomena – old Slavic names or old borrowings¹⁶⁶. In the Rivne area a ritual towel headgear for the bride existed until mid 20th century. It was called *spow-
iwało* and was 4-5 meters long. The middle part and ends were ornamented with embroidery (*zavoloka*). It was tied in the following way: first the fabric was wrapped around the head, then crossed on the chest and finally it was tied in the back. It is important to note that *namietka* – a narrow towel-like cloth cut like ritual towels to be distributed to

11-15. Stroje z Polesia Żytomierskiego, Roweńskiego i Kijowskiego, Fot. L. Ponomar

166 L. Ponomar, *Strój ludowy Polesia Zachodniego. Aspekty etnogenetyczne i przestrzenne*, in: M. Buchowski (ed.), *Polska – Ukraina. Pogranicze kulturowe i etniczne*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 2008, pp. 269.



12.

relatives during engagement ceremony (*podarki*) and to matchmakers during a wedding reception – was used in the region. The word *namietka* comes from red ribbons that were used to mark particular towels in a roll of cloth. In the Dubrovytsia region women would wear hats made of sheep cloth (*jarmolki*) dating far back in the history.

The cartography of folk clothing and nomenclature in the Polesie region is a foundation to a solution to an ethnographic and dialectological problem of demarcating the Western and Middle Polesie based on names (interfluve of Stokhid and Styr) and products (interfluve of Styr and Horyn and in the northern part up until Sluch river).

Showing the cultural diversity of the area inhabited by Kievan Rus' tribes is one of the most prominent achievements of these studies. Clothes in Volyn and Zhytomyr regions are divided into different types. Regions from the Rivne Oblast belong to the transition zone in the interfluve of Styr, Horyn, Sluch and Ubroc rivers (some of the names overlap with those from Volyn Polesie and Zhytomyr Polesie, others are contradictory). Linguists say that the border between Drevlians and Volhynians runs in the interfluve of Styr and Horyn. Archaeologists claim that the border runs in the interfluve of Horyn and Sluch.



13.

A great area of Zhytomyr Polesie stands out in the region. It has a specific traditional culture visible in women's clothing, its varieties and the cut of the outer layers of clothing. Ornament patterns on cloth aprons, on the bottom of shirts (*perekład* technique), carpets (unlike other parts of Polesie, in the northern part of Zhytomyr Oblast the art of carpet weaving was popular), and *perebory* are a great particularity of the area. Simultaneously, clothing from the region was strongly influenced by the affiliation of some of the inhabitants to the so-called farm nobility and petty nobility. Shirt sleeves ornamented in the lower part were a sign of a noble function. A substantial number of types of clothing and their names was a manifestation of richness. Some of the names only occasionally recorded in Western Polesie were widespread in the Zhytomyr region. Following names can serve as an example: *burka* (men's *swyta* with a hood), *czemerka* (*swyta* fitted at the waist), *huńka* (simple cut), *kozaczyna*, *kozaczynka* (*swyta* with numerous folds), *boyrnos* (long garment with a cotton wool lining), *huro* (women's garment with a cotton wool lining, a turndown collar and small folds in the back). By the end of the 19th century a new type of noble attire appears. It was mainly worn in the Korosten Raion, made of expensive fabric, primarily sateen and satin, ornamented with satin ribbons (so called "menczester") and lace – women's skirt with folds and *kapotka* gown, a short light garment made of industrial fabric and *kapota* on cotton wool.



14.

Visible spatial limitations revealed the contradictory nature of eastern areas. The isolation of eastern areas of occurrence of particular clothes in Kiev Polesie along Dnieper marked the outreach of given elements (together with nomenclature): *swyta* (*katanka*, *kersetka*, *korsetka* – a long jerkin) and *plachta* (striped clothing made of a single piece of fabric), which have certain traits common with clothes from Middle Dnieper region. This proves the existence of ethnic traditions relating to Polans settlement (this was the place where the border between Drevlians and Polans used to be). Some terms occurring in the northeast part of the area show their relationship with Ukraine and Belarus. For example a skirt with a corset (*siandarak*, *spód-nica z nahrudnykom*) is a local variety of clothes from Middle Polesie.

The research experience shows that a division of network in order to show dominant, existing and occasional phenomena using signs of different sizes is functionally justified. For example the maps illustrating the dissemination of a shirt with ornamented bottom or a total number of headgear present the specificity of both areas. The difference in the clothing from Western Polesie lays in the clothes sewn or made from strips of fabric – a sewn up skirt typical for western and north-western European cultural area and garments made of one or two coupons of fabric referred to as *zapaska* (apron) in the mid 19th century.

The Dictionary provides explanations for types and varieties of clothes. Additionally, the ethnographic and historic description of particular phenomena was given together with semantics, etymology, nomination and dissemination of particular terms from Western Polesie compared to the entire Ukrainian territory and with reference to other Slavic languages, especially Polish. The entries show regional and local traits of contexts and terms as well as area characteristics for a given terminological division. Simultaneously the dictionary is a commentary to the maps.

The atlas materials allow to classify types of clothing using the criterion of dissemination and featuring types of clothing occurring in the entire area. Types of clothing covering the majority of an area are referred to as micro areas or occasional phenomena. The entries are not presented alphabetically but depending on frequency. The dictionary is organised according to the scientific classification of types of clothing (underwear, outerwear, headgear etc.)

At the very beginning the Dictionary describes in detail different types of clothing, its varieties and territorial division. Consecutive entries present material pertaining to the use of traditional clothing during rituals in the right-bank Polesie. A magical role of certain elements was also taken into consideration – in the folk's imagination shirts, belts (*krajka*), hats and aprons were believed to possess magical powers. Ritual reality allowed tracing the history of clothes and assessing the extent of their archaic nature.

The nomenclature is an important part of studies on clothing in the right-bank Polesie region. The terms are a source for studies on ethnic history, while the ways of naming objects based on proper vocabulary are base for studies on borrowings. The Dictionary mentions these aspects, which are an important ethno-cultural characteristic of regions from Western and Middle Polesie.

The clothing from Western Polesie offers a wide range of terms for different parts of clothing. The number of terms in researched vernaculars is greater than the contexts they represent due to their dynamics that fosters the creation of new terms. Moreover some of the old terms remain in use but represent a new meaning. The number of terms in researched vernaculars reflects the diversity of the reality according to a number of traits such as fabric, cut, execution technique, time of existence, form and colour.

The Dictionary marks out the terms derived from the names of fabric, ex.: *portiuch*, *portiany* skirt, *portiany* jerkin, *portiuch swyta*, *swyta sukienna*, *suknia* (gown), *spódnica* (skirt), *marynarka* (blazer) etc.; names of body parts: *stanik*, *byzrukawczyk* (*bizrukawczyk*), *nahrydnyk*, *tołob*, *nahawyci*, *kosnyk* etc.; terms referring to fauna and flora – *burka*, *hutro*, weaving – *brańe*, *domotkan*, *tkanka* etc., but also the way particular clothes were worn, their form, season and fabric.



15.

The terms for pieces of clothing from the Polesie region have an archaic nature and contain information about relationships between ethnicities that had influenced the process of shaping the regional vernaculars. The majority of terms naming clothes from the right-bank Polesie region were derived from proper Slavic vocabulary. Simultaneously, an etymological analysis of this lexical group reveals the former relationships between the researched region and other territories: east-, west- and north-Slavic as well as with the Baltic nations. Words of German and Turkish origin stand out from the group of borrowings. West-Slavic terms for clothes useful for studies on linguistic relationships of Polish and Ukrainian are especially interesting. Polish language acted as an agent in the process of borrowing Western European terms for clothing. Some of the words are a part of the Slavic legacy. Some of the lexemes exist in many Slavic languages which is proven by numerous parallels: *namysto* – UA, BY, CZ, BG; *bekesza* – UA, RU, BY, PL, BG, CZ; *huńka* – RU, BY, PL, CZ; some of the terms are widespread in all Slavic and other languages: *nahawyci*, *koloszwa* (Roman languages), *sermiga*, *swyta*, *zapaska*, *spodnica* (also in Czech), *andarak* (German), *kepka* (French), *pinzak* (French). Some of the terms are widespread in all East-Slavic languages: *cyni* (Finno-Ugric languages), *latuha*, *katanka*, *kaptur*. Others, popular in East-Slavic languages and in Polish show traits common with Baltic languages: *kimbalka*, *keczka*, *lapiko*.

SUMMARY

In contemporary scientific research the ethnic geography allows presenting the conditioning of spatial characteristics through local ethno-cultural traditions that have conserved the geographic continuity. This provides an insight into the nature of a phenomenon relating to time and space and dependant on historic factors determining the specificity of ethno-cultural phenomena.

WHAT HAS BEEN IGNORED... DIRECTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL FABRIC AND COSTUME COLLECTIONS; ON THE BASIS OF THE COLLECTION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM IN POZNAŃ

INTRODUCTION

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The majority of folk fabric and costume collections is characterised by their selective nature. Museologists and experts on ethnographic collections know that the bigger part of exhibits consists in elements of women's festive attire. There are two reasons behind this situation. First – historical events that have shaped a certain (mainly aesthetic) model of folk costume collections and museologists' practice. For many years experts had been focusing on exhibits that were visually attractive, and ignored ordinary clothes and workwear. Second – a greater availability of festive clothes in the field. Unlike ordinary clothes, which were often worn out and subsequently used as rags, festive clothes were considered valuable, stored in better conditions and preserved in chests and attics. The scarce representation of men's clothes is related to the relatively early disappearance, and children's clothes were not popular until the early 20th century. Footwear is rare in museum collections because shoes were considered to be a sign of prestige. For that reason people would repair their shoes multiple times and use them until they were completely broken. They were not likely to sell them either. The same applies to folk jewellery. Field research that focused on acquiring "valuable" (visually attractive) exhibits is responsible for ignoring small elements such as gloves, socks, stockings, hairpins, wraps and other details necessary to complete the attire. These items rarely feature in museum collections. Scarcity of underwear exhibits results from its late introduction to the folk costume, but also from the intimate nature of the subject – as indicated by the respondents.

A systematic approach to field research focused on balancing the content of museum collections might lead to unexpected discoveries – even on territories that underwent significant civilization changes such as Wielkopolska [Greater Poland]. The *Herkulanda* from Biskupin – an element that has not been previously described – is an excellent example.

Purely technical information, such as acquiring appropriate materials (necessary, for example, to stiffen the *buda* in Biskupin, or for Bamberg's *kornet*), manufacture, repair, and combining particular dress elements; as well as the social norms important to the process is also important during field exploration. This information is absent from many published sources. Phenomena related to fashion and the changing functionality of particular elements of clothing depending on social context and time have also been insufficiently studied.

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The structure of the fabric and costume collection in the Ethnographic Museum in Poznań supports the above-formulated thesis. Let us first take a look at the history of the exhibits to see how it influenced the collection. Effort made by the Museum in order to complete its profile will be discussed further in this chapter.

The ethnographic collection in Poznań dates back to 1857. That year, the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences (Polish: *Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk* abbr. PTPN)¹⁶⁸ established the Museum of Polish and Slavic Antiquities. Unfortunately, none of the collections assembled at that time had survived the Wielkopolska Uprising and two World Wars. Individual elements preserved from former German collections (acquired at the turn of the 19th century mostly by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum) are examples of festive attire. For instance, aureate headgear such as a skullcap from Sokal in the Volhynia region was dated by the donor at 1764.¹⁶⁹ If research confirms its age, this skullcap will be the oldest in all museum collections in Poland.

At the beginning of the 20th century, ethnography frequently concerned itself with folk aesthetics, folk art, and what is today referred to as folklore studies. Therefore, researchers collected only the objects of certain aesthetic value. On March 8th, 1910, Helena Ciechowicz, a famous social activist and wife to Ludwik Cichowicz, an influential persona in the city, was elected as President of the Ethnological Society (Polish: *Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze*, abbr. TL) established on that day by PTPN. The Society's main goal was to build a representative Polish ethnographic collection in Wielkopolska. Helena's daughter Wiesława helped from the very beginning and continued her mother's work after her death.

It should be emphasized that women, especially aristocrats and gentry, made a major contribution to the process of acquiring exhibits. Among others, Ludwikowa Mycielska from Gałów of the counts Mycielski, Marja of House Mańkowski countess Kwilecka from Oporowo, Jadwiga of the dukes Lubomirski countess Kwilecka from Dobrojewo, Konstancja nee Mielżyńska countess Łącka from Lwówek were all involved in patriotic activity that went beyond the traditional realm of raising children and taking care of the household. Apart from the love that women from Cichowicz had for beautiful embroidery and lace, as well as their general interest in colourful and rich clothes, such an activity might be the reason why a big part of the collection consisted of elements of folk costume. Some exhibits preserved to this day are described in the inventory as "a donation by countess Czarnecka from Bnin", or "a donation by Helena Dobrzeńska". Usually, these exhibits feature sophisticated embroidery.

Over 18 months of operation, the Society was able to assemble a collection spanning nearly 800 exhibits. On December 28th, 1911, PTPN made the collection available to the public in the halls of the Mielżyński Museum. The exhibition was dominated by folk costumes to such an extent that doctor Ludwig Feyerabend, the director of Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Zgorzelec called the Poznań collection "ein Trachtenmuseum" (a museum of clothes). He also added that from a scientific point of view the

168 Detailed description of collection's history can be found in: J. Minksztym, *Historia zbiorów Muzeum Etnograficznego w Poznaniu*, in: A. Skibińska (ed.), *Rzeczy mówią. 100 lat zbiorów etnograficznych w Poznaniu*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Narodowego w Poznaniu 2012, pp.23-43.

169 Inventory accounts of Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, the National Museum in Poznań A 1499, 1908, pos. 19.

display of objects was perfect, and the structure of exhibits sophisticated¹⁷⁰. Another exhibition hall was opened in 1925. It featured “Hutsul types”, costumes and objects from the Łowicz region, russet coats from Wielkopolska, and a collection of bonnets. It was described in the following manner: “clothes and costumes are a major part of the collection. Bamberg costumes are especially interesting. The collection of a couple of hundred *kopka* bonnets used for wedding ceremonies is unique in Poland. Some of the bonnets are made of ducat coin gold or antique brocade”¹⁷¹.

The fate of the collection during the war remains unknown. Part of it was taken away by the Germans and brought to the Third Reich. 41 out of 4500 exhibits were reclaimed in the repossession process. The reclaimed objects included elements of women’s clothing: Biskupin and Bamberg bonnets, gold bonnets, flower wreaths, hats, caftans, skirts, and aprons. At the beginning of the war, some of the collection was likely destroyed by the occupant. Part of the collection was stored in the Poznań Cathedral and the Hartwig Company stocks. Both buildings burnt to the ground in the 1945 warfare.¹⁷²

58 The first preserved inventory of the Ethnographic Department is dated 1946, and lists 189 exhibits including 126 traditional dress elements. Poverty, prevalent after the war, made it difficult to extend the collection. A letter sent in 1947 by a man from Dakowy Mokre (Nowy Tomyśl powiat) in reply to a letter from the director of the Wielkopolska Museum asking to him to donate or lend male folk costume to the museum illustrates the problem: “Dear Director. I am old and weak, and expecting death any day now! I’ve decided to take the costume to the grave with me. In any case that’s the only clothing I own! That would be a no to your inquiry”¹⁷³. Nonetheless, the director succeeded in acquiring male costume that was showcased during an exhibition in Poznań. A year later, the costume’s owner’s daughter insisted on getting it back saying “its owner is extremely anxious as he truly doesn’t have anything else to wear and can’t even go to mass”¹⁷⁴. Finally, the Museum bought the costume, which remains part of the collection to this day.

In the late 1940s, folk art including folk costume ceased to be perceived as the most important determinant of folk culture. On July 24th, 1949, the Department of Folk Culture and Art was established in the former Raczyński palace in Rogalin as “a special effort of the Poznań voivodeship to commemorate the deeds of July”. It was a manifestation of a change in the ideology of the Polish Communist Party. The Department was established to celebrate the acquisition of Rogalin as a symbol of peasants claiming the landowners’ possessions. “The new organisation of the ethnographic exhibition stresses the importance of material culture (...) Only the last hall is devoted to folk art including costumes, weaving and embroidery, sculpture, painting, music and rituals”¹⁷⁵.

In the 1950s, the Museum had been buying different objects with a focus on women’s festive

170 A. Wojtkowski, Helena Cichowiczowa i Zbiory Ludoznawcze, in: XXV-lecie Zbiorów Ludoznawczych im. Heleny i Wiesławy Cichowicz, Poznań: (no publisher), 1937, pp.11.

171 T. Jaworski Sas (Sas-Jaworski), *Zbiory Ludoznawcze im. Heleny i Wiesławy Cichowicz*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, no. 47:1929, pp. 905– 906.

172 J. Eckhardt, interview with St. Błaszczuk from 5 X 1961, Archives of the Ethnographic Museum, ASB, folder 179.

173 Translated from the Polish version as quoted in: archives of the Ethnographic Museum, the National Museum in Poznań.

174 Translated form the Polish as quoted in: Archives of the National Museum in Poznań A 159, k. 175 .

175 Translated from the Polish: Archives of the Ehnographic Museum, the National Museum in Poznań, file „Korespondencja 1953” [Correspondence 1953]; A. Dobrzycka, K. Malinowski, *Muzeum Narodowe w latach 1945–1952*, „Studia Muzealne” in. I: 1953, pp.193.

clothing. Simultaneously, clothes preserved in the field and still in use, such as elements of men's and children's costume or workwear from the Biskupin region (Wielkopolska, Gostyn powiat) or around Szamotuły had been ignored almost entirely. The museum took extreme measures to collect older items, failing to buy any of the clothes fashionable at the time in the rural areas. These included traditionally cut robes made of crimplene or other synthetic fabrics. Between 1966 and 1980, the Museum wanted to create a unique collection of Bamberg and Poznań women's costumes¹⁷⁶.

EVERYDAY CLOTHES AND WORKWEAR

The Ethnographic Museum in Poznań decided to buy its first items of everyday clothing and workwear in the late 1980s. The clothes came from the Biskupin region, which became the focus of further research. The collection includes several sets of "everyday clothes for the city", "everyday clothes for the church" as well as men's and women's workwear from the 1950s – 1970s, and festive clothes made of creplene and other synthetic fabrics. Two elements referred to as *herkualndy* or *herkulantki* are especially interesting among workwear. The items, not yet described in published sources, are linen wraps used as headgear. They could be plain white or with colourful patterns. *Herkulandy* were used when working in the field during harvest, haymaking, or on hot days (Photo 1). They have a specific cut reflecting the 19th century fashion. They consist in a peak stiffened by stitching 2 or 3 layers of 20-25cm wide linen, joining a single rectangular or semi-oval piece of cloth that falls freely on the neck and back. Four ribbons are stitched to the bottom of a *herkulanda*. Two are used to tie the headwrap under the chin, the other two are used to attach the wrap under the hair. Traditionally, women of Biskupin would tie their hair in an eight-shaped knot above the neck. Occasionally, two more pieces of cloth would be used to tie the wrap tightly on the head. Such a solution ensured that a soft whiff of wind would cool the head, but a strong blast would not blow away the wrap. A stiff peak cast a shadow on the face and protected the eyes from the sun. Other areas of Wielkopolska, for example Wąsowo (Kuślin commune) and Nowy Tomyśl powiat also used such wraps¹⁷⁷. *Herkulantki* were popular in the Biskupin region until the 1960s.

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CHILDREN'S COSTUMES

The museum acquired children's costume as early as the 1970s. The first exhibits were girls' ritual costumes from the Biskupin region: a 6-element First Holy Communion dress and a 8-element dress for the Corpus Christi procession, which was likely used also as a First Holy Communion dress. The museum bought two more sets of girls' festive costumes in 1999 (Photo 2). The first item of boys' dress – a *westuszka* – was acquired in 1996, and more items (shoes, *jaka*) followed in 2009. It should also be mentioned that dresses used for the First Holy Communion and the Corpus Christi Procession (Photo 3) as well as other religious and school events (beginning or end of the school year) are extremely difficult to find in museums' collections even though they had been used in many regions of Poland. Outside of the Biskupin region, they could be found in Szamotuły, Międzyrzecze and Kościan poviats up to the 1940s (Photo 4). They were uniquely girls' costumes as boys wore city clothes at that point in time. The Biskupin region was exceptional, in the sense that complete sets of folk costume (together with accessories such as tulle, a hand embroidered

176 Z. Grodecka, *Stroje ludowe w dawnym i współczesnym Poznaniu*, Poznań: Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu 1986.

177 Materials owned by the author.

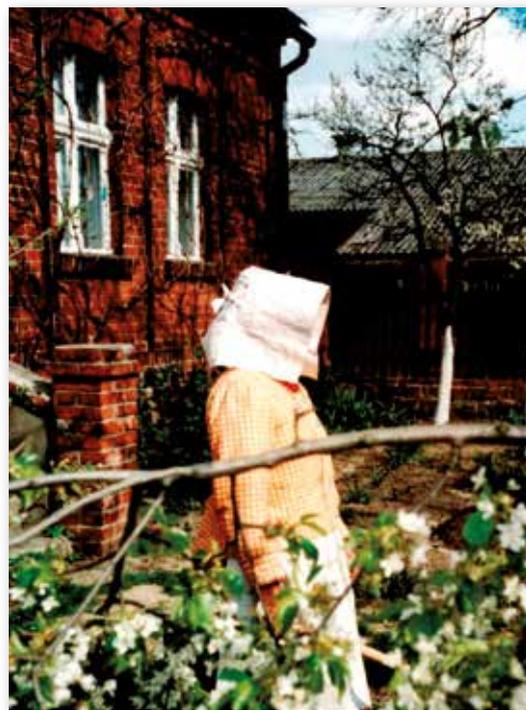


16. Uroczystość Bożego Ciała, Krobia, Biskupizna, 20 VI 1962 r.
fot. autor nieznany, z archiwum autorki

rug and a bonnet) were manufactured for 2-3 year old girls in the early 20th century. Authentic photographs serve as proof of this phenomenon. A separate type of bonnet, especially for young girls, called a *kopka bez okapu* [*kopka* without *okap*] was created¹⁷⁸. Photographs from the 1960s and 1970s illustrate the tradition of girls wearing Biskupin folk costume for their First Holy Communion. This custom started to disappear together with the dropping number of folk costume users and is now extremely rare.

In 1966, two sets of girls' festive costumes from Dąbrówka Wielkopolska dated at 1930s and 1940s were added to the museum collection (for girls 4-6 and 8-12 years old). The museum acquired a *krzesnok* (a dress used for Christening) and two hats (for a boy and a girl), completing the very interesting set of ritual clothes. The clothes have stayed in one family for over 50 years and were handed down from generation to generation. Over the following years, the Museum would buy children's clothes even though finding them is getting more and more difficult.

Children's costumes constitute an interesting field of study that has not been extensively researched. The fact that only several regional folk costume traditions feature separate costumes for children makes it all the more interesting¹⁷⁹.



17. Herkulana, source: Ethnographic Museum, the National Museum in Poznan



18. irls' festive costume

178 A.Głapa, *Strój dziewczacki*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, vol.II. Wielkopolska, issue 2, Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1953, pp.28.

179 The only comprehensive publication on the topic is: B. Bazieliuch *Ubiory dziecięce od XVIII do pocz. XX wieku. Katalog zbiorów muzeów polskich*, Bytom: Muzeum Dolnośląskie 1982.



19. Uroczystość I Komunii św., Stare Oborzyska, pow. Kościan, 7.VI. 1914 r. fot. autor nieznany, z archiwum autorki

MASS-PRODUCED ITEMS AND SMALL DRESS ELEMENTS

Ethnographic Museums tend to overlook or purposefully ignore mass-produced elements of traditional dress, considering them non-traditional even if they had been worn before 1945. Interestingly, this does not seem to apply to wraps worn on the head or around the shoulders. Among many examples one can mention *sznurówka* corsets (linen corsets with rubber elements), pins for wraps (Photo 5), or decorative hairpins (Photo 6), which were an important and visible element of the traditional Biskupin hairstyle. We have been acquiring such elements since 1995. The same principle applies to stockings from



20. Ozdobne szpilki do włosów - niezbędny i dobrze widoczny element odświętnego przybrania głowy na Biskupinie, Krobia, l. 50-60. XX w., ze zbiorów Muzeum Etnograficznego w Poznaniu, fot. J. Minksztym 2012



21. Ozdobne szpilki do odświętnych chust biskupiańskich, Potarzyca, l. 20-30. XX w., ze zbiorów Muzeum Etnograficznego w Poznaniu, fot. J. Minksztym 2012

the Wielkopolska traditional costume. The hand-knitted ones used until the end of the Second World War are almost impossible to find at this moment. However, it is still possible to come across mass-produced stockings from the 1950s. We have been able to find such stockings in Dąbrówka Wielkopolska. Oversleeves, gloves and socks met the same fate as stockings. Not valued by our predecessors, they are rarely a part of museum collections.

UNDERWEAR

The Museum was able to acquire Bamberg *watówka* undershirts as early as the 1970s, but the Bamberg traditional dress was the only costume with such elements. In the 1990s, the Museum started to buy underwear and undergarments for the costumes from Wielkopolska. Between 1995 and 1996, we were able to buy a *barchaniok*, another *watówka*, a male garment called the *westka* from the Biskupin region, and women's vest and winter petticoat from Dąbrówka Wielkopolska. In 2012, we were able to acquire women's petticoats (winter and summer version) as well as a nightgown from the Biskupin region. Nether wraps, including a summer version made of linen, a version for the autumn-spring season made of flannel, and a winter version made of fustian, worn under the outer *French* or *Turkish* wraps in the Biskupin costume are especially important to the collection. Until now, the existence of these wraps had only been only mentioned in some publications and no published source provides their description¹⁸⁰. The Museum has also been buying underwear from other areas of Wielkopolska – including the famous *gacie jak piorun trzasł* (linen underpants with the crotch area left open) associated with the Bamberg dress in Poznań but also popular in other areas of Wielkopolska, linen long johns, underpants, bonnets and nightgowns. Interestingly, some of the donations were made anonymously as the contributors considered it shameful to offer their underwear to the Museum and did not want their data to be recorded.

180 see. A. Glapa, *op.cit.*, *passim*; J. Bzdęga, *Biskupianie*, reprint, Warszawa: Centralny Ośrodek Metodyki i Upowszechniania Kultury 1992, *passim*; J. Bzdęga, *Stroje i zwyczaje weselne na Biskupiąźnie*, in: *XXV-lecie Zbiorów Ludoznawczych im. Heleny i Wiesławy Cichowicz*, Poznań, 1937, pp.41-54.

It often happens that a collection lacks historic information on some of the elements, their use, and changing functionality. Even though all ethnographers realise the importance of such information, it still happens that exhibits in museums are not accompanied by a properly conducted and recorded interviews. We have to bear in mind that when an object is acquired in the field is the best, and sometimes the only moment to get this important information. Some examples follow.

Field research conducted recently in the Biskupin region confirmed that, unlike many other costumes, beads had been used on a regular basis as part of the Biskupin traditional folk dress. Not only were they part of festive wear, but were also worn with everyday clothes and sometimes even workwear. This tendency is illustrated by photographs of women from Biskupin in their everyday clothes and workwear taken in the 1990s. This practice relates to the folk belief that beads have healing and protective powers. During an interview conducted in May 1999, one the inhabitants of Żychlewo mentioned that she had never stayed in bed when she was sick. In case of illness, she would wear the beads on her bare chest. When she felt weak she would wear the beads she got from her father's mother, as she believed they had healing powers¹⁸¹. Beads were such a key part of the Biskupin costume that the dead were put to the grave wearing them. Another inhabitant of Żychlewo recalled the day of his grandmother's funeral. The grandmother was dressed in the Biskupin folk costume but the family forgot about the beads. One of the aunts said that without them she was not fully dressed, so the family had to go back home and get grandmother's red beads. The man did not remember whether they were real or made of glass but he remembered that, even though the coffin was already in the church, the family waited for the beads so that the grandmother could be laid to rest¹⁸².

Another rare exhibit, "warden shoes" from Dąbrówka Wielkopolska, had been acquired in 1996. We were able trace their double function. Until the 1960s, village wardens in Dąbrówka Wielkopolska wore these shoes during the winter. According to the law and tradition dating back to the 17th century, farmers would keep night watch to protect the village from "fire and foe"¹⁸³. Once their duty was over, they would rest in a special lodge wearing "warden shoes" stuffed with straw over their regular shoes. Until the 1990s, people would use the "warden shoes" to dress up, or in wedding games¹⁸⁴. Perhaps the history of the shoes goes further back. It is possible that they were brought to Dąbrówka from military surplus stocks as the German wardens used to wear such shoes even before the Second World War. Until 1945, Dąbrówka was in the German territory, and the felt used to insulate the shoes is a "suspicious military colour".

Field research conducted in Dąbrówka provided information on the marketing methods used by itinerant traders before World War II. The traders would add a 10-15cm wide piece of decorative haberdashery to chocolate or cigarettes (a popular gift offered by bachelors to maidens and the other way round). It was just enough to use for one cuff of a dress worn by young maidens, or to decorate a female farmer's apron. In this way traders encouraged people to browse the pattern book and order the missing part of haberdashery, perhaps ordering additional products in the process. Printed pattern books and samplers were widely used to sell haberdashery and beads used for embroidery. To this day people of

181 Paraphrase of a field interview, materials owned by the author.

182 Interview with an inhabitant of Żychlewo, materials owned by the author.

183 Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, reprint, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna 1985, vol.3, pp.282-285.

184 Field interview, 1996, materials owned by the author.

Dąbrówka remember the “Cottbus beads”.¹⁸⁵

Another interesting story relates to the aprons from the Biskupin region acquired by the museum in 1998. Before World War II, festive aprons were traditionally plain, no matter the colour. Directly after the war, due to the lack of supplies there were traders on the market in Krobia who sold, among other things, long, wide aprons typical for the Bytom dress. They became highly popular among the thrifty women of Biskupin because, as one of the women told me 50 years later, it was a great deal. One apron from Bytom was enough to make two Biskupin aprons. Sadly, nothing lasts forever – the shipments of Silesian aprons stopped and the newly sewn aprons tattered quickly. Washing the aprons, and even exposing them to rain would make the colourful flower patterns blurry. One of the industrious Biskupin women came up with an idea to repaint the patterns on damask fabric with oil paint. She would use the design on the Bytom aprons, or brocaded ribbons used in the Biskupin dress. Initially, she had a lot of orders but in the long run it was not a profitable business as the trend quickly disappeared¹⁸⁶. Luckily, some of the Bytom-Biskupin aprons were preserved and are now a part of the Poznań collection.

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TECHNICAL INFORMATION, MATERIALS AND TOOLS

Museum archives often lack information regarding the technical aspect of the costume manufacturing process, and the way it had been worn. We know, for example, that a bachelor’s shoes should be polished to shine like a mirror. Additionally, in some regions the outer stitches had to be white for the bachelor be considered elegantly dressed. Today, finding out how people were able to achieve such an effect is quite a challenge. We were able to establish that people from the Biskupin region would use powdered chalk mixed with fat. The mix would be rubbed in the stiches until the result was satisfactory. The work was tedious and time-consuming.

A different practice was supposed to ensure that the hat stays on the head, and that the felt does not absorb too much sweat. It was common for people to put old newspapers rolled in narrow stripes behind the inner leather or oilcloth band of the hat¹⁸⁷. Museums rarely feature more technical exhibits showcasing the raw materials used for folk costume production, as well as small tools used in the process.

Elements such as *buda* from the Biskupin costume, which can reach 30cm of height, or Bamberg’s complicated *kornet* are unique for women’s costumes in Poland. In order to stiffen the *buda*, manufacturers used a special metal net (I do not know whether this net can be found in any museum collection); for the *kornet* they would use stiff cardboard. Because of the high price of cardboard and the additional cost of decorative textile flowers, umbrellas became indispensable elements of the Bamberg festive dress.

COSTUME MAINTENANCE AND REPAIR

Another challenge is posed by the lack of information concerning folk methods for repairing and renovating fabric and dress elements. The fact that many of the original patches and stitches that are testaments to the folk repair expertise are removed by the museum during the maintenance process

185 Interview with an inhabitant of Dąbrówka Wielkopolska, 1996, materials owned by the author.

186 Interview with an inhabitant of Żychlewo, 1998, materials owned by the author.

187 Interview with an inhabitant of Chumiętki, 2007, materials owned by the author.

because they are deemed ugly and unsightly is a paradox. Such actions destroy the knowledge regarding many technical aspects of the repairs. Additionally, by doing this we also ignore the aesthetic of that time, which allowed for more patches and signs of repair than we do today. The only inappropriate thing was to wear a costume with holes, and even that restriction applied mostly to festive dress. A proper and even patch sewn onto everyday clothes or workwear was a source of glory for an industrious lady, something to be proud and not ashamed of.

At the moment, the Museum is focused on filling the above-mentioned gaps both in the collection and its archives. This policy is being successfully implemented, although the pace of implementation is much slower than the needs would suggest.

RECONSTRUCTING THE TRADITIONAL DRESS OF DOLNE POWIŚLE (LOWER VISTULA REGION)

INTRODUCTION

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Historically, Dolne Powiśle (Lower Vistula region) was a part of East Prussia. For that reason its cultural legacy is mainly German. The traditional dress of Powiśle is a commonly mentioned issue for the entire area of Prussia and Pomorze (Pomerania). The dress disappeared from the region in the mid 19th century. In the early 20th century, the region was subject to an exchange of population, who had to look for and shape their new regional identity, including traditional dress.

The problem of identification with regions and the search for regional symbols such as traditional (regional) dress is still pertinent. It seems natural that new elements appear and dominate or even replace the old tradition following cultural change. The nature of the relationship between “the old” and “the new” is changing. As the elderly pass away, dress elements are damaged, appropriate fabric and tailors become unavailable, and the countryside is subject to urbanisation and alignment with the city, the only thing that remains to bear testimony of the tradition is a folk group. However, in this case tradition is presented in a form of a staged performance¹⁹⁰. The dress is a stage costume, and its main purpose is to represent the specificity of the region. Nowadays, attempts to reactivate folklore for cultural institutions, or those that take the form of performances usually result in the production of costume replicas, some more successful than others. These costumes rarely are faithful reflections of local character¹⁹¹. Such was the situation in the 1970s, during early attempts to recreate the traditional dress of Dolne Powiśle. These were not the first experiments in the matter. The search for, and attempts at recreating the traditional dress as a regional identity symbol in East Prussia have started before 1945.

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190 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Strój ludowy*, „Etnografia Polska”, 1984, vol. 28, issue 1 pp. 83.

191 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *op.cit.* pp.86.

Powiśle covers the territory of the historic regions of Pomesania and Pogesania (between the Vistula and Pasłęk rivers)¹⁹². Dolne Powiśle consists in Kwidzyn, Iława (former Sucha Beskidzka), Sztum and Malbork poviats. In the interwar period, the term Dolne Powiśle was used interchangeably with Ziemia Malborska or Malboreja (the land of Malbork). The practice stemmed from the fact that the area of Dolne Powiśle overlapped with the Malbork voivodship from the times of the First Republic (1466-1772). The indigenous inhabitants of the territory spoke a specific Malbork vernacular.¹⁹³ It is a cultural region that has been shaped by Polish cultural influence. A large part of the region (Malbork, Sztum, Kwidzyn and Sucha Beskidzka/Iława poviats) was annexed to East Prussia in 1918. The smaller part of Ziemia Malborska belonged to the Free City of Gdańsk (Wielkie Żuławy powiat) between 1920 and 1945. A narrow part of the Gniew powiat on the eastern side of the Vistula river belonged to Poland.

In 1920, a plebiscite was organised in Powiśle and Mazury. It was supposed to decide the affiliation of these regions. An international committee seated in Kwidzyn supervised the plebiscite. The vote took place in Kwidzyn, Malbork, Sucha Beskidzka and Sztum poviats. The majority of people voted for the region to stay in Germany. Finally, the term Dolne Powiśle was reaffirmed in the interwar period, especially among the members of the Union of Poles in Germany, as it differentiated between the region and the territory of Warmia and Mazury (Warmian-Masurian voivodeship) and Upper Prussia (Oberland)¹⁹⁴. After the war, the authorities of the People's Republic of Poland promoted Powiśle as a term describing the region. It was well received by the inhabitants of the reclaimed lands.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF TRADITIONAL DRESS' FROM EAST PRUSSIA IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Mass production of cheap fabric in factories was the main reason behind the disappearance of traditional dress before 1945. Home methods of fabric production were labour-intensive and inefficient¹⁹⁵.

192 In 1953, employees of the Western Institute in Poznań described Powiśle as an area covering Elbląg, Malbork, Sztum, Kwidzyn, Sucha Beskidzka, Morąg and Pasłęka poviats. Rajmund Galon indicated the borders of the region: *Eastern border runs along Pasłęka river and continues in the Eastern end of the Elbląg highland. Southern border runs along the political border from before 1939*. At the same time he emphasized that Powiśle does not have any markers of an individual geographic region and is a part of several natural lands between Vistula and Neman rivers. R. Galon, *Powiśle*, in: M. Kielczowska-Zalewska, St. Zajchowska (ed.), *Mazury i Warmia*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Zachodniego 1953, pp. 282.

193 Between 1466 and 1772 the Sztum, Kiszpor (Dzierzgoń), Elbląg and Malbork poviats formed the Malbork voivodeship as one of four parts of Royal Prussia. During the interwar period, this region was referred to as „ziemia malborska” (the land of Malbork) or Pomesania. Władysław Łęga wrote that „ziemia malborska” covers the area between Vistula, Nogat, Dzierzgonia, Liwa and the line of Malbork inhabited by Poles speaking the Malbork vernacular also referred to as „Sztum language” H. Górniewicz, *Toponimia Powiśla Gdańskiego*. Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1980, pp. 22, 216

194 The area referred to as Oberland in German consists of lands called Pogórze or Prusy Górne in Polish. The area is also referred to as Stare Prusy (Old Prussia), Kraj Górny (Upper Land), Mazury Zachodnie (Western Masuria) or Pogórze. The name probably stems from the moraine landform of the area in opposition to Prusy Dolne (Królewiec region). Main cities in the area are: Ostróda, Iława, Miłomłyn, Morąg, Zalewo, Miłakowo, Małdyty, Pasłęk, Dzierzgoń, Prabuty, Przezmark, Susz and Młynary. Pasłęka river is the border between Prusy Górne and Warmia.

195 J. Borzyszkowski, *Kultura materialna i duchowa ludności Pomorza w drugiej połowie XIX i na początku XX wieku*, in: Salmanowicz (ed.), *Historia St Pomorza*, volume IV, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa naukowego w Toruniu 2002, pp. 228 -270.

The relationship between the countryside and the city developed, and people from the villages wanted to catch up with the urban lifestyle. Mass-produced fabric started to dominate the market, accelerating the process of replacing the traditional dress with urban clothes. Traditional folk costume, which was a sign of rural provenance, started to disappear from Pomorze at the beginning of the 19th century – initially around the cities and then in more remote areas¹⁹⁶. Seasonal workers travelling to Germany and workers looking for a job in the cities were the first ones to change their clothing. They impressed their peers from the countryside with their wealth and were familiar with the latest technical trends and the world. Urban clothes became a visible sign of higher social status, and one that was the easiest to copy¹⁹⁷.

There are characteristic differences between the traditional male and female dress, aptly illustrated by photographs taken between 1890 and 1900. Men's costume was simplified and modernised due to changes caused by the war between Prussia and France in the years 1870-1871 as well as the processes that followed: industrialisation, societal changes and improvement of material status of the people. Between 1870 and 1880, people would wear urban clothes to the church or when on a trip to the city. Traditional dress used to be an identifying element for particular regions or villages, but this role disappeared together with the dress itself. A peasant dressed in urban clothes blended in, was respectable, and looked like a master. Thus, peasants stopped wearing traditional dress in order not to be mocked by others. Some researchers claim that this tendency, combined with the low price of urban clothes, is among main reasons behind the vanishing of traditional dress¹⁹⁸. Mass-produced products blurred the lines between respective regions, but also between the countryside and the suburbs. Cheap, mass-produced fabric of low quality used for making clothes further accelerated the changes.

RESEARCH ON THE EAST PRUSSIA TRADITIONAL DRESS

Traditional dress vanished from Prussia and Pomorze in the second half of the 19th century. Researchers pointed out that during the First World War only a small number of iconographic materials or documents had been preserved. Interest in the disappearing folk dress was recorded in mid 19th century. A number of descriptions of land were recorded during the visit of Frederick William IV, the King of Prussia. These records, including works on Warmia, Lithuania Minor, and Kłapejda regions had been preserved.¹⁹⁹ At the time, research institutions were neither interested in studying, nor the documentation of folk dress. The Prussia Museum in Królewiec focused on archaeological studies. The Open Air Museum and Denkmalamt (The Conservation Office) were interested in all matters relating to regional construction. The University of Królewiec focused on linguistic research and the documentation of customs and habits in the region. Because of numerous linguistic, religious and social differences, researchers focused mostly on the so-called "cultural islands" – groups of inhabitants of Lithuania Minor region. These included the evangelic settlers from Lithuania; Masurians, evangelic settlers from Mazowsze; and catholics from Warmia.²⁰⁰ Aro-

196 J. Gajek, *Stroje ludowe na Pomorzu*, in: A. Kwaśniewska (ed.), *Struktura etniczna i kultura ludowa Pomorza*, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 99-103.

197 *Ibidem* pp. 100.

198 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *op. cit.* pp.86.

199 I. Buschert I., J. Baford, *Textile Volkskunst Ostpreusens*, Husum: bw. 2003, pp.7.

200 *Op. cit.* pp. 7-16.

und 1850, Nicolas Gisevius, a middle school teacher from Tylża, created a series of naïve drawings meant to illustrate the rural costumes of the region. Unfortunately, the majority of the drawings were kept in the Prussia Museum in Królewiec, which had been destroyed during World War II. Existing descriptions of the Mazury dress, however modest, are based on the testimony of Max Toeppen dating back to 1870²⁰¹. Adalbert Bezenberger, a linguist and professor at the University of Królewiec, researched and recorded issues related to the traditional dress in the Kłapejda region²⁰². However, his work revolved mainly around linguistics. In the interwar period, Erhard Riemann, a linguist and professor of ethnology, studied the issue of traditional dress²⁰³. Back in 1938, he noticed the uniformity and simplification of folk dress. Nevertheless, the majority of sources on the topic are mere mentions.



22. Haft biały, Dolne Powiśle fot. Waldemar Heym, lata 30.XXw. *Heimatmuseum Westpreussen in Marienwerder* (Muzeum w Kwidzynie)

The Powiśle region was marked by Polish culture, so it attracted researchers such as Oskar Kolberg. While visiting the estate of Count Sierakowski in 1875, he took notes on the traditional dress from Waplewo area. He wrote: “People have dark hair, often ginger, grey eyes; girls wear two braids tied on their heads in an eight-shape knot, no headgear. Women’s wraps are black or green with yellow reflections, tied in a double knot above the forehead, as if they had horns. The crown is sometimes embroidered with gold thread or floral patterns. Skirts are red and woollen, stockings also often red and woollen, booties for home use are made of wood and tied with a thong; they are called kloc-korki. Men – hat with a wide brim, tapered at the top, navy blue coats with long caper and a rolled collar, red kerchief around the neck, underneath a navy blue jaka shirt, navy blue pants and knee-high boots. Women wear yellow or red caftans, blue gowns, red underpants, white or motely wraps”²⁰⁴.

201 M. Toeppen, *Geschichte Masurens*, Leipzig: (no publisher) 1870, pp. 487. *Historia Mazur. Przyczynek do dziejów Krainy i kultury pruskiej* (Geschichte Masurens. Ein Beitrag zur preußischen Landes- und Kulturgeschichte. Leipzig 1870) translated into Polish by Małgorzata Szymańska-Jasińska compiled by Grzegorz Jasiński published by Borussia, Olsztyn 1995.

202 A. Bezenberger, *Die ostpreussischen Volkstrachten*, „Illustrierte Zeitung“, v 21.6: 1917, pp.24.

203 E. Riemann, *Die Volkstrachten Ost – und Westpreussens*, Hessische Blaetter fuer Volkskunde, Bd. 53, Giessen, 1962 pp. 29-46.

204 Translated from the Polish version: O. Kolberg, *Dziela Wszystkie*, vol. 39, *Pomorze*, Wrocław: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne. Ludowa spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1965, pp. 52.

Józef Łęgowski²⁰⁵, an inhabitant of the region wrote in 1889: “Malbork peasants’ clothes do not have any characteristic features; many terms are derived from German, so probably some of the garments also have German origins (...). There are no hand-made elements in the men’s clothes, apart maybe from socks, if they use them instead of footwraps, and shirts made of hand-spun yarn”²⁰⁶.

TRADITIONAL DRESS AS A DETERMINANT OF REGIONAL IDENTITY

70 Researchers had to face the lack of traditional folk dress in the region as early as the first half of the 20th century. They recorded first attempts at the dress’ recreation. Actual interest in reconstruction of the folk dress in East and West Prussia surfaced after World War I, and manifested itself in the activity of ethnographers, artists, and local tradition enthusiasts. Not a single example of complete folk dress was preserved. Urban and mass-produced clothes dominated the photographs. The only original elements preserved were women’s bonnets. The need for a reconstructed dress grew stronger during the times of the 1920 plebiscite, as folk dance groups sought costumes to perform. The newly created dress was supposed to be a symbol of the local homeland, indigenusness, and roots. It was also supposed to be simple, cheap and comfortable to wear so that the dancers were able to move around freely. Original dress was virtually unheard of in the region, especially in Mazury and Powiśle. New dress inspired by old, traditional patterns and elements had to be created. After all, the new, reconstructed dress was meant to represent the folk nature and tradition of the region.

205 Born in Michorowo next to Sztum in 1852, son of a peasant, Polish historian, ethnographer, linguist and teacher; graduated with a diploma in philology and hist. studies in Wrocław and Królewiec; 1881-1915 teacher in a secondary school in Pomorze and Wielkopolska.

206 Translated from the Polish version: „Pant legs are usually tucked into boots. In the winter, one puts a woollen “*onterjak*” on a shirt, in the summer only a “*westka*”, a russet coat if need be”. In the winter people use fur hats. Winter pants and gloves are often “*somszowe*”, made of leather. In the winter you also wear a fur coat or a regular coat. The latter is made of navy blue broadcloth with a long cape, same as used by carters. There are no hand-made elements in the men’s clothes, apart maybe from socks, if they use them instead of footwraps, and shirts made of hand-made yarn. Women wear one or more warm “*bajówka*” skirts under a regular skirt. A *bajówka* is a skirt made of soft cotton fabric, a thicker type of flannel. They can be red or blue. They also wear a motely “*kittel*”, and a “*sznurówka*” shirt with underwires – it is a type of corset nicely tied in the front with a colourful ribbon. The outer layer of clothing consists in a well-fitted “*jupa*” in the winter and a loose caftan in the summer. Married women wear hats with “*kneпки*” - a type of bonnet braided with black lace. Maidens wear them in the winter. On Sundays, when they go to church, they tie a big, colourful silk wrap on top of the bonnet. They fold it to make a strap, place the middle of the strap on their forehead, wrap it around the head and tie the ends above the forehead in a big bow. That way, the wrap creates a beautiful crown. The bonnet with *kneпки* might have a German provenance because the lace is very narrow in the so-called *chłopki* that I have seen so far, whilst *kneпки* from around Malbork are 4-5 inches wide and have pleats attached to the bonnet only on one side. The distribution of pleats, however, is different from the one used by German women in the cities and in the German poviats of West Prussia. German women stitch the lace flat at the top of the bonnet, and then pleat it above the ears creating clusters. Polish women distribute the lace more tastefully. Festive bonnets are made of silk and the crown is sometimes embroidered with gold thread. German women do not wear silk wraps; it is part of the Polish dress, which the author saw also in the vicinity of Płock. However, the wraps were slightly more modest and placed lower on the back of the head. Also, elderly women wear them. Elderly women wear silk wraps in the summer, while younger women use a white wrap made of thin fabric on hot days. They fold it to make a triangle, and let one of the corners flap loosely on the back. The remaining two corners are tied under the chin. Peasants from Kujawy and Mazowsze fold the wrap in the same way, but the two frontal corners are tied at the back of the head, above the loose corner on the back. I have not seen the Malbork method used neither in Kujawy nor Mazowsze. It is, however, widely popular in western Germany.”. J. Łęgowki-Nadmorski, *Urządzenia społeczne, zwyczaje i gwara na Malborskiem*, „Wisła”, vol. III, Warszawa, 1889, pp. 717-754.

In 1920, a local teacher and folk group founder from Olecko made the first recreated traditional dress. Afterwards, the costume was transported to the Prussia Museum in Królewiec, and quickly became known as the "old Mazury dress from Olecko powiat"²⁰⁷, even though available literature confirmed that neither folk dress tradition nor elements of the original dress had been preserved in Mazury. In the 1920s, the dress recreation movement started to stress the importance of building local awareness. Regional associations and dance groups wanted to promote the local and regional identity of East Prussia to the inhabitants of the region in order to convince them to vote accordingly in the Plebiscite.

Records of the pre-war efforts to recreate folk dress and the textile tradition of the region were destroyed in 1945 together with the archives and museum collections in Królewiec, Elbląg and many regional museums. The cultural continuity of the region was disrupted due to dispersion of its inhabitants. The movement slowly returned after the war, and instances of its operation can be found in homeland associations in western Germany, which organised courses for women. Again, the dress became the symbol of regional identity and group affiliation. It helped people who felt they had been cut off from their roots find their identity. It was also a sort of political manifesto.



23., 24. Costumes of Powiśle Song and Dance Ensemble in Kwidzyn. Phot. Lech Okoński. With the consent of and in cooperation with Ewa Jamrozek – the Ensemble's Director

207 I. Buschert I., J. Baford , op.cit. pp.16.

In 1961, Robert Kurdziel, the director of the Culture Centre in Kwidzyn, an experienced musician, and folklore enthusiast, decided to establish a song and dance group that could perform during different events and maintain the tradition of regional songs and dances. Thus, the “Powiśle” Song and Dance Ensemble was created. The group quickly became the flagship ensemble of Kwidzyn²⁰⁸.

Archives and press cuttings show that a project of the Powiśle traditional dress, which was to serve as a stage costume, was proposed in 1975. The concept was prepared by Ryszard Centkowski (ensemble choreographer), Halina Samplawska (ethnographer at the Museum in Kwidzyn), and Helena Rybicka (visual artist at the Culture Centre). The decorative embroidery on the reconstructed costume was made in the National Pedagogical Centre for Arts Education in Warsaw. The reconstructed costumes came in three colours: blue, red, and green²⁰⁹. Male dress consists in a white shirt with sleeve gathers finished with narrow cuffs and a stand. A long grey and green, navy blue or blue russet coat was worn over the shirt. The russet coat should be slightly darker than the gown of the female dance partner. The fabric is cut off at the waist in the back, or slightly gathered at the waist. Men also wore a leather belt with decorative elements and holes. The yellow belt buckle imitates gold. Pants are white, or onion-coloured, puffed, and worn tucked in black boots.

Female dress consists in a white blouse with white embroidery at the sleeves and the neck; a corset embroidered in the front and in the back, finished with tabs and embroidery; a flared skirt; a light blue or white apron slightly shorter than the skirt, heavily gathered at the waist and decorated with white embroidery; a white pleated petticoat finished with lace; a 80cm by 80cm wrap embroidered at the corners; a czółko, and black shoes²¹⁰. White embroidery made with interlacing and filet techniques is a characteristic feature of the Powiśle dress.

Sadly, neither the documentation nor the design of the recreated dress was preserved. We know that the recreation was based on the descriptions of Ziemia Malborska dress in the works of Oskar Kolberg, his student Józef Łęgowski²¹¹ and Władysław Łęga.²¹² Blue and red were supposed to be the dominant colours, embroidery was supposed to be white with a dominant wavy motif. A kerchief was supposed to be worn as headgear, possibly due to the availability of fabric. Interestingly, according to available written sources, the kerchief was not supposed to be knotted above the forehead like in the Prussia costumes. Even though the sources mention bonnets, not even a simplified version is part of the design. The dress design is merely inspired by the sources. Further works are needed before it can be used for dance performances. White embroidery is the characteristic motif.

208 *XX lat Zespołu Pieśni i Tańca „Powiśle*, Miejski Ośrodek Kultury, Kwidzyn: (no publisher) 1981.

209 http://kck.ckj.edu.pl/pracownie_powisle.html (accessed on 20.01.2013).

210 There is no trace of documentation in the archives of the Cultural Centre in Kwidzyn, in the collection of the Museum, or the legacy of Halina Samplawska. The enquiry and research were coordinated with the management of the Powiśle ensemble.

211 J. Łęgowski – Nadmorski, *Urządzenia społeczne, zwyczaje i gwara na Malborskiem*, „Wisła”, vol. III, Warszawa, 1889, pp.717-754.

212 Wł. Łęga, *Ziemia Malborska. Kultura ludowa*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Bałtyckiego 1933, pp. 22-25.

The collection of the Museum in Kwidzyn features a red dress made for a girl in the “Powiśle” Song and Dance Ensemble; a unique black bonnet braided with lace from Trzcian (Sztum powiat); a linen bonnet with white embroidery from Tychnowy (Kwidzyn powiat), and a women’s blouse and cape from mid 19th century, also from Trzcian. Apart from the white embroidered bonnet, all of the above mentioned elements are confectionary. Amalia Dłużewska, who is local to the region, donated them to the Museum. For that reason, these items might be a point of reference for the reconstruction of the traditional dress of Powiśle.

WHITE EMBROIDERY AS A CHARACTERISTIC ELEMENT OF THE TRADITIONAL DRESS OF DOLNE POWIŚLE

In addition to archaeological exhibits, the German Regional Museum in Kwidzyn (Heimatmuseum Westpreussen in Marienwerder) that operated between 1925 and 1945 had an ethnographic collection that included various types of embroidery. Only a part of the vast archives and photograph collection has survived to this day²¹³. It does not reflect the entire legacy of the region, but it does provide an insight into the character of traditional manufacturing methods. This data combined with the information found in the literature and the testimonies of the local population is the foundation for reconstructing and promoting the white embroidery of the region.

White embroidery became popular in Powiśle in mid 19th century²¹⁴. If a piece of fabric was supposed to be embroidered, the material needed to be thin. Usually, people would use white linen cloth or linen batiste, loosely woven white cloth with linen or cotton threads. In the 1930s, German researcher Irmgarda Fuhrmann²¹⁵ wrote that, from a technical point of view, the cloth was different from what was used in East Prussia (Warmia i Mazury). It was made of thin thread, hence the delicate nature of the embroidery pattern. The high quality of the cloth is testament to the fact that embroidery was very advanced in Dolne Powiśle²¹⁶.

Interest in folk culture, especially art and regional ornamentation, had been growing since the 1960s. Inspired by this fact, cultural activists took action in order to reintroduce regional embroidery. With only the scarce data from the works of Oskar Kolberg and Władysław Łęga, and few museum exhibits the activists had to recreate the embroidery based on the most typical and valuable ornament patterns preserved in museum collections. For that purpose, many exhibits from different branches of folk craftwork were processed and adapted to contemporary aesthetic trends. The local Culture Centre in Kwidzyn used the collected patterns during a course of Dolne Powiśle embroidery organised in 1962. Many women from the area participated in the course, including Zofia Izdebska, Natalia Bijak and Stanisława Liszewska.²¹⁷ The above-mentioned ladies started to work and decided to use the same materials: linen and white cotton thread. With time, they introduced cloth in different colours, which made their embroidery more aesthetically pleasing. Initially, women from the city would embroider napery both for

213 S. Kawska – Tatar, *Negatywy dawnego Heimatmuseum Westpreussen in Marienwerder w zbiorach Muzeum w Kwidzynie*, „Dagerotyp”, no. 15, Warszawa: IS PAN 2006, pp. 55-68.

214 H. Samplawska, *Haft ludowy na Dolnym Powiślu*, typescript at the Museum in Kwidzyn 1995, pp. 3.

215 I. Fuhrmann, *Charakterystyka haftu ludowego w Niemczech*, in: H. Michalik (ed.), *Haft dolnopowiański*, „Zeszyty Kwidzyńskie”, no. 13, Kwidzyn 2010, pp. 75-103.

216 E. Wernicke, *Marienwerder : Geschichte der ältesten Stadt der Reichsdeutschen*, Marienwerder : Ostmark, 1933.

217 W. Błaszowski, *Hafty regionalne na Pomorzu Gdańskim*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Art.-Region, 1983.

their own purposes and to fulfil orders from Cepelia. Other women, mainly from the countryside, embroidered for their own use. Nevertheless, women including Władysława Bartknecht, Stanisława Brzezińska, Zenobia Cegielska, Maria Jaśkiewicz, Irena Przybylska and Krystyna Chmielewska actively took part in exhibitions organised by museums and culture centres, competitions, and folk fairs. Their activity contributed to the promotion of white embroidery in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Kwidzyn Museum's embroidery collection kept growing because the Museum would systematically buy the best works. This process started in 1963. Thanks to this policy, the Museum acquired 50 representative examples of embroidery (mainly tablecloths)²¹⁸. The majority of the original artists have since passed away, or are not able to work anymore due to health problems. Today, some forms of this art can be found in schools or rural communities. We have been informed that interest in this art is again on the rise.

The recreated white embroidery of Dolne Powiśle became a characteristic regional feature. In 1975, it was used for the reconstruction of traditional dress for the "Powiśle" Song and Dance Ensemble in Kwidzyn. The Museum in Kwidzyn, a Division of the Malbork Castle Museum, has a vast ethnographic department featuring material culture and folk art. It played an important part in the process. The ethnographic collection includes a set of 58 embroidered elements, mainly napery ornamented with characteristic white embroidery. Archives documenting the work with photographs of old original patterns and designs accompany the collection.

In the 1980s, Marek Sitnicki worked on a publication on white embroidery in the Powiśle region²¹⁹. He cites an interesting statement by Miss Jabłońska, one of his informants from Mikołajki (Kwidzyn powiat) born in 1906²²⁰: "No, they did not wear those. Here in Mikołajki the shops were well supplied, everyone could buy their clothes from shoes to top hats. People wore urban clothes. On ordinary days, they would wear old church clothes. On Sundays, new clothes. For weddings, funerals, and Easter people would wear black: a tailcoat and a top hat. Only women's and children's blouses were embroidered. On a white blouse, embroidery was beneath the neck, along buttons and sometimes at the bottom. I do not remember the exact pattern. I do remember colourful bedspreads – my mother used to have one, I do not know what happened to it and nobody would make new ones. There were tablecloths but not to use during meals, just to admire them. They were colourfully embroidered: cerulean, green, red. Women would wear berets just like my hat. Some, the oldest ones, would wear "kapota" on their heads, the German name for that was Kopfmütze für Frauen, they were made of wool, tied under the chin. During World War I, women would wear straw hats; in the back there was place for hair, in the front one could attach flowers, at the bottom there were "szlejfy" to tie a knot. No girl would go around bareheaded, maybe around the house. Ah! It would be a big deal if I went bareheaded. Wraps? Here till 1945 nobody had seen a woman in a wrap. She would have been laughed at! In fairness my mother would sometimes wear a woollen

218 Materials, exhibits and photographs suggest that decorative motifs in Dolne Powiśle usually featured flowers with many petals: daisies, marigolds, asters, roses and tulips, carnations, small bellflowers, clovers, the tree of life in a vase, circles, arcs and ovals, branches with lineal and jagged leaves with buds and twines. Other popular motifs include ferns, peacock feathers, and blow-balls. Pomegranate fruit is seen more rarely. Some motifs are presented in a very clear and sophisticated way, especially daisies, marigolds, roses and tulips, sometimes buds and baskets. The insides of the baskets are sometimes filled with an embroidered net or openwork, which adds to their delicate nature and particular beauty.

219 M. Sitnicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 -73.

220 *Op. cit.*

wrap but only around the house”²²¹. Apart from the lack of wraps, the above information is confirmed in the works of father Łęga. He also mentions a black “kapotka”: a velvet bonnet covering the ears worn by elderly women. In the interwar period, the clothes lost all regional features, which were replaced by urban fashion. Zabłońska mentioned that, when she was studying to become a tailor before World War II, she would use city designs published in *Modenheften* and *Allensteiner Zeitung*, published also in Polish as *Gazeta Olsztyńska*.

SUMMARY

As a symbol of regional identification, traditional dress can build a sense of community that is not necessarily based on a common tradition, but rather assimilated elements such as colour or type of embroidery. The above-mentioned history of the reconstruction of folk dress and its elements (e.g. embroidery) shows that the subject has been interesting for researchers since the late 19th century. The events of 1945, and the societal and cultural processes linked to that time are not the only reasons behind the disappearance of folk dress in the region. Research on folk dress in northern and western Poland, where history is divided into before and after 1945, needs to focus on finding sources, both the ones preserved in Dolne Powiśle (museums and private collections) and the ones available in German archives.

221 loc.cit.

CAN THE FOLK DRESS OF ŻUŁAWY BE CONSIDERED TRADITIONAL?

INTRODUCTION

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The Żuławy region lost its cultural continuity because of the Second World War. For that reason, 1945 is the borderline date of the area. As a result of Yalta and Potsdam conferences' provisions the social structure of the region had been changed – existing inhabitants (German and Dutch population) were resettled, and Poles from central and southern Poland as well as Eastern Borderlands were introduced instead. The newcomers wanted to adapt – initially the process was spontaneous, afterwards it had a top-down nature.

The foreign cultural landscape characterised by multiculturalism based on a diversity of national and religious traditions was not in tune with the cultural legacy of the newcomers. Lack of understanding of certain local regularities and the inability to read cultural signs and symbols from before 1945, made the tradition of the former inhabitants of Żuławy naturally disappear.

Cultural shock resulting from extreme emotions and attitudes towards the material testaments of the existing culture also played a part in the process. Indifference, vandalism, and looting were the manifestations of such attitudes. As a result, the migrant population started to feel the need to familiarise the foreign cultural space in order to operate in it on a daily basis. The new inhabitants of Żuławy started to add their particular touch to the region, transfer their traditions and customs as well as linguistic and vernacular constructions.

Nowadays, the descendants of the post-war settlers feel the need to build their own cultural identity of Żuławy. It should be emphasized that the problem of creating such an identity shows lack of consistency in choosing the assumed identity. Within the culture-making environment, some people are voicing the opinion that the creation of the Żuławy identity should result from both existing traditions, and those implemented after 1945 (the culture of Baltic and Slavic tribes plus German and Mennonite culture versus the culture of neighbouring, central and southern regions together with Eastern Borderlands and the Poland-Ukraine borderline area²²³). The combination of those two types of cultures is supposed to be the ideal. However, would it be appropriate to create the identifying tradition in this manner? How does it relate to the needs of the local community? This article treats these questions as a point of departure for reflecting on the attempts to artificially create tradition. The Żuławy dress will be an example of an element that participates in building the identification of the region.

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223 A.W. Brzezińska, *Mieszkając na Żuławach... Tożsamości kulturowe mieszkańców regionu*, in: M. Grosicka (ed.), *Jesteśmy stąd – dom na Żuławach*, Malbork: Starostwo Powiatowe w Malborku 2008, pp. 47.

In case of Żuławy, it is difficult to talk about tradition understood as properly valued cultural goods handed down in time, resulting from cultural transmission based on an exchange between generations²²⁴. I think that rather than analyse the creation of tradition in the delta of the Vistula river through references to particular patterns of existing culture, it would be pertinent to describe it as situational tradition; a type of false tradition whose transmission process had been disturbed. Situational tradition emerges if the functioning of a society and culture had been disturbed. This usually occurs when people adapt to specific conditions, shaping their lives in a way that resembles solutions from the past not because of the transmission of the tradition, but because of the influence of the environment²²⁵. This definition underlines the adaptive dimension of the preservation of tradition; this is what occurred in Żuławy in the first decades after World War II.

Another way to classify the contemporary tradition of Żuławy would be to call it an invented tradition. This term was devised by Eric Hobsbawm: "It includes both 'traditions' actually invented, constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period - a matter of a few years perhaps - and establishing themselves with great rapidity"²²⁶. Contemporarily, this type of tradition is more and more common in Żuławy. Spontaneous actions of the cultural environment and local communities are aimed at inventing new traditions. The goal behind them is to build a social bond between the inhabitants of the region based on the needs of the local community.

Eric Hobsbawm's description divides invented traditions into three types: "a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, real, or artificial communities; b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority; and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour"²²⁷. Contemporary traditions of Żuławy can be classified as the first type – because of the need to establish local and regional community bonds among the inhabitants of the delta of the Vistula river. Tradition invented by a social group inhabiting a neoregion (where, as a consequence of the First and Second World Wars, some communities were resettled while others, usually from the neighbouring cultural subregions, were introduced²²⁸) is quite specific, because the new generations have to build their motherland completely anew. Customs, attitudes and behaviours that build and solidify the community are an indispensable element of this process. Traditions meet these requirements. When a cultural continuity is disrupted, traditions should be looked at from the perspective of creation. They are spontaneous community actions that build the identity of a region. In this article, I will use the term „invented tradition” in order to describe the practices revolving around the construction of the Żuławy identity based on selected elements of material and non-material culture.

224 Z. Jasiewicz, *Tradycja*, in: Z. Staszczak (ed.), *Słownik etnologiczny: terminy ogólne*, Warszawa-Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1987, pp. 353.

225 *Ibidem*, 353-354.

226 E. Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1992: pp. 1.

227 *Ibidem*, p. 9.

228 H. Kubiak, *U progu ery postwestfalskiej. Szkice z teorii narodu*, Kraków: Universitas 2007, pp. 100.

Till this day the cultural community of Żuławy disputes the traditional dress of the region. The majority of people associate it with the Dutch culture and the Mennonites – Anabaptists who arrived in Poland in the 16th century. Others say that the Żuławy region has never had its own traditional dress due to the wealth of the Żuławy peasants. Back in the day, it was one of the richest regions. Żuławy was famous for the high quality and yield of its crops, as well as milk production. Close relationships with cities such as Gdańsk did not help preserve the traditional Żuławy dress. The inhabitants of the region were inspired by the city. Consequently, the women of Żuławy were not inclined to create their own specific regional type of embroidery. I witnessed one of the regional activists state quite radically that the former inhabitants of Żuławy did not create a typical folk culture characteristic for the region because of their wealth. In order to support his theory he mentioned Kashubia and Kociewie – regions that were worse-off but did create their proper regional traditions and culture.

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However, other sources indicate that certain forms of a traditional folk dress existed in Żuławy. Joanna Szkolnicka, a researcher who analysed available documents and prints, claims that Żuławy dress had some Dutch features. This was due to the presence of Dutch settlers (usually Mennonites) who brought along some of their cultural patterns, customs and traditions. Such a claim can be justified with illustrations published in *Danziger Heimatkalender*. An illustration featuring two boys from Żuławy wearing Dutch clogs²²⁹ was published there in 1926. This proves the strength of Dutch influences in the delta of the Vistula river.

More information on the erstwhile dress of Żuławy can be found in a book by Przemysław Szafran entitled *Żuławy Gdańskie w XVII w. Studium z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych* [Gdańsk Żuławy in the 17th century. A study of social and economic acts]. The author states that the authorities of Gdańsk controlled the way peasants dressed. Limitations applied mostly to festive attire and were quite strict. For instance, people of Żuławy were not allowed to wear certain types of ornaments. Some of the wealthy inhabitants objected to this treatment. Such undertakings were meant to help set boundaries between specific social classes. An ordinance on appropriate look and attire for the inhabitants of Żuławy was issued in 1591. Its scope was widened in 1635: “according to the ordinance peasants were not allowed to dress in velvet or silk. Velvet was only allowed for women’s headgear. People were only allowed to dress in low-priced, plain, homespun cloth. Silk or velvet braiding and lapels were forbidden. Pearls and gold could not be a part of ornaments. Only white, not gilded silver was allowed. The cloth used for underwear could not be of high quality and had to be cheaper than 15 groszy per ell”²³⁰. Interestingly, according to Szafran, the people of Żuławy did not observe these mandates and prohibitions. The trousseau can serve as an example: it included clothes made of velvet and damask and even headgear made of marten’s fur. A substantial amount of linen underwear and handkerchiefs made of delicate linen cloth were also a part of the set. Some chests contained ornaments such as silver, and gilded women’s belts²³¹. Szkolnicka writes: “cordovan booties, stockings and handkerchiefs were used as accessories to festive attire. Stockings were worn

229 <http://historia.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/arttykul/3750>, (access: 27.12.2012).

230 Translated from the Polish: P. Szafran, *Żuławy Gdańskie w XVII w. Studium z dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych*, Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie 1981, pp. 137-138.

231 *Ibidem*, pp. 139-140.



25. A Mennonite's dress. Permanent exhibition at the Żuławy Historical Par, photo: A. Paprot 2008



26. Malbork dress, photo: A. Paprot 2012

by women, children, and men (men wore them more frequently). Often times stockings were colourful (e.g. red)²³². However, Szafran's descriptions are applicable to Gdańskie Żuławy – a region strongly influenced by the city due to the proximity of Gdańsk. It seems natural that people would show off their wealth with numerous ornaments, e.g. embroidery with pearls. For that reason, the disappearing of the folk features of the Żuławy dress, which was replaced by Gdańsk city dress could be observed as early as mid 19th century.

An extremely interesting and detailed description of a Żuławy girl's dress dating back to 1850 was published in *Danziger Heimatkalender*: "the girl holds double crock pots with a meal and a basket called *Lischke* in German. She has a blue, woollen skirt with a 20cm wide red hem at the bottom. She wears a blue apron with a lighter pattern (called *koltdruckschet Schelldok*), without a flap (upper part). Underneath she has a green nankeen corset tied in the front and a red wrap on her chest. On her head she has a cap tied with wide ribbons"²³³. Often a wicker basket would go with the dress. This proves that the former inhabitants of the region used natural resources such as wicker, which remain a symbol of Żuławy to this very day. The above-cited description is one of the most precise available, and could serve ethnographers for reconstruction purposes.

Another traditional dress worth mentioning is typical for the neighbouring region, the Land of Malbork (in the past, its territory covered the historical Prussian region Pomesania, today referred to as Powiśle [Vistula region]). Malbork traditional dress was described in 1933 by a researcher of the area – father Władysław Łęga. He conducted research on the folk culture of the Land of Malbork at the beginning of the 20th century. At the moment, his texts are among the rare publications on this type of dress, which had started to disappear at the turn of the 19th century. Łęga's description states that men's costume consisted of suede pants, a blue or green knee-length russet coat, leather boots, and a hat worn in the winter (cotton wool on the inside and leather on the outside). In the inter-war period, people wore blazers, vests, undershirts, collars, and pants whose pant legs were tucked in boots with leather uppers (*skórznie*). Bonnets (festive ones were decorated with

232 <http://historia.bibliotekaelblaska.pl/arttykul/3750>, (access: 27.12.2012).

233 *Ibidem*.

golden thread), and laced corsets instead of a blouse were characteristic of women's clothing. During the inter-war period women would wear woollen wraps, blouses (red or blue), flannel skirts (red or blue) or robes with aprons (usually blue); they would wear a caftan in the wintertime. People would also wear black *kapota* coats and woollen or silk wraps on their shoulders during winter²³⁴. How does this description relate to the Żuławy dress? In the past, similarities were difficult to find and people would associate such dress with the Powiśle region. Today however, especially men's dress has a lot in common with the Żuławy dress, which was reinvented for cultural institutions.

"TRADITIONAL" ŻUŁAWY DRESS TODAY

80 During the World War II period, many traditions, including those relating to folk dress, had been disrupted. Warfare caused a lot of damage to museum collections and contributed to the disappearance of folk dress in the majority of Polish regions²³⁵. However, after 1945, an unexpected interest in folk dresses developed in the People's Republic of Poland. Folk costumes were used during national and religious celebrations as well as for the purposes of competitions and festivals. The growing popularity of the latter contributed to an increased demand for folk costume. The development of the design industry made it possible to introduce more colours and mass-produced elements, and made it easier to produce fabric in big quantities. Folk groups and song and dance ensembles showed more and more interest in the most popular folk costumes, in particular from Podhale and Krzczonów. Many also wanted to have their own regional dress. Western and Northern regions of Poland, where original folk costumes were either not preserved, or never existed are a good example of this phenomenon. Teresa Karwicka writes: "Reconstruction of folk dresses for the purpose of folk groups in Western and Northern regions of Poland, where there are no native inhabitants but only immigrant populations from different regions, is a difficult and dubious matter. What does the Lower Silesia dress mean to the people who came from Vohlyn? What does Pyrzyce dress mean for the people of the Vilnius region? Will those dresses ever become their own? Will the dresses always be a lifeless historical reconstruction?"²³⁶.

Early attempts to recreate, or rather to create the Żuławy dress were taken up in the 1960s. The process was triggered on Dec 6th 1960 with the establishment of the Song and Dance Ensemble "Żuławy". Local social activists who wanted to revive and integrate the emerging community of Nowy Staw initiated the creation of the folk costume²³⁷. In the early years of operation, the managers of the band concluded that a proper, regional folk dress that would be a representative costume during festivals and song and dance competitions is essential to the success of the ensemble. In 1969, together with Wojciech Błaszowski, an ethnographer, they attempted to recreate the Żuławy dress based on the available ethnographic material concerning the allegedly existing Żuławy embroidery. The dress was supposed to refer to the Malbork dress described by Władysław Łęga. The design of the 1960s Żuławy embroidery was modelled after the patterns available on polychromies, painted chests, trunks and closets, fabric, carpets,

234 Wł. Łęga, *Ziemia Malborska: kultura ludowa*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Bałtyckiego 1933, pp. 22-24.

235 Translated from the Polish: T. Karwicka, *Ubiory ludowe w Polsce*, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1995, p. 126.

236 *Ibidem*, pp. 129.

237 W. Jedliński, R. Klofczyński, *Dzieje Nowego Stawu*, Nowy Staw: Urząd Miejski w Nowym Stawie 2010, pp. 242.

kilims, wall hangings, throws, bedspreads and tablecloths manufactured in Żuławy in the past²³⁸. Many ethnographers voiced their criticism towards the above-mentioned sources. Nevertheless, an expert committee to the Regional Centre of Folk Art in Gdańsk and Toruń approved of the design of the Żuławy dress, taking into consideration the existing creative and cultural legacy of the region²³⁹. According to the norm, women's dress consisted in "(...) a white blouse, a collar – a stand with vertical pleats finished at the top with a frill. (...) Colourful embroidery on the outer side of a sleeve. Jerkin in two colours (blue and red) (...) tied with a herringbone knot (...). White apron, (...) braided with lace, vertical embroidery"²⁴⁰. Black heels and a colourful wrap worn as headgear were accessories to the dress. Men's dress was more visibly similar to the Malbork dress. It consisted in a knee-long russet coat braided with black binding and fastened with loops. A green waist-long vest with a stand and turndown flaps similar to a coat was an essential part of the dress. Other elements included white blouse, brown pants tied with a red listing, a brown hat with a ribbon and black high boots²⁴¹.

The Żuławy folk dress, or perhaps the reconstructed Malbork dress, was popular and happily presented in the People's Republic of Poland. Newly created costumes were showcased in 1972 during events such as "Selection of Żuławy songs and dances" and "Żuławy produces yield". Three years earlier, there was also a play entitled "Żuławy wedding reception" but I have failed to find any description that would confirm the use of the reconstructed costumes. Many years have passed, the Song and Dance Ensemble "Żuławy" is no longer performing, and the costumes created in 1969 are still in use during numerous regional and cultural events. At the moment, the Nowy Staw Cultural Centre owns the costumes.

Another attempt to create the Żuławy dress based on the available ethnographic material and surfacing regional tendencies was made in Nowy Dwór Gdański in 2006. In 2005, during the III Żuławy Debate, representatives of the Association for the Development of Nowy Dwór Gdański put forward a motion to create a folk costume characteristic for the delta of the Vistula. Local authorities and cultural institutions' representatives backed the project, so a panel of experts was assembled: ethnographers from the Pomerania region were supposed to supervise the design of the costume²⁴².

The communal and municipal cultural centres from Żuławy and the Vistula Spit have greatly contributed to the process. Representatives of these institutions were asked to showcase the costumes already in use during regional, cultural events. This demonstrated how differently the communes have approached the creation of folk costume. The documentation of the creation of the Żuławy dress states as follows: "(...) the colours of the costumes do not match the Żuławy Region. Embroidery points to Kashubia and Kociewie dress, headgear consists in wraps not wreaths (...). Elements appropriate (...) for the region such as colours brown and green, cut of men's vest, russet coat, pants and boots occur"²⁴³. Photographs taken at that time prove that the local centres were inspired by the traditional dress of Malbork and Kashubia. In some cases, (e.g. the Stegna commune) the colours (yellow and blue) referred to marine traditions. The dress looked like a stage costume with no ornaments or embroidery.

238 W. Jedliński, *Powisłe i Żuławy w poezji i piosence*, Malbork: Komitet Odrodzenia Uniwersytetów Ludowych „Młody Las” 1994, pp. 117.

239 *Ibidem*, pp. 116.

240 W. Jedliński, R. Klofczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 240.

241 *Ibidem* pp. 239-240.

242 G. Gola, *Żuławski strój ludowy*, „Rocznik Żuławski”, 2008, pp. 130.

243 Z. Jabłoński, *Dokumentacja tworzenia stroju żuławskiego* (unpublished material), pp. 5.

It should be emphasized that the design was modelled after the first reconstruction of the Żuławy traditional dress for the purposes of the Song and Dance Ensemble „Żuławy”. Men’s dress – green russet coat and vest – is a case in point. Women’s dress does not bear any resemblance to the Malbork or Nowy Staw dress.

The framework design of the Żuławy traditional dress was approved June 21st 2006 after consultations and analysis of materials. The design included several general guidelines for the manufacturing process – e.g. mass-produced fabric was supposed to be made of wool or cotton, the cut was modelled after patterns included in the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, ornaments made with open-work embroidery and braiding, footwear should be black and made of leather, headgear should consist in woollen wrap and felt hat, and red or amber beads should be the accessories for the ladies²⁴⁴. In sum, women’s dress consisted in a white blouse, green skirt, brown corset with green ribbons tied in a herringbone knot, white slip and apron, black shoes, beads and a wrap with Żuławy embroidery. The embroidery was designed by Andrzej Grabowski, and includes a typha motif typical for the region as well as wheatear, cornflower and poppy motifs. Men’s dress consists in a green knee-length russet coat, white shirt, cornflower vest, dark brown pants, brown hat and black leather boots with uppers.

The local government of Nowy Dwór Gdański powiat voiced its interest in the design. Currently, the dress is associated with Nowy Dwór Gdański as local authorities decided to finance the production of a number of sets. Until now, the dress has been showcased during the Days of Żuławy and St. Dominic’s Fair in Gdańsk. Interestingly, photos from 2012 show that the dress made six years earlier is slightly modified or simply rejected by the local community. Ladies from the “Żuławskie Bursztyнки” group [the Ambers of Żuławy] marched in a parade organised in Nowy Dwór Gdański on June 9th 2012 dressed in green skirts with white aprons (similar to Żuławy dress) but their corsets, white embroidered blouses, and red booties were in no way similar to the elements designed by the panel of experts. Velvet corsets ornamented with beads had more in common with the design from the 1960s. The commercial character of the Żuławy dress is worth emphasizing, as it can be rented from the Żuławy Cultural Centre in Nowy Dwór Gdański for a fee.

A competition for “a non-traditional Żuławy dress” organised for the Days of Żuławy in 2012 was an alternative to the 2006 project. The Żuławy Cultural Centre advertised the competition in the following way: “Are you creative with a touch of craziness? Use it! Design and manufacture your own, jazzy version of the Żuławy dress. Wear it, participate in the parade during the Days of Żuławy and win the main prize! The dress can be pretty, bizarre, extravagant and most of all funny”²⁴⁵. This is an interesting and unconventional approach to the Żuławy dress, which is understood as a folk or regional dress. The competition breaks the rules and allows the participants to interpret the dress any way they like.

Another approach to the concept of the Żuławy dress was presented during a play called “Żuławy wedding reception”. A local action group “Trzy Krajobrazy” [three landscapes] decided to set the plot in the 17th century and show the fashion trends of the time²⁴⁶. The Żuławy dress is presented as a type of traditional dress influenced by the trends from the cities. The creators explained their choice was influenced by the wealth of peasants from Żuławy, and their close relationships and trade exchange with the inhabitants of Gdańsk.

244 *Ibidem*, pp. 21.

245 <http://miastonowydwor.pl/contents/content/10/263>, (access: 30.12.2012).

246 <http://trzykrajobrazy.pl/?p=1149>, (access: 30.12.2012).

A while back, another proposal concerning the folk dress of Żuławy surfaced. The Gdańsk Żuławy Association from the Trutnony village decided to create their own regional dress, which, in their opinion, is the closest to the original. However, it is more of a stage costume than a folk costume. Currently, the association has manufactured seven sets of costumes with financial help from the Tourist Department of the Marshall's Office of the Pomerania Region and money raised during "1%" campaign in 2011. "The design based on the preserved iconography was made by Daniel Kufel. Costumes were manufactured in the atelier of Małgorzata Górkiej, a visual artist from Gdańsk. The members of the Association wear the



27. Embroidered blouse – element of the Żuławy women's dress designed in the 1960s.
Photo.: A. Paprot 2012



28. Żuławy embroidery as designed by Andrzej Grabowski. Photo. A. Paprot 2008

historical clothes for different celebrations, competitions, fair events, exhibitions and touristic tours²⁴⁷. The costumes are dark and characterised by protestant simplicity. Women's costume consists in a white blouse, a short cape tied with straps, an ankle-long skirt (in a colour that matches the cape) braided with a stripe of lighter-coloured fabric at the bottom and a dark apron made of fabric slightly lighter or darker in colour than the skirt. Men's costume consists in a navy-blue or dark green knee-length russet coat (fastened with buttons covered with fabric) with turndown cuffs, a white shirt tied with straps under the neck, grey pants and a black felt hat.

The above-mentioned examples of the Żuławy traditional dress or costume have been shaped over more than fifty years. Initially, they referred to the Malbork dress and the neighbouring regions' patterns. The tendency to create an entirely new dress that would set the tone for new traditions surfaced much later. Costumes referring to the history and patterns typical for Gdańsk townsfolk are a separate example.

It might seem that the current traditions of Żuławy are created for commercial purposes or in order to promote the region in the delta of the Vistula river. For that reason, the traditional nature of the Żuławy dress is in doubt, as the dress appears to be either artificially reconstructed or created anew. The traditions of the inhabitants of Żuławy from before 1945 are not the same as the traditions of settlers who have arrived to the territory after the Second World War. The clash of cultures provokes contradictions; the cultures are not in tune with each other.

Summing up, one can deduce that the traditions in the Żuławy region are mostly ahistorical. The creation of the traditional dress of Żuławy satisfies the needs of cultural institutions, and is rarely motivated by the local community. "The so called 'ordinary people' still find tradition important. (...) Local leaders' attitude towards tradition enables us to see them not only as guardians or consumers of a tradition building their individual identity with reference to historic elements, but also as players who use tradition as a temporary measure of action in a public space. Today we can see tradition divorced from social interaction happening in a place common for the bearers of the tradition. In Poland, also in local communities, the shaping of sense of community happens with reference to differently imagined communities"²⁴⁸.

Importantly, the value of the territories regained by Poland after the Second World War is their ability to bring cultures together. Specific mechanisms of cultural adaptation should be taken into account when creating traditional folk dress. Multiculturalism – a multitude of ethnicities and denominations – should be a determinant for building identity through elements of material culture.

Hobsbawm wrote: "it may be suggested that where they [traditions] are invented, it is often not because old ways are no longer available or viable, but because they are deliberately not used or adapted"²⁴⁹. That is why the contemporary actions undertaken by the inhabitants of Żuławy reject the traditions of the former inhabitants of the region simply; these traditions simply feel foreign. The dress of the German and Dutch populations that used to live in the region also feels foreign. In fairness, it is difficult to

247 Translated from the Polish: <http://zulawy.org/2012/10/mamy-regionalne-stroje/>, (access: 30.12.2012).

248 M. Kempny, *Tradycje lokalne jako podstawa kapitału społecznego*, in: E. Kurczewska (ed.), *Oblicza lokalności. Tradycja i współczesność*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo IFiS PAN 2006, pp.162.

249 E. Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*, pp. 8.

determine the right dress for the current Żuławy region. The most important question is: who is living in Żuławy at the moment? The answer is simple: the descendants of settlers who arrived after 1945. The Żuławy traditional dress should contribute to building a regional identity based on multiculturalism, for instance by reflecting motives characteristic for Ukrainians, people resettled from the Borderlands, people displaced from Kielecczyzna, Lubelszczyzna, Małopolska etc. All the same, persistent creation of a traditional dress for purely commercial reasons seems absurd.

COSTUMES OF HUNGARIAN POLES FROM SPISZ

In 1917, a group of Polish highlanders settled in a deserted Hungarian village on the Aggtelek Karst that belonged to prince Esterházy. Surrounded by people of Hungarian and Slovak ethnicity, usually protestants, they have kept speaking Polish (an older, regional variety), maintained Catholicism and a sense of ethnic origin. They described themselves firmly with the words „my som Polocy” - we are Poles. In 1943, the villagers were forced to abandon their homes by the Hungarian authorities, and were resettled to 11 neighbouring towns. The majority moved to Istvánmajor, where they constituted almost 100% of the population. Thus, when the tradition of Derenk was reborn at the end of the 20th century, Istvánmajor became the heart of Polish tradition of the Derenczanie (people from Derenk).

Derenczanie quickly became a subject of interest for both ethnographers and linguists from Poland and Hungary. The conducted studies were purely scientific, and their results did not go beyond a series of scholarly publications written and published in both languages. We arrived in Istvánmajor in 1983, together with Jadwiga Plucińska-Pisa, who is an expert on the traditions of Spisz, inspired by a publication by Ryszard Kantor and Ewa Krasieńska entitled *Potomkowie osadników z Polski we wsiach Derenk i Istvánmajor na Węgrzech* [Descendants of Polish settlers in the Hungarian villages of Derenk and Istvánmajor] (published by Wyd. Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego in 1981). At that point, we were primarily interested in the local dialect used by elderly residents and similar to that used in the vicinity of Spisz. Secondly, we were curious about the last names of the inhabitants, which sounded clearly Polish. Soon, we began our search for their equivalents across the border on the Polish side. The name of the local church in Derenk provided us with an additional clue. It is well known that following resettlements people tried to remain in their home parish. There is a small church in Derenk called the church of Simon and Tadeusz Juda. A church by a similar name exists in Białka Tatrzańska, on the border between Podhale and Spisz. It was in that parish where we found most of the names that were also used by the people from Derenk.

Although our findings were not as rigorously scientific as the reports of our colleagues, they proved to be interesting to Polish media in Hungary, and in Spisz. As a result, we were able to organise a field trip together with a group of scientists, community workers from Spisz, and the editor of the „Prace Pienińskie” journal. The trip took place in 2007. The final stage of the journey was in Derenk, where we

250 **Janusz Kamocki**, Ph. D., ethnographer, member of the Cracow branch of the Polish Ethnological Society; contact: januszkamocki@gmail.com

participated in the annual celebration of the people of Derenk and their descendants called „the Polish Indulgence”. Such trips became our annual habit; the visits of Derenczanie in Białka Tatrzańska during the Indulgence of St. Simon and Tadeusz Juda became a regular occurrence too. After nearly 300 years, family ties were being re-established between the Rémiáse from Derenk and Remiasze from Podhale; the families of Bubenkowie and Bębenkowie; the Gogalys and the Gogols. I have never imagined that the need for continuity and tradition runs so deeply, but when Gienek Gogola, who lived in Czarna Góra, invited the Gogalys from Derencz to visit the land he had inherited from his ancestors, some of them remarked that they believed „it is also their land” and have taken some pebbles with them as souvenirs.

It is clear that when the Polish highlanders moved do Derenk at the beginning of the 18th century they took their traditional dress with them. Their descendants, however, retained no memory of their appearance. They wore ordinary clothes just like their neighbours. A local female singing group called the „Polska Drenka” that has been established in Istvánmajor also performed in ordinary clothes. This lasted, however, only until the re-establishment of the relations between Derenk and Spisz. The performers reasoned that if their great great grandmothers had been able to wear beautiful traditional dresses in the Spisz tradition there was no reason why they should perform in unremarkable ordinary clothes. Female dress worn in Jurgowo and Czarna Góra was among the varieties of traditional dress from Spisz that had appealed to them the most. They based their costumes on the patterns from these regions. Recently, the Jurgowo variety of traditional dress from Spisz became the official stage costume of „Polska Drenka”. They represent, after all, the folklore of Derenczanie from Spisz.



29. A group of women wearing costumes made to look like the Spisz traditional dress. Photo: A. Kamocki

COSTUMES OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN HARVEST HOME PROCESSIONS IN VILLAGES
AND TOWNS OF THE OPOLSZCZYŻNA REGION (2005-2012)

INTRODUCTION

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The calendar of traditional customs and rituals is intertwined with the progress of seasons throughout the year. In our climate, the borders between seasons have been marked with certain celebrations ever since the Proto-Slavic times. These rituals were designed to ensure safe progress into the next season and provide a guarantee of continuous existence of the world and humanity²⁵².

Undoubtedly, harvest home festivals are celebrations based on the vegetation cycle. They ensure that the growth cycle of grains and fruit trees (nature) continues, and that human existence is able to continue as well. Harvest home rituals are a crowning moment in the annual labour of the farmers, who are awarded with well-deserved crops²⁵³. It is a celebration of success, abundance and wealth. It would have been impossible without the hard yearlong labour of the farmers. The harvest home festival is nothing else than a celebration of manual labour, a festivity paved with ritualised behaviours. The climax of the festival is the ceremonial completion of fieldwork. In his illustrated encyclopaedia of Staropolska, Zygmunt Gloger draws a comparison between harvest home festivals and Proto-Slavic rituals²⁵⁴. A procession of reapers wearing festive clothing is carrying a wreath. The wreath is made of the offerings of fields (grain), orchards (fruit), and forests (nuts); it is dressed with colourful flowers that bloom late in the summer²⁵⁵. The wreath, or a crown, is blessed in the course of a festive thanksgiving mass so that the celebrations take on a religious character. Next, the group of reapers arrives at the landowner's home. The landowner throws an elaborate feast in their honour, abundant with food, drink, and music²⁵⁶.

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252 A. Zadrożyńska, *Powtarzać czas początku, cz. I, O świętowaniu dorocznych świąt w Polsce*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Spółdzielcze 1985, pp. 146.

253 L. Pełka, *Rytuały, obrzędy, święta*, Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza 1989, pp. 66 i 78.

254 Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staro-polska ilustrowana*, vol. III, Warsaw: Druk Laskauera i S-ka 1902, pp. 30.

255 J. Szczyпка, *Kalendarz polski*, Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX 1984, pp. 196.

256 Z. Gloger, *Księga rzeczy polskich*, Lwów: Macierz Polska 1896, pp. 64-66.

In more contemporary times, harvest home celebrations have taken a turn to the more official. The wreath is accepted by representatives of the local²⁵⁷, or even national authorities. This harvest home festival tradition was started in 1927 by Ignacy Mościcki, who was then the President of the Republic of Poland. It was brought back in 2000 by the then-president Aleksander Kwaśniewski, and continued by Lech Kaczyński²⁵⁸. In 2012, a National Harvest Home Festival had been organised in Spała.



30. *The Tyrolean*, Szczedrzyk 2012, author I. Jasińska

FIRST STAGE OF THE FESTIVAL: THE PROCESSION

The procession is one of the stages of a harvest home festival or *żniwniok*, which is what the festival is called in Śląsk Opolski (Silesian Opole)²⁵⁹. Participants in the procession circle around the village, singing folk songs and acting out various scenes that represent the end of the harvest season²⁶⁰. According to Teresa Smolińska's work "*Żniwniok Opolski*", much of this formula has been preserved to this day. Both now and in the 19th century, the festivities began with holy mass. Afterwards, the participants form a procession to a square where the main celebrations take place. Today, in most cases the role is taken by a football pitch. All the crowns are brought here to be later judged by the jury of the best harvest crown competition²⁶¹. The crowns are transported on tractors with trailers decorated in boughs, grains, cobs of corn, flowers and colourful paper decorations. Some participants in the procession stage plays on their trailers, elaborating on different spheres of rural life. For instance, during the 2012 Municipal Harvest Home festival in Szczedrzyk, the procession consisted of cyclists, bikers, butchers, and PRL nostalgists²⁶². Their performances were ludic in character. The groups performed plays and sketches on topics that were far from farm labour and the nature-based character of the celebration, but related to important everyday issues of the community²⁶³.

257 T.M. Ciołek, J. Olędzki, A. Zadrożyńska, *Wyrzeczysko czyli o świętowaniu w Polsce*, Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1976, pp. 191.

258 www.inowlodz.pl

259 J. Pośpiech, *Zwyczaje i obrzędy doroczne na Śląsku*, Opole: Instytut Śląski 1987, p. 251.

260 T. Smolińska, *Żniwniok opolski*, Opole: Związek Rolników Śląskich w Opolu 2009, p. 31-32.

261 *Ibid*, pp. 38

262 The colourful procession consisted of women wearing traditional stylone aprons and men wearing donkey jackets. This type of clothing was typical for villages in the 1970's and 1980's.

263 An observation made by the author, Municipal Harvest Home festival, Szczedrzyk (pov. opolski, opolskie voivodship) 2012.

Currently, much like other rituals, harvest home festivals have lost their religious character. Janina Hajduk-Nijakowska and Teresa Smolińska write, „The traditional ritual becomes a performance, a conventionalised spectacle in which certain tricks, gestures and clothes need to be used. (...) The symbolic nature of the primary ritual, which was to open up to transcendental matters, becomes a sign, conventionalised in structure. The ritual becomes a sequence of segments, which can be rearranged at will like theatrical performances”²⁶⁴. All participants are actors in the performance, and fulfil a certain role in the play. There is a stage, an audience and props²⁶⁵.

EXAMPLES OF COSTUMES AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The theatrical nature of the ritual demands that participants wear costumes. In the 1930's and 1940's these were traditional folk costumes worn by the villagers of Rejencja Opolska²⁶⁶; adequate representations of the Górný Śląsk traditional dress. Traditional dress is worn to highlight the nature of an event or ritual²⁶⁷. Therefore, the festive function of the costume was in this case more important than its other functions, including as an aesthetic statement, marker of regional belonging or class marker²⁶⁸. Early in the 20th century, male and female dress from Śląsk Opolski (Silesian Opole) underwent unification to become a costume – *ancuga*. There were many reasons for this: introduction of mass-produced fabrics into traditional dress manufacture; migration from rural to urban regions; or the mass industrialisation of Górný Śląsk²⁶⁹. The traditional costume of Opole transformed into the *ancug*, a set that consisted of a top and bottom. The top, called *jakla* (or *jupa*) was a type of jacket. The bottom part was a skirt, called *mazonka*, made of the same type of fabric as the skirt (usually wool, silk or velvet). The *jakla* is a flared jacket closed with a set of hooks and eyes hidden behind a row of decorative buttons. Both the decorative appliqués attached along the closure, and the lace sewn to the bottom of the jacket are machine-made. The skirt, *mazonka*, is usually made from a straight sheet of fabric, and is attached to a canvas bodice. The bottom of the skirt is finished with a mass produced, delicate brush in order to protect it from wear

264 J. Hajduk-Nijakowska, T. Smolińska, *Obecność kultury typu ludowego we współczesnej kulturze masowej*, in: T. Smolińska (ed.), *Między kulturą ludową a masową. Historia, terażniejszość perspektywy badań*, Kraków – Opole: Wydawnictwo <<scriptum>> Tomasz Sekunda 2012, pp. 176.

265 H. Mielicka, *Antropologia świąt i świętowania*, Kielce: Wydawnictwo Akademii Świętokrzyskiej 2006, pp. 151-152.

266 Śląsk Opolski (Opole Silesia) is located in the region of Górný Śląsk, a geographical area that took its historical shape between the 12th and 15th century. Following three vicious wars, in the 18th century Górný Śląsk was divided between Prussia and Austria, with Prussia receiving the majority of the area and Austria being awarded only its south-western part. The land that was awarded to Prussia received the name of silesian province. Between 1815 and 1820 it was divided into three regencies: legnicka, wrocławska and opolska. The latter consisted of 26 poviats. Seven of these were cities: Bytom, Gliwice, Katowice, Królewska Huta, Nysa, Opole, Racibórz, while further 19 were rural: bytomski, głubczycki, grodkowski, katowicki, kluczborski, kozielski, lubliniecki, niemodliński, nyski, oleski, opolski, prudnicki, pszczyński, raciborski, rybnicki, strzelecki, tarnogórski, toszecko-gliwicki i zbarski. Stanisław Wasilewski described Śląsk Opolski as a complete landscape „a stretch of land between St. Anna's Mountain, Opole, Toszek, Racibórz in the south-east; and the forests of Olesno, historical town of Byczyna and Kluczbork in the north”. Hence, Opolszczyzna is a border land between the farms of Dolny Śląsk and mining industries of Górný Śląsk. after: S. Wasilewski, *Na Śląsku Opolskim*, Katowice 1935, pp. 8.

267 P. Bogatyriew, *Semiotyka kultury ludowej*, Warsaw: PIW 1979, pp. 165.

268 *Ibid*, pp. 172-173.

269 B. Bazielić, *Śląskie stroje ludowe*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk 1988, pp. 69; Kantor R., *Ubiór, strój, kostium funkcje odzienia w tradycyjnej społeczności wiejskiej w XIX i na początku XX wieku na obszarze Polski*, Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1982, pp. 59-60.

and tear. The *ancug* was accessorised with an apron made of silk or velvet, and a headscarf, usually made of wool. Scarves were used as outerwear²⁷⁰.

According to researchers, the male version of the traditional costume started to become obsolete in the second half of the 20th century²⁷¹. It was gradually replaced by a wool suit, often dark blue or black, and consisting of a jacket, vest and trousers. Suits were made by tailors, and followed modern, elite trends.

After the Second World War, male and female traditional dress continued to disappear in the Opolszczyzna region, particularly after huge numbers of migrants and displaced persons moved to Śląsk (Silesia) from various other regions of Poland²⁷². Consequently, traditional dress was worn almost only by older generations of women, and only until the end of the 1990s.

In the 20th century, scientists have realised that culture has a tendency for unification and universalization. Waldemar Kuligowski writes: „There are no more natural participants in folk culture; no one inhabits this specific world, with its values and symbols. The space of folk culture was filled by the mythos of folk culture alive with multiple signs and relations that were not necessarily conscious. Folk identity today only functions as a trivialised marker of regional identification...”²⁷³. The author further points out that in contemporary times, the focus is rather on the pop-cultural, rather than spiritual nature of folk customs²⁷⁴. Traditional dress was supposed to underscore the special nature of certain moments. Certain folk celebrations, such as *żniwniok*, contain references to the folk-pop-culture.

There are many contemporary examples of revitalisation of the traditional dress of Opole. For instance, during a harvest home festival in 2007, women from Śmicz (prudnicki powiat, opolskie voivodship) wore folk jackets and skirts (*jakla* and *mazelonka*) made from the dark fabrics and based on traditional sewing patterns. They accessorised with velvet aprons and Turkish, or dark crocheted (*heklowane*) scarves. The women's heads were adorned by grain garlands. This was the only type of garland, or wreath, that a woman could wear once married. This was because garlands or wreaths used to symbolise virginity, and be worn exclusively by maids²⁷⁵. Nowadays, flower garlands are nothing more than decorative headgear associated with fields and meadows rather than maidenhood. On the other hand, the fact that garlands are considered merely decorative means that the opposition to older and married women wearing them comes from ethnographers familiar with their symbolism rather than society in general.

Many clothes worn during the harvest home festival are somewhere between traditional dress and contemporary pop-folk-culture. For instance, women from the Gamów parish (raciborski powiat, śląskie voivodship) wear white canvas blouses with puffed, elbow length sleeves, green flowery scarves and dark full skirts with satin aprons in the front. They wear flowery garlands on their heads. This type of traditional dress draws certain elements from the 19th century folk dress from Opole: the white blouse with puffy sleeves decorated with delicate lace, flowery scarf and satin apron. None of these elements, howe-

270 B. Bazieliuch, *Strój opolski [Traditional dress of Opole]*, „Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych”, vol. 38, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo PTL 2008, pp. 65.

271 *Ibid*, pp. 22.

272 For a broader discussion on the scale of migration see: E. Dworzak, M. Goc, *Pochodzenie terytorialne ludności napływowej i geografia powojennych osiedleń na wsi opolskiej. Zestawienie danych źródłowych z zachowanych rejestrów osiedlonych i protokołów przekazania gospodarstw*, „Opolski Rocznik Muzealny”, vol. 18: 2011, part 2, pp. 20+

273 W. Kuligowski, *Ludowa – masowa – popularna. Antropologiczne rozróżnienie typów kultury*, in: *Między kulturą ludową...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 151.

274 *Ibid*.

275 „wieniec” [wreath], in: P. Kowalski (ed.), *Kultura magiczna. Omen, przesąd, znaczenie*, Warsaw: PWN 2007, pp. 591.

ver, can be classified as traditional for the Opole folk dress because of their colour. The colours of the girls' costumes are a compilation of sorts, and chosen for their aesthetic value²⁷⁶.

Many women who participate in harvest home festivals design and sew their own costumes. Usually, they consist of the abovementioned white blouse with a prominent collar and puffy sleeves. The blouse does not, however, resemble the *kabotek*, the traditional blouse from the 19th century. The new and traditional designs differ both in terms of fabric and cut. A bodice or vest is usually worn over the white blouse. The bodice is not attached to the skirt, as it would have been in the *mazonka*, putting it outside the 19th, and even 20th century traditional dress canon. The bodice and blouse are paired with a skirt, usually made of the same fabric as the bodice. Full, flared skirts

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31. 1930's female folk dress from Opole. Katowice, owned by Teresa Smoleń



32. Regional Harvest Home Festival 2009, St. Anna's Mountain – Gamów parish Source: Archives of the Silesian Farmer Association in Opole

276 R. Kantor, *op. cit.*, pp. 106.

that create a feminine silhouette are the most popular. The front of the skirt is covered by an apron, usually in a contrasting colour. The apron is supposed to give the costume a certain rustic character. Contemporary costumes are sewn from mass produced fabrics in fabulous, even theatrical colours: bright green, maroon, and red. These colours had never been used in traditional folk dress.

Another category is folk clothing imported from Germany and sold in second-hand stores. The majority, in particular dresses, comes from alpine areas²⁷⁷. This can be seen in the cut of the bodice, characteristic silver buttons on the bodice, skirts made of *loden*, a woollen cloth worn in Bavaria, or summer skirts made of flower-printed cotton. Women who take part in processions likely wear this type of costume because of a wide-ranging stereotype that considers it a type of national costume. This phenomenon dates back to the period before World War II²⁷⁸. At the same time, wearing Bavarian traditional dress is a clear declaration of German national identity. A number of inhabitants of Śląsk Opolski (Silesian Opole) have indeed declared themselves German²⁷⁹.

Another frequent phenomenon in harvest home processions is costumes resembling the traditional dress from Cracow. As was the case with Bavarian traditional dress, the costume serves as a declaration of national identity. The traditional dress from Cracow is considered an assertion of Polish national identity. Undoubtedly, the costume from Cracow has a long tradition, and has been worn by the elites since the 19th century²⁸⁰.

INSTEAD OF AN ENDING

Clearly, the harvest home festival costumes described in this paper are not imitations of traditional dress from Opolszczyzna. In a way, this marks a new era. Women say that they look too sombre wearing the traditional dark costume, and its black colour ages the wearer. On the other hand, contemporary culture is self-shaping, and aesthetic factors are important in this process. Nevertheless, I have tried to show that even a costume can become a declaration of national identity. The ethnographer's task is to observe and register these cultural artefacts, both as photographs and interviews with the participants of the harvest home festivals. I believe that this article is merely a step toward further research on the character of folk dress and costume worn during harvest home festivals in Opolszczyzna in the 21st century.

277 B. Bazieliuch, *Stroje ludowe narodów europejskich, cz. III, Stroje ludowe Europy Północnej i Zachodniej*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1998, pp. 171.

278 *Loc. cit.*

279 Interview with Róża Zgorzelska – September 2012; see also: Nijakowski L. M., *Dyskursy o Śląsku. Kształtowanie śląskiej tożsamości regionalnej i narodowej w dyskursie publicznym*, Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego 2001, pp. 100-101.

280 See: A. Kowalska-Lewicka, *Ludowy strój krakowski – strojem narodowym*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” 1976. 30, No 2, pp. 67; Kamocki J., *Przyczyny rozpowszechniania się ubioru krakowskiego jako stroju narodowego*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” 1976: 30, No 2, pp.75+

RECONSTRUCTING THE TRADITIONAL DRESS OF ZAGŁĘBIE

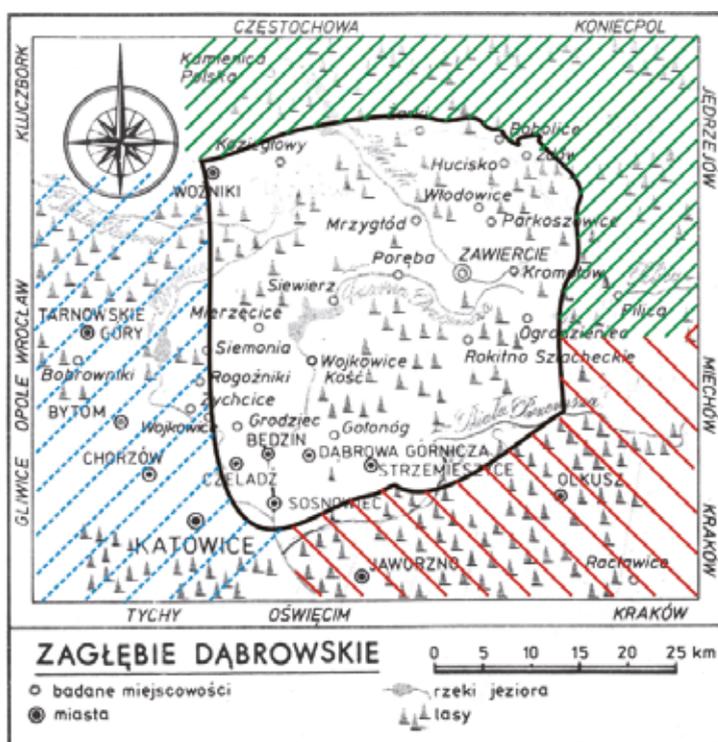
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Zagłębie Dąbrowskie is on the border between two well-defined regions of Małopolska (Lesser Poland) and Śląsk (Silesia). Thus, finding its own cultural sense of belonging and identity has been difficult for the region.

Zagłębie Dąbrowskie was a socio-economical region in the 19th century, but currently it is not considered distinct in the socio-economic or administrative sense. Nevertheless, some Zagłębie inhabitants maintain a sense of regional and historical identity, separating themselves from people who live outside the area.

The word „zagłębie” (basin) first appeared in common speech in the middle of the 19th century, introduced by Józef Patrycjusz Cieszkowski (1798 – 1867), who was the chief mine engineer in the government-owned mines of the Western Mining District. The name Zagłębie Dąbrowskie was first used in the 1880s, and became popularised by expert press and cartographic periodicals. The second part of the term comes from the name of Stara Dąbrowa, a town where coal had been discovered in the 18th century, launching the mining industry in the region. Stara Dąbrowa was also the location of the Western Mining District’s authorities’ headquarters. The town became home to many workers, and a large steel mill „Bankowa” was built and operated there. Stara Dąbrowa had subsequently been connected to the Vienna-Warsaw railway.



33. Map of Zagłębie Dąbrowskie

281 **Małgorzata Kurtyka**, ethnographer and choreography instructor; teacher; choreographer and head of the PKZ Gołowanie Song and Dance Ensemble in the Pałac Kultury Zagłębia in Dąbrowa Górnicza. Contact: m.kurtyka@wp.pl

There is still little agreement among historians as to the exact area of Zagłębie, and studies take into account both broader and narrower interpretations²⁸². Some attempts have been made to enlarge the territory of Zagłębie Dąbrowskie beyond the Brynica River by adding Bobrowniki and the surrounding area²⁸³. However, the river is usually treated as the western border of Zagłębie. Some research works use the term Zagłębie Dąbrowskie and Ziemia Będzińsko-Zawierciańska (or Ziemia Będzińsko-Siewierska) interchangeably. This is because the term “zagłębie” suggests that the land was industrial in character, while Ziemia Będzińsko-Zawierciańska (the Będzin-Zawiercie Region) is much more precise as a geographical description of the area between the Brynica River in the west; Biała Przemsza in the south-east; and Upper Białka and Upper Krztyna in the north-east²⁸⁴.

The development of Zagłębie Dąbrowskie followed a rather different path than that of its neighbour, Górny Śląsk. The western border of Zagłębie was to some extent a national border. Before the First World War, the inhabitants of the region had a distinctive identity – the Zagłębianie – „who were aware of the differences between themselves and the farming folk from the neighbouring lands in the east and south; as well as between themselves and the people living under Austrian occupation following the Partitions; but perhaps most visibly so between themselves and their neighbours from the west, who lived across the rivers Brynica and Czarna Przemsza: the Upper Silesians and Germans”²⁸⁵.

Zagłębie Dąbrowskie, often described as “ziemie kresowe” (the borderlands), enjoyed the status of a border region, with all the consequences of the fact. This had an influence not only on the history and politics of the region, but also the local culture, in particular the development of folklore, language, customs and rituals.

The language of Zagłębie Dąbrowskie is distinctive, probably due to the strong local opposition against the language of the neighbouring Silesia. On the other hand, the dialects of Małopolska have been an influence on the local language. Certain features of speech, for instance, can be used to identify whether the speaker comes from Zagłębie Dąbrowskie²⁸⁶.

THE TRADITIONAL DRESS OF ZAGŁĘBIE AND ITS RECONSTRUCTIONS.

Traditional dress from this area resembled rural clothing from Cracow, Małopolska and Śląsk. The standardisation of festive dress that could be observed in Zagłębie was due to other reasons: the economy.

I have undertaken the task of reconstructing the Zagłębie traditional dress as part of another project, the reconstruction of a wedding ceremony from Zagłębie that was to be staged as a theatre play.

282 See: M. Nita, *Zagłębie Dąbrowskie w historiografii. Pojęcie, źródła, stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, in: M. Barański (ed.), *Zagłębie Dąbrowskie. W poszukiwaniu tożsamości regionalnej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2001, pp. 66; J. Jaros, *Zasięg terytorialny Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, „Zaranie Śląskie” 1968, vol. 1, pp. 41-50.

283 B. Ciepela, *Zarys wiadomości o pochodzeniu nazw niektórych miejscowości Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego (Leksykon dla młodzieży szkolnej)*, Sosnowiec: Wydawnictwo „Progres” 2002, pp. 17.

284 J. Marcinkowa, K. Sobczyńska, W. Byszewski: *Folklor Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, Warsaw 1983, pp. 5- 6.

285 M. Nita, *op. cit.*, pp. 57.

286 See: A. Skudrzykowska, *Język – istotny składnik regionalnej tożsamości*, in: M. Barański (ed.), *Zagłębie Dąbrowskie. W poszukiwaniu tożsamości regionalnej*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2001, pp. 303-314; M. Pastuchowa, A. Skudrzykowska, *Polszczyzna Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, Katowice: Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna w Katowicach 1994; M. Pastuch, *Plusy i minusy językowej odrębności. Refleksje na temat „gwary zagłębiowskiej”*, in: M. Kisiel, P. Majerski (ed.), *Mozaika kultur. Materiały IV Sesji Zagłębiowskiej. Sosnowiec, 1 grudnia 2005 roku*, Sosnowiec: Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna im. Gustawa Daniłowskiego 2006, pp. 61-70.

The play premiered in October 2006. In 2005, in search for materials and information, I have interviewed the inhabitants of many towns and villages from the Zagłębie region. These included: Błędów, Kuźniczka Nowa, Łęka, Łosień, Okradzionów, Rudy, Tucznowa and Ujejsce, as well as Dąbrowa Górnicza. It should be noted that these used to be separate municipalities that, following the administrative reforms of the 1970s, had been incorporated into Dąbrowa Górnicza.

I have mainly spoken with older residents, most of whom were over 60. They belonged to the Farmers' Wives Associations; many of them active participants in the local cultural life. Their knowledge dated back to their childhood and early youth, when they witnessed and participated in traditional wedding rituals. The last traditional Zagłębie wedding ceremony took place just after the end of the Second World War. Afterwards, weddings took a different form, with many new and foreign elements and customs.

I based my search for traditional clothes and patterns on the museum collection gathered by a museum devoted to the region, Muzeum Zagłębia in Będzin²⁸⁷ as well as some academic sources. As the play was in its preparation stages, the museum collections offered the following elements of traditional dress: (1) thin skirt made of wool and decorated with ribbons on the bottom, 75 cm long; (2) "szalinówka", a woollen headscarf from Ujejsce decorated with flowers embroidered with silk thread using the satin stitch technique, and decorated with hand-tied olive-green silk tassels; (3) everyday skirt dyed navy blue and decorated with a flowery print; (4) a corset or bodice from Strzemieszyce Małe dated 1910, made of white linen hand embroidered in a colourful flower pattern, laced in front and worn over a blouse; (5) apron made of thin white linen cloth, striped or printed and decorated with three blue trimmings; the top of the apron is sewn into the lining; two loops at the back of the apron can be tied to make a large bow; (6) modern decorative crocheted collar, from the collection of the museum in Bytom; navy blue skirt made of thin woollen fabric.

Male dress had been reconstructed using descriptions and cut samples from written sources. The literature²⁸⁸ available on the topic and the research conducted by the author paint a comprehensive picture of the Zagłębie traditional dress. Three types of dress have influenced festive dress in the Zagłębie Dąbrowskie area: traditional dress from Mazowsze, Śląsk and Siewierz (siewiersko – będziński area). Influences from Małopolska have been a key factor. Which type of dress was prevalent in a given area of Zagłębie depended on its location, in particular the proximity to neighbouring regions. The traditional dress typical of Mazowsze was popular near Częstochowa, Kozięgłowy, Żarek and Niegowa. *Wielniak* was the most common clothing item. Rozbarsko-bytomski traditional dress, a type of festive dress from Silesia, could be encountered in the vicinity of Niezdara, Sączów, Bobrowniki Będzińskie, Żychcice, Woj-

287 Information from written sources was consulted with, and expanded through conversations with Dobrawa Skonieczna-Gawlik, ethnographer working in the Muzeum Zagłębia in Będzin. The author also photographed and documented parts of the museum exhibition.

288 See: M. Federowski, *Lud okolic Żarek, Siewierza i Pilicy, jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, obrzędy, podania, gusła, zabobony, pieśni, zabawy, przysłowia, zagadki i właściwości mowy, vol. 1 – 2*, „Wisła” library, Księgarnia M. Arcta, Warsaw 1888 – 1889; reprinted in: L. Szaraniec (ed.), *Ziemia Śląska*, Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie 1988, vol. 1, pp. 111-113; B. Bazielić, *Ludowe stroje siewiersko-będzińskie*, in: *Strój zagłębiowski (exhibition catalogue)*, Będzin 1971; B. Bazielić, *Odzież i strój ludowy w Polsce*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 2000; B. Bazielić, *Śląskie stroje ludowe*, Series: Tradycje kultury ludowej w województwie katowickim, Chorzów: Wydawnictwo Skansenu Chorzów 1997; J. Marcinkowa, K. Sobczyńska, W. Byszewski, *Folklor Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego*, Warsaw: Centralny Ośrodek Metodyki Upowszechniania Kultury 1983, pp. 10-15.

kowice and Dobieszowice. For cultural, historical and territorial reasons this type of dress had also been called siewiersko-będziński. It was worn in the area delineated by Biała Przemsza, the Błędowska Desert and the line connecting Pilica with Bliżyce and Nowa Wieś.

SIEWIERSKO – BĘDZIŃSKI DRESS

The type of traditional dress known as siewiersko-będziński, or simply będziński, was the most widely used, although it had ceased to be worn regularly quite a long time ago. The reconstructions are based on the traditional dress from the 19th and 20th century. Many elements of the dress resemble the traditional dress of the Małopolska region. The cloth and canvas used to make this type of festive dress had natural colours, mostly white, off-white, grey, black or brown. Sometimes, the cloth was dyed turquoise, navy blue, dark green or burgundy. Linen was sometimes decorated with delicate flowery print.

The female dress consisted of: bonnet, headscarf, blouse with long sleeves, petticoat, bodice, skirt, apron, waistcoat, jacket, stockings, booties, decorative collar, bead necklace, and a large shoulder scarf. The bonnet was made of white linen, often decorated with lace on netting; in the front it was decorated with pleated ribbon and lace. The bonnet could be tied in front using two broad ribbons to form a bow, or in the back creating an elaborate bouquet knot. Married women covered their bonnets with dark headscarves.

The male dress consisted of: a shirt, trousers, waistcoat, *gunia* (a type of short coat), jacket, hat, shoes and male scarf. The shirt was white and cut like a poncho, with long cuffed sleeves and a stand-up collar. A red ribbon or silk scarf was tied around the neck. Everyday trousers were made of cloth, either white or



34. Male and female siewiersko-będziński dress, photo G. Drygała 2012



35. Siewiersko-będziński dress: a maiden and a bachelor, photo G. Drygała 2012

dyed a dark colour, while festive trousers were made of wool. Trousers were tucked inside boots. The broadcloth waistcoat was dark blue or black and had a turndown collar. The outerwear consisted of the *gunia*, a long-sleeve button-down coat with a turndown collar made of rough white canvas. The garment was tied at the waist with a belt made of leather or red rope. Men wore felt hats with wide brims, which were exchanged to straw hats in the summer. In the winter, men wore shearling coats and sheepskin.

MAZOWSZE-TYPE DRESS

A characteristic element of the female Mazowsze-type dress was *wetniak*, a colourful striped homespun cloth. This term was also used for a striped woollen dress, consisting of a bodice with a plunging neckline, and a midi skirt. The dress was worn over a simple, long-sleeved shirt with a stand-up collar; the sleeves were attached to the body of the shirt with rectangular pieces of canvas known as *przyramki*. A linen petticoat was worn under the dress. Striped woollen scarves could be worn as aprons in the front, or as headscarves.

Married women wore small, linen bonnets tied in the back with a ribbon. At the front of the bonnet was a narrow stripe of delicately pleated material. The bonnet was covered with a red scarf called *szalenka* (or *szalonka*). The scarf was made of delicate wool fabric printed in a green or brown flowery pattern and tied at the back of the head so that the edge of the pleats remained visible. Girls and women covered their heads with scarves, and tied them with a big knot above the forehead.

Men wore white linen shirts with cuffed sleeves, trousers that were either white or dyed a dark colour, a long-sleeve jacket and a dark blue or brown russet coat with two pleats at the back.



36. Male and female Mazowsze-type dress, photo G. Drygała 2012



37. Mazowsze-type dress: a maiden and a bachelor, photo G. Drygała 2012

Bearing in mind that Zagłębie is a borderland, and the influence of many dress elements from the neighbouring regions on the traditional dress worn in the area, when preparing costumes for the theatre play we assumed that the bride is from Będzin, in the vicinity of Dąbrowa Górnicza while the groom is from Kozięgłowy, in the vicinity of Częstochowa. Therefore, costumes in the play are a mix of the siewierski and mazowiecki dress traditions. Some guests are from the neighbouring region of Małopolska (Lesser Poland), therefore some costumes resemble folk dress from Cracow. The screenplay specifies the costume of each of the characters in detail.

All costumes that had been used in the play had been made entirely anew. Although most materials and fabrics were mass-produced, the striped woollen cloth used for the female dress from Mazowsze had been made by a manufacturer of traditional woven fabrics, the Tkactwo Rękodzieło Artystyczne Jolanta Jagoda company from Zduny (Łowicz municipality). Elements of the Zagłębie traditional dress had been manufactured by Perfect, a company from Cracow, while flower garlands and traditional dress from Cracow had been made by the Stanisław Wyspiański Traditional Folk and Artistic Handicraft Products' Worker Cooperative in Cracow. It is worth noting that there is on-going cooperation between ethnographers and the abovementioned producers of traditional dress elements.

The reconstruction of the Zagłębie traditional dress was a challenging task, mostly due to the lack of an ideal model, scarcity of images and written resources, and the authentic dress being unavailable. I had not been able to get access to original folk clothing, so I relied on the resources of the Będzin museum. Unfortunately, the museum collection does not contain any examples of complete traditional dress but rather elements and accessories, which are frequently one-of-a-kind.

Participants in my interviews described the traditional dress of the region on the basis of their memories regarding the clothes worn by their ancestors. Although they haven't worn the Zagłębie traditional dress themselves, they are familiar with the garments because they have seen their grandparents wear them. According to the respondents, traditional dress had been worn prior to the Second World War, and fell into disuse shortly after its end. I have interviewed the respondents about the elements of the Zagłębie traditional dress in significant detail, while demonstrating the item in question. Nevertheless, the reconstructed dress cannot be taken to reflect all the changes the original underwent in the space of nearly a century.

I have also used written resources: the works of Stanisław Ciszewski, Michał Fedorowski, and Oskar Kolberg, as well as the modest amount of publications on the topic, in particular Barbara Bazieli-ch's work on the traditional dress of Zagłębie²⁸⁹.

The assumption underlying my reconstruction efforts was to use the knowledge, resources and materials that are available at this point in time and space. Hence, the reconstructed dress does not pretend to be a perfect representation, or broad standard for the region. This would have been impossible for one other reason, namely because at least three types of traditional dress could be found in the Zagłębie region: the śląski type, the mazowiecki type and the będzińsko-siewierski type of folk dress. Having this in mind, and with deep regard for the existing sources as well as the opinions of my collaborators: the respondents and ethnographers, I have prepared a series of models of the costumes that also contained detailed guidelines regarding their production. I have had many doubts, and had to make difficult choices. For instance, a corset in the museum might have been white while my sources indicated that it was also worn in other colours.

289 See: B. Bazieli-ch, *Strój zagłębiowski*, Będzin: Muzeum Zagłębia w Będzinie 1971.

SUMMARY

When discussing the Zagłębie area, two factors that had influenced its operation and development need to be taken into account: the situation in the border lands, and the tumultuous economic, social and cultural changes at the turn of the 19th century caused by the industrialisation of this thoroughly rural region. Several regions have influenced Zagłębie; in particular western Małopolska (Lesser Poland), as well as the regions of Mazowsze and, to a lesser extent, Śląsk. These influences have mixed in Zagłębie, which had become a cultural melting pot. The industrialisation of the region caused deep cultural changes, and interrupted the continuity of local tradition. Reconstructing the traditional dress faced many challenges, most notably the scarcity of museum collections and the long-term absence of the dress. More research is needed to develop an accurate copy of the traditional dress of Zagłębie; including broader studies of source materials using a wide array of research methods and means, field research, detailed library queries and thorough investigation of available regional collections.

TRADITIONAL COSTUME OF DOLNY ŚLĄSK (LOWER SILESIA). TRADITION VS. MODERNITY.

INTRODUCTION

Dolny Śląsk (Lower Silesia) may be called the “region of regions”, a term that refers to its tumultuous history and the changes that occurred after 1945 when an almost complete exchange of population occurred in the region. Since that time, Dolny Śląsk has faced many challenges related to the adaptation and integration of the new settlers. Even today, the folk dress and its name are a subject of some dispute. Should it be called the dolnośląskie dress or, taking into account the heterogeneous culture of the area, the term traditional dress from Dolny Śląsk would be more appropriate?

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TRADITIONAL DRESS OF DOLNY ŚLĄSK PRIOR TO 1939

The notion of “traditional dolnośląskie dress”²⁹¹ is intertwined with the period before the territorial changes in Europe that took place after the Second World War. In its richest variety, this type of dress (or rather types, as there had been more than one) was used from the end of the 18th century until mid 19th century. They gradually fell out of use after that, starting from the lowlands and only some elements of the dress remained in use in the 20th century. The region where the dress was in use the longest was Karkonosze.

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291 The variety of folk dress is mainly visible in female costumes, which were often made of precious fabrics and cut to resemble the contemporary court and city fashions. The most characteristic elements of this style are ornamental bonnets and so-called *spencers*, coats fitted at the waist with puffed quilted sleeves and large collars made of wool, cotton or silk, both printed and in solid colours. Depending on the region, women wore white linen aprons and elaborately embroidered scarves, aprons made of striped silk or damask printed in a flowery pattern. The skirts were broad and made of a variety of fabrics: wool, silk, or moire, solid or patterned (plaid, flowers). Bodices made of wool, velvet, and brocade were worn over linen short-sleeved shirts. Black shoes were worn over white or red stockings. Male dress was less colourful, and fell out of use earlier. They consisted of the following elements: white linen shirt, often worn with a silk scarf under the collar, long or knee-length trousers made of leather (suede) or wool, short waistcoat, often decorative and made of silk; white stockings and shoes or boots. *Rogatywka*, a type of peaked cap was a common type of male headgear, although felt hats and cylinders were worn on holidays. A coat made of broadcloth or a spencer were common types of outerwear. A detailed description can be found in the literature, e.g.: B. Bazielić, *Śląskie stroje ludowe*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 1988; B. Bazielić, *Tradycyjne stroje dolnośląskie*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1993; M. Rostworowska, *Śląski strój ludowy*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Narodowego we Wrocławiu 2001; T. Seweryn, *Strój dolno-śląski (Pogórze)*, „Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, part III, issue 9, Lublin: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1950

Even then, first attempts at reconstruction had been made. One less successful example comes from Zachłemie (jeleniogórski powiat) where an association for the protection of cultural heritage had been born around 1914. The inhabitants of the village who were members of the association decided to create their own model of traditional dress based on the existing patterns. Unfortunately, their search for inspiration was not limited to local traditions but extended to Bavarian and Czech folk dress, among others. Therefore, rich cross stitch patterns, animal motifs and manufacturers' guild symbols have found their way into the ornamentation. The main principles behind the creation of the dress were functionality (the dress was supposed to be suitable for sports and hiking), production from widely available fabrics and reference to contemporary fashion²⁹².

102 The idea of reconstructing the traditional dress further developed during the interwar period, mainly in the highland areas of Dolny Śląsk. Groups were established to bring back traditional dress and organise festivities when they could be showcased. Szklarska Poręba was where this phenomenon took place on the largest scale. The traditional dress of Karkonosze, considered one of the most beautiful varieties of German folk dress, had been worn in that region. Folk dress festivals celebrating traditional dress, the so-called *Trachtenfeste* or *Trachtenhochzeiten*, were organised there annually. Elements of original traditional dress were displayed together with modern iterations, which became costumes and markers of local identity. Accurate re-enactments of a wedding ceremony that originally took place almost one hundred years prior, in 1839, and had been an important event in the Dolny Śląsk social calendar due to the social standing of the bride and groom's families, were regularly attempted during these folk festivals. The main organiser was a group called Schreiberhauer Trachtenleute (folk dress people from Szklarska Poręba), but the inhabitants of other towns and villages, and even of the remote areas of the Third Reich



38. A group of people wearing the traditional dress of Dolny Śląsk, Szklarska Poręba 1928 r. Source: Photographic archives of

292 B. Wilm, *Die Wiederbelebung und Weiterbildung schlesischer Tracht in Saalberg im Riesengebirge*, Jelenia Góra 1915 (?). The article contains a detailed description of the elements of the new male and female dress, as well as its photographs.

participated as well. The photographic archives of the Ethnographic Museum in Wrocław contain a collection of images documenting these events that could be used as source material for research on the folk dress of Dolny Śląsk²⁹³. (Fig.1)

TRADITIONAL DRESS OF DISPLACED PERSONS AFTER 1945

After the end of the Second World War, dramatic socio-political changes forced the inhabitants of Dolny Śląsk to leave what was then their homeland. Settlers from many other areas of pre-war Poland came to live there instead. A broad variety of traditional dress types have arrived along with the settlers, representing the regions from which they had been brought: Polesie, Volyn, lwowskie, tarnopolskie, stanisławowskie, łowickie, opoczyńskie, Lubelszczyzna, rzeszowskie, krakowskie, Górny Śląsk, Podhale, Lemkivshchyna, Romanian Bukovina and Bosnia. Traditional dress was worn sporadically, and mainly in those villages where the inhabitants represented a particular region, or even relocated from one village. Traditional folk dress quickly fell out of use as a marker of origin, where distinctiveness was often found uncomfortable in communities as diverse as this one and might have led to bullying or ridicule. The gradual disappearance of traditional dress was also related to the pressure from the national authorities to create the appearance of a uniform society returning to, as they were then called, “recovered western territories”. This society was supposed to identify with its new homeland, Dolny Śląsk. Nevertheless, certain elements of traditional dress remained for various reasons: some found it difficult to part with them as souvenirs, some wanted to give them to their daughters and granddaughters, older women kept them to wear to their own funeral, and others were sent to museums and regional chambers²⁹⁴.

For many years, people refrained from identifying which group of settlers they originated from. It took some time for them not only to stop feeling embarrassed about their regional origins, but also start searching for their family roots. Elements of traditional dress found their use in folk band costumes. At times, the treasured memories of the dress served as inspiration for new costumes. A partial renaissance of folk dress for entertainment purposes was brought by the “Kolorowe Wsie” (Colourful Villages) Tournament of Municipalities, which has been organised in Dolny Śląsk since 1973. In 1982 the name changed to „Dni Folkloru i Sztuki Ludowej – Kolorowe Wsie” (Folklore and Folk Art Days - Colourful Villages). During the tournament, members of folk bands wore traditional costumes, some of which were original, although most consisted of random collections of items from different regions. Even then, a certain uniformisation could be seen in the band costumes in that many of the costumes would be described today as “common clothing”²⁹⁵. However, it was only after the political changes at the end of the 20th century when

293 E. Berendt, M. Michalska, *Geschichte und Geschichten. Interpretationsweisen von alten niederschlesischen Fotoaufnahmen*, in: E. Fendl, W. Mezger, M. Prosser-Schell, Hans-Werner Retterath, T. Volk (eds.), *Jahrbuch für deutsche und osteuropäische Volkskunde*, Bd 52: 2011, pp. 115-122. The article contains a detailed description of a 1839 wedding ceremony and an analysis of photographs documenting folk dress festivals in different years (the collection includes, for example, the agenda of a 1927 folk dress festival).

294 M. Rostworowska, *Nowi osadnicy*, in: Z. Kłodnicki (ed.), *Dziedzictwo kulturowe Dolnego Śląska*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1996, pp. 282-283.

295 B. Perczyńska, *Ruch amatorski na wsi woj. wrocławskiego i Turniej Gmin „Kolorowe Wsie”*, in: E. Pietraszek (ed.), *Wieś dolnośląska. Studia etnograficzne*, „Prace i materiały etnograficzne”, vol. XXIX, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1989, pp. 129.

the spotlight was back on showcasing the cultural diversity of the inhabitants of Dolny Śląsk, which was valuable precisely due to their diverse origins and backgrounds.

DOLNY ŚLĄSK TRADITIONAL FESTIVALS 2008–2012

Since 2008, the Marshall's Office of the Dolnośląskie Region has organised the Dolny Śląsk Traditional Festival. Among performers are folk bands based on a variety of settler traditions but also rooted in their contemporary identity, or their small homeland. The entertainers, including many laureates and participants in the Radio Wrocław's Folk Hit List, perform at the Wrocław Opera. Approximately thirty bands from across Dolny Śląsk perform every year. The costumes worn by band members in the five editions of the festival between 2008 and 2012 were very diverse. An analysis of a sample of several dozen costumes shows that they belong to one of three groups, depending on the tendencies in contemporary folk dress, or rather folk dress as stage costume.

The first group consists of folk bands that insist on wearing pre-war costumes, which in general meant 19th century German traditional dress from Dolny Śląsk. These bands include: Dolnoślązacy, Malwy, Porębiok, Warzęgowianie, Kulinianie and Wrocław. Unfortunately, the attempts to reconstruct pre-war costumes are rarely successful, for several reasons. First, the costumes are frequently made to order by specialised companies. These companies usually have a single template for each costume (based on the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume), which naturally means that the costumes cease to be diverse. This is especially visible when more folk bands likely purchase their costumes from the same retailer, and become nearly indistinguishable from one another on stage (e.g. such folk bands as Zachęta, Zawadiacy). Furthermore, the costumes are made of relatively inexpensive fabrics. The decorations on particular items are an issue: embroideries as elaborate as those that decorated the aprons, headscarves and bonnets of the past are currently almost impossible to find. This is naturally due to the high production cost of such an elaborate costume. Many bands, especially small local ones, simply cannot afford to order accurate



39. xx



40. xxx

reproductions of traditional dress. Thus, they wear the traditional dress of Dolny Śląsk in its simplified, popular variety, which is merely a poor substitute of the original. (Fig.2)

The second group is folk bands who use costumes that could be considered both regional and diverse. Here, the most frequently found is the Cracow traditional dress usually worn by children (such folk bands as: Bystrzyca, Jaczowiacy, Swojacy, Poloneziaki, Jedliniok). Folk bands from this group also wear the traditional dress from Rzeszów (the Bystrzyca, Kędziołeczki, Kostrzynie folk bands); highlanders' costumes (the folk bands Janicki, Kalina); the traditional dress of the Lemkos (the Roztoka and Kyczera folk bands) and Boykos (the Polanki folk band); the traditional dress from Romanian Bukovina (the Pojana folk band), Górny Śląsk (the Sycowiacy folk band), Łowicz (the Wrocław folk band), and Krzczonów (the



41. The *Rozmaryn* folk band, 5th Dolny Śląsk traditional festival in Wrocław photo D. Jasnowska 2012



42. The *Radzowiczanki* folk band, 3rd Dolny Śląsk traditional festival in Wrocław, photo D. Jasnowska 2010

Górzanie and Kwiatuszki Lnu). The costumes in this group are more accurate and diverse representations of folk dress. They may be considered representative of a common trend known from the performances of large song and dance ensembles (such folk bands were also present at the Festival, for example the Wrocław, and the Jedlinok folk band). The members of these groups often come from differing regional backgrounds and traditions while wanting to perform as a group in relatively unified costumes. As a result, they tend to wear traditional dress varieties that are not at all representative of the members' origin. The only groups who wear costumes referring to the traditional dress from the regions of their origin consist of displaced persons from Lemkivshchyna, Romanian Bukovina and Podhale. This is due to their deep sense of belonging to a single group of settlers. (Fig.3)

The third and largest group consists of folk bands whose costumes are difficult to classify into any single regional variety of traditional dress. Here, it is best to use the terms folk outfit, or pseudo-folk dress. Although such costumes include the basic elements of traditional dress, such as a blouse, skirt, apron, bodice, beads and a scarf for women, and shirt, trousers, waistcoat, coots and a hat for men, the outfits are uniform and arbitrary. Some folk bands (such as Czernianki, and Waliszowianie) attempt to diversify their costumes by using a variety of fabrics, cuts and decorations such as embroidery. Nevertheless, the costume is a kind of uniform without any particular reference to the band members' place of origin (such folk bands: *Małwy*, *Lasowianie*, *Listek Koniczyny*, *Ziemia Ścinawska*, *Żeliszowianki*, *Kędziołeczka*, *Gościszowianki*, *Rozmaryn*, *Ocice*, *Zgoda*, *Serbowiaczy*, *Cicha Woda*, *Niezapominajka*). Some costumes contain decorative references to the band name, for instance a certain type of flower. The name of the folk band *Polne Maki* refers to the common poppy, a flower that is embroidered on the costume. Much more rarely, folk band costumes are a representation of general everyday rural clothing rather than festive traditional dress. Such costumes are made of simple fabrics and modestly decorated (*Podgórzanie*). Unfortunately, such interpretations of traditional rural dress contain the biggest numbers of mistakes, including aprons that are too short (the *Słowiki* folk band), or made of inexpensive tulle netting; blouses with elaborate ruffled collars and lace (the *Karkonosze* folk band); flower wreaths worn by older women (the *Radzowiczanki* folk band); wearing rare types of headscarves; or making the costume in monochromatic colours. The colour red seems

to be especially beloved, making it difficult to distinguish between members of different bands (Cisowianki, Smolniczanie, Uśmiech, Zorza, Borowianki, Wiolinek). As the abovementioned costumes are usually manufactured by small, amateur ensembles that frequently find themselves in financial difficulties it is hardly surprising that the results of their efforts are as described. (Fig.4, 5, 6)

DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH ON THE DOLNY ŚLĄSK TRADITIONAL DRESS – SUGGESTIONS.

In Dolny Śląsk, traditional dress has long lost its basic, traditional function and meaning. It has become a costume used by a variety of folk ensembles of different sizes for performances during a variety of local and religious festivities and for promoting their regions. At times these costumes reflect their original counterparts, but usually they should be considered (fairly inaccurate) reconstructions, stylised outfits or outfits inspired by the original. Sometimes, folk bands approach ethnographers and ethnologists with questions regarding the type of traditional dress they ought to be wearing. Younger generations of band members want to identify themselves with the Dolny Śląsk they consider their own, rather than think of it as the land of their parents or grandparents. The contemporary inhabitants of Dolny Śląsk search for this sense of identity, which causes many problems for the traditional dress reconstruction efforts. This situation gives rise to a number of open questions stated below.

1. Should the young inhabitants of Dolny Śląsk reactivate and cultivate traditions that they find completely foreign at times, which are related to the German inhabitants who lived in the area prior to 1945? The only justified use of the former Dolny Śląsk folk costume seems to be in performances of folk bands active within the German Socio-Cultural Society in Wrocław. This body was established in 1957, and remains active today by promoting the culture of the German minority living in Dolny Śląsk that cultivates pre-war customs and traditions. One of such bands is Heimatsänger, although the costumes worn by its members, while they are similar to the regional dress from Karkonosze, remain far from the rich and diverse original²⁹⁶.

2. Is it perhaps better to rely on family roots, and choose costumes that are connected to the origin and traditions of band members? Perhaps the words of one band member who approached the Ethnographic Museum in Wrocław with regard to consultations on the creation of Dolny Śląsk regional costume will prove informative. After they viewed the items in the exhibition, heard some suggestions, talked about the band members' places of origins, and discussed whether the band members are certain they want to recreate a type of dress that has little to do with their origins or traditions, one of the women said: "well, if my grandmother from Lviv heard that her granddaughter intends to wear a German costume she would be turning in her grave". On the other hand, Regina Januszkiewicz who is a member of the Malwy folk band that performs in the Dolny Śląsk traditional dress recreated on the basis of the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume remarked: "We already love the costume very much. It took us a lot of effort. And we feel hurt when the ethnographer yells at us that we have spent this effort and money on German uniforms"²⁹⁷. Such words should, perhaps, lead us towards deeper insight and making better choices.

296 E. Berendt, *Dolny Śląsk. Tożsamość w konfrontacji z historyczną zmiennością*, in: E. Berendt, H. Dumin (ed.), *Mom jo skarb... Dolnośląskie tradycje w procesie przemian*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Muzeum Narodowego we Wrocławiu 2009, pp. 88.

297 N. Gańko – Laska, *Ubiór zdoła Dolnoślązaka*, „Polityka”, No 34: 2010, pp. 81.

3. Would it, perhaps, be best to create a new, stylised traditional outfit belonging to a particular region and retaining the traditional elements, cut and form of festive folk dress? Such ideas have circulated, for example, in Kamienna Góra and Karpacz. In 2007, the Foundation for the Development of the Kamienna Góra region „Kwiat Lnu”²⁹⁸ (the name of which can be translated as “Flower of Flax”) launched a competition for the linen traditional dress of the Kamienna Góra region. The aim was to design male and female regional outfits that would be made primarily from linen and linen fabrics, with decorations from natural fibres bearing in mind that the cut should be based on the traditional folk dress from Dolny Śląsk (which was, in itself, a contradiction due to the fabrics used in the originals). Most of the five entries submitted to the competition did not comply with the requirements. They were typical designs of pre-war traditional dress from Dolny Śląsk that failed to include the required amount of linen fabric. First place was awarded to a stylised outfit made entirely out of linen and decorated with an ornamental flax flower motif. The winning outfit had been made in several copies owned by the Foundation and loaned to those folk bands that promote the traditions of the region through their performances. In 2010 in Karpacz, on the other hand, visual artist Janusz Motylski designed the new traditional dress for the region for the local authorities and the regional tourist industry²⁹⁹. The new traditional dress was to be a marker of new identity for those inhabitants who were born and live in Karpacz and no longer identify as Zabuzanie. The dress was to include such elements as: a green skirt (either long or short), listing, jacket with a stand up collar, and a hat with earflaps that could be tied under the chin (because of strong winds). The outfit was decorated with embroidery of gentian, a characteristic flower seen in the Karkonosze Mountains.

4. Finally, are simple rural clothes that bear no reference to any particular region a better choice? To make this decision, however, would go against the principles of folk performance, which is to present a festive, colourful and ornamental look; it would also disagree with the notion of the importance of individual regional identity.

All these questions are manifestation of the tendencies observed among the performers in the Dolny Śląsk Traditional Festival. Certainly, traditional dress should not become unified, as seems to be the current unfortunate trend. This relates both to the cost of production of a richly decorated, diverse set of costumes and a certain aesthetic sensitivity.

SUMMARY

The regional dress of Dolny Śląsk is an issue difficult to resolve. It is clear that the question, which traditional dress variety, to wear as costume will remain relevant to folk bands in the region. It seems unlikely that a single version of regional dress (or stage costume) will be agreed upon, but perhaps it is no longer necessary to do so. For researchers, the focus should be to observe this phenomenon and demonstrate the possibilities of traditional dress to those who are unfamiliar with the topic rather than influence the phenomenon through judgemental comments and suggestions.

298 Currently: Association Local Action Group „Kwiat Lnu” in Lubawka

299 N. Gańko – Laska, *op.cit.*, pp. 79, 81.

TRADITIONAL DRESS OR FOLK BAND STAGE COSTUME?
WILAMOWICE TRADITIONAL DRESS IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES.

INTRODUCTION

Wilamowice is a town located in the region called Podgórze Wilamowickie, between Oświęcim and Bielsko-Biała. In the 13th century, a group of settlers came to the area from Western Europe, although their specific origins remain unknown. Most likely, they came from what is today known as Germany and the Netherlands. The settlers, Wilamowianie³⁰¹, brought their own language and culture to the region. They were farmers, weavers and merchants, distributing and selling their fabrics across Europe. Their wealth increased thanks to successful trade and in 1808 they bought themselves out of serfdom. Ten years later, Wilamowice received town privileges. To this day, the inhabitants of Wilamowice have retained a sense of separate identity. According to oral tradition, they consider themselves descendants of the Flemings. Until the 1940s, they have used the wilamowski dialect, and women wore traditional dress characteristic only of their own cultural group. The situation changed after the Second World War. On Easter 1945, the local priest was ordered to read an announcement that ended in the following statement: „Due to the fact that the Wilamowianie have always presented themselves as Poles, in order to lose the separateness once and for all, and speed up the process of complete assimilation as of today it is forbidden to speak the wilamowski dialect in families and in private conversations; wearing the Wilamowice traditional dress is also prohibited. Those who fail to observe this ban will be held liable. It is high time to end all separation, which has had such disastrous consequences”³⁰². The priest also added that it was “a funeral of the Wilamowice dress and dialect”. From that moment onwards, women wearing traditional dress in were publicly stripped and flogged. This is often confirmed by the respondents: „My mother was stripped, she had to go back home from the church wearing just her undershirt. There was a servant girl and one communist beat her and

300 Tymoteusz Król (born in 1993), student of ethnography and german philology within the MISH programme at the Jagiellonian University; conducted research on the culture and language of Wilamowice. Awarded 1st prize in the Polish edition of the EU Young Scientist Competition for his work on the Wilamowice mourning and funeral dress. Collector of Wilamowski traditional dress (his collection consists of approx. 1000 items). Contact: wymysojer@gmail.com

301 Most works on the topic, including the present article, use the words „Wilamowianka”, „Wilamowianin”, and „Wilamowianie” to denote a woman, man and people from Wilamowice, respectively. These words stand for an ethnic minority rather than merely the inhabitant(s) of the town, hence they are capitalised in Polish and English.

302 A written copy of this announcement can be found in a private collection.

stripped her of her clothes, threw them onto the ground and stomped on them. How was she supposed to go if she did not have anything else to wear?; I was dressed, because I was a fashionable girl. So when everything left and just our [Polish] communists remained they stood there and I went to church in my Wilamowice clothes. I had to run because they wanted to get me and strip me so I went back home and changed into ordinary clothes”³⁰³. It is no surprise that the dress fell rapidly out of use after the war. According to Helena Bibowa (born in 1922), women who had no other clothes and wanted to blend in wore dresses previously used only during Lent, or everyday clothes, jackets, and dresses called “kartonowe” because of the printed cotton fabric they were made of. They ceased to wear festive dress and striped stockings completely, as they were considered the most typical of Wilamowice dress, and made the wearer conspicuous. The use of married women’s headgear, such as bonnets, kerchiefs and *związka* was also restricted and ordinary “Polish” scarves were worn instead.

In 1948, the “Wilamowice” Regional Folk Band had been established. Its founder, Jadwiga Stanecka, attempted to reconstruct traditional male dress, although the resulting set had little to do with the clothes worn in 19th century Wilamowice. She also composed a variety of Wilamowice dances and melodies. The folk band exists to this day, and has performed during multiple festivals in Poland and abroad. Cepelia took patronage over the band, as it was interested in the mass production of the characteristic striped and plaid fabrics from Wilamowice. Another ensemble was established in 1987: the „Fil-Wilamowice” Regional Folk Band.

The traditional dress of Wilamowice fell out of use in the 1950s. Its history after that point is inextricably linked with the costumes of folk performers. Both had it become merely a stage costume? The answer to this seemingly simple question is complicated. The author of the article has conducted 8 years’ of observations, focusing on those people who wore the dress during church celebrations and folk band performances. Based on the gathered data, the author claims that the choice of elements of traditional dress is influenced not so much by the day or occasion (as used to be the case), but rather other factors, such as the wearer’s approach towards traditional dress.

The number of opportunities for wearing the Wilamowice traditional dress has increased since the 1990’s, with the growing number of visits from church authorities, church processions, and other religious celebrations mainly related to the beatification and canonisation of St. Józef Bilewski. Members of the folk bands „Wilamowice” and „Fil-Wilamowice” participate in these celebrations. Moreover, a group of women outside of these groups also takes some of these events as opportunities to wear the Wilamowice traditional dress. The traditional dress is rarely complete: most women refrain from wearing traditional stockings and booties; few decide to wear a bonnet and a *związka*. One reason for this may be that as girls, they wore a type of dress described as “wilamowski” to carry holy images during the Corpus Christi processions. This version of traditional dress lacked the abovementioned elements. Its form does not depend on the age or marital status of the wearer, nor the celebration or festivity during which it is worn. Thus, members of the “Wilamowice” folk band had become guardians of tradition. Some of these women remember their mothers and grandmothers wearing traditional dress on an everyday basis. Corpus Chri-

303 Respondents: woman born in 1922; man born in 1943; woman born in 1927 (author’s own research conducted between 2004-2012).

sti is practically the only occasion during which band members may choose to wear a bonnet, *związka* and a veil. Such women are not called guardians without a reason: they also guard proper order during the procession. Women wearing full headgear (a bonnet, *związka* and a veil) are situated at the front before the flag-bearers. The remaining women are carrying the candles around the canopy. Similarly, during other processions women wearing complete dress have seniority over women who are not.



43. Anna „Lüft” Foks, born in 1927. Long time member of the „Wilamowice” regional folk band. The last woman able to make a traditional knot on the Wilamowice kerchiefs. Photo taken during preparations for a photoshoot. Photo T. Król. Wilamowice 2012



44. Women wearing the Wilamowice festive dress. Woman in the middle is wearing the clothes of a young bride; women on her sides are wearing dresses typical of older married women. Clothes from the author’s private collection. Photo. T. Król. Wilamowice 2012

Choosing appropriate traditional dress for new situations, or ones that could not have taken place at the beginning of the 19th century (that is when the Wilamowice traditional dress was at its most popular) is a very interesting phenomenon. In 2010, Wilamowianie (people of Wilamowice ethnicity) for the first time assisted in the symbolic funeral of the Holy Mary, Mother of God in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. In order to dress appropriately for the occasion, women from the „Wilamowice” regional folk band, and women wearing bonnets chose their most festive clothes: blue and red skirts, and veils. Younger band members wore their stage costumes. The traditional dress worn during the Fatima services on the 13th of May and October, which were not celebrated before the war, is rather arbitrary except for white aprons. White aprons were formerly considered appropriate for many occasions. Today, Wilamowianie wear their traditional dress for many occasions, including wedding celebrations. However, they are usually members of one of the folk bands wearing their stage costumes as festive dress.

Summing up, Wilamowa traditional dress is worn during the following holidays: midnight mass, resurrection procession, the Fatima services on the 13th of May and October, Corpus Christi, the Octave, the symbolic funeral of the Holy Mary, Mother of God in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Indulgence of St. Joseph and the Holy Trinity, November 11th, carolling, a visit from the church authorities and Confirmation. On these days, there are usually 25-30 people wearing traditional dress, although recently this number has been growing.³⁰⁴

304 The author calculated that in 2012: 20 people wearing traditional dress participated in the Resurrection; 25 people in the Indulgence; 35 people in the May 13th celebrations; and 46 in Corpus Christi.

As already mentioned, the women members of the „Wilamowice” folk band are today’s guardians of the rules for wearing traditional dress; the costumes of the group members bear the most similarity to the original traditional dress. However, this was not always true. At one point in time, band members wore their bonnets so that locks of hair were visible, which was unacceptable in the traditional Wilamowice dress; also, they wore red, rather than striped stockings³⁰⁵. The cut of skirts and blouses made for the band also differed from the original. These differences were quickly pointed out by a group of older female band members, whose opinions on the matter are still deeply respected in Wilamowice. On the other hand, the regional folk youth band „Cepelia Fil-Wilamowice” does not benefit from having a group of older, experienced members. Consequently, the group performs in costumes from Cieszyn, Cracow and the Highlands. Many young people encountered the Wilamowice traditional dress for the first time in the context of folk performances; some treat it as a stage costume, much like costumes from other regions that they wear on stage. At times, costumes are composed of a mix of elements from different traditions. During a performance on the day of the Epiphany in 2011, one could see a girl wearing the Wilamowice traditional dress with a highlander’s head wrap. A boy participated in one of the processions dressed in the Wilamowice traditional dress but with a highlander’s shirt, explaining that “a costume is a costume”. Perhaps then, the loss of the traditional function of folk dress in favour of the function of a stage costume should be attributed to the prevalence of costumes from a variety of regions.

Interestingly, in 2009 a group of members of the „Wilamowice” folk band wore traditional mourning dress in white, blue and red to the funeral of a band member. Those who considered traditional dress a type of stage costume were dismayed by the sight: “they are wearing rags to the funeral”³⁰⁶. Others, familiar with the values of traditional dress, praised the choice: “very good. She was a lady from Wilamowice, what else were they supposed to wear? Certainly not black!”³⁰⁷

The “Wilamowice” folk band had introduced a number of changes to dress conventions³⁰⁸, which were later accepted by Wilamowianki: the Wilamowice women, including those who have never belonged to a folk band. These changes include: using red shoelaces for the booties; tucking the kerchief into the side of the apron (on the right in the “Wilamowice” band, on the left in the “Fil-Wilamowice”³⁰⁹); girls wearing wreaths. The Wilamowice women are sceptical towards any novelties, especially if suggested by individuals. This helps to keep the dress somewhat homogenous. Certain traditional elements, such as blue *jupka* jackets and flowery ribbons for the aprons can be questioned as well, leading to the simplification of form, and causing difficulty in the revitalisation of certain elements³¹⁰.

Not all rules of traditional dress can be maintained in a folk band setting. The “Wilamowice” folk ensemble adheres to the main guidelines. Interestingly, the members pay more attention to the cleanliness and neatness of particular elements than to whether they actually form a coherent whole. Few members today own more than one complete traditional dress, which may explain why some elements are missing from the costumes. It is also possible to hear opinions like this: “I find the red skirt too heavy,

305 Based on iconographic sources.

306 Author’s own research conducted between 2004-2012.

307 Ibid.

308 Later adopted by the other ensemble

309 This dress element makes it possible to associate the wearer with a particular folk band.

310 The folk band has reintroduced other dress elements, including the *kacabajka* (a form of winterwear). Reconstructions of other elements, such as headscarves, had not been adopted.

and the real beads too so I wear them only on Corpus Christi. Never in my life would I wear the red skirt to perform”³¹¹. Some members are devoted to making sure the dress is complete, although they are more likely to do it with regard to the band costume rather than folk dress. “The dress needs to be complete: booties, stockings, petticoat, knickers, skirt, apron, the corset *oplecek*, the white shirt with original embroidery *jypla*, beads, ribbons, bonnets and *związka*, or a wreath and *odzieżaczka* (a type of head wrap). Those who leave out even one of these elements, go without stockings or with a bare head, they are not wearing traditional dress”³¹².

Different band members approach the same dress differently. Some women consider traditional dress to be festive wear. They wear original festive dress elements only to church, and choose more contemporary items for stage performances. Others have only one costume, worn both to church and during performances. The author met some instances where the stage costume was respected more than the dress worn to church. For instance, one woman wore a striped everyday apron to church and changed into the festive apron before her band performance in order to prevent the apron from “becoming wrinkled before the performance”³¹³. A choice like this would be unthinkable in pre-war Wilamowice. Furthermore, when the weather is chilly, some women choose to wear dark coats or jackets over their traditional clothes when attending church, even though others choose to wear traditional winter dress. The former, however, would never consider wearing anything but the traditional dress for their stage performances. Some people consider the Wilamowice dress primarily a stage costume. For them, wearing it to church is a secondary function. These differences become apparent during the presentation of different varieties of the Wilamowice traditional dress by the “Wilamowice” folk band: while women who want to remain faithful to tradition are reluctant to step out in everyday dress, while others are indifferent because “it is only a costume for the band anyway”³¹⁴. That costume for the band used to equal festive traditional dress. However, this has begun to change. During dress presentations, members of “Wilamowice” showcase different dress varieties suitable for approximately twenty occasions. Consequently, many traditional dress, both originals and replicas, elements have found their way back into the closets of the women from Wilamowice: the *kucabajka* winter jacket, the blue *jupka* jacket, the *związka* head wrap in colours other than maroon.

CHANGES IN PARTICULAR DRESS ELEMENTS

Elements of traditional dress produced today are often different than the originals. The reasons for changes are usually simple: lack of access to fabrics and decorations necessary to make the item. Today, traditional dress is made of fabrics purchased in nearby stores. As a result, they resemble original items to a greater or lesser extent. A contemporary *oplecek*, which is a type of corset, is made of fabric decorated in a flower print, which is frequently the only criterion applied by tailor women. Only some decide to use fabric imported from Germany and Austria if they manage to find fabrics in more appropriate traditional patterns. Sometimes, manufacturers of traditional dress decide to introduce their own innovations. In an area as small as Wilamowice it is easy to recognise who authored a given dress item. Even small changes

311 Author’s own research conducted between 2004-2012.

312 Ibid.

313 Ibid.

314 Ibid.

should not be ignored, as they often lead to gradual but significant changes in the cut of the garments, type of embroidery or sewing method used for decorations.

The accuracy of modern manufacturers is another challenge for traditional dress. Some embroiderers simplify embroidery patterns in order to work faster. This can result in distortion of the original.

Individual preferences also have an influence. For instance, when ordering the *oplecek*, or the *jupka* the customers frequently ask to make them longer than originals “because they prefer it like this”³¹⁵. The tailor women prepare the garment according to the customer’s order, and the changed elements are sometimes further copied by others.

Other factors influencing the form of traditional dress include publications. In 2009, Jolanta Danek published her book *Strój wilamowski* (Wilamowice traditional dress). In the author’s opinion, the book contains some inaccuracies. For instance, the caption for the photograph of women wearing *jupka* jackets does not specify that these are contemporary products³¹⁶. The finishing on the jackets does not adhere to the traditional model, because guipure lace used in the contemporary model was never part of Wilamowice traditional dress. A group of women attempted to introduce similar *jupka* jackets into use, but they were soon criticised by older Wilamowice women so the innovation was not introduced in the end. Were it not for the authority of older women, the traditional dress of Wilamowice could have had replicated patterns from a variety of publications rather than rely on the knowledge of mothers, grandmothers and other persons who function as guardians of tradition. This may have dramatically changed the form of the dress.

MALE DRESS

Contemporary male dress is a very interesting phenomenon. Traditional male dress began to fall out of use in the 19th century. In 1948, it was brought back to life by Eugeniusz Bliczewski and his daughter, Jadwiga Stanecka, who needed it for the newly established “Wilamowice” regional folk band. In fact, the dress was created completely anew. It consisted of a hat, white shirt, ribbon taken from the female costume, pants tucked into boots and a studded leather belt with floral decorations, or a belt made of fabric from the skirt or headscarf from the female version of traditional dress. A long-sleeved coat, or a waistcoat known as the *lajbik* was worn over the shirt. For many years, the male dress underwent little to no changes.

Until the end of the first decade of the 20th century, only male members of folk bands wore it. Afterwards, a group of men decided to wear the dress not only for performances and official delegations but also for other occasions. They have started to look for original items and create their reconstructions. In this manner, the *ibercijer*, a type of coat that fell out of use a hundred years prior, had returned to the streets of Wilamowice along with the tall top hat. Originals and replicas are often worn interchangeably. Despite some differences in cut or fabric, they are considered true instances of male dress. If a new element is introduced, rules for wearing the item are created. For instance, the Wilamowice blazer, a garment created specifically as a *lajbik* for the folk band, has become more than just an element of a stage dance costume. Men wear the Wilamowice blazer for church celebrations, wedding ceremonies and other

315 Ibid.

316 J. Danek, *Strój wilamowski*. Wilamowice: 2009, pp. 62-63.

occasions. An ordinary *lajbik* with short or long sleeves is considered less formal, so the blazer is worn for prominent occasions, more important than just a mere dance performance. Similarly, the *ibercijer* is popular with an increasing number of men, not only during holidays but also for attending church on ordinary Sundays. The “Wilamowice” band also uses it with increasing frequency. A series of works on traditional garments worn in Wilamowice published in 2009³¹⁷ likely helped to speed up the process of reintroduction of these coats into the male traditional dress.

Can we venture to say that the male stage costume used by performers in a regional folk band had become a true traditional dress? To answer this question more observations need to be conducted regarding the development of this phenomenon in upcoming years. Nevertheless, even though most forms of traditional dress undergo simplification, the male traditional dress of Wilamowice is richer and more varied now than ever before in its history.

CHILDREN’S DRESS

Traditional dresses for girls aged 4-7 are another interesting phenomenon. In the past, costumes were made only in adult sizes, so that only a girl over sixteen years of age could wear the Wilamowice traditional dress³¹⁸. Since the 1980s, dressing little girls in miniature versions of the Wilamowice traditional dress has become fashionable. The traditional dress of Wilamowice was used as an alternative to the Cracow traditional dress, which was first worn in that capacity, and has gradually started to replace it. Some women native (or, as they say themselves *bite*) to Wilamowice still prefer to dress children in Cracow traditional dress rather than miniature versions of their own³¹⁹. Nevertheless, little girls in Wilamowice traditional dress are more common today, especially in the period around Corpus Christi and the Octave, as well as during stage performances of children attending the Wilamowice kindergarten. Only few of these sets have been made, and they usually circulate between families, borrowed by children as they reach an appropriate age to become flower girls at the procession. Girls’ dresses are loosely based on the originals, rarely maintaining their cut or traditional embroidery. Some, however, have been made with exceptional attention to detail and constitute exact replicas of a maid’s costume.

Many inaccuracies result either from lack of knowledge on the part of mothers, or attempts to stylise the dress so that it resembles other, more familiar costumes. Wearing the skirt back-to-front, or wearing the apron higher than the skirt (in the traditional dress of Wilamowice, the apron and the skirt should be the same length) are crucial mistakes. However, if a mother dresses her daughter in this way, older women patiently instruct her about the rules for wearing traditional dress. Even the youngest generation is taught to pay attention and wear traditional dress in its proper form. There are certain consequences of introducing a children’s version of the traditional Wilamowice costume. First, it goes against tradition. Second, traditional forms of dress are altered in the process. The biggest concern is, however, that original, pre-war items such as a skirt, apron or *związka* are wilfully destroyed in order to make copies of the garments for children. Only a limited number of original Wilamowice skirts and aprons

317 T. Król (ed.), *Strój wilanowski*, Wilamowice: (no publisher) 2009, J. Danek, *Katalog stroju wilamowskiego oraz dywagacji kilka*, Wilamowice: (no publisher) 2009, J. Danek, *Strój wilanowski*, Wilamowice (no publisher) 2009.

318 Respondent: woman born in 1922 (author’s own research in 2004-2012).

319 Author’s own research.

exist. They cannot be recreated in contemporary conditions³²⁰. As such, they should be treated with respect so that they can be used for times to come. The skirts and aprons used to make children's clothes are usually in the best condition. Perhaps then, it would be better to make a small skirt out of ordinary red fabric and preserve the striped original for the future, perhaps for when the girl decides to wear it as an adult or teenager. By leaving original clothes intact, and creating smaller, faithful versions of the original from mass-produced fabric it would be possible to ameliorate the negative effect of this trend. Perhaps little girls wearing replicas of traditional dress will learn to respect it, and will be able to correctly wear it in the future, joining the ranks of women wearing the Wilamowice traditional dress. This would be a source of pride for future generations and researchers alike.



45. Members of the „Wilamowice” regional folk band in mourning dress, pictured during the funeral of Rozalia Hanusz. Photo M. Rozner. Wilamowice 25.10.2009

SUMMARY:

The female Wilamowice dress is quite varied, and rather different from other Polish traditional dress types. Persecuted after the war, it has survived until this day thanks to regional folk bands who have introduced minor changes. For some, it is merely a stage costume. Others still treat it as traditional dress inherited from one's ancestors; wearing it is a way of relating to one's roots. A person's approach towards the dress can be recognised from the choice of dress elements. A group of older women members of the "Wilamowice" folk band, which only wears traditional costumes from Wilamowice, functions as advisors on traditional dress. These women make certain that everyone in the ensemble adheres to tradition. The members of the „Cepelia Fil-Wilamowice" folk band wear costumes from a variety of traditions. For many of them, the traditional dress of Wilamowice is no different than costumes typical of other regions: Cieszyn, Cracow, the Highlands. Members of both bands participate in church celebrations. The male dress, which had fallen out of use in the 19th century, had been recreated in 1948 for the then newly established "Wilamowice" folk band. For many years, it had been used only for stage performances and official occasions. Since the second decade of the 21st century, a group of enthusiasts has started to wear them during the holidays as well as on ordinary Sundays, extending the number of elements as well as adding new rules for combining them in the context of folk dress. Many of these elements are originals; some are reconstructions; yet others are new inventions loosely based on tradition. Regardless of origin, they are considered elements of Wilamowice traditional dress. Thus, it is difficult to tell whether male tradi-

320 Since 2008, Justyna Majerska has been attempting to create faithful replicas of original elements. However, these attempts were so far only successful in creating replicas of the Wilamowice crucifixes.

tional dress is a stage costume or folk dress, as the latter was based on the former. However, the usual tendency in case of traditional dress is for the influence to go in the opposite direction. It used to be the case that flower girls in processions wore Cracow regional dress. Today, it is more and more frequently replaced by miniature versions of the Wilamowice traditional dress. Although this can be considered an innovation, it is also the kind of development that encourages young people to wear traditional dress. It should be noted that such costumes should never be made at the expense of the originals.

Kücwüt

Wymysiöejer bowaklåd ej zjyr undersýdlik ån ganc andyšt wi dy lecta trahta y Pöln. Nöm krig wiöd's cynistgymaht, derhild zih bocy hoüt diöh dy tancgrüpa, wu zy's hon åbysla andyšt gymaht. Fjy nymiöeha loüt ys's hoüt nok å traht uf dy bejn, oder hefa traktjyn's weter owi å klåd, wu ej fun füreldyn ufgynuma, ån's wjyd gytriöen fun loüta, wu wela wåjza fu wu jyr wücuhn öüsstoma. Uf dam, wos fer flåk ma ocoügt, kon'å derkena, wi traktjyt må dan ocug. Yr tancgrüp "Zespół Regionalny Wilamowice", wu trjet må kå ander flåk wi dy wymysiöejer, gyt's piöer oüda bowa, wu zy zih uf dam ociwerik kena, ån zy gan uf dos öbaht, do'å ny gejt målåjhtwi. Dy glejdyn fur tancgrüp "Cepelia Fil-Wilamowice" triöen feršidnikjy trahta, fjy nymiöeha ej dy wymysiöejer zu nymlik wi dy giöeriöelišy, tešner oba krykjer traht. Wen's håltag ej, kuma loüt fu oüa cwü grüpa. Klopaklåd, wu wiöe åjganga ym XIX hundytjür, wiöd ym 1948 jür ufs nojy gymaht fjy dy noü ådštanda derzånk tancgrüp "Zespół Regionalny Wilamowice". Longy jün wiöd zy gytriöen nok ufa wystympa ån lëndyša/štyter zaha, ym XII hundytjür trjet må zy diöh dy håltag ån öü diöh gywynlikja zuntag fu piöer ehta wymysiöejer kłopa, wu hon nojy fjym ufgybröht ån zej decydjyn, wi'å zih ocoügt. Miöeha tål wada fun oüda ånöhgymaht, dy ander öld, dy lecta bald ganc ufs nojy gynyt, zy amsa yn oüda ny fejl. Oly dråj öet wada zy "wymysiöeryš" gynant. Bym kłopaocug ys's šwjer cy ziöen, op ej dos å bejntraht, cy å ociwerik, bo to dos ander ej fu dam jyšta ådštanda. S'ej füt ganc andyšt ganga wi by andyn klådyn. Dy klina måkja trüga jyšter ufa procesyja bym blimlåstren å krykjer traht, wu gejt yt wu åmöł mejer åj, wen dy kliny wersyj fu wymysiöejer ociwerik åjkymt. Gük ej dos noümiöedyš, hylft dos by dam, do dy junga loüt welda zih wymysiöeryš triöen. Må djef oder öbaht gan, do'å dy oüda klådyn ny cynistmaht, wen'å maht dy klina.

INTRODUCTION

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Stanisław Witkiewicz mused about the degradation and loss of the beauty of the highlander culture in his work titled „Po latach” („After many years”). He claimed that traditional dress was the last remnant of the „golden era” as „its beauty is still so charming, so strongly connected to the Highlander, that it could hardly be pried out of use”³²². These words, written over one hundred years ago by this great promoter of Highlander culture are as applicable now as they were a century ago. Today, despite the fact that it is a product of a different age, the traditional dress of Highlanders from Podhale remains an important part of culture. *Podhalanie* (the people of Podhale) wear their *highlander clothes* readily, and attend religious holidays, regional celebrations, folklore meetings. Most importantly, perhaps, traditional dress accompanies them during key events in their lives: their baptism, first communion, wedding, and funeral.

It is true that nobody wears highlander’s dress on an everyday basis. Admittedly, many inhabitants of Podhale never wear it. Traditional dress is worn by those who feel a connection with the cultural heritage of the region. Whether to wear traditional dress is entirely their decision. We cannot bring back old times when everyone needed to dress in Highlanders’ clothes. The socio-cultural reality has changed, and the context and function of the dress has changed along with it. The significance and social function of folk dress in traditional communities has waned. They have been replaced by new references and meanings equally as valid and important, and verified by the contemporary reality.³²³

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322 S. Witkiewicz, *Na przełęczu*, 2nd edition, Lviv: (no publisher) 1906, pp. 38.

323 Currently, the socially conditioned aspects of traditional dress are fading away. Traditional dress no longer signifies the financial or social status of the wearer, nor a particular age group. The aesthetic function of traditional dress is at the forefront, as it became a tool for self-expression. Its symbolic nature as a symbol of regional identity, however, remains important. For more information on the social function of contemporary Podhale dress see: S. Trebunia – Staszal, *Znaczenie i funkcje stroju podhalańskiego we współczesnym życiu mieszkańców Podhala*, „Wierchy” Y. 61: 1995 [1996 edition], pp. 125-142.

The traditional dress of Podhale Highlanders emerged from the Wallachian shepherding culture³²⁴, shared by many groups living in the Carpathian Mountains. This can be seen in, for example, the prevalence of leather carbatina shoes *kierpce*, or broadcloth used for sewing many elements of clothing. Both male and female dress has changed and grown throughout the last two centuries, that is the period about which we have reasonably accurate data. Regional dress, shaped by the environmental, geographic and socio-political factors as well as cultural influences from the elites and neighbouring regions, was a bellwether of changes in the Podhale society. The dress has undergone significant changes, particularly in the second half of the 19th century after a series of economical and social events, including the gradual opening up of Podhale to global influences³²⁵.

Between the 19th and 20th century, the traditional dress of Highlanders from Podhale was strongly influenced by urban fashion brought to the region by tourists visiting Zakopane, as well as the Cracow folk dress. The development of the textile industry improved the availability of mass-produced fabrics, which Highlander women used to make festive skirts, bodices, *katanka* jackets, and *wizytka* long-sleeve button-down shirts; Highlander men wore black waistcoats and blazer inspired by military fashions called *bluzka*. The arrival of mass-produced haberdashery inspired a significant growth of the Podhale embroidery.

The development of the Podhale traditional dress was also supported by the efforts of promoters of Zakopane and its culture, as well as the attention of contemporary *intelligentsia*, who appreciated the national values of the Podhale heritage, and whose interest bordered on glorification. The promotion and development of the dress was partly in response to the growing tourism industry. Female dress in particular has undergone interesting changes, adopting various, sometimes very distinct, forms through different time periods. Male dress was less susceptible to changes; its main elements have kept their traditional form. The model version of traditional Podhale dress emerged after the Second World War. Today, this version of the dress is considered the most traditional. (Fig. 1)

324 A type of culture related to the sheep-farming economy that spread through the Carpathian Mountains between the 13th and 17th centuries as a result of the migrations of Wallachian shepherds of mixed ethnical origins. Today, the role of Wallachians in the colonization of the Carpathian Mountains is strongly debated. Regardless of the various existing theories and hypotheses, evidence suggests that many inhabitants of the Carpathian Mountains, despite regional and national differences, shared a single type of shepherding culture. See: K. Dobrowolski, *Studia podhalańskie*, [in:] *Pasterstwo Tatr Polskich i Podhala*, T. 8, Wrocław [i in.] 1970, ed. W. Antoniewicz, s. 13-294; J. Czajkowski, *Dzieje osadnictwa historycznego na Podkarpaciu i jego odzwierciedlenie w grupach etnograficznych*, in: *Lemkowie w historii i kulturze Karpat*, part. I, 2nd edition corrected and supplemented, Sanok 1995, pp. 27-166.

325 One of these factors is the tourism industry that started to develop in Podhale in the mid 19th century and became one of the main sources of income for local Highlanders. Another equally important factor is the mass emigration from Podhale to the US that took place in 1880-1910 and involved approximately 30 thousand people. The economic migrations of family members ensured financial stability for many Highlanders' families. This complex population flow made it possible for Highlanders to interact with other cultures and improve their own economic situation. See: M. Misińska, Podhale dawne i współczesne, „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi” Vol. 15: 1971, pp. 18-62, A. Kowalska-Lewicka, Handel wiejski na Podhalu w drugiej połowie XIX w. i w początkach XX wieku, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, Y. 5: 1957, No. 2, pp. 305-314.

Today, the traditional dress of Podhale is one of the key ingredients of local reality. Although much of its original function had been gradually lost, the dress has remained important in contemporary times despite all the changes it underwent. It has been elevated to the status of a symbol of Highlander culture, and even a marker of national identity. For several dozen years now, we have witnessed the renaissance of traditional dress, both in terms of diversity of form and decoration, and availability.

FASHION THAT IS TEMPTING AND CAPRICIOUS.

In his article about folk dress of the 1970s, Antoni Kroh³²⁶ remarked that the state of the dress is a reflection of more general cultural processes; it echoes a range of positive and negative phenomena that take place in Podhale. In the same vein, it could be said that the changes in contemporary Podhale dress, or rather its many adaptations, illustrate the state of Podhale's regional culture in general as it becomes affected by global processes and trends. The modern tourism industry and the commercialisation of tradition have significantly affected contemporary culture. Among the processes affecting the Podhale traditional dress are changes and mixing of social orders; certain freedom in adding modern elements to traditional solu-



46. Highlanders from Kościelisko wearing modest old-fashioned dress popular in Podhale in the 1990s. Photo S. Trebunia-Staszal 2007



47. Youth from Podhale wearing festive dress currently considered the most traditional, and the most representative of Highlander culture. Photo S. Trebunia-Staszal 2012

326 A. Kroh, *Aktualny stan stroju podhalańskiego*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” Y. 26: 1972, No 1, pp. 3-10.

tions; continuous experimentation as well as lack of constraints in terms of ornamentation and tailoring. Female dress is affected the most. The sheer amount of available cuts, forms and decorative amounts is overwhelming not only to outside observers, but to the Highlanders themselves: *Our women fuss too much. It is hardly obvious if the dress is a Highlander or a lady dress*³²⁷. Today in Podhale, Anna Zdziorko said, “it is not enough to simply own traditional dress – it also has to be fashionable”³²⁸.

I am aware that the notion of fashion can be considered controversial when it comes to discussing traditional dress, both among Highlanders as well as some regionalists and ethnographers³²⁹. We see this in the increasingly frequent discussions regarding the changes in contemporary dress that touch upon the subject of fashion. How can ensure that changes are not causing distortions? Will fashion destroy the beauty of tradition? Such questions demonstrate the sheer scale of emotions and approaches to modern changes in traditional dress. At the same time, they express many Highlanders’ concern for preserving the beauty of traditional dress. On the other hand, emotionally loaded opinions feed into the discourse of fashion. As Rene König writes, fashion cannot exist without its adversaries³³⁰.

The final question is whether contemporary fashion experiments still belong to the domain of traditional dress. Before we attempt to answer this question, let us reach into the past. Fashion, which was present in many aspects of life and intertwined both with the socio-economic and cultural trends, has always been a catalyst for human relations³³¹. Usually considered part of the moral sphere, in particular breaking social conventions, fashion was an outlet for conflicting ideas and stances. Clothing is a domain where fashion holds the biggest influence, as it is its visual reflection. There have been many attempts to explain the power and character of fashion by analysing it from a sociological, psychological or semiotic perspective. Interestingly, the phenomenological approach to fashion established by Swiss philosopher Eugene Fink brought a simple, although trivial explanation that the reason behind the changeability of fashion is its magical powers³³². The new and untypical has always been magically alluring to those who want to express their own uniqueness and prestige through fashion novelties. This approach is commonly criticised by those with a more conservative approach to fashion, who consider it vain, capricious and illogical. Fashion is characterised by certain redundancy that goes beyond usefulness. Gertrud Lehnert stated that fashion is when the pleasure of choosing clothes and need to impress others begins to dominate more practical aspects of wearing them³³³.

Folk culture researchers have long had an interest in fashion, although, as Ryszard Kantor noted, Polish ethnography has neglected fashion and its role in the emergence and development of rural clothing³³⁴. And yet, as early as 1930, Tadeusz Seweryn argued that the “ethnic traditions” admired by many enthusiasts of national heritage are not traditional in the scientific understanding of the term, but rather

327 Author’s own research.

328 A. Zdziorko, *Modne maki, bratki i mereżki*, „Tygodnik Podhalański” Y.14:2003, No. 20 (696), pp. 26.

329 This opinion regarding contemporary changes in traditional dress was voiced by the members of the jury of the Polish Highlanders’ Folk Festival in Żywiec with whom I talked in 2005.

330 R. König, *Potęga i urok mody*, translated by J. Szymańska, Warszawa: Sztuka i Społeczeństwo, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe 1979.

331 *Ibid*, pp. 20.

332 After: I. Turnau, *Moda a odzież – zmienność i trwanie*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej”, Y. XXII: 1974, issue1, pp. 89.

333 G. Lehnert, *Historia mody XX wieku*, przeł. M. Mirońska, Köln: Könemann 2001, pp. 6

334 R. Kantor, *Ubiór – strój – kostium. Funkcja odzienia w tradycyjnej społeczności wiejskiej w XIX i w początkach XX wieku na obszarze Polski*, Series: Rozprawy Habilitacyjne UJ No. 62, Kraków 1982, pp. 58.

what is now assumed to be age-old, typical and constant is a manifestation of fashion, expressed in a certain area in a more or less original manner³³⁵.

If we follow the history of the Podhale traditional dress for the past two hundred years we will see that the facts support Serewyn's hypothesis. Traditional Highlander dress has been subject to fashion. Although the influence was weaker than in case of urban fashion of the elites, the cuts and ornamentation have been affected by trends. As early as the 19th century, novelties in folk dress have stirred controversy. In a monograph on the Highlanders from the first half of the 19th century, Ludwik Kamiński noted that the inhabitants of the vicinity of Nowy Targ "through foreign tradition have driven themselves away from the people of Podhale", because „they have introduced a plague of sorts among them, namely fashion in clothing and speech”³³⁶. Tadeusz Seweryn also observed this generational difference in preferences and opinion in his work on the Highlanders' embroidery pattern *parzenice*. When writing about the rising popularity of colourful *parzenice* in male dress near the end of the 19th century, Seweryn remarked that older highland farmers considered the new trend disrespectful to tradition and consciously avoided colourful embroidery on their trousers and clothes. He quoted a critical opinion voiced about the new trend in ornamentation by a Highlander woman from Nowy Targ, who called *parzenice* "such an ugly fashion"³³⁷. Another critical assessment of fashion, this time regarding female dress from the end of the 19th century, notably large scarves with tassels and short vests popular at that time was expressed by W. Matlakowski, who said that the fashion of the ladies is without character, ugly and modern, and that it has nothing to do with the traditional dress of the past that used to be more characteristic"³³⁸. Juliusz Zborowski was another researcher to notice the power of fashion, and his own helplessness against its influence. In the 1930s, he noticed the growing popularity of the broad *parzenice* typical for Zakopane among the Podhale youth. Summing up his work on the impressive richness and size of the *parzenica* motif, he wrote that: "It is fashionable and there is nothing the older generation can do about it"³³⁹. Antoni Kroh also described the emotions that accompanied the early days of this elaborate embroidery, "Privately, the owners of these richly *cyfrowane*"³⁴⁰ trousers were called whoremongers and only reluctantly allowed to attend church"³⁴¹. With time, after the Second World War, these criticised elaborate *parzenice* patterns had been added to the canon of Podhale ornamentation techniques, and deviations from this norm were frowned upon. Twenty years ago, in the 1990s, the younger generation tried to bring back the modest ornamentation from the end of the 19th century in an attempt to reintroduce the so-called "old fashioned fashion". The appalled elders cannot come to terms with this fact. One "wise man" declared that the small, red and black *parzenice* are an "oddity and a foolish idea of the youth" because "such measly *parzenice* had never been

335 T. Seweryn, *Parzenice góralskie*, Series: Wydawnictwa Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie No. 2, Kraków 1930, pp. 6.

336 L. Kamiński (AKA Kamiński), *O mieszkańcach gór tatrzańskich*. The manuscript was transcribed, edited, adapted and published by J. Kolbuszewski, Kraków: Oficyna Podhalańska 1992, pp. 48.

337 T. Seweryn, *op.cit.*, pp. 18.

338 W. Matlakowski, *Zdobienie i sprzęt ludu polskiego na Podhalu*, Warszawa: Skład główny w Księgarni E. Wendego i S-ki 1901, pp. 158, 160.

339 J. Zborowski, *Moda i wieś góralska*, „Ziemia”, Y. 15: 1930, pp. 397.

340 In the Podhale dialect *cyfrować* means „to decorate”. Thus, *cyfrowane portki* are trousers ornamented with decorative rope and colourful embroidery.

341 A. Kroh, *Na Podhalu*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” Y. 49: 1995, pp. 69.

used in Podhale”³⁴². There are many more examples of this type of emotional reaction to novelties, which is also a reflection of the generation gap. Let us close this list with a comment from an elderly gentleman from Bukowina Tatrzańska. Appalled with the modest look of the new *parzenice* he assessed them in the following words, “In these pants I would not even go out to shovel manure”³⁴³.

Nevertheless, the grumbling of old Highlanders and the sceptics about the traditional dress reminiscent of late 19th century aesthetic did not amount to much. The widely criticised modest decorations, frequently disparaged as “Not our own decorations”, „We have never had such *parzenice* here”, and „the dress from Spisz and not the Highlands”³⁴⁴ have come to dominate the Podhale traditional dress in the 1990’s. (Fig. 2).

Fashion has long been an intriguing topic for those who wore Highlander dress. It has both its enthusiasts and opponents, some of whom have conveyed their opinion more convincingly than others. While some criticised fashion for being weird, others have pointed out its allure, charm and creativity. Finally, almost everyone succumbed to it. Contemporary culture provides fashion with a favourable environment. Today, women’s clothes change virtually every season, and the dressmakers from Podhale try to outdo one another in terms of creating new fashions. Increasingly, they become *sui generis* fashion designers.

PODHALE’S VERSACE – JĘDREK SIEKIERKA FROM SUCHE

One of the most recognised dressmakers, whose name causes a thrill of excitement among the chic ladies of Podhale, is Andrzej Siekierka³⁴⁵ known as Podhale’s Versace. He has been working in his own regional dressmaking workshop in a wooden house located in Suche (Poronin municipality) for over three decades³⁴⁶. His focus is primarily contemporary folk dress, but he also makes traditional dress. He designs and sews himself. If time permits, he also manually decorates them with sequins, beads and ribbons. His work often features older and forgotten designs from the Podhale region. He has a lively interest in folk dress from a variety of European regions, including Tirol and Andalusia. His adventure in fashion began several dozen years ago and was inspired by museum exhibitions from the 19th century. He began to make chic *katanka* jackets trimmed with lambswool and reminiscent of urban blazers; fitted *wizytka* blouses from thinner fabrics laced in the front; dresses made of *tybet* virgin wool and decorated with lace; and half-corsets, a recent bestselling type of broad belt (Fig. 3).

342 Quote by the late Jan Gustaw Mostowy (1923-2006), a regional writer and expert on Highlander culture, author of works on the traditional culture of Podhale and theatre plays written in dialect.

343 Author’s own research.

344 Author’s own research.

345 Siekierka graduated from the Helena Modrzejewska Technical Secondary School for Artistic Embroidery in Zakopane. He took classes in drawing, technical drawing, painting, clothes design, weaving, embroidery and lacemaking. See: S. Trebunia-Staszal, A. Gąsienica Giewont, Strój podhalański i jego wytwórcy. Katalog do wystawy, zorganizowanej w ramach 43 Międzynarodowego Festiwalu Folkloru Ziemi Górskich w Zakopanem. Zakopane 2011, pp. 13.

346 Siekierka’s office is located in a single room, which is also a costume workshop. The room is filled with fabrics, tailor’s tools, finished creations and works in progress. My students and myself have visited the workshop in 2009 during a field trip. The room was hardly large enough to fit eleven of us. The tailor was gracefully presenting floral embroidery on a skirt, while one of the students bumped into a tower of rolled fabrics by the door, setting off a textile avalanche. The room was flooded with fabrics, the panicking student attempted to salvage the situation while the tailor calmly explained the detailed nature of presented embroidery techniques. (Author’s own research).

The design of Siekierka's regionally inspired creations features bold colours such as lilac or willow-green, fabrics such as jacquard, georgette, satin, man-made silk, tulle, guipure and microfiber; decorative patterns; and cuts that are generally untypical for traditional dress, or even introduces entirely new dress elements. Siekierka's clothes are very popular in the region. However, wearing them requires some patience. A single dress can take weeks, even months to complete.

A year ago, I visited the dressmaker to order a *katanka* for myself. In his workshop, I met two young women from Zakopane, sitting silently on the bed. I had waited patiently for them to place an order but after several minutes of silence I started a conversation with the dressmaker. My curiosity got the best of me and I asked the women why they were sitting there like that. They replied: "We are here to make sure that he manages to make the bride's dress on time because the wedding is tomorrow". It happens that the customer spends the night watching Versace to make sure their dress is ready on time. Siekierka's attention is taken by multiple customers. Regulars are the only exception to this rule. One Highlander woman from Biały Dunajec owns several dozens of clothes from Siekierka. The fame of the dressmaker from Podhale goes far beyond his home region. His customers are not only the chic local ladies, but also fashionable women from across Poland, including Anna Woźniak – Starak. Fascinated by Siekierka's work, she organised a Highlander fashion show in Zakopane in 2002. "The moment I saw the things he designs and makes, with these embroideries, appliques, and manually applied paint" she said, "I decided to show them to the world. They are absolutely glorious"³⁴⁷. Men who value uniqueness also want to be dressed by Siekierka. He also produces costumes for local folk bands and heritage groups. His creations



48. Andrzej Siekierka from Suche, a famous tailor and fashion designer, is pictured here in front of his designs. An exhibition featuring dresses created by Siekierka had been organised as part of the Przeglądu Młodych Recytatorów i Gawędziarzy im. A. Skupnia-Florka festival at the premises of the school Zespół Szkół Podstawowej i Gimnazjum nr 2 in Biały Dunajec. Photo S. Trebunia Staszal 2009



49. Aneta Larysa Knap from Nowy Targ, fashion designer in the tradition of folk design wearing handmade jeans embroidered in the parzenica pattern, white blouse and high-heeled boots with uppers made of tybet, a type of virgin wool fabric. Corpus Christi, Nowy Targ 2008. Photo S. Trebunia-Staszal

347 Anna Woźniak-Starak, a well-known Polish businesswoman, organised a fashion show showcasing Highlander wear in Zakopane. According to the local press, this unusual event was attended by Jan Nowak Jeziorański, Maryla Rodowicz, Waldemar Dąbrowski (Minister of Culture and National Heritage), Leszek Miller and his wife. See: A. Zdziorko, *Moda na serdak i katanke*, „Tygodnik Podhlański”, R.14:2003, No. 1 (677), pp. 25.

are frequently displayed during cultural events across Poland. One of Siekierka's biggest successes so far is his participation in the international traditional dress exhibition in the Spanish resort town Jaca in the Pyrenees. The week-long exhibition was visited by 85 thousand people. The Tytus Chałubiński Tatra Mountains Museum in Zakopane has purchased a series of female dresses for its own collection³⁴⁸. Importantly, Siekierka feels deeply connected to his Highlander environment, and his exhibitions are often accompanied by other local cultural events. He is also the founder of awards for young people from Podhale who participate in regional festivals and competitions.



50. Contemporary female dress is available in a great variety of forms and decorations. The most common ornamentation techniques are embroidery with colourful threads and ornamentation with beads or sequins. On the photograph: girls from Podhale wearing traditional festive dress. Photo S. Trebunia - Staszal 2011



51. Highlander women from Białka Tatrzańska photographed at a wedding. On the left, a contemporary dress with a black belt; on the right: traditional dress. Białka Tatrzańska, 2009. Archives of Jolanta and Tomasz Lassak

CONTEMPORARY ASPECTS OF PODHALE FASHION

In the last three years, fashions inspired by traditional dress have dominated the clothing market of Podhale, mostly among young Highlander women. This regional trend popularised by Siekierka is currently developing thanks to young female dressmakers, who are looking for their own means of artistic expression. Katarzyna Buńda (nee Buk) from Kościelisko has been running her regional store since 2004. Maria Fredro (nee Świder) owns a dressmaking manufacture in Poronin. Janina Walas from Groń manufactures leather goods together with her husband Jacek, but she has recently ventured into fashion design with considerable success. The workshop of Agnieszka and Mateusz Etynkowscy "Etynkowski Folk Fashion" that has operated in Zakopane for the last several years is also worth mentioning. The workshop produces traditional dress from a variety of regions in Poland and Europe, but also accurate replicas of 19th century Podhale traditional dress.

There are many more manufacturers, workshops and stores specialising in regional dress in Podhale. Some of the most recognizable can be found in Zakopane, Poronin, Nowy Targ, Czarny Dunajec and Gronie³⁴⁹. Most stores in the region have a broad offer, including traditional dress, replicas of historical

348 S. Trebunia – Staszal, A. Gaśienica - Giewont, *op. cit.*, pp. 13.

349 In Poronin itself, four shops are selling regional clothes in the centre of the village.

clothes, and traditionally inspired folk fashions. Complete costumes for women and children, as well elements of male dress such as shirts, vests, blouses, belts, hats, carbatina shoes and trousers can be purchased in these establishments. Traditional jewelry is also available: strings of beads, hair grips, rosettes, bracelets, earrings, as well as male pins, buckles for the *cucha* (a type of embroidered wool jacket), hat decorations such as shells, chains, metal grips for feathers. The chic ladies of Podhale, however, are enticed by the broad variety of folk clothes made of different mass-produced fabrics available on the market. The half-corset belts are current bestsellers. They are made of solid fabric or faux leather and decorated with colorful floral embroidery and beads. In the front, the belts are laced with ribbon, fitted with hooks and eyes or buckled. Some belts are made of leather and closed with metal buckles reminiscent of those on the male belt *oposek*. The belts are usually worn with deep cut short-sleeve blouses and solid or floral skirts of different lengths (Fig. 4).

The outfit is completed by folk-style high heels or high-heel carbatina shoes and accessorised with handbags made of leather, *tybet* fabric, or broadcloth. Dresses made of *tybet* fabrics or, more recently, Asian replicas thereof, are also very popular. It can be said that the arrival of imitation *tybet* on the Podhale market has boosted the number of women's clothes, both traditional and inspired by folk fashion³⁵⁰.

Constant experimentation with cuts and ornaments, and the introduction of new elements and motifs that go beyond existing canons has stirred many emotions and initiated many discussions in Podhale. The biggest controversies are generated by female belts, skirts with triangular hems that are sometimes mockingly called tails, short-sleeve blouses with flounces, high-heeled carbatina shoes, folk inspired high-heels and dresses. These extravagant fashions are annoying especially to regional activists and members of older generations. I have recently overheard an elderly lady from Biały Dunajec berating the author of folk inspired clothes "You know, I just don't see it. What is this even supposed to be? These belts, they have nothing to do with the highlands. Think about it!"³⁵¹. Voices like hers are part of a broader, regionalist discourse that guards traditional patterns, supports promotional efforts and aims to save the beauty of traditional dress³⁵².

Even this short description of contemporary Podhale dressmaking shows a certain diversity of approaches and directions. There are two main trends: traditional approach, and folk inspired fashion design. Each has their supporters as well as opponents. Although members of the local elites are sceptical towards the odd inventions, the chic ladies of Podhale cannot wait to see the latest fashions on offer.

350 Synthetic fabrics from Asia are significantly cheaper than the *tybet* virgin wool cloth, which affects their popularity. For comparison: one linear meter of imitation fabric costs on average 25 zł, whereas one sheet of virgin wool fabric 2.3 m wide costs on average 200 zł. (Author's own research).

351 Author's own research.

352 Male dress is less susceptible to change. Although some attempts have been made to introduce changes, men, except for slight modifications in ornaments, have kept the traditional form of dress: broadcloth trousers, white linen or cotton shirt, *serdak* (a type of vest), *kierpce* carbatina shoes, broad leather belt *oposek*, and a black hat. Changes have included introducing pants and vests made of grey broadcloth, worn especially by young musicians playing in regional pubs and bars. According to them, the material is more resistant to stains. Some Highlanders attempted to introduce grey trousers into festive dress, which had been criticised by those who consider themselves guardians of tradition. According to the latter, grey pants and vests spoil the harmony of the dress, which loses its brightness and traditional appeal. A well-known artist, musician and architect from Podhale said: „I just don't see it. You can't tell if it's a Highlander. Highlander's vest made of brown leather is beautiful and can't be replaced. The colour is warm and makes the wearer more handsome". See: S. Trebunia - Staszal, J. Olejnik, *Z Nowego Targu do Kieżmarku. Stroje ludowe polsko-słowackiego pogranicza*, Nowy Targ: Burmistrz Miasta Nowy Targ 2012, pp. 140.

The criticisms of the guardians of tradition fall on deaf ears. Women want to be fashionable, period. The desire to impress with novelty overcomes both the practical aspects of clothing and the faithfulness to tradition. When it comes to Podhale, G. Lehnert writes, fashion “is a way to live the paradoxical situation where we create our own unique image while simultaneously declaring that we belong to a certain group”³⁵³. Importantly, attempts to reconcile traditional canon and fashionable innovation are increasingly common. Stanisława Szostak from Poronin, musician and founder of the “Dziurawiec” Highlander band known for her cultural activities and stylish fashion, said remarkably “Everything in moderation. When you attend a wedding, wear proper Highlander dress on the first day. You can wear your weird fashions on the second day.” According to her, in order to gracefully manoeuvre in the maze of dress conventions one has to be able to separate what is traditional from what is folk inspired. As a result, we will always be able to dress for the occasion.

This has been confirmed through the empirical data gathered by a group of students from the Jagiellonian University’s Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology during a field research trip that took place in the villages of Skalne Podhale in 2009-2011³⁵⁴. Their research shows that Highlander women have a model concept of the traditional Highlanders’ dress despite the multitude of available female clothes. It consists of the following elements: white long-sleeve shirt decorated with broderie anglaise; corset decorated with the motif of parnassia flowers, ornamented with sequins and beads, or embroidered with colourful thread; a flowery *tybet* skirt; *serdak*; headscarf or fringed kerchief; and flat carbatina shoes tied around the foot with leather straps. Expensive jewellery is an indispensable part of the dress: gold earrings and rings with coral, strings of red beads. Naturally, the most prized beads are made of real coral. To purchase several strings, or *woje*, one often has to spend in excess of several dozen thousand zł. To increase their value, some women add gold clasps to their necklaces (Fig. 5).

FOLK DESIGN FROM NOWY TARG

At the end of this review of the fashion from Podhale one more person needs to be mentioned: Aneta Larysa Knap from Nowy Targ. This young artist works in the domain of applied arts within the tradition of folk design³⁵⁵. According to her, she wants to develop a style that is both typical for Nowy Targ and innovative, based on “traditional emblems, functional and representative of the character of her home region”³⁵⁶. Her work is a bold combination of traditional ornamentation techniques with contemporary

353 G. Lehnert, *Historia mody XX wieku*, translated by: M. Mirońska, Köln: Peter Delius 2001.

354 Data gathered as part of field research within the project „Laboratorium danych empirycznych”, which I have conducted in 2009 - 2011.

355 See: Aneta Larysa Knap’s website: www.folkdesign.pl (accessed on 29.12.2012) and S. Trebunia -Staszal, J. Olejnik, *op.cit.*, pp. 151-153.

356 Author’s own research.

youth fashions, for instance jeans with the *parzenice* embroidery pattern³⁵⁷, high-heeled carbatina shoes, shirts, blouses, coats and vests with folk motifs. Her vision is to create everyday functional clothes that is characterised by “the Podhale design, and painted with the attachment to the region and a fascination with Highlander life”³⁵⁸. She puts her vision into practice by wearing her own creation not only during fashion shows but also for local holidays. In 2008, during the Corpus Christi procession, the fashion designer stood next to traditionally dressed Highlanders wearing her own *parzenice* embroidered jeans, a white blouse with a *parzenica* applique and knee-high boots with uppers made of the *tybet* fabric. The photograph shows the artist in the abovementioned outfit standing next to the “mountain altar” of her own design built by the local chapter of the Podhale Inhabitants’ Association (Fig. 6).

Aneta Knap’s work is also an ideological message and part of the regional discourse of Podhale. Part of this discourse is the conviction that promoting local culture is a mission. “My mission is to propagate our cultural values in Poland and across the world, reaching the largest possible audience, stirring curiosity, and generating wonder over traditional clothing, which does not necessarily have to be worn only by those who were born Highlanders”³⁵⁹. This is what she achieved. The wardrobe elements designed by this artist from Nowy Targ are popular mostly among urban dwellers from outside the region. It is rarely seen in Podhale.

Experts in Polish fashion have appreciated Aneta Larysa Knap’s folk inspired clothes. Her collections, including „Na góralską nutę”, „Design Larysa”, „Góral Street” and „Splot góralski” have been showcased during many national cultural events. She participated in the biggest competitions and shows devoted to Polish fashion, such as Off Fashion, Moda Folk, and Warsaw Fashion Street³⁶⁰.

NASE ODZIENIE – OUR CLOTHING

This description of the state of contemporary Podhale dressmaking industry merely touches upon the complex issues of Podhale traditional dress. I have focused on fashion to the exclusion of many other important issues, such as the socio-cultural function and meaning of dress³⁶¹. This was a deliberate choice, hoping to bring into the spotlight certain problems of contemporary culture, which has increasingly been affected by globalization. It was already mentioned that free experimentation with traditional dress

357 I’m referring to the article „Wojna na parzenice” (A feud fought with parzenice) published in „Tygodnik Podhalański” on Sept. 8th, 2011, which describes a designer who tried to reserve the copyright to jeans embroidered with the parzenica pattern. It is worth noting that the first efforts to introduce this motif into youth fashion, in particular trousers, took place in the 20th century. I remember when my friend from Biały Dunajec arrived in the club during the International Highlander Folk Festival in Zakopane wearing trousers embroidered with black parzenica patterns. At that time, jeans embroidered with the parzenica pattern were worn also by Bartłomiej Koszarek. Robert Miśkowiec reported it for „Gazeta Krakowska”: „Bartek Koszarek from Bukowina Tatrzańska was one of the first to wear jeans embroidered with the parzenica pattern approximately 3-4 years ago”. Other young Highlanders have also experimented with this decorative motif, including Anna Trebunia-Wyrostek. Consequently, the methods of establishing authorship and copyright in folk fashion require further thought. See: B. Zalot - Tomalik, *Wojna na parzenice*, „Tygodnik Podhalański” 2011, No. 36 (1127), pp. 22.

358 Author’s own research.

359 Author’s own research.

360 S. Trebunia - Staszal, J. Olejnik, *op.cit.*, pp. 151-153.

361 By which I mean the use of traditional dress in the tourist industry. Today, it is worn as a type of uniform by wait staff in regional restaurants, carriage drivers (or *fjokrzy*), and musicians in regional bands. It is an important element of the group’s image.

stirs many emotions among the locals. Some are enamoured by folk-inspired outfits, others see them as a threat to the integrity of Podhale dress. The consequences of these experiments in fashion are difficult to foresee. So far, traditional dress has not been replaced by fancy outfits. Regardless of the changes it underwent, traditional dress is still considered part of the local heritage. It is as much part of the lives of Podhale residents who live in the vicinity of Giewont, as it is for their peers who emigrated across the ocean³⁶². Such is the message of a song recorded by “Giewont” and released in 1974 in the US as part of the record called *Pożegnanie Tatr* (Goodbye to the Tatra Mountains).

*Wyjechoł z Podhola naród polski,
Zabroł se ze sobom strój góralski,
biote portki i cuzecke,
kapelusik z orlim piórkiem, ciupazecke.
Tam se tońcy, występuje,
podhalańskom tradycyje utrzymuje.*

Polish people have left Podhale, argues the song, but they have taken their traditional dress with them – white trousers, jackets, feather hats and the *ciupaga*. Through their singing and dancing they uphold the Podhale tradition abroad.

Highlander dress is both a type of festive clothing and an important marker of the Podhale community bond. For the inhabitants of Podhale, it is a symbol of regional and national identity. At the same time, it is close to their hearts: a subject connected to emotions and experiences that can be expressed in those short words: *Ej, ni ma to jak nase góralskie odzienie*. There is nothing like our Highlander clothes.

362 In the US, Highlanders wear traditional dress during church festivities, family celebrations, regional and national holidays. It is worth mentioning that in the US folk artists from Podhale manufacture traditional dress. In Chicago, traditional dress can be purchased from regional stores (Author’s own sources).

TRADITIONAL COSTUMES OF ŚLĄSK CIESZYŃSKI (CIESZYN SILESIA):
TRADITIONS, METAMORPHOSES, PERSPECTIVES.

INTRODUCTION

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Folk dress is one of the main markers of regional identity and currently perhaps the most vital and representative aspect of traditional local culture. Much like rural art as a whole, traditional dress is shaped by local patterns, tools and raw materials inherited from generation to generation. It has always been an expression of the everyday needs of the community. While everyday clothes were modest, simple, sometimes even humble in shape and form, festive traditional dress worn at celebrations and rituals was distinctive in terms of cut and ornamentation. It fulfilled a role that went far beyond that of practical clothing, and became a signifier of the sacrum, with all the consequences thereof³⁶⁵.

The template for traditional dress typical for a given family, village, parish or region was adjusted and improved over the years. The richness of style and modesty of form was an expression of a shared sense of beauty, value system, rules of behaviour and ritual. Its structure, formed by generations of wearers, became a symbolic code for the social standing and ritual role of the owner. Thus, traditional dress was a marker of prestige, individuality and belonging to a certain social and regional group. Its role was religious, magical, erotic and aesthetic; it supported social order and tradition³⁶⁶. Consequently, it may seem that traditional dress is unchangeable and stagnant. This would be an incorrect assumption. Despite censorship and criticism aimed at novelty, traditional dress and other elements of folk culture underwent changes³⁶⁷. Research on folk culture and traditional dress is a

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365 Polish ethnographers have devoted much time to traditional dress. Consequently, there is a broad range of literature on the subject, and many publications are still forthcoming. See: T. Karwicka, *Ubiory ludowe w Polsce*, Wrocław: PTL 1995; B. Bazielić, *Odzież i strój ludowy w Polsce*, Wrocław: PTL 2000; E. Piskorz-Branekova, *Polskie stroje ludowe*, part 1. Warszawa: Sport i Turystyka – MUZA SA 2003; part 2 and 3, Warszawa: Sport i Turystyka – MUZA SA 2007.

366 P. Bogatyriew, *Semiotyka kultury ludowej*, edited by M. R. Mayenowa, Warszawa: PIW 1979.

367 This information needs to be underscored, as it is often neglected, especially in modern reconstructions and in mass media.

source of information about broader social and moral changes rather than just individual preferences of dress owners. These general insights are applicable also to the folk dress of Cieszyn Silesia, to which I devote the present paper³⁶⁸.

CHARAKTERYSTYKA REGIONU

Cieszyn Silesia is a historical region stretching south from Beskid Śląski (Silesian Beskids), which divide it from Slovakia and Moravia; in the east it reaches Białka River and the Beskid Zachodni (West Beskids) where it borders with Małopolska (Lesser Poland); in the west its neighbours are Moravia and Śląsk Opawski (Silesian Opava) through the river Ostrawica. In the north, it is partially encircled by Vistula and Olza, until the point where the latter reaches Odra. The rest remains open towards Górny Śląsk (Upper Silesia). The location of the region made it a borderland in the regional sense (between Upper Silesia and Lesser Poland, with the Żywiec area and Moravia taken into consideration), and in the ethnic-national sense (between Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia). The region is a melting pot for a variety of trends stirring throughout Europe.

Cieszyn lies at the natural heart of this area. Its history and strategic location influenced the culture and development of the region. On the crossroads between the main trade routes, Cieszyn was influenced by most of European heritage. The cosmopolitan ambiance of the city and its neighbouring towns, such as Jabłonków (currently in the Czech Republic), Skoczów or Bielsko, had an effect on the local villages³⁶⁹. The distance between the urban and the rural was less pronounced here than elsewhere in Poland, due to the short distances between villages and towns, wealth of landowners and high levels of education among the Cieszyn peasants. The community of Cieszyn Silesia have kept in close contact regardless of social status and location, which is confirmed by a significant number of archival evidence. In addition, „the influence of the Reformation was stronger here than in the central lands, facilitating the infiltration of the western model of material culture”³⁷⁰.

Thanks to a thorough effort Cieszyn put into trade relations, it became a sales market not only for other towns and cities, but also for neighbouring villages. Hence, it was often called “the suburbs of Cracow” or “little Vienna”³⁷¹. Its strategic location at the foot of the Gate of Moravia and on the major trade routes made Cieszyn Silesia an area of particular mobility. Here, Poles mingled with Czechs, Germans

368 The topic of this paper is a small contribution to the larger discussion covered in both Czech and Polish ethnographical publications. The most important works include: L. Malicki, *Strój górali śląskich*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: PTL 1956; G. Firla, *Strój Lachów śląskich*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: PTL 1969; B. Bazieliuch, *Z badań terenowych nad cieszyńskim haftem ludowym*, Katowice: Biblioteka Śląska 1958; K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Strój górali Beskidu Śląskiego*, Warszawa: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 1997; Oděv, w: Těšínsko, (ed.) V. Tomolová, I. Stolařík, J. Štika. Šenov u Ostravy: Muzeum Těšínska, Valašské muzeum v přírodě, Nakladatelství Tilia 2000, pp. 99-177; M. Kiereś, *Strój ludowy górali wiślańskich*, Wisła: Towarzystwo Miłośników Wisły 2002; Eadem: *Strój górali śląskich*, The dress of Silesia highlanders, fot. J. Kubiena translated by P. Krasnowolski, K. Kulikowska, Kraków: Fundacja Braci Golec, 2008.

369 K. Czerwińska, *Rola miasta w kształtowaniu mody i gustów estetycznych wsi. Przykład Śląska Cieszyńskiego*. „Studia etnologiczne i antropologiczne”, vol. 7, *Miasto – przestrzeń kontaktu kulturowego i społecznego*, I. Bukowska-Floreńska (ed.), Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego 2004, pp. 216- 225.

370 B. Poloczkowa, *Tekstyliia i strój na Śląsku Cieszyńskim w XVI – XVIII w.*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” vol. 21, No. 3: 1967, pp. 136 – 137.

371 K. D. Kadłubiec, *Uwarunkowania cieszyńskiej kultury ludowej*, Czeski Cieszyn: PZKO 1987, pp. 5- 19.

and Jews; and starting from the 15th century Wallachians brought the formerly unknown shepherding economy to the slopes of the Beskids.

The abovementioned factors, and the difficult political situation of the region³⁷², which changed its national affiliation and, in 1920, became split between Poland and Czechoslovakia as a result of the decision of the Council of Ambassadors, was reflected in the culture formation processes affecting the locals. Consequently, the region has developed its own cultural characteristics while maintaining a sense of identity over the neighbouring lands and regions. This can be seen both in original elements and creative borrowings from its neighbours³⁷³.



52. Historyczne granice Śląska Cieszyńskiego

372 M. Borek, D. Gwarecki (ed.), *Zarys dziejów Śląska Cieszyńskiego*, translated by A. M. Rusok, M. Balowski, Ostrava: Praga: Komitet Czeskiej Rady Narodowej 1992.

373 See: K. Czerwińska, *Sztuka ludowa na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. Między tradycją a innowacją*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Wydawnictwo Naukowo – Artystyczne GNOME 2009.

The dynamic and diverse processes taking place in the region shaped four categories of clothes worn by the locals. These include the Laski dress, the Jacków Jabłonkowskich dress, the Highlanders' dress and the Cieszyn dress also known as Wallachian dress³⁷⁴. The style of traditional dress that was named Laski by Gustaw Firla has disappeared in the beginning of the 20th century, replaced by universal urban fashions³⁷⁵. The Jacków Jabłonkowskich dress is worn by the inhabitants of Jabłonkovo which, as already mentioned, currently belongs to the Czech Republic. The tradition never went beyond the town and the dress was worn sporadically at the beginning of the 20th century³⁷⁶. Highlanders' dress, on the other hand, has kept its viability and was worn by the inhabitants of Silesian Beskids both in Poland and the Czech Republic. Its form is based on primitive cuts, homespun local fabrics and modest decorations. It has resisted fashion influences and is currently one of the most archaic forms of folk dress in Poland³⁷⁷.

Cieszyn dress was among the most popular in the region³⁷⁸. It is widely considered a type of folk dress, although initially it was worn by the Cieszyn townspeople. The dress "emerged from the influences of renaissance Venice and reformation-era Germany"³⁷⁹, and its opulence made it a mobile asset that was included in the final wills to be inherited by younger generations. Local nobility wore glamorous clothes, although they have ceased to wear traditional dress in the 18th century. Townspeople followed suit.

A variety of historical events had influenced the development of the Cieszyn dress. In 1779, Treaty of Teschen was signed between Marie Therese and Frederick II ending the war for the succession of Bavaria. The celebratory ball organised on this occasion was the first opportunity for the townswomen of Cieszyn to wear crinolines, imported from Vienna according to the fashion of that time. Since then, the fashions worn by the Cieszyn townspeople has kept up with European trends, and the towns in the region saw a rise in the number of stores and fashion houses offering clothes fit for even the most sophisticated tastes³⁸⁰.

374 An in-depth analysis of each of the groups of traditional dress that can be found in Cieszyn Silesia goes beyond the scope of this paper. This article is a modest contribution, summarising the state of contemporary research and suggesting further directions. Due to its importance and viability, the present text focuses on the Cieszyn dress.

375 G. Firla, *op. cit.* Interestingly, the Laski dress was never established in a unified form but rather differed in different locations where it was worn: Orłowo, Bogumin, Karwin, Frydek, Bielsko. Whether the author was right to distinguish this as a separate category could be debated, as this issue requires further research and revision of current assumptions.

376 A. Dobrowolska, *Strój Jacków jabłonkowskich*, „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, vol.7, Lublin: 1948/1949.

377 M. Kiereś, *op. cit.*

378 The most recent work on the Cieszyn dress has been published by Bazielić. See: B. Bazielić *Strój cieszyński*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: PTL 2006. However, due to its many problematic statements, the monograph should not be considered a recommended source of information about the dress. See: J. Krzyspiał, Jak nie pisać o stroju cieszyńskim: Refleksje na temat monografii, „Etnografia Polska” vol. 52, issue 1-2: 2008, pp. 61-72.

379 W. Iwanek, *Złotnictwo na Śląsku Cieszyńskim. Próba zarysu*, Series: Rocznik Muzeum Górnośląskiego w Bytomiu, sztuka; No. 6, Bytom: Muzeum Górnośląskie 1973, pp. 126.

380 The importance of fashion seems to be confirmed by a 1940s image found in the the Cieszyn town hall together with other documents. Archives, museum collections and photographs confirm that townsfolk was following the fashion trends. I. Adamczyk, M. Dembiniok, G. Studnicki, *Korowód naszych przodków*, Cieszyn: Muzeum Śląska Cieszyńskiego 2004 (exhibition catalogue).

A reflection of other historical events can be found in the most characteristic male clothing item – the cape. Its form is a reference to the military outerwear from the time of Napoleon's invasion. When waging war on Prussia, Napoleon Bonaparte decided to conquer the Cieszyn area as a valuable economic resource and strategic position for the military troops stationed in the vicinity. Although Cieszyn Silesia has evaded military activity, nevertheless economic hardship and destruction followed the French, Austrian and Russian troops; and local men were drafted to serve in the army. The presence of the army, and military accents affected the clothes of local men in urban as well as rural regions³⁸¹.

Meanwhile, as traditional dress lost its appeal to the Cieszyn townspeople, it became more popular among the inhabitants of neighbouring towns and villages³⁸². Around 1900, it was adopted by wealthy women in Wisła and the upper villages of the Silesian Beskids. Highlanders' dress, more modest and based on archaic cuts and homespun fabrics, was gradually replaced by the rich and attractive Cieszyn dress, popular especially among women. Importantly, the rural folk adopted only those elements of the dress that have suited their aesthetic needs. Fashionable innovations were not always immediately approved of, and where frequently met with objections or even outrage³⁸³. As the area where the Cieszyn dress was worn expanded, the dress gained a new type of wearer but also gradually changed in form. Among the alterations were the cut, the fabric, and the ornamentation. Wealthy peasants refused to be less well dressed than the



53. TKB, Wisła, fot. M. Kłek, 2008

381 B. Poloczkowa, *Strój cieszyński w XIX wieku*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” vol: 26, No 3: 1972, pp. 153.

382 Originally, its border was the line between Stare Bielsko – Jaworze – Ustroń – Leszna – Nydek, Gródek – Karpętną – Olbrzychowice – Guty – Rzeką – Ligotka Kameralna – Gnojnik – Trzanowice – Grodziszcz – Cierlicko Olbrachcice – Kończyce Małe – Strumień. A. Dobrowolska, *Żywotek cieszyński. Ze studiów nad strojem i haftem ludowym*, Katowice: Muzeum Śląskie 1930, pp. 3.

383 This is confirmed by Jan Kubisz's memoirs, „I have recently seen one of these, simply - a goat. Hair standing up and tangled but with a multitude of slides and pins; in the middle of her braid was a ribbon. Her *jakła* was deep cut, and her lace *kabotek* was but in a manner more suitable for a lady from a big city. Her sleeves were short and on her fist she wore a gold watch on a leather band. Her apron was silk, booties - yellow. There was something else, can you guess what?! You will never guess! On a long piece of string she wore a pearl-encrusted pouch. This figure of half peasant girl, half city lady evoked in me only disgust and horror. How dare she treat the beautiful Wallachian dress in this manner!” J. Kubisz, *Pamiętnik starego nauczyciela, Cieszyn 1928*, as quoted in E. Filip, *Nie szata zdobi człowieka*, (exhibition catalogue), Bielsko-Biała: Muzeum w Bielsku-Białej 1994 (pages not numbered).



54. Helena Kamieniarz z Koniakowa, fot. W. Trzcionka, 2002

townsfolk, but the increasing economic hardships in rural regions prevented them from purchasing and keeping original clothes. The cost of the admired folk dress was often difficult to afford, and so imported fabrics were replaced with homespun linen and woollen cloth, and later with cheap mass-produced fabrics³⁸⁴. The cut of the garments was also altered to reduce fabric consumption. For instance, a ruffled skirt from a narrower stripe of material replaced the opulent full skirt in order for the design to use a smaller number of *szyrzyzna*, measures of fabric length. Fashionable ribbons, lace and threads imported from remote European markets were bought at local fair or stores whenever possible. The high prices of haberdashery boosted the development of local lacemaking and embroidery. Imported patterns have been gradually replaced goods manufactured locally by skilled women who used foreign patterns at the beginning but later developed their own characteristic style³⁸⁵.

The development of embroidery followed the unwavering popularity of female dress, in particular the need to decorate *żywotek*, a type of corset that signified the wealth of its owner. Throughout the ages, the shape of *żywotek* has gradually evolved

from a low 7cm belt to a 28cm corset. Originally, metal springs or thread called *szych*³⁸⁶ made a symmetrical composition with pieces of fabric trimmed with gold, silver or blue galloon that contrasted with dark velvet background: black, red, green or navy blue. The scarce availability and high price of these ornaments forced the embroiderers to use multi-coloured velvet and cotton thread; cheaper blue tapes, rows of beads or embroidery, replaced galloons. With time, the traditional symmetry of *żywotek* ornamentation was abandoned, and new compositions began to be used³⁸⁷. The amount of work required by embroidery contributed to the disappearance of *kabotek*³⁸⁸, a type of white blouse richly decorated with embroidery. First, it had been replaced by the *kabotek* with machine-made embroidery, later by fashionable brightly coloured low cut urban blouses³⁸⁹.

384 G. Firla, *Strój cieszyński*, Czeski Cieszyn: PZKO 1977, pp.12.

385 Lacemaking techniques used in Cieszyn include: bobbin lace, filet lace and point lace, particularly beloved in the Beskidy villages, especially Koniaków. Agnieszka Dobrowolska wrote about lacemaking, „here, the creativity of the Silesians is in full bloom”. Dobrowolska, *op. cit.*, pp. 15.

386 *Szych* was made by adding thin metal wire to silk thread.

387 A. Dobrowolska, *op. cit.*; E. Milerska, *Haft na żywotku cieszyńskim*, Czeski Cieszyn: PZKO 1985.

388 A more decorative form of *kabotek* was a *szutka* or *koszulka*, worn for special occasions and holidays.

389 G. Firla, *op. cit.*, pp. 12.

When it comes to adopting traditional dress by women from rural regions, one of the biggest challenges was jewellery. In Cieszyn Silesia, jewellery was opulent and expensive. A jewellery set consisted a collar stud, orpant (a type of necklace), chains, studs, hoczki (a type of hook used for lacing the corset, which later became purely decorative), and belts, which signified the wealth of local townsfolk³⁹⁰. Silver and gold jewellery was originally imported from abroad, likely from Venice, but the demand contributed to the development of the local goldsmith industry in Cieszyn, Skoczów and Jabłonków³⁹¹. Jewellery was the most important and expensive element of a young maid's dowry; only the wealthiest could afford it. Those who could not afford precious metals bought imitations made of pankfong³⁹². In the interwar period and after the war, belts were made from haberdashery tapes decorated with beads and sequins.

Headgear was also influenced by fashion. Until the 14th century, women covered their heads with headscarves or bonnets. Only maids could walk with their heads uncovered, showing off their long, straight hair worn in braids and greased with pork fat. The braid was decorated with bandla, meaning ribbon. Braids had to be thick, which is why przeplatka, a wiglet from human hair made by a local expert, was woven into the braid. With time and under the influence of fashion hair was treated less rigorously: locks of hair near the ears were curled; the forehead was covered with fringe³⁹³. After the wedding, hair was worn under a bonnet, which in Cieszyn Silesia assumed a particularly opulent form³⁹⁴. The pattern, decoration and style in which it was worn changed dynamically with fashion until it fell out of use.

Urban fashion also had an influence on the male wardrobe. Even in the second half of the 19th century men's dress showed influences of the dominant conventions of Central Europe³⁹⁵. Urban accents adopted by rural men included hats, waistcoats with silver buttons, boots, and red kerchiefs tied on the neck over the shirt³⁹⁶. The cut was dictated by the skill of the local manufacturers, as they were the only source of the coveted products. Urban dressmakers promoted certain shapes, sizes, dominant colours and even the softness of the leather uppers of the boots³⁹⁷. Initially, urban dress was worn by men returning from migrations and rich farmers. With time, this cheap and practical clothing gained popularity among the locals. Men's suits, known here as ancug, and blazers that were either tailor-made or store-bought have replaced traditional male dress in its everyday as well as festive form. This is why much of the data about traditional male dress comes from the archives. Like in the neighbouring regions, the end of the 19th century also marked the point when traditional male dress virtually disappeared, replaced by landowners' fashions³⁹⁸.

390 Witold Iwanek wrote, „Even at the beginning of the 20th century, the dowry of a wealthy Jabłonów townswoman contained 7 litres of silver products, and the weight of the jewellery she wore reached 1-1.5 kg. Iwanek: *op. cit.*, pp. 134. Cf. M. Gładysz, *Zdobnictwo metalowe na Śląsku*. Kraków: Muzeum Śląskie 1938, pp. 171- 247 and M. Dembiniok, S. Rusnoková, *Krojové stříbrné šperky Těšínského Slezska, Czeski Cieszyn: Muzeum Tesinska 2000.*

391 G. Firla, *op. cit.*, pp. 30.

392 *Pankfong* is an alloy of copper, nickel and zinc significantly cheaper than silver.

393 K. Piegza, *Nakrycia głowy kobiet cieszyńskich*, Czeski Cieszyn: PZKO 1979.

394 *Ibid*, pp. 7. The oldest bonnet is known only from archive records. The most popular form of bonnet was made of lace with *czółko*, a decorative piece of material covering the forehead, and worn under a kerchief. This form has survived to this day.

395 B. Bazielić, *Śląskie stroje ludowe*, Chorzów: Wydawnictwo „Śląsk” 1997, pp. 28

396 G. Firla, *op. cit.*, pp.16.

397 *Ibid*, pp. 37

398 This can be seen in many photographs from the turn of the 19th century. Women are seen in complete traditional dress while men are wearing blazers or suits.

A critical period for the development, and sometimes far-reaching changes of folk dress was the 19th century, in particular its second half. During that time the historical, economic and social change intensified³⁹⁹. The expanded railway network, together with the communication infrastructure connected the region from within, but also opened up even greater possibilities in terms of communication with the whole Europe. Urbanisation of towns and emergence of industrial valleys in Ostrava, Trzyniec and Bielsk forced a new way of life that was different from traditional lifestyle. Mass migrations of new settlers from outside Cieszyn Silesia contributed to this phenomenon. First, the wave of changes from “the old” to “the new”, which also meant “urban”, brought change to material culture forcing an evolution in terms of clothes. Newcomers brought with them their own clothing; frequently they cast traditional dress side as an unwanted symbol of their origins, and wore urban dress instead. This helped proliferate the new dress conventions in towns, but not in villages where folk dress became the stronghold of tradition and faith, especially among Evangelicals⁴⁰⁰. With time, changes have reached them as well causing traditional clothes to go out of fashion.

This process escalated after the First World War, spurred by young women who wanted to follow fashionable trends. Many of them took jobs in towns and cities, spending most of their wages on improving their image. Hair, clothes, dowry – everything had to be bought in the big city and according to newest trends. Clothing choices are inextricably linked to the personality of their owner, thus individual aesthetic preferences and approach to fashion also had an effect⁴⁰¹. It should be noted that the strict canon of folk tradition was affected by individual preferences, although elements of traditional and modern dress did not go together – causing the former to gradually fall out of use.

The retreat of traditional dress, and the changes to its form have been significantly affected by the partition of Cieszyn Silesia that took place in 1920. The fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and subsequent introduction of new state borders cut off the access to foreign markets of Paris, Vienna and Prague. Naturally, this affected the clothing industry. Patterned precious fabrics like damask and silk used for making headscarves and aprons became nearly impossible to buy. They were replaced with available equivalents in solid colours, and the pattern was painted on using oil paints and templates. The transformation has affected also the decorative industry, as there was limited access to threads and lace. In order to find haberdashery to fulfil immediate needs, goods were purchased in Małopolska (Lesser Poland); for instance, gold tape for trimmings on the *żywotek* was purchased

399 R. Kantor, *Ubiór – strój – kostium. Funkcje odzienia w tradycyjnej społeczności wiejskiej w XIX i w początkach XX wieku na obszarze Polski*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1982, pp. 35- 74.

400 Many researchers wrote about traditional dress as a marker of religious identity in Cieszyn Silesia. On the basis of field research, Firla concluded that Catholic women wore the Last dress while Evangelical Christians wore the Cieszyn dress. G. Firla, *op. cit.*, pp. 14. Another researcher showed that the traditional dress worn in Brenna, where the majority of inhabitants are Evangelical, was much more modest and somber in comparison to the *istebniański* dress worn by Catholics. However, elsewhere in her work, the author states that Evangelical women from Brenna tended to wear intricately decorated outfits made of more expensive fabrics. They also frequently wore expensive silver jewellery. K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 75. Today, these hypotheses are difficult to verify. Certainly, religious faith has contributed to the popularity of traditional dress in the Cieszyn area regardless of the wearer’s denomination. The long-term tradition of wearing Cieszyn traditional dress to the Confirmation ceremony contributes to the vitality of this dress form.

401 B. Bazieliuch, *Moda w strojach regionalnych*, (exhibition catalogue), Bytom: Muzeum Górnośląskie 1967.

from the local Jews. Furthermore, manufacture and craft have developed locally. Women became increasingly interested in learning crafts, which was soon adapted to fit the needs and requests of local buyers⁴⁰².

Despite efforts to keep the original motherland unified, the border has gradually divided the society. In the part that belonged to Czechoslovakia, industrialisation efforts caused folk culture to lose its vitality. Traditional dress was rejected in favour of modern urban fashions in the 30s. The division, and the resulting influence of incoming migrants severed the bond between the locals, especially the youngest generations, and the traditional dress. Difficulties in purchasing necessary dress elements, which could only be found in stores across the border, contributed to this process. At the same time, traditional dress in the Polish part of Cieszyn Silesia, especially in the villages of the Beskids, remained popular and kept changing. As a result, in the inter-war period, women from Czech Cieszyn were not able to recognise the traditional dress that used to be worn by the former inhabitants of the city area⁴⁰³.

CHANGES IN THE DRESS OF CIESZYN SILESIA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Traditional dress has changed even more radically following the Second World War. The social and moral change, coupled with a sense of independence from the moral authority of the older generations caused rejection of the role of traditional dress in the cultural fabric of the rural community. The young generation was the most susceptible to city fashions, because they attended schools and found jobs in urban environments. Consequently, much of the previous lifestyle was rejected along with traditional dress, which betrayed its owner's rural origins and became a symbol of backwardness. Mass-produced city clothes were popular not only because of fashion, but also due to their practicality and low price. Hence, the unification of urban and rural dress proceeded dynamically regardless of the chagrin or even outrage of the older generations.

Former festive dress became a costume worn for important family occasions, religious celebration and, most importantly, national holidays, for instance the harvest home festivals in the villages of the Beskids. With time, the increasing popularity of city clothes caused traditional festive dress to fall out of use. It was worn rarely, mostly by members of regional folk ensembles. Meanwhile, as everyday dress increasingly resembled urban, mass-produced fashions, the former canon of traditional dress was only enriched with new fabrics and ornaments. Colourful nylons and brocades imported from France, America and China increased the attractiveness and decorative value of the dress in the eyes of its owners. Gradually, modern fabrics and decorations became so different to the dress' original form that it was difficult to identify its origins⁴⁰⁴.

402 The best example is Koniaków lace.

403 B. Poloczkowa, *Wpływ przebiegu granic politycznych na kształtowanie się ubioru ludowego (na przykładzie Śląska Cieszyńskiego)*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” vol. 30, No 2: 1976, pp. 85. This is also confirmed by the results of my field research. Traditional dress has been forgotten by the inhabitants of Zaolzie, an area of Cieszyn Silesia that belongs to the Czech Republic. Even elderly people found traditional dress difficult to remember, while Poles managed to describe it in great detail, and even showed me some preserved elements of female dress. One exception is Highlander dress, which is used as a stage costume on both sides of the Olza River, thus it is remembered well by the inhabitants of Beskidy.

404 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.



55. Czeski Cieszyn, fot. M. Kłek, 2011 (1)



56. Czeski Cieszyn, fot. M. Kłek, 2011 (2)



57. Dożynki w Skoczowie, Burmistrz miasta w stroju cieszynskim, fot. M. Kłek, 2011

Another function of traditional dress was as a stage costume and artefact. Due to the requirements of the stage and the characteristics of folklore performances, traditional dress has lost even more of its authenticity. The professional and commercial character of the performances forced a unification of dress shapes and an overabundance of decoration.

THE CURRENT STATE OF FOLK DRESS IN CIESZYN SILESIA

After years of low popularity, when traditional dress was considered merely an artefact for stage or ideology purposes, for the last two decades we have been observing a renaissance of sorts. The dynamic regional activity and the promotion of local communities' cultural heritage have brought traditional dress back to the forefront. It remains the most representative and visible marker of old traditions, which is why it is again in demand as a hallmark of regional culture. Wearing traditional dress for important events, such as national, family and religious celebrations (in particular the first communion or confirmation, Corpus Christi processions etc.) is once again in fashion. Even owning traditional dress is considered desirable⁴⁰⁵. Many local restaurants dress their staff in a traditional manner, regardless of the high cost of a complete ensemble with jewellery. Awareness of the cultural and aesthetic value of traditional dress is increasing. It is not uncommon to meet young people who are proud to be able to name and describe all the elements of traditional dress in dialect, although these descriptions can be inaccurate. This is the result of the activity of local promoters of regional culture. For instance, they have organised Tradition and Regional Dress Day, which was on its 7th edition in 2012⁴⁰⁶.

405 Some ethnology students of Silesia University wear traditional dress to their thesis defense.

406 See: e.g. <http://gazetacodzienna.pl/arttykul/kultura/vii-dzien-tradycji-i-stroju-regionalnego-juz-od-piatku> (accessed on: 14.12. 2012). Other important activities promoting regional dress include: Projekt Tradycyjnie Piękne <http://www.tradycyjniepiekne.pl/> (accessed on 10.12.2012) and Szlak Stroju Cieszynskiego http://rowerowe.pl/trasy_podglad?trasa=111 (accessed on 20.12.2012).

Nevertheless, for a long time traditional dress has been seen in terms of stage costume, which affected the way it is perceived. Folk band performances have solidified the view that folk dress existed in a single unified and normalised form. In addition, it has been gradually losing its function in the domain of the family, where its individual value and characteristics were frequently forgotten. For example, traditional dress was quite popular in the villages of the Beskids. Nevertheless, elements of the Cieszyn dress were mixed together with items taken from the dress of Silesia Highlanders. Respondents have pointed out that some women wore carbatina shoes with Cieszyn dress rather than the more appropriate black leather shoes. Women preferred the Cieszyn dress, as it was more decorative. Meanwhile, men favoured Highlander dress, frequently accessorising it with contemporary items, such as sports shoes. It should be noted that the male dress of the Silesia Highlanders was the most popular⁴⁰⁷, and worn on many occasions as representative of the heritage of Cieszyn Silesia rather than just the Beskids. It can be seen why the use of traditional dress in the context of contemporary culture can be problematic and even controversial.

The growing importance of folk dress means that there is a growing demand. Today, finding the dress is a difficult task. Wherever its use has been uninterrupted, as is the case with Cieszyn Silesia, old traditions can be continued and developed with few problems. Elderly people play a vital role in this process. They still remember the details of the dress, and they might have also acquired the necessary skill to make it from previous generations. The growing demand for traditional dress has caused many people to reintroduce older sewing and dressmaking techniques. Traditional decorative methods, such as lacemaking and embroidery, are used even today⁴⁰⁸. Folk manufacturers produce elements of traditional dress locally, taking care to keep them authentic and using old cuts, patterns and authentic fabric whenever possible. The majority of museum items and photographic documentation comes from the turn of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, which is why the contemporary form of traditional dress is returning to its former shape. In many cases this process is guided by the older generation's knowledge regarding folk dress and aided by scientific publications. Support for this process comes from many ethnographic monographs that have been published increasingly frequently over the last several years thanks to the efforts of local supporters of regional heritage⁴⁰⁹. Such activists have managed to bring back to the region male and female Highlanders' and Cieszyn dress.

407 In the Silesian Beskids men wore elements of traditional and urban dress at the same time, for example, a linen shirt with embroidered sleeves and front worn with blazers or suits; or a linen shirt worn with the *bruclek*, a type of waistcoat. Other elements of the outfit were: a hat, pressed trousers, socks and shoes. The leather bag, tobacco pouch, pipe, cane, *łapawice* woolen gloves and Highlander belt fell out of use. B. Bazieliński, *Śląski op. cit.*, pp. 36- 37 and pp. 92.

408 Michalina Prus from Cieszyn is an expert in traditional embroidery on the *żywotek* corsets who taught the knowledge and skills to her daughter, Urszula Prus-Zamojska. Both women manufacture entire traditional dress outfits. Ms. Prus-Zamojska is one of the few people able to make lace bonnets See: H. Kluz, *Oblycz się kobieto, po naszymu*, „Głos Ziemi Cieszyńskiej” No 51/52 19 XII 2001, p. 8 and the author's own research. Others who decorate *żywotek* corsets include Irena Rakowska from Cieszyn, Lidia Lankocz from Golezów and Zuzanna Bujok from Wisła. Many women in the Silesian Beskids specialise in traditional dress ornamentation techniques, in particular cross-stitch and Koniaków lacemaking.

409 The work of the Golec foundation is of particular interest here. They have published a series of works on the dress of the inhabitants of Polish Carpathians, including the dress of Cieszyn Silesia. The series already includes a volume on the dress of the Highlanders from Silesian Beskids, works on the Cieszyn dress are ongoing. See www.fundacjabracigolec.pl (accessed on 20.12.2012)

The popular demand for traditional dress seems to have encouraged commercial manufacturers to specialise in traditional clothes and items. As a result, another problem has emerged: that of traditional dress as merchandise. The production process of traditional dress is long and labour-intensive. This is frequently at odds with the demands of the customers, especially regional folk bands ordering a large number of similar sets at the same time. Price is also an important factor. For these reasons, manufacturers of folk dress frequently decide to introduce simplifications, and replace hand-made ornaments with machine work. Consequently, the traditional form of the dress becomes distorted.

The renaissance of traditional dress is also taking place in another domain. Recently, folk art and folk dress functions as an inspiration for the so-called ethnodesign. Young artists and designers use traditional techniques to come up with original and innovative solutions. A marriage between the unique style and tradition of a particular region with modern forms and solution has created an entirely new aesthetic quality and gathered a broad group of fans. Many folk inspired objects rely on elements of Polish traditional dress. These inspirations take different forms: some continue the traditional form; others rely on it more loosely. This trend is also applicable to the study of the dress of Cieszyn Silesia. Local manufacturers rely on the regional heritage, but also designers and artists from outside the region readily use the Cieszyn Silesia aesthetic.

SUMMARY

In contemporary culture, traditional dress is a lively and important phenomenon that continues traditional values and aesthetic canons. At the same time, it is under the constant influence of social and cultural factors. It is an expression of regional awareness and a need for ethnoidentification. In the age of cultural uniformisation this can be considered a unique value of traditional dress.

This is a good opportunity to stress that making and using folk costumes is never merely mechanical recreation of old cuts and patterns. It is an exercise in creative adaptation. Each generation brings elements of their own reality into the costume, and establishes them in its form. The choice of colour or decorative composition is a reflection of artistic individualism. The attention to detail, faithfulness to tradition or its free interpretation make the dress what it is: a prized example of craftsmanship.

INTRODUCTION

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In many ways, the history of Cracow traditional dress is an interesting cultural phenomenon. More and more often, the dress fulfils different functions in a variety of contexts. Next to functions related to family and annual rituals of rural life, the dress started to play a role in urban spaces, and be included in events important for city life. The historical and political changes in Poland, together with economic development and the 19th century trend that made rural dress fashionable, have all played an important role. Consequently, Cracow traditional dress has been elevated to the status of national dress, and has remained so for the following two decades. Today, an analysis of sociocultural phenomena would be required to open up new avenues of research into the topic of folk dress as national dress of the 21st century⁴¹¹.

From a historical perspective, the phenomenon of Cracow dress should be analysed in particular with reference to male dress: russet coat and headgear: the peaked cap *krakuska* and the woollen cap *magierka*. The gradual urbanisation that took place at the beginning of the 20th century in Cracow and its vicinity pushed the costume into assuming a new role in urban space. According to the spatial development plan for the “Great Cracow”, the city started to spread out, introducing the neighbouring villages into the metropolitan borders. Thus, local customs and traditions became part of the *civitas Cracoviensis*.

CLOTHING: OUTFIT – DRESS – COSTUME

In traditional rural communities, the function of clothing revolves around the mutual relations between clothing, outfit and costume. Each of these categories carries certain cultural connotations that can be interpreted in an appropriate context.

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411 For some time now the traditional dress of Podhale is interpreted as Polish national dress, especially outside of Poland. Part of a newly opened exhibition of the Amsterdam Museum is a 40-metre tapestry made of 179 colourful squares, each decorated with a folk pattern typical for the nations who live in Amsterdam. Parzenice (a type of embroidery from Podhale) have been used as the Polish national pattern. <http://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/en/my-town> (accessed on 31.12.2012).

The use of Cracow dress during historical events, national celebrations and religious holidays, as well as in cultural activities involving rural and urban folklore demanded a certain transition between the functions of dress, outfit, and costume. A semiotic analysis of these notions reveals their additional meanings.

The notion of clothing and clothes assume different meanings depending on the fulfilled function. If the clothing is used for practical purposes, e.g. protects from weather conditions, or facilitates certain activities, then we may call it an outfit. The main function of dress, on the other hand, is not utilitarian but rather affected by fashion⁴¹². Drawing a distinction between these terms affects further definitions. In cultural reality, a festive outfit may become ritual dress, and ritual dress may be turned into a costume. An outfit can assume some functions of dress and acquire symbolic value in a given community.

One example of an outfit becoming a dress is the Cracow traditional dress, which was used as a military uniform of the Scythemen (Kosynierzy) during the Kościuszko insurrection in the 18th century. This extraordinary precedent took place on the Cracow soil when the Polish state was partitioned; as a consequence, peasant dress was elevated to the status of a national symbol. This did not influence, however, the gradual disappearance of its ritual function and significance for festive occasions.

The Cracow dress took its final shape at the end of the 18th century. In the first half of the 19th century it has already sprouted multiple variations. Traditional dress became a costume during certain socio-historical events, in particular throughout the 19th century when it has undergone a renaissance of sorts as a result of the nobility's infatuation with the pastoral. At that time, wearing the dress to show it off was fashionable; with time, it inspired many artistic endeavours and performances. Further developments in the urban and administrative tissues of Cracow that took place in the early 20th century caused folk dress, formerly exclusively associated with villages, to become an icon of the city and its inhabitants. This remains true to this day.

MULTIPLE CONTEXTS OF THE CRACOW TRADITIONAL DRESS

Throughout the ages, Cracow has been seen as the cultural capital of Poland. Its inhabitants participated in a variety of celebrations related to annual festivals, historical events and national holidays. Cultural life had its own rhythm, set by social events, theatrical performances and the opera. Linear time is intertwined with the events of cyclical time. Some of these are city traditions, related to the passing seasons and the religious calendar; others are historical and national celebrations. The city plays an important role in managing the everyday life of its inhabitants, and Cracow traditional dress is a key element of that.

Culture separates the inhabitants of the Cracow area and people from the rest of Poland. This is particularly visible of the borders between the regions. One of the oldest criteria for cultural distinctiveness is having own dress (and language)⁴¹³. The Cracow style has been extensively covered in literature;

412 K. Ryszard, *Ubiór – strój – kostium. Funkcje odzieży w tradycyjnej społeczności wiejskiej w XIX i w początkach XX wieku na obszarze Polski*, Kraków: UJ, Rozprawy habilitacyjne No 67, 1982.

413 J. Obrębski, *Polesie*, Warszawa: Oficyna Naukowa, 2007, pp. 190.

the local variants, including traits typical for the east and west areas if the region have been described (Proszowiaci dress, Skalbmierzacy dress, Kijacy dress, Skawiniacy dress, Prądniczanie dress). Drawings by Kielesiński⁴¹⁴ provide rich iconographic resources.

Seweryn Udziela delineated the area inhabited by Krakowiacy (inhabitants of Cracow) as stretching south to the border with the Highlanders and “approximately to the road from Biała through Wadowice, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska and Lipnica”. It reaches Silesians in the west, Lasowiacy (Sandomierzanie) in the east and its north border goes from Częstochowa beyond Kielce⁴¹⁵.

The traits of the dress have been identified around the half of the 19th century. They can be found “between Przemsza River in the west; Czarna River and Tarnów in the east; Szczekociny and the Upper Nida above Jędrzejów in the north; and a line drawn from Wadowice – Kalwaria Zebrzydowska – Myślenice – Lipnica Murowana in the south”⁴¹⁶. One challenge remains, namely to draw borders within the region that would separate the areas in which a particular type of dress is found. This is difficult because some elements migrate, while others merge. The dress has been divided into two categories: Eastern and Western Krakowiacy, separated with a line drawn through Jędrzejów, Miechów, Proszowice, Koszyce and between Bochnia and Brzesk⁴¹⁷. The distinction was made on the basis of the type of the male russet coat; white with a stand-up collar was used in the west, while brown with a cape-like collar called *suka* was popular in the east.

Since the dawn of the Renaissance, the male⁴¹⁸ Cracow dress consists of a *kierezja* (or *karazja*)⁴¹⁹, a flat magenta peaked cap trimmed with black shearling, a white leather belt, a pale shirt ruffled around the neck; the turndown collar of the shirt had holes through which a ribbon *jazgier* was tied. Festive shirts had ribbon ties also on the cuffs. Pants were made of calico printed in stripes and worn tucked into the boots⁴²⁰. The Western Krakowiak would wear a white russet coat with tassels that were either black or magenta; a navy blue *kaftan* jacket; a shirt that was either buttoned at the neck or tied with a red ribbon; linen pants printed in vertical blue or red stripes, or pants made of blue or navy blue broadcloth; a leather belt worn over the jacket but under the russet coat. He would cover his head with a hat, a *magierka* or, for particularly festive occasions, a red peaked cap decorated with a peacock feather⁴²¹.

Historical events and economical changes caused a gradual change of function of folk dress. It originated as a peasant dress used only by the local peasants, was then used by Polish peasantry in general regardless of their origin, to finally be considered national dress, representative for all Poles both at home and abroad. Qualitative changes in the cultural code of the dress necessarily had to follow. At the beginning of the 21st century, its form in the urban context underwent simplification. Regional dress formerly

414 A. Błachowski, *Ubiór i krajobraz kulturowy Polski i Ukrainy Zachodniej w ikonografii J. Głogowskiego i K. W. Kielisińskiego*, Toruń: MET 2011.

415 S. Udziela, *Krakowiacy*, Kraków: Wyd. Bona, 2012, pp. 24.

416 B. Kożuch, E. Pobiegły, *Stroje krakowskie*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo M, 2004, pp. 7.

417 *Ibid*, pp. 22.

418 The author focuses on the multiple contexts of occurrence of the male dress, hence a description of female dress lies beyond the scope of this paper.

419 The inhabitants of East Cracow wore a *kierezja* (or *karazja*), which was a type of russet coat with a characteristic collar falling onto the back of the coat; it was either white (proszowicka), navy blue (miechowska), brown (skalbmierska), or grey (wiślicka).

420 T. Seweryn, *Strój Krakowiaków wschodnich*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, part V, issue 9, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze, 1960, pp. 20- 23.

421 B. Kożuch, E. Pobiegły, *op. cit.*, pp. 27- 29.

consisted of many symbolic elements; currently, it is often simplified so that only the most characteristic elements are included. Despite its limitations, it still fulfils the role of festive dress.

The renaissance of folk dress took place in the 18th century. Subsequently, one hundred years later the Cracow dress has been elevated to the status of national symbol. This was the time during which the modern Polish nation was formed; the understanding of this notion was increasingly common. Factors that have facilitated this process in the context of the partitions are also relevant to the social reality of that time. Anna Kowalska – Lewicka pointed out the connection between the social classes and the fact that the nobility, who brought about the loss of independence, were considered compromised. And so, “the political and moral restoration of the nation could not have been sought in its recent dishonourable past. The peasants were hoped to become the future of the nation”⁴²². This is why, irrespective of the partitions, the integrated although dependent nation assumed folk dress as a common marker of individuality.

The establishment of the Republic of Cracow (1815 – 1846) had an indisputable effect on the role of the city, perceived as a centre of national culture. Cracow became the spiritual capital of Poland and a decision-making centre, determining the future fate of the homeland. The city inhabitants represented all the best traits, and were held as an example for others. These circumstances were favourable for a renewed appreciation of peasant dress. After all, the colours of its characteristic elements refer to the National Colours: the red peaked cap and the white russet coat⁴²³. Hence, they were used to express distinctly Polish identity during the Insurrection. Furthermore, the romantic hero of the liberation effort Tadeusz Kościuszko served in two roles: that of the nation and social class, evoking many symbolic meanings. A nobleman in a peasant’s russet coat, Kościuszko equalled nation and the lowest social class⁴²⁴.

The city played an important role in the emerging legend about Kościuszko; while the Cracow dress was understood as the attribute of a hero. It was in the main market square of Cracow that Tadeusz Kościuszko took an oath in 1794 before he set out for Raclawice and Maciejowice. Cracow is also associated with the glory of former Polish kings, with their seat in Wawel, and with the deepest roots of Polish culture (Jagiellonian University is one of the oldest in Europe). The symbolism of the city was strong enough to turn its regional dress into a national symbol with particular regard to its Cracow toponymy. The name of the dress comes from the name of the city and is used “regardless of the variety of the dress: few distinguish between the skalbmierski dress and the proszowicki dress. Thus, Cracow itself seems to hold a special importance that goes beyond the borders of the city and encompasses the whole area known as Krakowskie (the name has no relation to administrative divisions)”⁴²⁵. The importance it held for the nation during the partitions, along with its aesthetic value made Cracow dress national dress, in a sense dominating⁴²⁶ over the *kontusz*, a type of nobleman’s garment that has been associated with Polish national identity for centuries⁴²⁷.

422 A. Kowalska-Lewicka, *Ludowy strój krakowski strojem narodowym*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, Y. 30: 1976, No. 2, pp. 72.

423 Red and white have been considered national colours since the first anniversary of the Constitution, on the 3rd of May, 1792.

424 Characteristically, Polish democracy has been shaped by lower nobility, who belonged to patriotic organisations, launched national uprisings and acted as their leaders. Hugo Kołłątaj was born in Volhynia in an independent noble family, Franciszek Dmochowski descended from lower nobility from Podlasie, Tadeusz Kościuszko - from Volhynia.

425 A. Radzimirska - Pąkowska, *Strój krakowski jako strój narodowy*, „Etnografia Polska”, vol. XXXII: 1988, issue 2, pp. 39 – 65.

426 For decades, representatives of the Polonia and the Polish ethnic minority abroad considered the Cracow dress as worthy and representative.

427 See: exhibition catalogue L. Król, M. Skrejko, *Nam ubiór niedbały nie przystoi*, Kraków 2003.

146 Elements of traditional Cracow dress, which, despite simplification, still carried specific meaning, took over a new military function. The dress became a uniform. Kościuszko called the Scythemen who fought in Raclawice a “Battalion of Cracow Grenadiers” and was the first to use the national symbolism of the dress for the purposes of independence propaganda; this had been continued for decades. Troops wearing Cracow-inspired uniforms participated in the November Uprising: the 9th Infantry Regiment of the Cracow Region and special Cracow cavalry regiments. Zaliwski’s militia also used the Cracow russet coats as uniforms in 1833; Langiewicz’s cavalry wore them during the January Uprising; and the National Guard wore them in 1848⁴²⁸. The infantry division of the Second Polish Republic Army that contained the Infantry Regiment of the Cracow Land also wore uniforms the cut of which strictly referenced folk dress. During the military celebrations on the 26th of May 1938, the inhabitants of Cracow had the opportunity to see troops on the main market square⁴²⁹. In 1919, American troops known as the Kościuszkowcy (Kościuszko’s men) participated in the battle of Lviv. They wore badges that symbolically referenced the Insurrection, namely a red peaked cap decorated with a peacock feather on two crossed scythes. During the Second World War, the Polish Fighter Squadron No. 303 referenced the symbolism of the scythemen by donning a replica of the Kościuszkowcy badge.

Fashion and renewed interest in folk culture also had an influence of the popularity of the dress. Traditions were collected, rituals resurrected and artistically adapted by the urban intelligentsia. Folk dress acquired a new function – that of a costume and fashionable, super-regional outfit. Court coachmen were dressed in Cracow russet coats, spreading this custom across the People’s Republic of Poland. Nobility found it fashionable to wear Cracow dress for carnival balls and sleigh rides. The famous wedding between the daughter of the Bobowa tzadik, Chana Halberstam and rabbi Moses Stempel, the son of the deputy head of the Jewish Community Council in Cracow, was accompanied by honorary escort consisting of local Jews wearing Cracow dress. In the early 20th century, Konstanty Krumłowski described a picture by quoting a cabby:

„krakowski jestem fiakier,
Z krakowską fantazją,
Czapeczkę mam na bakier
I długą kierezją!”⁴³⁰

Finally, the Cracow dress was a source of inspiration for the costumes in theatre and opera. The royal ballet of Stanisław August Poniatowski used Cracow-inspired costumes, and from the 18th century onwards, the dress appeared in Wojciech Bogusławski’s patriotic plays. These plays celebrate peasantry, and the plays constitute an apotheosis of peasant culture. Staged before the Insurrection of 1794, the play titled “Cud mniemany czyli Krakowiacy i górale” was a call to battle. It also supported the myth of the russet coat as a second national garment beside the *kontusz*. Bogusławski’s decision to choose the inhabitants of the Cracow region as metonymic representation of Poles was likely related to the pledge that the

428 J. Kamocki, *Przyczyny rozpowszechniania się ubioru krakowskiego jako stroju narodowego*, „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” Y. 30: 1976, No 2.

429 Photograph – author unknown, signature: MHK-Fs988/IX/20.

430 K. Krumłowski, *Królowa Przedmieścia*, Kraków: Nakładem Księgarni „Wiedza i Sztuka” 1923, pp. 66. (Translator’s note: loosely translated, the poem reads: I am a cabby from Cracow, with a Cracow flair. I wear my cap askew, and a long *kierezja* I wear).

russet coat-clad Kościuszko gave on the Cracow market square⁴³¹. One of Stanisław Wyspiański's most famous plays describes the wedding that took place between a city intellectual Lucjan Rydel and a peasant girl Jadwiga Mikołajczykówna. Cracow dress plays an important role in the plot. Its significance can be interpreted in many ways: as a symbol of Polish culture and patriotism (in relation to the role of Cracow in Polish history), appreciation for the lowest social class, and democracy.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Cracow Workshops Association (Stowarzyszenie Warsztaty Krakowskie) was established in cooperation with the Museum of Technology and Industry in Cracow. Association members set out on a mission to find Polish national dress, drawing inspirations from values expressed in folk art. Many of the toys designed by the artists, among whom was, for example, Zofia Stryjeńska, directly references regional aesthetic. They were simple scenes from everyday life that showed city folklore and various figurines wearing Cracow-inspired clothing⁴³². Oskar Kolberg pointed out the variability of dress conventions of the inhabitants of rural areas around Cracow. Although "people living in the vicinity of Cracow call themselves Krakowianie"⁴³³, certain groups can be distinguished among them: Prądniczanie, Flisacy, Skawiniacy, Kijacy, Skalmierzanie, Proszowiaczy, Ogrodnicy etc. The dress of the latter group and the Kijacy is frequently described as similar to small-town wear. Relatively little has changed in peasant dress until the 18th century. The dress consisted of a grey or navy blue wool russet coat trimmed with colourful wool string with tassels. In the 19th century, urban environments have greatly influenced the fabrics used in traditional dress. Kolberg noted that the white russet coat was the most important part of male dress, while the blue with "crimson and magenta silk decorations and red lapels"⁴³⁴ is much less common.

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CRACOW TRADITIONAL DRESS IN URBAN FOLKLORE

In 1910, the borders of Cracow had been extended according to the plan of Mayor Juliusz Leo. This decision introduced rural traditions into the cultural life of the city. With time, traditional dress became less varied and ornamental; it came to consist only of the most festive elements that could be worn for celebrations within the city. Today, these celebrations include Cracow nativity scenes, the Lajkonik and the Emaus. They have been introduced into the annual calendar of the city, and have become opportunities to showcase traditional dress. A rich iconographic documentation (paintings, sketches, photographs) is found in the archives of the Cracow Historical Museum; it is a chronicle of ethnographic, historical, national and religious events. In one of Juliusz Kossak's paintings we see Franz Joseph entering Cracow, an event that took place in September 1880⁴³⁵. The painter depicted the emperor's coachman in a navy blue russet coat and peaked cap with a peacock feather.

431 D. Kosiński, *Teatra polskie historie*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN i Instytut Teatralny 2010, pp. 225- 226.

432 M. Oleszkiewicz, G. Pyla, *Czar zabawek krakowskich*, Kraków: Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie 2007.

433 O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie. Krakowskie*, vol. V, part. 1, PTL: 1871, pp. 76.

434 Ibid, pp. 122.

435 Signature: MHK-1994/VIII ze zbiorów Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa.

Participants in the events (e.g. Ignacy Krieger⁴³⁶) documented them through photographs, which today constitute a valuable resource for analysing how traditional dress operated in urban spaces. Throughout the 20th century, traditional dress was worn during the most important celebrations in Cracow, serving as a reminder of their local and national character. These events included the funerals of important public persons, including Józef Piłsudski and Adam Mickiewicz⁴³⁷. Cracow inhabitants in festive russet coats participated in the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald that took place in 1910⁴³⁸, and in the annual anniversary celebrations of the first Polish constitution of the 3rd of May. In September 1927, president Ignacy Mościcki visited Cracow. He was welcomed in the Wawel castle by children wearing miniature Cracow dress⁴³⁹. Another important event marked by the use of the dress was the construction of the Piłsudski Mound, commemorating the Marshall's feats. A nation-wide social movement that was formed for that purpose demonstrates the strength of national identity. Photographs from that period show persons wearing the Cracow dress⁴⁴⁰.

148 In 1936, Jerzy Dobrzycki⁴⁴¹, a city official for tourism and propaganda in Cracow, launched the Cracow Days initiative. It was an opportunity to show off folk art and urban folklore, which generated significant interest. On this particular occasion, the Cracow dress served as a recognisable symbol of the city. Shopkeepers wore it to sell crafts⁴⁴², merchants wore it for the fair that took place on the Szczepański Square⁴⁴³. Among the multiple indulgence fairs organised in the region the most well-known take place in Mogiła, Bielany and in Zwierzyniec (Emaus on every Easter Monday). Every year on the second day of Easter locals wearing traditional dress attend the celebrations, underscoring the local character of this tradition. The September Dachshund Parade that goes from the Barbican to the Main Square is a new urban tradition. On this occasion, some dogs are dressed in elements of traditional dress. A photograph from 2000 shows a parading Dachshund dressed in a corset and wreath with ribbons⁴⁴⁴. Lajkonik, on the other hand, marches through the streets of Cracow on the octave of Corpus Christi. This Tatar rider proceeds from Zwierzyniec in the company of *Włóczki*: men dressed as old-time rafters or wearing Cracow traditional dress. The Cracow nativity scene competition is another important city tradition that began in 1937. Since 1946, it is supported by the Cracow Historical Museum. The creators of these elaborate nativity scenes say that each one should contain a man and woman in Cracow dress⁴⁴⁵.

Wearing traditional dress or an element of dress for important religious ceremonies is a vital reflection of the Cracow urban identity. One of such occasions was John Paul II's pilgrimages and holy mass conducted in Błonia, a vast meadow adjacent to the Cracow city centre. Furthermore, participants in the

436 The biggest archives of photographs documenting Cracow are owned by MHK.

437 Photo: Juliusz Mien and Józef Sebald, signature: MHK-Fs497/IX/1.

438 Photograph – author unknown, signature: MHK-Fs1287/IX.

439 Photograph – author unknown, signature: MHK-Fs80/IX.

440 Photograph – author unknown, signature: MHK-Fs8882-IX.

441 Jerzy Dobrzycki has contributed greatly to the popularisation of information about Cracow. Educated in art history, he became involved in museum work. He was the first director of the Cracow Historical Museum, a body implementing Cracow's culture promotion policy.

442 „Światowid” Photo Agency, signature: MHK-Fs3167/IX, signature: MHK-Fs3169/IX

443 „Światowid” Photo Agency, signature: MHK-Fs5655/IX.

444 Photograph: Wiesław Majka, signature: Fs16439-IX.

445 Data gathered during the interviews have been used for documentaries titled „Tradition of generations. Cracow in miniature. From competition to competition”, script and direction Magdalena Kwiecińska. The films were screened in 2012, at the 70th post-competition exhibition of Cracow Nativity Scenes in MHK.

first pilgrimages to the Holy Land, which set out from Cracow in 1907 and 1909 were Poles from different partitions. Once they reached their goal, they marked their distinctive identities. At the gate of Jerusalem “a flag was held up by Mr Cepuch, head of the commune Borowiec near Cracow who wore a colourful Cracow russet coat”⁴⁴⁶. Every year, believers walk the streets of Cracow in Corpus Christi processions, moving from the Wawel Castle towards the Main Square, and then towards the Church on the Rock to celebrate St. Stanisław. To set a festive tone for these occasions they wear Cracow traditional dress.

SUMMARY

Cracow folk dress underwent significant transformations and assumed new function over the course of the 20th century. Today, it is one of the symbols of the city and the peacock feather became so recognisable that it is now a motif used in Cracow’s promotional materials. In 2011, a regional train was named after the city. Cracow dress used to be worn by peasantry; today, it is used in a variety of contexts as a marker of identity that brings to mind the notions of urban space, tradition and folklore. This change of focus between the dress as a rural cultural product and the dress as an artefact of urban culture is an interesting phenomenon, and a reflection of fascinating transformations taking place in the human consciousness.

⁴⁴⁶ This inscription can be found in the archives of the Order of the Reformati in the notes of pilgrimage organiser father Zygmunt Janicki. Z. Janicki, *Pierwsza Polska Pielgrzymka do Ziemi Św. 1907 r.*, Kraków: (no publisher). 1907, pp. 16.

TERMINOLOGY ISSUES AROUND THE TRADITIONAL COSTUMES
FROM THE AREA OF HRUBIESZÓW AND TOMASZÓW LUBELSKI

INTRODUCTION

150

The traditional dress that is the subject of this paper was worn in Roztocze Środkowe (Central Roztocze) and Wyżyna Wołyńska (Volhynian Uplands, Volinska Visočina). During the partitions, these lands were located within the borders of the Russian partition (between 1912 and 1915 in the Chełmska Governorate). Afterwards, the land belonged to the Second Republic of Poland, which means that prior to 1939 the land was located at the interface between three regions: the *lubelskie* (Lublin region), *wołyńskie* (Volhynia region) and *lwowskie* (Lviv region). In this article, we will analyse dress worn in the broad belt between Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski. Extending beyond Rawa Ruska and Sokal on the southeast, the dress could be found on both banks of the Bug River. It was divided between three administrative regions and spanned across the southeast of the *lubelskie*, the southwest of the *wołyńskie* and the northeast of the *lwowskie* region.

The borders of the Polish state have changed dramatically after the Second World War. The southeast region that is of interest for this paper has been affected by the agreement of June 3rd 1952, which added additional land to the Soviet Union. The area in question consisted of a belt located between the rivers Bug and Solokiya along the Rawa-Ruska- Krystynopol railway line. The size of the area detached from Poland was 480 km²; and encompassed five towns and cities: Belz (Belz), Sokal (Sokal), Uhnów (Ugniv), Krystynopol (later: Červonograd) and Wareż (Warâż). Following these events, the traditional dress in question was worn in Poland only in villages located southeast of Tomaszów and north of Hrubieszów; in the east, the dress was only worn up to the river Bug.

In relevant literature, various terms are used to name clothing worn in the above-delineated region. In Poland, hrubieszowski dress and tomaszowski dress⁴⁵⁰ are used respectively, or dress “from Hrubieszów and Tomaszów”⁴⁵¹; in the Ukraine, the dress is known as Volhynian dress from Sokalšini⁴⁵²; or from the Sokalsko⁴⁵³ region, which is located in the Lviv region.

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450 J. Petera, *Stroje ludowe Zamojszczyzny*, in: *Przyczynki do Etnografii Zamojszczyzny, Materiały ogólnopolskiej sesji popularno – naukowej Zamość, 22 – 24.IX.1995*, Zamość: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze Oddział w Zamościu 1995, pp. 48-53.

451 O. Kolberg, *Chełmskie*, in: *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 32, part 1, Wrocław 1964, pp. 367.

452 S. Čehovič, *Narodne mistectvo Sokalšini opracobano na materialah ldmum*, Lviv: Lvivs'kij DeržavnijMuzej Ukraïns'kogo Mistectva 1957, pp.5.

453 O. Kosmina, *Tradiciine vbrannâ ukraïnciv*, Kïiv: Baltia-Druk 2008, pp. 20.

The area where the dress had been worn is a borderland characterised by multiculturalism. Hence, the dress emerged under the influence of both Poles and Ruthenians in the Polish-Ruthenian cultural zone⁴⁵⁴. Consequently, current research finds it difficult to distinguish between Polish and Ruthenian dress in the vicinity of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów⁴⁵⁵. It is possible to identify which elements of dress or decorations originated in the culture of one nation or the other, and had been associated with the nation of origin until the dress fell out of use. Some elements introduced by one nation have been borrowed by the other, paving the way for the unification of the dress. Clearer ethnical influences with a decisively smaller impact of the Polish ethos could be observed in the dress worn in wołyńskie and lwowskie⁴⁵⁶, regions that used to belong to the Second Polish Republic but are now located almost entirely within Ukraine. (Figure 1. and 2.)

If we limit the research area to regions currently within Poland, and base our insights on the literature, iconography, and preserved dress elements, I would venture a hypothesis that in the current research environment and time there is a unified dress (with some variation) that can be called hrubieszowsko – tomaszowski. Note, that the terms in the name are used in a purely alphabetical order. In order to confirm this hypothesis, this paper provides a schematic description of the relevant male and female dress. Literary resources quoted in the footnotes can be used to access more detailed information. Here, only the areas where some variety is found are given a more detailed portrayal.



58. Types of peasants from Hrubieszów and Tomaszów (Podhorce village); persons 1, 2, 3, drawings by Walery Eliasz. in: O. Kolberg, *Chełmskie*, in: *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 32, part. 1, Wrocław 1964, drawing pp. 50

454 A. Błachowski, *Hafty polskie szycie. Tradycje i współczesność polskiej sztuki ludowej t. II*, Lublin–Toruń: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze Oddział w Toruniu 2004, pp. 59.

455 J. Petera, *Dawne ubiory hrubieszowskie*, in: „Biuletyn Towarzystwa Regionalnego Hrubieszowskiego im. Stanisława Staszica”, vol. 29:1992, no.3/4, pp.5.

456 O. Kosmina, *op. cit.*, pp.19-33.

Folk dress is usually described as traditional, expressing identity and local awareness, and pertaining to a certain geographical or historical region. Folk dress is related to social, marital, and religious status of the wearer. Traditional dress is found in two varieties: everyday dress and festive dress. Researchers are usually more interested in the latter, and festive dress became a hallmark of cultural and costume diversity. Originally, people who wore clothes that today would be described as folk, traditional, or regional, called them their own, local, or regional dress. At most, they were aware of their uniqueness in terms of one or more neighbouring parishes. Today, folk dress is described with a variety of arbitrary terms of different origins. They have been proposed by local researchers of regional culture and folklore, or by external researchers interested in the lifestyle and culture of rural folk. Dress users themselves have started to use these terms last, and were the last to assume them as their own.

Polish terminology for traditional dress comes from a variety of sources. Some terms are related to the name of an ethnographic group, for instance the dress of Lachowie Szczyrzyccy⁴⁵⁷, or the kurpiowski dress⁴⁵⁸, later divided into the kurpiowski dress from Puszcza Zielona⁴⁵⁹ and the kurpiowski dress from



59. Folk types from Soposzyn, photograph by Antoniewicz. in: "Ziemia", IV 1913, pp. 673

457 Z. Szewczyk, *Strój Lachów Szczyrzyckich*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 2007.

458 A. Chętnik, *Kurpie*, Kraków: Nakładem Księgarni Geograficznej „Orbis” Kraków-Dębniaki 1924.

459 *Ibid.*, *Strój kurpiowski Puszczy Zielonej*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1961.

Puszcza Biała⁴⁶⁰ even though locals have always called it simply “kurpiowski”. Other terms originated in the names of historical lands, e.g. kujawski dress⁴⁶¹; geographical regions, e.g. pogórzański dress⁴⁶²; large cities (even though folk dress was not worn there), with the Cracow dress⁴⁶³ and the Rzeszów dress⁴⁶⁴ serving as best examples. Most commonly, folk dress varieties are named after smaller towns and villages (one or two) in the cultural centre of the region, e.g. kolbielski dress⁴⁶⁵, gąbińsko-sannicki dress⁴⁶⁶, międzyrzecko-babimojski dress⁴⁶⁷, or biłgorajsko-tarnogrodzki dress⁴⁶⁸. One of the more intriguing issues in this text is the reasoning behind the criteria used by the creators of two part names. So far, only Aleksander Błachowski has attempted to explain the decision: “this region began to be called “sannicki”. However, it needs to be noted that the traditional folk culture in the former gąbiński powiat area is characterised by an identical set of features. (...) Hence, it is possible to call this region the gąbińsko-sannicki region”⁴⁶⁹. Other authors have remained silent on the subject. One can only assume that the term “międzyrzecko-babimojski dress” was based on the names of the towns where traditional dress and culture have been preserved the longest; while the term „biłgorajsko – tarnogrodzki dress” was based on the names of the two administrative centres of the region where the dress was worn, even though it had not been worn in the cities themselves.

For many years, researchers have been relatively uninterested in the dress that is the subject of the present paper. Luckily, some literary resources that were modest contributions to the subject, as well as scarce iconography have been preserved. First written remarks about the dress in question have been published in Józef Gluziński’s work⁴⁷⁰. He collected resources that served as a basis for the description of the dress later created by Oskar Kolberg in the volume titled “Chełmskie”⁴⁷¹. Furthermore, short research contributions about the dress of the region can be found in the volume titled “Wołyń”⁴⁷² and a supplement to that volume⁴⁷³. Bolesław J. Koskowski created a short illustrated description⁴⁷⁴ before 1891. Some information can be found in a volume of “Wisła” from 1902; the volume contains descriptions (no illustrations) of the dress from Modryniec and Szystowice in the hru-

460 M. Żywirska, *Strój kurpiowski Puszczy Zielonej*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1952.

461 H. Mikułowska, *Strój kujawski*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1953.

462 A. Wójcik, *Strój Pogórzan*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Komisji Swojszczyzny Związku Ziem Górskich 1939.

463 S. Udziela, *Krakowiacy*, Kraków: Nakładem Księgarni Geograficznej „Orbis” Kraków-Dębniaki 1924.

464 F. Kotula, *Strój rzeszowski*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Lublin: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1951.

465 W. Kolago, *Strój kolbielski*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1970.

466 A. Błachowski, *Sanniki – tradycje regionalne*. Warszawa 2005.

467 A. Głapa, *Strój międzyrzecko-babimojski (lubuski)*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1956.

468 B. Kaznowska-Jarecka, *Strój biłgorajsko-tarnogrodzki*, Atlas Polskich Strojów Ludowych, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze 1958.

469 A. Błachowski., *op. cit.*, pp.33.

470 J. Gluziński, *Włościanie z okolic Zamościa i Hrubieszowa*, in: K.W. Wójcicki, *Archiwum domowe do dziejów literatury krajowej z rękopisów i dzieł najrzadszych*, Warszawa 1856.

471 O. Kolberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-57, pp. 359-367.

472 *Ibid.*, *Wołyń*, in: *Dzieła wszystkie*, vol. 36, Wrocław 1968.

473 *Ibid.*, *Wołyń*, in: *Dzieła wszystkie, suplement*, vol. 84, Wrocław 2002.

474 B. J. Koskowski, *Powiat tomaszowski*, in: „Przegląd Tygodniowy” (monthly illustrated insert) second half of the year, Warszawa 1891, pp. 159- 171.

bieszowski powiat, and the Nabroź parish in the tomaszowski powiat⁴⁷⁵. The oldest available illustration “Interior of a Ruthenian house from the vicinity of Hrubieszów” comes from before 1872⁴⁷⁶; three more have been published in 1906⁴⁷⁷.

Several researchers have written about dress worn in the vicinity of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów also in the interwar period and after the Second World War. In 1934, it was Bolesław Kłębukowski⁴⁷⁸ and Helena Barusiowa⁴⁷⁹, and in 1939 Marian Baruś⁴⁸⁰. Janusz Świerzy⁴⁸¹ produced a detailed description, characteristics, and classification of the dress in 1954. Świerzy should be credited with the available information regarding female headgear⁴⁸², Stanisław Dąbrowski gathered facts about male headgear⁴⁸³ and belts⁴⁸⁴; Eugeniusz Frankowski depicted russet coats⁴⁸⁵; and Piotr Greniuk⁴⁸⁶ and Tadeusz Michaluk⁴⁸⁷ described printed fabrics used to make skirts and trousers, and print patterns. Undoubtedly, Janina Petera produced the most comprehensive works on the topic. In her articles “Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny” (The folk dress of Lubelszczyzna)⁴⁸⁸, “Dawne ubiory hrubieszowskie” (Former dress from Hrubieszów)⁴⁸⁹, “Ludowy strój hrubieszowski” (Folk dress from Hrubieszów)⁴⁹⁰, and “Stroje ludowe Zamojszczyzny” (Folk dress of Zamojszczyzna)⁴⁹¹ she described the dress, while also providing a precise set of characteristics. The dress in question has gone out of use during the First World War; afterwards, only separate elements of the dress had been worn. Hence, dress items in museum collections are very important sources of information. There are 80 items in the collection of the Stanisław Staszic Museum in Hrubieszów, 132 in the Dr Janusz Peter Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, and 57 in the Zamojskie Museum in Zamość⁴⁹².

475 *The materials regarding folk dress in the Lublin governorate sent to the farming and industry exhibition in 1901*, item 11 “The dress of the villagers from Modryniec in the hrubieszowski powiat”, Karol Milowicz; item 12. “In the Szystowice village in the hrubieszowski powiat”, Henryk Weychert; item 13. “In the Nabroź parish in the tomaszowski powiat”, Gustaw Gierasiński, in: „Wisła”, vol. XVI, 1902, pp.355-356.

476 B. Kamiński, Wnętrze chaty rusińskiej z okolic Hrubieszowa (Interior of a Ruthenian home in the vicinity of Hrubieszów), drawing by B. Kamiński, in: „Wieniec”, vol. 2, 1872, pp. 638.

477 F. Majewski, *Wizyta pasterska jego Excellencyi K. Franciszka Jacezewskiego Biskupa Lubelskiego odbyta w 1906 roku*, Warszawa 1906.

478 K. Kłębukowski, *Mircze wieś powiatu hrubieszowskiego*, Hrubieszów 1934.

479 H. Barusiowa, *Szlaki wycieczkowe po powiecie hrubieszowskim*, in: ”Kronika Nadbużańska”, No 4, 1934.

480 M. Baruś, *Powiat Hrubieszowski. Szkic monograficzny*, Hrubieszów 1939.

481 J. Świerzy, *Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny*, Warszawa 1954.

482 Idem J, *Ludowe stroje głów kobiecych w województwie lubelskim*, in: *Lubelskie*,” *Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne*”, vol. XVIII, part I, Wrocław 1966, pp. 393-416.

483 St. Dąbrowski, *Czapka i kapelusz w Lubelskiem*, Lwów: Nakładem Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, 1930.

484 *Ibid.*, *Pasy lubelskie*, Lublin 1929.

485 E. Frankowski, *Sukmany ludu polskiego*, Warszawa 1928.

486 P. Greniuk., *Druki ludowe na płótnie w południowej Lubelszczyźnie*, in: „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, No 9/10, 1949, pp. 268-281.

487 T. Michaluk, Wór deski drukarskiej z Kopyłowa and *Wór deski drukarskiej z Kryłowa*, in: „Biuletyn Towarzystwa Regionalnego Hrubieszowskiego im. Stanisława Staszica”, vol. 2:1973, pp.39 i pp.40.

488 J. Petera., *Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny*, in: „Kalendarz Lubelski”, Lublin 1973, pp.170-180.

489 *Ibid.*, *Dawne...*, op. cit., pp. 5-11.

490 *Ibid.*, *Ludowy strój hrubieszowski*, in: „Twórczość ludowa” vol. 7, No 1 -2, 1992, pp.24-29.

491 J. Petera, *Stroje...* op. cit., pp. 41-53.

492 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *Tradycyjne stroje i hafty hrubieszowsko-tomaszowskie*, Zamość 2011.

The male dress varied slightly depending on the marital status and wealth of the wearer. The basic version worn in the vicinity of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski consisted of headgear (straw hat, *rozłupa* cap, *kapuza* hood made of dark shearling, or a *maciejówka* flat cap), trousers, shirt worn tucked into the trousers, outerwear (jerkin, *plótnianka* linen coat, russet coat, or shearling coat), belt (leather or embroidered, called *krajka*), and footwear (jute or leather clogs, *tyszowiaki* leather boots or riding boots). In the summer, men wore braided hay stripes sewn together and *kapeluchy* hats⁴⁹³, which were elements of both everyday and festive local dress that remained in use the longest. In colder weather, the oldest headgear was a type of hat made of broadcloth and fur called *rozłupa*⁴⁹⁴, tied on the sides with ribbons. Later, it has been replaced by the conical *kapuza*⁴⁹⁵, especially popular among older men; since the 1980s, *maciejówka* flat caps gained the biggest popularity⁴⁹⁶.

The cut of male shirts consisted of a set of linen rectangles. Festive shirts were made of delicate homespun cloth bleached white; since the beginning of the 20th century, mass-produced cotton canvas was used more and more frequently. Originally, people of Polish origin wore shirts with collars⁴⁹⁷; the front of the shirt, called *pazucha* was closed with a small porcelain button, a piece of red ribbon, or a metal brooch that went through two holes. These shirts were either plain, decorated with a modest red and black cross stitch pattern, or decorated with long stitch embroidery, usually in white. On the other hand, shirts worn by the Ruthenians⁴⁹⁸ typically had stand up collars closed asymmetrically on the left side with buttons that were usually black. Shirts were elaborately decorated with black monochrome cross stitch, or cross stitch in multiple colours. The ornaments were geometric and floral motifs located on the front, cuffs and shoulder of the shirt. With time, this type of shirt was adopted by the people inhabiting the whole region in question.

Trousers made of linen homespun cloth were called *nogawice*⁴⁹⁹ or *portki*⁵⁰⁰; those made of wool and linen fabric were called *holośnie*⁵⁰¹. Linen cloth was sometimes hand printed in stripes and plaid patterns; such trousers were called *malowanki*⁵⁰². Regardless of decorations, the cut of the trousers was very simple. In the beginning of the 20th century, breeches started to be worn. They were worn with riding boots, and made of mass-produced fabrics usually in brown, brown and green, and khaki⁵⁰³.

493 St. Dąbrowski, *Czapka...*, *op. cit.*, pp.18-19.

494 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp.100.

495 J. Petera, *Stroje...*, *op. cit.*, pp.49 i 51.

496 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp.15-16.

497 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp.98.

498 J. Petera, *Dawne...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6.

499 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp. 97.

500 J. Petera, *Stroje...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 51.

501 *Eadem*, *Ludowy...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 28.

502 P. Greniuk, *op. cit.*, pp. 280.

503 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp.18-19 and pp.25.

Outerwear worn in this region included jerkins, *plótnianka* linen coats, russet coats, and shearling coats. Two types of jerkins (called *kabat*) were used. One was made from white linen homespun cloth⁵⁰⁴, the other from grey brown broadcloth⁵⁰⁵. The linen *kabat*, which used to be dominant in the region, was either short (reaching just below the waist) or long (calf-length). It had a short, stand up collar and turn down lapels. The most characteristic ornaments, rectangles divided by crossed diagonals, were in the front. Such jerkins were worn by both men and women, also in the area of northwest Volhynia⁵⁰⁶. Around Tomaszów, the broadcloth *kabat* was typically decorated with colourful string appliques⁵⁰⁷. In the vicinity of Hrubieszów, where the dress was worn somewhat longer, underwent more changes and was preserved in more items, the jerkin was decorated also with black velvet appliques⁵⁰⁸. *Plótnianka* or *siermięga*⁵⁰⁹ was an everyday linen coat worn in the summer in the vicinity of Hrubieszów by men as well as women. Poorer people wore it all year round. It was cut like a rectangular poncho and made of homespun linen canvas. A russet coat *sukmana* or *sukman*⁵¹⁰ was part of festive dress and worn in winter also by women. Several types of russet coat were known, all of which were made of thick homespun pleated fabric regardless of cut and ornamentation. They were grey, grey-brown or dark brown. Russet coats typically associated with Polish folk were bell-shaped with a straight front and back that was pleated from the waist down (the middle was flat with five outward pleats on each side). They were decorated with wool string, appliques, and lined with red broadcloth. Russet coats worn by the people of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) origin were similar in cut but different in ornamentation. Their decorations resembled those used on the *kabat* linen coat⁵¹¹.

In winter, both men and women wore sheepskin coats dyed white. The coats were fitted at the waist and had broad collars, with dark shearling visible outside⁵¹². Two types of belts were used: the leather belt used only by men, and the woollen woven belt *pajos*⁵¹³. The leather belt was in the form of a purse, made out of double folded calf leather⁵¹⁴ in oxblood colour. The leather belt could be used to tie a shirt, *plótnianka* linen coat, or russet coat. The woollen belt could be used by both men and women to tie a russet coat, *plótnianka* linen coat, shearling coat and shirt. The belts were typically solid red or striped red, green, or olive green⁵¹⁵.

The most popular type of shoe worn in cold weather was the *tyszowiaki*⁵¹⁶ boots, made of dark brown leather. Early in the 20th century, high black riding boots became popular.

504 K. Kłembukowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 128.

505 J. Petera, *Stroje... op. cit.*, pp.52.

506 O. Kosmina, *op. cit.*, pp.30-31.

507 J. Petera, *Stroje...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52.

508 Eadem, *Ludowy...*, *op. cit.*, pp.28.

509 B. J. Koskowski, *op. cit.*, pp.171.

510 M. Baruś., *op. cit.*, pp. 99.

511 J. Petera, *Stroje...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 50.

512 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 24.

513 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

514 St. Dąbrowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 5.

515 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

516 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp. 98.

Like male dress, female dress varied with regard to the time of the year, the marital status of the wearer and her wealth. It consisted of the following basic elements: headgear (wooden hoop, bonnet worn over the hoop, headscarf), shirt, skirt, apron, outerwear (jerkin, *plótnianka*, russet coat, shearling coat), footwear (*tyszowiaki* boots, riding boots, and laced up booties), woven belt *pajos* and jewellery. Both married and unmarried women wore headscarves made of canvas, silk or wool, solid or printed, with tassels or straight edges⁵¹⁷. Maids wore them on colder days and in winter, tying the edges under their chins. Married women wore headscarves on an everyday basis over a wooden hoop called the *kimbalka*, with a net bonnet under the headscarf⁵¹⁸. The edges of the scarf were typically crossed under the chin and tied in a knot on the nape of the neck or above the forehead⁵¹⁹.

The cut of female shirts consisted of a set of linen rectangles; and had a broad overturned collar typical for the Lubelszczyzna region. Shirts were made of two types of linen homespun cloth: the higher quality fabric was used on the visible top part of the shirt, while the bottom part hidden from view (called the *nadolek*) was made of poorer quality fabric. Some elements of shirts worn by women of Polish origin, namely front, collar and tops of sleeves, were originally decorated with a modest cross stitch pattern and one or more rows of basting stitch, usually red or black⁵²⁰. Shirts originally worn by Ruthenian women were decorated with multi-coloured embroidery and more elaborate. The collar was decorated with white long stitch, or black cross stitch; the front was decorated with modest black basting stitch; the cuffs, tops of sleeves, and sometimes sleeves were decorated with rich embroidery, typically geometric and floral cross stitch patterns⁵²¹. Long full skirts were made from a variety of fabrics; the oldest were sewn from homespun cloth. Summer clothes were made of light linens in solid colours; winter clothes were made of wool, typically either solid and decorated with a set of stripes near the bottom, or striped⁵²². The so-called *malowanki* skirts became the most popular type of skirt around 1880, and were worn regardless of the season⁵²³. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the abovementioned skirts started to be gradually replaced by shorter and narrower skirts made of mass-produced fabrics, especially in festive dress⁵²⁴. Skirts from homespun cloth were worn under linen aprons decorated in a geometric cross stitch pattern, typically in red⁵²⁵, sometimes in two colours (red and black). Skirts from mass-produced fabrics were worn either with white linen aprons embroidered or decorated with a flounce, or colourful aprons made of mass-produced fabrics, embroidered or decorated with lace⁵²⁶.

517 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

518 K. Milewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 355.

519 J. Świeży, *op. cit.*, pp. 401.

520 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp. 100.

521 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-48.

522 J. Petera, *Ludowy..., op. cit.*, p. 29.

523 P. Greniuk, *op. cit.*, pp. 270.

524 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33.

525 M. Baruś, *op. cit.*, pp. 101.

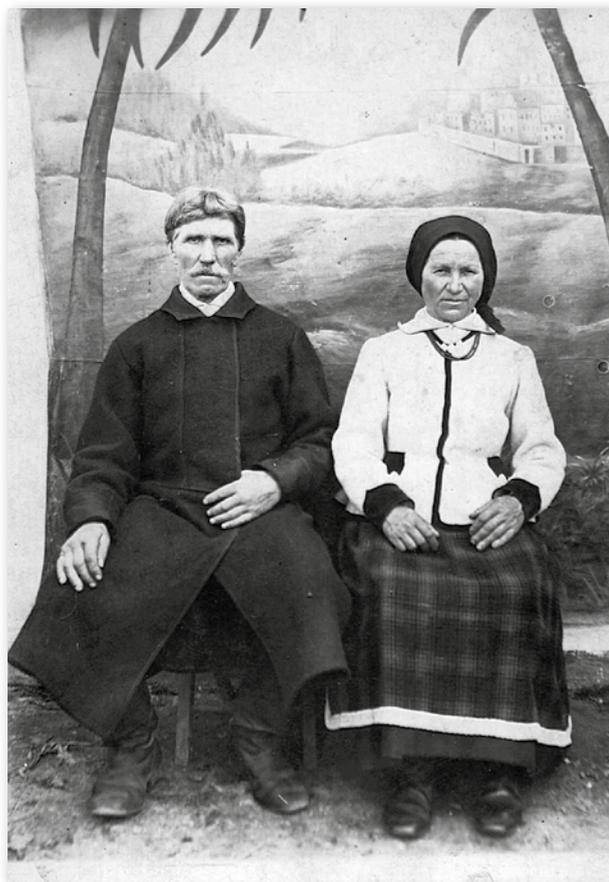
1. 526 J. Petera, *Stroje..., op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

Female outerwear included the jerkin, *plótnianka* linen coat, russet coat, and shearling coat. Out of these, only the broadcloth jerkin *kurtyka* and jerkins made of mass-produced fabric were used only in female dress. They could have sleeves or be sleeveless. The *kurtyka* was made of grey-brown or pale grey homespun cloth, and decorated with black velvet appliques. They were popular also in northwest Volhynia⁵²⁷. Other types of jerkins made of velvet or mass-produced fabric were decorated with haberdashery, appliques or embroidered (typically in long stitch that sometimes included beads)⁵²⁸.

The dress was accessorised with the *krajka* belt, already described in the section on male dress, footwear and jewellery. Women and men wore the same tall boots, either *tyszowiaki* or riding boots. In the beginning of the 20th century, there were gradually replaced by black lace-up booties on a small heel. When it comes to jewellery, necklaces made of genuine coral beads were highly valued. Women who could not afford to buy jewellery this expensive wore replicas made of various colourful plastics⁵²⁹.

The descriptions above are based on a detailed analysis and comparison of literature and museum collections. Consequently, it is easy to infer that the dress worn in the vicinity of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski were similar and stemmed from the same cultural background. This is why the dress can easily be called hrubieszowsko – tomaszowski dress. The convergence between the dress types of the region is so clear and significant that the minor differences between them can be attributed to local variants and variations of the same dress. Particularly because these differences are not exceptionally territorial, but rather related to the time when it was worn and the nationality of its wearers (Figures 3. and 4.).

In the vicinity of Hrubieszów traditional dress remained in use for a longer time. Consequently, there is more variety in dress types as a result of changes in particular dress elements. Fashion novelties, new fabrics, cuts, and decorations introduced even more variety. Traditional dress from the vicinity of Tomaszów Lubelski, on the other hand, fell out of use a little sooner. It stopped being commonly used when the manufacture of new dress



60. Benedykt i Elżbieta Kurdybanowscy, Siekierzyńce, lata 20. XX w., własność prywatna

527 V. G. Bilozub, (ed.). *Ukraińskie narodne mistectwo*, Vbraniia, Kiïv 1961, tab. 164,165.

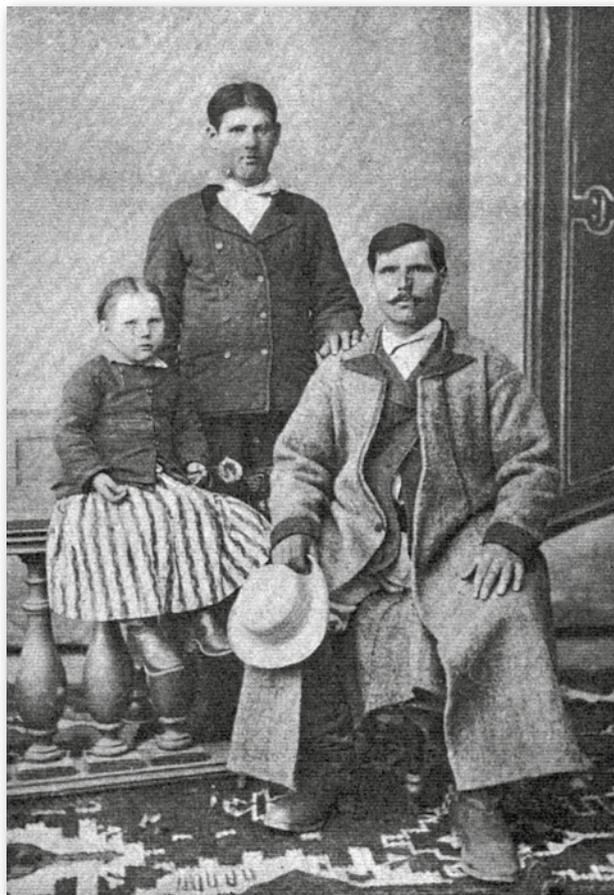
528 E. Piskorz - Branekova, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-40.

529 Eadem, *op. cit.*, pp. 43.

elements had ceased; some items of traditional dress have been preserved, which is why the dress today is more archaic.

The sense of belonging to a certain ethos influenced ornamentation. While Polish origins required fewer decorations, Ruthenian origins demanded more elaborate ornaments. This is particularly visible in shirts and russet coats. The former have constituted a marker of ethnicity in the folk dress' final years of popularity. The russet coat was much more expensive, and used much more rarely than the shirt, hence it fell out of use more quickly as an element of male folk dress. Generally speaking, there was not enough time for successful borrowings to take place. These processes were different when it comes to shirts, worn by men in these areas sometimes even after 1945. The original cut of the shirt, known as the Ruthenian cut, had a stand-up collar and asymmetric closure on the left side⁵³⁰; the original embroidery was large and colourful, becoming even larger with time; both remained in use for a long period. This unification of embroideries was also visible in the female dress, in particular shirts. Rich ornaments spread from the collar to the front, top of sleeve, cuffs and sometimes the sleeves themselves. Aprons were also richly decorated. The methods and colours of embroidery became local, and did not stand for any particular ethnic identity.

Summing up, the hrubieszowsko – tomaszowski dress is a representative example of folk dress from the borderlands, where elements of dress and ornamentation typical for the co-existing cultures interacted and were used in clothing. Its character and form is a testament to the long-term coexistence of two nations, and an important element of local culture⁵³¹.



61. Typy ludowe z hrubieszowskiego, w: „Ziemia”, t. IV 1913, s. 625

530 J. Petera, *Ludowy...*, op. cit., pp. 28.

531 A. Błachowski, *Ubiór i krajobraz kulturowy polski i Ukrainy Zachodniej w ikonografii J. Głogowskiego i K.W. Kielisińskiego*, Toruń: Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Marii Znamierowskiej-Prüfferowej w Toruniu 2011, pp.17.

FOLK DRESS OF POWIŚLE LUBELSKIE AND ITS REPRESENTATION
IN POLISH GRAPHICS AND PAINTING⁵⁴¹

INTRODUCTION

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The traditional costume of Vistula Belt from Annopol to Gołęb, in particular its festive form, is significantly different from all other 10 types of traditional dress from Lubelszczyzna and so far has not been discussed in literature. In some towns and villages, especially near Puławy, it ceased to be worn at the beginning of the 20th century. However, a few elements, such as beads, *szalinówka* kerchief, men's sheepskin hat or sheepskin coat still remained in use. In other locations, further away from large cities or in places more traditional in character, such as Piotrawin, Żyrzyn or Garbów some forms of this dress were worn until the post-war period. Nonetheless, poor knowledge of this folk dress, which can be mainly attributed to its early disappearance, caused it to become practically forgotten - especially its most interesting, striped elements. Hence, since the 1960s many folk groups and other regional groups from the area would usually perform wearing folk costumes characteristic for Krzczonów which is considered, albeit mistakenly, to be typical for Lubelszczyzna.

Meanwhile, iconography and elements of Powiśle dress kept in museums and private collections show that such folk dress was unlike the costume from Krzczonów. It resembled clothes from Mazowsze or Małopolska, and definitely from the Kielce region. However, it bears the closest resemblance to folk costume from Radom region, in particular its version from the town of Ilża. Photographs preserved from the beginning of the 20th century and interwar period are a reminder that in this area, just like all over the country, people eagerly adopted dress characteristic to Cracow which was treated as a national folk dress and worn during important ceremonies. People shown in the photographs, mainly girls, are adorned in this type of clothing with certain modifications while local elements remain intact. At the same time, old photographs from the area of Nałęczów depict girls and young women dressed in clothes related to the local tradition of striped fabric. They were school uniforms or other elements of clothing based thereon, such as skirts or aprons. They were worn before and after WWII, for example in Klementowice or Garbów. Such clothes were styled to resemble old local dress made from striped fabric but the stripes were vertical. School uniforms were promoted by ladies from the Lublin region gentry who were cofounders

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541 This paper was prepared based on materials collected for exhibition entitled *Vistula Banks. The great history of Powiśle Lubelskie villages and towns* and a catalogue which was accompanied the exhibition published by the Lublin Museum in 2012. Examples of original folk dress mentioned in the paper mostly concern items which are kept in the Lublin Museum. I would like to thank Agnieszka Ławicka, head of Department of Ethnography at the Lublin Museum for making those items available to me and allowing me to consult her on the subject.

of the girls' school in Nałęczów (Women's Agricultural School which functioned in 1908-1936). As part of their curriculum, girls would weave colourful striped fabrics, which they later used to sew rather short skirts (as were fashionable in the 1920s), vests, and shoulder capes. Before WWII, some little girls took a liking for this dress, in particular the shoulder capes. They did not want to buy an expensive folk dress from the Cracow region, they preferred a local dress with a colourful shoulder cape.

All other forms of dress presented further in the paper could be encountered between Annopol and Gołęb⁵⁴², and often in areas farther away from the Vistula River. In general, the area where such dress was worn is more or less the same as the area limited by the administrative borders of former Lublin guberniya poviats. When it comes to the large poviat of Puławy, it extends in the east up to Grabów, which is just 10 km away from Lublin or Wąwolnica and Bochothnica near Nałęczów, and to the area of Janowiec and Góra Puławska which are on the western bank of the river. Also, in case of Opole and Kraśnik poviats, it was present in towns and villages somewhat farther away from Vistula. Powiśle folk dress is not homogenous and some differences can be found within it. Those differences can be attributed to the geographical locations of certain towns and villages scattered throughout the western peripheries of Lubelszczyzna along 80 km of land in Vistula valley.

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AREA OF OCCURRENCE OF THE FOLK DRESS IN THE LUBLIN POWIŚLE REGION

Folk dress from the area of Annopol or Świeciechów was different. One could notice its closer affinity to traditional dress from the Małopolska region as it differed from dress from Żyrzyn which was closer to that of Mazowsze. Nevertheless, in the whole of Powiśle people used to wear striped fabrics, especially aprons, but also shoulder capes, which came from Kielecczyzna across the Vistula River along with other elements. One should emphasize that whether a town or a village is considered to belong to Powiśle is rather a matter of agreement, and the same applies to the name Lublin Powiśle dress, which to some people is the same as Puławy dress. Most researchers are of the opinion that location by the river is tantamount to considering those towns and villages as part of Powiśle region. However, people who live there would list the following towns and villages as being part of the proper Powiśle region: Głodno, Braciejowice, Janiszów, Zakrzów, Niedźwiada, Las Dębowy, Zastów, Wilków, Szczekarków and farther to the north to Kazimierz and Puławy, whereas towns and villages located in a more upland region which the Vistula did not flood such as Łaziska, Kamień, Piotrawin, Józefów, and Kaliszny area which created as a result of Kaliszany Zgoda and Kopanina estate division, and up to the south to Annopol, are considered to be part of Dąbrowa. As has already been mentioned, folk dress from all these towns and villages spread to the east, sometimes quite far, so the paper will discuss examples of its occurrence throughout the whole region.

542 E. Kępa in information booklet prepared for the exhibition entitled *Ornamentation of folk dress from Lubelszczyzna region*, Regional Museum in Lublin 1984, pp.1, defines Powiśle as a region which extends from Zawichost town.

The interesting folk dress from Lublin Powiśle, so distinct from other types of Lublin region costumes, was depicted by few but excellent painters and graphics creators. In some works, e.g. by Jan Piotr Norblin and Wojciech Gerson the dress is a subject of the study itself, whereas in other works it is a staffage in larger compositions, usually depicting architectural landscape. However, scenes with folk types and genre scenes related to the villages from the area constitute only a small part of art in which the Lublin Powiśle was eagerly depicted. Artists were drawn to the exceptionally picturesque landscapes and great history of this land, which used to be in administrative and political unity with the left-bank Kielecczyzna since the beginning of time⁵⁴³. Despite this division, Vistula River and raftsmen's culture that came with it, still brought the two neighbouring lands together. That was the case for centuries until WWII. For as long as people could remember these lands were in closer affinity to Sandomierz and Cracow – hence, their natural relationship with Świętokrzystkie region – than to Mazowieckie or Lubelskie regions. People from across the Vistula river would look for work in great manors on the right side of the river and travelled to Kielce area to establish shops and restaurants. Everyday ferries crossed the river with cattle, children were taken on boats by boatmen to get to school, e.g. from Kamień to a renown middle school in Solec. All these relations, including marriages, contributed to continuous penetration of influences which could be noted in customs, food culture and, of course, traditional dress.

The Powiśle dress, compared to traditional dress from Łowicz or Cracow, was modest but also exceptionally elegant. Such clothes in their simplicity and great proportions were the epitome of good taste. Decorative elements were intentionally rejected, instead the dress focused on rhythmical arrangement of wide and narrow stripes in sophisticated colours on woven fabric. What made them distinct was also elegant form and intricate ornamentation of women's bonnets, interesting and diverse ways of fastening kerchiefs, as well as rich accents such as original red beads or imitation thereof. Painters who appreciated such folk dress depicted it in its original form, sometimes styled, focusing on the impression of colours, and only occasionally venturing into more artistic creation.

The first known composition which portrayed countrymen from Piotrawin or Solec is a monumental painting by Marcin Baszkowski entitled *Trial of the King Boleslaw II the Bold over Bishop Stanislaus of Szczepanów* [Sąd Bolesława Śmiałego nad biskupem Stanisławem Szczepanowskim] painted in 1627 (oil painting, 305 x 305 cm, canvas) kept in parish church in Piotrawin. Early baroque scenes ordered into registers, with panoramic view of Piotrawin and Solec, as well as large-figure scene with bishop Stanislaus and king Boleslaw, as well as Piotrowin resurrected by the bishop, constitute a valuable iconographic and costume design document. Although the painting portrays early Middle Ages, the painted figures are wearing folk costumes from the beginning of the 17th century. Men, facing the King's entourage, are dressed in salmon trousers, blue shirts and small hats. Most probably they represent local countrymen. Their clothes, especially in terms of colours, are faithfully rendered. The colours of their clothes are in harmony with the colour scheme of the whole canvas, in particular with the scenes portraying the royal court, painted mainly in yellow, orange and silver grey. In reality, they must have looked different, above all less colourful.

543 It used to be part of historical Małopolska region, and after the fragmentation of the realm, since 1146 these lands were within the borders of the same principality – Sandomierz principality. Administrative boarder along Vistula river appeared only in 1471 when Casimir IV Jagiellon divided great Sandomierz region to create right-bank Lublin region.

The same artist, who is the author of most of the 55 unique votive paintings which can also be found in parish church in Piotrawin, in some of them depicted cottages with thatched roofs and locals from Piotrawin with their families. One of such paintings, votum of *Mikołaj Komórka from Piotrawin* [Mikołaja Komórki z Piotrawina], 1629 (oil painting, canvas, desk; 24 x 36) portrays an indoor scene with a view of the landscape and a girl laying on a bed accompanied by her parents.

Other depictions of peasants in colourful dress were authored by Zygmunt Vogel (1764 - 1826) in *View of market square in Kazimierz nad Wisłą* [Widoku rynku w Kazimierzu nad Wisłą], 1794 (watercolour painting, paper, 38.7 x 59.7, University Library in Warsaw, collection inventory number 10143), as well as in other paintings, some of which were painted in Janowiec. However, they just constitute a staffage and their clothing is hardly visible, adding only a colourful background to the composition.

Peasants became more frequently depicted only in the 19th century. It was then that more detailed portraits of local people from the area of Vistula river were painted. The first person to undertake this was Jan Piotr Norblin de la Gourdain (1745 - 1830) who at the turn of the centuries frequently visited Czartoryski family in Puławy. During those visits he painted landscapes with rich staffage and probably two scenes that are interesting to us as they depict life in the country. The first scene, entitled *Countrywoman from Lublin region* [Chłopka lubelska], 1817 (in: *Costumes Polonais* No. 32, watercolour painting, 19 x 20 cm, Princes Czartoryski Foundation at National Museum in Cracow, inventory number XV-Rr. 1642) represents a countrywoman against a background of wooden cottage house, dressed in white clothes with russet coat over her shoulders, fastened over her bust. She has white kerchief hugging her head tightly, with ends extending back and over her forehead. The second watercolour painting by Norblin is *Countryman from Lublin region* [Chłop lubelski], 1817 (in: *Costumes Polonais*, No. 31, 19 x 20 cm, Muzeum XX Czartoryskich, inventory No. XV-Rr.1641), in which a man is painted wearing knee-length light brown russet coat wrapped with red belt, and red cap with white cap band.

In the middle of the 19th century Wojciech Gerson (1831-1901) made drawings of various categories of peasants. Collected during his travels across the Kingdom in 1849 – 1860, they were included in an album entitled *Costumes of the Polish nation* [Ubiory ludu polskiego], 1855, and also used as illustrations for Oskar Kolberg's *The People* [Lud] (pub. since 1865). In 1852 - 1853 Gerson stayed in Lubelszczyzna region: in Lublin, Bochońnica, Kazimierz and Janowiec. In those years he undertook to portray the most significant historical sites in visited towns and villages. It was probably then that sketches of peasants had been made which were later used as a basis for graphics. Lithography *Lublinianie* [Folk from Lublin], 1855 (The Lublin Museum, inventory number S/G/265/ML, pic. 1) presents 3 people wearing festive costumes. A man in the lithography is wearing a shirt over his trousers, wrapped with a belt, and trousers tucked into high-top boots, as well as brown russet coat typical for Krzczonów area, four-cornered cap characteristic to Puławy with black sheepskin cap band. A young woman on the left is dressed in brick-red corset with tabs, skirt with white apron over it and steel grey russet coat (also worn in the village of Dys, near Lublin), and a cap decorated with colourful ribbons and flowers. Another woman in white skirt and white apron with grey, vertical narrow stripes is wearing blue jerkin and on her head she has a salmon-coloured kerchief tied at the back with ends falling on her back.

In wood engraving entitled *Powiśle* Wojciech Gerson depicted other authentic figures in local costumes. VII, ("Tygodnik Powszechny" weekly magazine, 1885, No. 46, pp. 730). 4 larger scenes and 8 smaller ones present, apart from architectural features of Janowiec, folk types. Their clothing is diverse: from various russet coats, also for women, through different headgear and countrywomen's clothes for summer and colder days, with capes worn over their shoulders. What they are wearing is considered to be original folk dress, which is discussed later in this chapter.

During the same period Adam Lerue (1827 - 1910) created his lithographs to *Lublin region Album* [Album Lubelski], 1857. Peasants are depicted against a background showing Kazimierz and Gołab. Their small figures are only sketches and constitute just a staffage, so unfortunately we cannot see the details of their clothing. On the other hand, Armand Theophile Cassagne (1823 - 1907) in lithography made on the basis of a drawing by Barbara Czernof, *A view of Parchatka* [Widok wzięty z Parchatki], circa 1860 (lithography, cardboard, 26.1 x 40.6 cm), showed a road from Puławy to Bochońca going along Vistula river and an interesting genre scene with a pair of peasants in local dress. Similar figures appear in a few other lithographs of the artists, also made on the basis of drawings by Barbara Czernof, which are included in the album with lithographs dedicated to Puławy region.

Illustration wood engraving by Aleksander Gierzyński (1850–1901) *Deep road* [Głęboka Droga], 1886 ("Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine 1886, issue 157, pp.13), depicts a herdsman wearing a cap who is driving cattle. Another interesting genre scene presents rafts and rafters (who had their main centre in Ulanów and would raft timber from Bieszczady mountains and Podhale) dressed in everyday peasant clothes. The author of this illustration wood engraving from the second part of the 19th century entitled *Janowiec area - timber rafting on Vistula river* [Okolice Janowca – spław drzewa na Wiśle] is J. Telakowski.

Also from this period comes an anonymous painting entitled *Saint Isidore* [Św. Izidor] (oil painting, canvas, 210 x 130 cm) from st. Adalber's church in Wąwolnica which depicts the patron of farmers wearing white russet coat (as worn in Cracow). Before his feet, on green grass with flowers, lies colourful *magierka* cap. Such headgear was not worn by people in the Lublin Powiśle region; however, light-coloured russet coats, also white (of course, with different cut and ornamentation than used in Cracow), were worn by people from local towns, including Wąwolnica. Information gathered during interviews also reveals that such coats were worn in Grabów. Oskar Kolberg writes about such russet coats, as will be described later in the chapter.

Stanisław Masłowski (1853-1926) in one of his best works of art entitled *Market in Kazimierz market square* [Targ na rynku w Kazimierzu nad Wisłą], 1900 (watercolour, pencil, cardboard on canvas; 73 x 129 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, Rys. Pol. 4624) depicted local market which is one of the largest in the area (markets are organized even nowadays on every Tuesday) against a background showing architecture, as well as portrayed numerous figures, including peasant women dressed in local, colourful costumes with striped aprons.

Zdzisław Jasiński (1863-1932) in *Part of Kazimierz* [Fragment Kazimierza], 1911 (oil painting, plywood, 27.5 x 36.8 Nadwiślańskie Museum in Kazimierz Dolny, inventory number MNK/KL/3358/AH) depicted market day in Kazimierz market square. The background presents frontage of Gdańsk tenement house, whereas in the foreground there are two women. Władysław Szultz in *Market in Kazimierz market square* [Targ na rynku



66. Countrywomen from Zagrody near Grabów, beginning of the 20th century

w Kazimierzu], 1913 (oil painting, canvas; 48 x 63 cm, Nadwiślańskie Museum in Kazimierz Dolny, inventory number MNK/KC/3408/AH), presented a north-eastern part of the Market Square with a colourful crowd of people on a market day. People in vivid clothes and a white horse next to a horsewagon enliven colours of the painting. Thanks to them, a realistic composition of market day scenes gains impressionistic accents.

A renown painter from Lublin, Władysław Barwicki (1865 - 1933) together with a group of associates is responsible for making a polychrome in 1909 in parish church in Świeciechów. In the presbytery, on the left wall he painted *Our Lady of Częstochowa against the background of Świeciechów church* [Matka Boska Częstochowska na tle kościoła w Świeciechowie] (distemper paint on plaster; approx. 410 x 195 cm). The bottom part of the painting shows landscape with local church and green pastures. Against this background we can see the Holy Mother during adoration, dressed in folk costume which, unfortunately, was painted rather schematically, without showing decorative details. The man is dressed in blue russet coat wrapped with brown belt, whereas women are painted wearing white shirts, black corsets, and maroon and navy skirts with white aprons. In another parish church, in Grabów, one can find another large polychromous plaster sculpture of the Holy Mother the Queen of the Polish Crown, made in 1954 by Zofia Trzcńska - Kamińska (1890 - 1977), an artist related to a nearby village of Leśce. The beautiful figure of Madonna is dressed in rich costume with folk elements: black corset with colourful floral motives and three strings of authentic beads.

It seems that iconography cannot always be considered to be an ideal place to look for the way people dressed, as has been shown on the examples described above.

WOMEN'S DRESS

Women's dress from the discussed region comprised white shirt, a single-colour skirt, decorated at the bottom with sewn-on ribbons (one or a few), a corset, and optionally a caftan, striped apron, shoulder cape, head kerchief and a cap. The costume was completed with beads and ankle boots. Some parts of this dress were worn even after WWII.

Women's shirts used to be decorated with flat, floral embroidery. It was present on a piece of fabric which binds front and back of a shirt, on a ruff and cuffs. In shirts from later period one can find embroidery made with threads in various colours, such as white, red, blue, black, and yellow, as well as different stitches - flat, interlacing and cross stitch. Decorative motives were usually floral, e.g. trees with branches with leaves, twigs with blooms, rosettes, fleurons. They were typically accompanied by geometric ornaments⁵⁴⁴.

544 There are two interesting, very ornamental shirts from Rogów in Opole powiat. They are made from cotton linen. Both have a similar cut (gathered at the shoulders) and ornamental elements. One of them, probably from 1900, has a collar which is a narrow trim with a wide, gathered ruff collar fringed with white lace. The ruff collar, fabric at the shoulders, cuffs and trimming of the cut are embroidered with red and black thread in chain stitch which presents floral decoration. Another shirt from Rogów, dated 1942, with a trim fastened with two buttons, has no ruff collar. It is decorated with cross stitch in a few colours (maroon, black, white, yellow, light pink, brick red and blue) at the shoulders and cuffs, as well as with quilted work. The long cut is made more interesting with three tabs on the sides. More modest shirts from the 19th century come from the area of Żyrzyn. The oldest one, made from homespun linen around 1920, has back and red cross stitch embroidery at the cuffs. The simple shirt with a long cut has a linen trim fastened with a button. Another similar shirt has a trim and a cut trimmed with lace, as well as cuffs decorated with red and black cross stitch. The other two shirts do not have decorations on shoulders either; one of them has lace all around cuffs and a pleated trim. Even more modest is a linen shirt from Gołąb village which is pieced out at the bottom. It has just a simple trim and linen cuffs, and the trim is fastened with a blue button.

Exceptionally elegant are white cuffs from the beginning of the 20th century from Grabów which used to be worn over regular shirt cuffs. They had discreet white, blue or pink embroidery, and sometimes even two or three colours at once. They were also quilted with white thread, sometimes quite densely, and additionally quilted with a coloured thread. The edges were trimmed with pleated frill from white linen and store-bought ribbon. People also wore individual white linen collars, in a form of a ruff collar, decorated with hemstitch and trimmed with lace.

According to the knowledge of ethnographers, richly gathered, woollen skirts had vertical stripes. Oskar Kolberg writes that married women in Powiśle near Puławy used to wear heavy cotton white skirts with thick red stripes and non-tight corsets, which made their dress distinct from other types of dress in Lublin area⁵⁴⁵. According to "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine (from before 1883) women near Kurów and Końskowola wore white skirts covered with a dress, and usually with colourful stripes (the author probably meant aprons)⁵⁴⁶.

At the beginning of the 20th century women started wearing single-colour skirts, e.g. yellow, brown, cherry red or violet made from store-bought thin wool. They were usually gathered or densely pleated at the waist. Quite often the back of a skirt had pleats all over, whereas at the front there were fewer of them. At the bottom they were decorated with pink, yellow and green ribbon and hemmed with black ribbon (Bochothnica near Nałęczów) or with three black satin parallel pleats-stripes of various width (also in Bochothnica)⁵⁴⁷.

Until this very day the main characteristic feature of Powiśle folk dress is a homespun, woollen apron with vertical stripes, gathered at the top and trimmed at the bottom with a trim from another fabric, ends of which were used as straps to be tied. Stripes on fabric can be arranged in various ways and can have different colours, depending on when and where they were made. Those made in the past has less colours, usually black, white or red. They resemble archaic, two-coloured striped aprons: black and red as in traditional dress from Świętokrzyskie region, and black and white as in the area near Hża town. The turn of the 19th and 20th century saw a change in the colours of striped fabric. People started wearing wider green, violet, and red stripes, as well as narrow stripes in vivid colours. In some areas rather bright colours were used; contrasting colours and stripes were arranged in symmetrical, rhythmically repeating patterns. The Lublin Museum has approx. 50 aprons. Among them there are over 10 special ones from Opole powiat (Łopoczno, Kaliszany, Piotrawin, Braciejowice, Rogów). They are weaved crosswise, have many colours and rather narrow stripes. Their dark, usually black background is

545 O. Kolberg, *Lud. Jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce. Series XVI. Lublin area part I* [Seria XVI. Lubelskie część I], All works v.16, Lublin area part I, Cracow, 1883 pp.35-36.

546 *Ibid.*, pp.36.

547 In Kamień skirts were brown, densely gathered, with wider green stripe at the bottom. Despite their width they were snug on the hips and were flaring when women were walking. Woolen skirt from the area of Żarzyn from around 1906 is hemmed with pleated ribbon, and another, this time summer skirt is made from delicate store-bought wool with embossed leaves and at the bottom it has four parallel pleats which are faced with a thin linen fabric. Regional Museum in Kraśnik has one interesting original skirt from Świeciechów from 1910. The skirt is in bright red colour, it is made from store-bought wool, with pleats and at the bottom it is decorated with seven colourful ribbons in various shades of violet, green, pink and blue. Similar skirt can be found in the collection of Lublin Museum - the skirt was made in 1938 in Żarzyn. Such skirts were part of festive dress and they are often pictured in photographs from the beginning of the 20th century.

barely visible due to dense pattern of stripes. Additionally at the bottom they are decorated with a rather wide border shot through with colourful threads which perfectly blend with the whole garment⁵⁴⁸.

A few aprons from the area of Żyrzyn (Wronów, Osiny, Bałtów), from 1892 and c. 1900 also have a pattern of narrow stripes and a border at the bottom, and in one case even two borders. However, the colours of the stripes and borders are more vivid, dominated by red, amaranth and accentuated with green and yellow which makes it difficult to spot the dark background in such composition⁵⁴⁹.

Two aprons from Gołab from 1935 and 1938 look different. Their dark, black and navy background is decorated with white, narrow stripes (the older one) and white, wider stripes (the latter one); the bottom is decorated in a fashion similar to aprons from the area of Żyrzyn – with a wide, multi-colour border.

A completely separate group of garments are delicate, woollen, also weaved on loom, narrow aprons with pleats at the top (probably worn with corsets) from Żyrzyn and a nearby Żerdź village, which used to be made before WWI up until 1960s. They boast colourful, transverse stripes, and the bottom is often decorated with multi-colour fringe. They definitely stand out thanks to their bright colours and lack of border at the bottom which makes them similar to aprons from the area of Łowicz.

White aprons (Photo 3), usually also decorated, had a different character. They were part of festive dress, such as batiste apron from Żyrzyn (1938) with colourful ribbons sewn on crosswise and white lace. We can see such aprons in pictures from towns and villages such as Łaziska, Klementowice, Zagrody or Grabów. Quite often, although not always, they were part of traditional folk dress from Cracow. Equally elegant aprons, but less folk in character, come from Grabów and Bogucin (private collection) decorated with *richelieu* embroidery, or, just as decorative cutwork. Less formal, but still festive linen aprons were decorated with lines of lace, sewn on or inserted, or with hemstitch. Usually married women wore long, simple white aprons, sometimes with a few pleats, to accompany a long skirt and a caftan.

Striped aprons were worn not only over skirts but also draped over shoulders. It can be seen in two coloured prints from 1903 which depict countrywomen from Grabów. The first one presents two women: the younger one is wearing a slightly shorter, pinkish skirt without sewn on stripes, and instead of a light-coloured caftan like her companion is wearing, she is wearing a dark green laced corset and a white shirt with a large ruff. On skirts and arms they are both wearing striped shoulder capes (aprons) and on their heads kerchiefs tied under chins. The second reproduction made on the basis of a drawing signed by a Nowicka, depicts a similarly dressed girl. The stripes on her garment are in a range of colours, including bright green, orange and yellow. Under her shoulder cape with narrow stripes one can see a dark corset and a white shirt. Her dress is completed by long line of beads with a cross and grey and blue kerchief with delicate accents of red.

548 An example from this group is an apron from Braciejowice (Photo 2.) from 1920, which is black with colorful stripes (violet, beet-red, green and yellow), with embroidery made on embroidery loom complete with a red trim. One of the oldest pieces in this collection is an apron from Piotrawin from 1890. Against the background there are running amaranth and green wide stripes, as well as white narrow stripes, whereas the bottom is decorated with a wide border lightened up by a yellow thread. Also, there are 2 interesting aprons from Karczmiska, in particular one of them from 1860 which is slightly different from others. The apron is navy blue with white, narrow stripes and decorated at the bottom with two red and white borders separated with a yellow and green border. The whole motif is limited by narrow, brick-red stripes.

549 A great majority of aprons from this area which in Polish were called not only *zapaska*, but also sometimes *fartuch* and *fartuszek burek* (Bałtów, Żyrzyn, Żerdź) date back to 1900 – 1960. Against their colourful backgrounds (maroon, red, dark green, sapphire, navy, but also black) one can see a different type of stripes, or actually rhythmically repeating groups of stripes, e.g. white, navy and maroon. At the bottom runs a separate, decorative wide border, also weaved on a loom, with bright colours, dominated by yellow, amaranth, bright green, blue and violet.

All known corsets from the region (The Lublin Museum has over 20 in its collection) come from the 19th and 20th century. They are figure-hugging, laced, lined and have tabs around the waist. At the front they have a cut (often boned) with hook and eye to thread a ribbon. Probably there were corsets with just hook and eye which can be seen in a only pre-war child's corset coming from Grabów. The front, but often also the back, the cut all around the neck, as well as edges of the fabric around underarms and tabs, were decorated with ribbons, sometimes pleated, tinsel, soutache, beads and glass beads, and sometimes crepe. Moreover, corsets from the area of Żyrzyn had a cut around the neck and sleeves finished with tabs. Their colours were diverse, and apart from black and navy ones, women wore maroon, pink and green corsets. They were sewn from damask, black satin, velvet and delicate wool⁵⁵⁰.

There were also corsets decorated quite differently. In Grabów there is a beautiful corset from the beginning of the 20th century, with fine floral embroidery. Also in Kamień corsets had floral embroidery, and only later they were decorated with sequins, golden ribbons or edged with a silver trim.

168 Women wore caftans on colder days. They were single-colour garments from store-bought wool, lined, short, close-fitting around the waist, with long, embroidered sleeves with cuffs. They were also decorated with haberdashery, although more modestly than corsets. They were fastened with buttons high up the neck, had no collar (just finished with a narrow trim)⁵⁵¹ which seemed to be superfluous taking into account multiple strings of beads hanging from the neck to waistline, with the bottom string having a cross. Some women, more modest, although not necessarily poorer, wore only 2 or 3 strings of beads. Usually, they were real coral beads. Some elegant women at the beginning of the 20th century started wearing small pearls with their caftans. According to "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine (from before 1883) countrywomen from the areas of Kurów and Końskowola instead of caftans were wearing navy *żupan* with brass buttons and no sleeves, and on colder days they would wear men's coats⁵⁵².

550 Corsets from Puławy powiat (Karczmiska, Rogów, Grabów) were initially modestly decorated with ribbons, sequins and tinsel. Those made later are more decorative, in particular near the edges of the cut, where vertically arranged trimmings were put. In a group of corsets from the area Żyrzyn one can find the oldest one coming from Osiny (1820), made on a sewing machine from a maroon satin. It is made of 4 pieces of fabric, the front and back are decorated with blue ribbon, white crepe, silver tinsel, green soutache and sequins. The trimming around the cut also includes vertical elements. Such arrangement of decorations can be also found on a corset from Żyrzyn (from the period before WWI) with an applique with violet flowers, silver tinsel and colourful ribbons. Other corsets from this group have different arrangement of decorative elements near the cut. It can be seen on two corsets from Żyrzyn from the 19th century the fronts of which are decorated along the cut but not with a vertical trimming, but with a zigzag motif. Such type of trimming was used continuously in this area until 1960s and is commonly reproduced until today. A similar garment is a black velvet corset from Gołab dated 1918, decorated with amaranth and blue ribbons which contrast with the background, tied with thread to obtain curvy forms and make the motif more vivid.

551 Four caftans kept in the Lublin Museum, two of which date back to pre-war times, have ornaments along the cut, the bottom part and around cuffs. Particularly impressive is a plum jerkin from Grabów (Photo 5) dated 1906 finished at the bottom with basquine made from pleated frill. Along the cut, over the basquine and on the cuffs it was trimmed with ribbons of navy velvet onto which there were sewn silver sequins, glass beads and copper buttons. Another woollen caftan from Grabów, this time brown, looks similar. It is decorated with dark velvet, transparent beads and sequins. Two caftan models (called blouses) from Bochońnica near Nałęczów are more modestly decorated. The maroon one has decoration near fastening, near the end of sleeves and at the bottom is decorated with black lace. There are parallel yellow and pink ribbons, tied with threads. The yellow blouse, in mustard colour, is decorated with dark navy velvet and over the cuffs it has a pink ribbon, also tied with threads.

552 Ibid., pp 35-36.

Married women were wearing white bonnets or kerchiefs. According to “Tygodnik Ilustrowany” magazine (dated before 1883), older countrywomen from the area of Kurów and Końskowola were wearing tulle bonnets with great peak at the front, also trimmed. On their bonnets they would put a kerchief at the back of their heads, starting from the peak and letting the three corners fall on their shoulders. Young married women would tie their kerchiefs similar to older women, but without a bonnet. Girls had long braids falling on their shoulders, with colourful ribbons⁵⁵³.

Married women were wearing also half-bonnets with small head and very long sashes. Examples of such headgear come from Wólka Profecka, Gołąb and Góra Puławska. The bonnets’ heads were usually made from lace or tube-shaped lace, trimmed with pleated tulle and decorated with a colourful, e.g. blue, ribbon. Sashes were made from soft tulle and trimmed with store-bought white lace. A very effective and elegant is an old, lace half-bonnet from Bochoznica near Nałęczów. It has a form of a diadem, trimmed with pleated tulle with delicate pink ribbons and silver beads. At the front it is decorated with a headdress with velvet maroon lowers and olive leaves.

In terms of kerchiefs from the collection of the Lublin Museum there is a number of kerchiefs with frills which are particularly elegant, e.g. a yellow one with floral embroidery which comes from Miesiąców near Grabów. They are store-bought garments, made from silk, similar to other kerchiefs from this area, which would usually have a vivid floral pattern against single colour background, e.g. orange, maroon or black⁵⁵⁴. Such kerchiefs were usually draped over shoulders, just like larger ones. *Szalinówki*, which are a type of kerchief made from thin material, or silk kerchiefs, were worn in the summertime. Older ladies from Kamień in pre-war times would tie them under their chins, and unmarried women would tie them at the back of their heads. A collection of kerchiefs was a sign of a girl’s wealth - the more of them, the wealthier the girl was.

In winter, poorer women who did not have a russet coat or a sheepskin coat wore a woolen, home-spun warm checker kerchief. We can see a large one, with salmon, navy, and grey pattern in a coloured print dated 1903. It is presented by a an elderly woman from the area of Grabów who is also wearing long, brick-red garments and a white apron. Before the war, in some areas, women would wrap such kerchiefs around them to serve them as a coat.

The Lublin Museum has in its collection three examples of headgear worn by brides. They are bright headdresses from Puławy powiat, made from linen in various colours and adorned with silver ribbons. The headdresses had flowers formed from linen and into those flowers women put beads and leaves of different shapes and in various hues of green - all of that was fixed onto a construction of wires wrapped in light-coloured paper tied together by cotton threads. Multi-coloured, long ribbons at the back

553 Interesting examples of bonnets and half-bonnets can be seen in the Lublin Museum. A classic bonnet, e.g. from Góra Puławska, made from linen, decorated with lace and with an insertion, has half a meter long sashes for tying up. A different, but interesting variation, are three bonnets from Gołąb from before WWII. They consist of two parts; the bottom part can be made from, e.g. a store-bought red, wrinkled linen, the outside from white tulle decorated all around with a ruche (trimmed with tube-shaped tulle) and multi-coloured ribbons (usually pink, blue and green) or yarn usually formed into flowers.

554 Kerchiefs from the beginning of the 19th century and 1930-40 from the area of Puławy and Żyrzyn, the so called *szalinówki* from thin wool usually came in cream and red colour, and were decorated with colourful flower patterns, e.g. roses. The most impressive one is a pre-war kerchief from Wronów near Puławy, since it is very large, multi-colour and known under a name “kerchief for four Sundays” because every corner had a different pattern.

fell freely onto back and shoulders. An early veil of a bride from Bochothnica near Nałęczów is made from white tulle (162 x 80 cm) and hemmed with narrow lace⁵⁵⁵.

Women's shoes were laced, it was only during the war that other variants appeared. In Kamień women would wear black ankle boots for work, but there also existed brown or red ankle boots - these were used for dancing.

MEN'S DRESS

Men's traditional dress was used until the end of the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th century in many towns and villages it ceased to be used and was replaced with a more modern attire, influenced by urban fashion. However, some tradition elements remained in use, such as russet coats or boots. It was related to people's attachment to tradition and it remained present only in some places, usually in rather wealthy towns and villages (e.g. near Nałęczów and Grabów such garments were worn until late 1920s).

Everyday men's shirts, worn over trousers, with no decorations, were made from linen which was either light-grey or white⁵⁵⁶. According to "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine (from before 1883) in the area of Kurów and Końskowola shirts were usually tied with two-coloured ribbons, most often blue and pink⁵⁵⁷. Such decoration was probably characteristic only to festive dress.

Everyday trousers, made from homespun linen, had straight legs and were finished at the top



67. Back of the russet coat (model), Grabów

555 The Lublin Museum has two old baby bonnets from Cynków near Nałęczów. Both stand out in terms of beautiful form and decoration; girl's bonnet is made from store-bought green and red wool and straps in the same colours; it also has percale lining and is decorated with white, pleated lace. Boy's bonnet is made from store-bought cherry-red flannel; it is also lined with percale and its shape is conical. The decoration consists of pleated laced with tiny flowers sewn on here and there. The Museum has in its collection also a more modest bonnet made from white linen, with head covered with white lace and edges of the wide brim embroidered with red thread.

556 Shirts in the collection of the Lublin Museum have cuts at the front of various length and can be fastened with 2 or 3 buttons. The backs of the shirts, slightly gathered at the top, have sewn on necks. The top was finished usually with a narrow, linen trim instead of a collar (the trim was used on more elegant shirts). Sleeves were long, gathered at the bottom and finished with a cuff - sometimes linen - and fastened with one button. Sometimes shirts had vertical cut and they were called *ponchos* (such shirt made in 1950 in Żyrzyn is in the collection of the Lublin Museum), also finished with a trim around the neck and fastened with buttons. Long sleeves finished with narrow cuffs which were fastened with buttons but not gathered at the bottom.

557 Ibid., pp.36.

with a band made from the same fabric. Sometimes men wore simple, linen trousers dyed in navy blue or black. Trousers worn on special occasions were sewn from store-bought dark fabrics. Those were usually put into high-top boots.

Vests were also sewn from store-bought dark fabrics. There are two vests in the collection of the Lublin Museum which come from Puławy powiat. One of them, rather original, is made from navy wool and is decorated with sapphire string (edges, decoration on 5 buttonholes, pocket trim and small round collar trim) and two rows of small, metal buttons. The second vest, a model which dates back to the times before WWII, is made from black fabric and is decorated with golden thread quilting⁵⁵⁸. The most well know vest, the look of which has been replicated in dress worn by members of folk groups, can be also found in the collection of the Lublin Museum and is made from sapphire cloth, has a narrow collar, two rows of smooth, silver buttons and yellow quilting at the front along edges of the fastening and over pockets. It used to be worn by older people.

Russet coats from the discussed region are woollen, made from homespun cloth and are not homogenous in the way they look. Depending on the area they differ in terms of colour, cut and ornaments. However, it happens so that a russet coat typical to one region appears in another region. Oskar Kolberg writes about grey russet coats onto which people sew lines which resembled ribs, the so called *potrzeby*, which were also sewn on seams at the back, hips and around pockets; such garments were worn usually near towns such as Kazimierz⁵⁵⁹. The researcher also mentions navy russet coats worn only by countrymen near Puławy (the area was under strong influence - also with regard to dress - of Czartoryski princes who resided there until November uprising in 1830) who, copying some townsman, wrapped them with red, woollen belts. Kolberg also refers to information published in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine which says that men from the area of Kurów and Końskowola were wearing dark grey russet coats, without collars, fastened with hook and eye, with edges trimmed with blue ribbon. Those observations are supported by Henryk Wiercieński (1843 - 1923), Lublin regionalist and publisher whose father bought a property in Niezabitów in 1844. He states that where he comes from countrymen were under the influence of Lubomirski princes from Opole and wore russet coats in various colours - mainly light blue. He also notes that it was a custom for people that everyone from the same village would wear russet coats in the same colour and cut. For example, in Łubki and Wojciechów people wore dark grey russet coats, richly decorated with red and blue strings. In villages located to the north from Niezabitów people wore the same russet coats but with more modest decorations from blue ribbon, whereas countrymen who lived near Wisła wore dark grey russet coats⁵⁶⁰. Contemporary researchers confirm such information in general studies. Teresa Karwicka writes about grey or blue colour of russet coats, wrapped with a cloth belt and fastened with buttons⁵⁶¹. Barbara Bazielić mentions navy russet coats with small upward collars,

558 The quilting adds decorative character along the edges of long, curved collar, the fastening, bottom of the vest and 3 pockets. Broader ornamental line running parallel a few centimeters away from the fastening was initially decorated with buttons. Buttonholes are decorated with yellow thread (the buttons are missing so the colour cannot be determined).

559 O. Kolberg, pp.33.

560 H. Wiercieński, *Żyliśmy ma przełomie wieków. Fragmenty pamiętników Henryka Wiercieńskiego* [We lived at the turn of the centuries. Fragments of Henryk Wiercieński's diary], "Głos Nałęczowa" 2011, pp.2-4.

561 T. Karwicka, *Ubiory ludowe w Polsce* [Folk dress in Poland], Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego, 1995, pp.2.

hemmed on the edges with blue string⁵⁶². Danuta Powiłańska-Mazur and Celestyn Wrębiak confirm that russet coats were either grey or dark blue and that edges were hemmed with blue string⁵⁶³. Agnieszka Ławicka writes about dark blue russet coats with blue ornamental cord fastened with leather belt⁵⁶⁴.

On the basis of the condition of the garments today it can be determined that navy russet coats had to look similar to the ones from the area of Janów Lubelski which are kept in the Lublin Museum. The russet coat has a light navy colour, is fastened with hook and eye, more fitting at the top and flared at the bottom with sewn in sleeves⁵⁶⁵. Closer to Kraśnik people wore long, grey russet coats fastened with hook and eye⁵⁶⁶. Also near Józefów people wore russet coats in beautiful violet colour. The one which is kept in the museum has a different cut and ornamentation⁵⁶⁷.

In Piotrawin there is brown russet coat decorated with red cord, which makes it similar to the russet coat from Opole. Russet coats worn in the area of Końskowola had a cut similar to the ones from Józefów, but the colour was dark brown, almost black; the coats also had trims on collars and cuffs made from navy-cobalt wool. The centre of



68. According to the drawing by Wojciech Gerson, *Lublinianie* [People from Lublin], 1855, lithography

562 B. Bazieliuch, *Strój ludowy w Polsce. Opisy i wykroje*. [Folk costume in Poland. Description and patterns], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Kultury Wsi 1997, pp.100.

563 D. Powiłańska - Mazur, C. Wrębiak, *Kultura materialna i sztuka ludowa Lubelszczyzny. Informator do stałej wystawy* [Material heritage and folk art of Lubelszczyzna. Exhibition information booklet], Muzeum Okręgowe w Lublinie, Lublin 1981, pp. 48.

564 A. Ławicka, www.zamek-pl. Access date

565 Fastening and trim (which resembles a stand-up collar) is reinforced with three stripes of sewn on navy ribbon. The sleeve is finished with a cuff placket with navy wool around it. Often sleeves do not have proper cuffs, as cuffs are only imitated with a border of navy wool. The cuff is sometimes hemmed with a navy cord which is also used to decorate other parts of the russet coat (hem at the bottom, vents on the sides, fastening, trim or other decorative elements at the back below waist). Such type of garments could be worn in the southern part of the region which is described in this chapter.

566 Navy cloth, sewn at the bottom of the sleeve imitated a cuff. Trim, fastening and area above the cuff, two symmetrical accents at the back on waist level, as well as side vents at the bottom were decorated with navy cord.

567 It has a collar with large lapels and a very decorative back. The collar and the bottom of the sleeve (cuff imitation) are hemmed with sapphire flannel which turns into cobalt. The fabric beautifully accentuates the cut of the back of the garment, in its central part. The elements were made from flannel and were additionally decorated with sapphire cord.



69. Corset from Żyrzyn, 1932



70. Apron from Barciejowice, 1920

the bottom is decorated with sapphire-cobalt cord. Russet coat from Grabów has a similar cut. However, another model of russet coat from Grabów and a model from Gołąb resemble rather russet coats from the area of Janów in terms of cut; they are also decorated with similar, sapphire ornaments. The garments were brown, fastened with hook and eye, with trim and cut decorated with sapphire-white ribbon and sapphire cord (Grabów) or sapphire embroidery (Gołąb). The bottoms of the sleeves and central parts of the back were also decorated. On the other hand, long russet coats from Grabów and Naęczów, visible in reproductions from 1903 (colour print), both probably light brown, are decorated at the fastening with colourful haberdashery with dominant red colour. Brown russet coat from Puławy powiat is of a different type: it is cut off at the waist, has collar with lapels and double-breasted fastening with buttons, also brown. It is hemmed with black cloth around the collar, edges, at the bottom and on top of the cuffs, as well as the top edges of 3 pockets. In appearance it resembles traditional dress from the region of Kielce. Russet coats decorated with black ribbon and buttons were present in the area of Markuszowo and Wąwolnica. The most impressive, light-brown russet coat (shown



71. Women's caftan from Miesiąców near Grabów, 1906

as a model) comes from Grabów and is hemmed with violet ribbon, has a collar with lapels and has a richly decorated back. Men also wore jerkins. An example can be a model from Miesiąców near Grabów - a garment made from store-bought wool with lining. This jerkin is dark-brown, bordered with dark-green ribbon, has a collar with a reverse and is fastened with four black buttons.

In winter, in the area of Kurów and Końskowola, according to "Tygodnik Iustrowany" magazine (dated before 1883) people wore caps made from black sheepskin, which were open at the back (i.e. not sewn, on purpose) and tied with red or blue ribbon. The only original cap from Puławy povit, kept in the collection of the Lublin Museum, called *huczma* is made from grey cloth and is hemmed with violet woolen yarn and decorated with five pompoms. People also wore four-cornered caps with sheepskin cap band and four-cornered caps decorated at the corners with woolen crest. During summertime people wore straw hats with short head and wide brim, weaved like braids or spirally. They often had a black ribbon band (sometimes also brown, sapphire, pink or red), and sometimes the edge of the hat brim had the same ribbon all around. Some hats were adorned with colourful decorations or paper flowers.

Another important element of men's dress was a belt which used to be wrapped around a vest and russet coat. As shown in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" magazine (1883), in the area of Kurów and Końskowola people wore leather belts on regular days and white woolen belts on holidays and Sundays. 20th century belts are visible in old photographs. The Lublin Museum has in its collection belts from Grabów, for example a black leather belt with brass buckle and holes secured with brass loops, decorated with an embossed ornament. Another belt, also 5 cm wide, is black and fastened with two leather straps, decorated with straight and zigzag lines. The third belt, brown and also fastened with two leather straps, is decorated with white leather and an ornament of twisted lines.

SUMMARY

The folk dress described in this chapter constitutes by no means a complete picture of the costume from the discussed region. The description is based mainly on the items from the collection of the Lublin Museum which managed to obtain garments from only few villages and towns. Additionally, some clothes are described on the basis of single items. The largest part of the collection comprises clothes from the area of Żyrzyn, although those clothes are not the most representative for the described region. More information about traditional dress from the region can be deducted from old photographs and interviews with few people who still remember the old times. Hence, paintings, drawings and graphics treated as iconographic source should be approached with caution. Further studies which are planned with regard to the region would provide more insight into the folk dress worn in Powiśle and the surrounding region.

THE BEAUTY IS IN THE DETAILS.
DECORATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE FOLK DRESS OF LUBELSZCZYŻNA⁵³⁴

INTRODUCTION

Ornamentation of the folk dress has been developing in Poland, including Lubelszczyzna, since the Renaissance and Baroque. Eighteenth century sources mention the presence of various decorating elements in folk costumes. These were mostly trimmings, braided cords, embroidery, tin studs or studded belts. Obviously, only wealthy farmers could afford such rich decoration in those times, and even their preferences were limited by feudal resolutions, which meticulously described the type and kind of the subjects' clothing and ornaments. For instance, Anna Jabłonowska, owner of Siemiatycze at the end of the eighteenth century, nailed engravings of folk costume models to be followed by her subjects onto the town hall door. These sketches were later published under the title: "A description of the town order". Yet, such regulations or prohibitions were not applied everywhere in Poland. Some landowners allowed their dependents and courtiers — even those of folk origin — to wear noblemen's clothing. What they wore often reached the countryside and stimulated new fashions. Another important issue was that in times of serfdom, subjects were ordered by courts and the church to produce embroidery, lace, and whole costumes according to readymade designs. Therefore, certain non-folk elements of dress and ornamentation, such as flat (white and coloured) embroidery had been borrowed from the clothing of the Baroque elite only to appear in folk dress. It became a customary element of female dress of Biłgoraj and Tarnogród. Western fashion reached the countryside primarily via towns and cities, and from the eighteenth century onwards also through the nobility who would then abandon their Sarmatian dress. Further, it was brought by travelling merchants and other travellers, such as rafters or sieve-makers from the area of Biłgoraj. Foreign influence was also the result of contact with different neighbouring ethnic groups. In case of Lubelszczyzna, this meant Polesie, Volhynia and Podolia; all visible in the richness, variety and ornamentation of embroidery.

After the land they farmed was granted to the peasants in the second half of the nineteenth century, folk costume flourished, as far as the fabrics, form and decoration were concerned. The general

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534 The paper accompanied the 2006 exhibition presented under the same title in the Lublin Museum and the Regional Museum in Kraśnik. In addition to the exhibits, it featured archival photographs obtained during field trips of employees of the Ethnology Department and those by Janusz Świeży — an artist, painter, photographer, researcher into the folk art of Lubelszczyzna, and teacher. Among others, he led a course in documentary drawing for students of ethnology at The Catholic University of Lublin and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University.

improvement of the rural folk's material status was accompanied by the development in factory-made fabrics, aniline-based colouring agents, haberdashery and cheap ornaments. All that contributed to ever more elaborate decoration of the dress as well as to attempts to follow the most current fashion, which in turn led to deeper differences between costumes of particular regions. While the dress of Biłgoraj and Włodawa remained made of homespun cloth and produced solely at home, the dress of Krzczonów would undergo significant changes as regards the cut and decoration, under the strong influence of town culture. Most often however, the old and the new blended into one. Homespun cloth and woollens mixed with velveteen decorated with factory-made haberdashery: sequins, beads, colourful and satin ribbons, and golden or silver metal thread. This resulted in, as one might say, works of art that delighted with their beauty.



62. Panna młoda w czepcu, Krzczonów pow. Lublin, fot. J. Świeży, 1932; ze zbiorów Muzeum Lubelskiego w Lublinie

FEMALE HEADGEAR

The dress, especially festive dress, played a very significant role in folk culture; no expense was spared when decorating it. The dress was a symbol of its owner's material and social status, but mainly of their belonging to a larger cultural community. It was the legitimacy of the marital status and age of the wearer. Girls dressed differently than married women or widows. Some elements of costumes differentiated bachelors from married men, as well. Among women, the contrasts were most visible as regards headgear. As a custom, girls had uncovered heads and wore braids freely falling down their backs or — more often — put up in a crown or figure eight updos. The hair was decorated with artificial flowers, rue and ribbons (the *róg* or horn of Krzczonów, the *stroik* or headdress of Lubartów). Girls would also wrap a *ręcznik* (kerchief) with the regional ornamental pattern, *perebory*, around their heads, and bind the kerchief in a *muszka* or "bow tie" (in the region of Włodawa and Parczew).

On colder days, they would wear a silk or woollen floral headscarf (*szalinówka*) of many colours, bought in small-town shops or at market stalls.

The bride's headdress was exceptional regarding the richness of its decoration. In the area of Lublin, it was a band covered with shirred ribbons and glass beads, decorated with artificial flowers, green leaves and ribbons with flowery ornaments flowing down the back. In villages around Krzczonów and Piotrków, the bride would put on a cap made of red fabric buried under layers of artificial flowers, leaves, sequins and metallic threads. In the front, its trimming was adorned with pleated red and green ribbons and three strings of glass beads while in the back the band was decorated with loose and colourful ribbons. In Zamojskie, headdresses were sometimes made as wreaths of white artificial flowers with golden hearts and green leaves, with white ribbon falling down the middle of the back,

low enough to connect with more white ribbons. Contrastively, in Radzyńskie a rue wreath with artificial flowers and ribbons longer than to the waist was obligatory. In the area of Włodawa and Parczew, brides wrapped their heads in a *ręcznik* or kerchief, covered with colourful ribbons tied in bows. These multicolour stripes fell down their whole backs and even below the knees. In certain villages of the poviats of Włodawa, a *czub* (crest) was encountered at the turn of the twentieth century. It consisted of a carton band covered with red fabric, to which large carton circles were attached. These were filled with star-shaped ribbons in red, green and yellow, with colourful pieces of glass inside. Artificial flowers were pinned over the band, while the back was decorated with multicolour, waist-long ribbons.

Bridesmaids wore headdresses similar to that of the bride, but much more modest: simple pieces made from ribbons, artificial flowers and trinkets, as well as headbands. The matron of honour was another matter, especially in the area of Włodawa. The white shawl called *rańtuch* that covered her head was also wrapped around her neck, with its ends falling on the chest. Over the shawl, a tall wreath of up to 50 cm was placed, and its base was secured by a wide pleated red ribbon. Above the ribbon, on a scaffolding from wooden strips or wire, natural or artificial flowers were arranged and divided by wide bows of ribbons. Everything was garlanded with peacock's feathers, and frequently also ribbons folded into squares, on wire and straw supports. Instead of ribbons, glossy paper in various colours was also used. The back was adorned by freely flowing, colourful ribbons.

A typical element of a married woman's dress was the cap, often called differently in particular regions, due to variety in its form. In the area of Garbów and Gołęb in the poviats of Puławy, there was the so-called *horned cap*. Over a red, calico cap gathered in with a ribbon another one was placed, decorated all around with a double tulle pleat and colourful streamers. In Kraśnik, a woman would wear a *stroik*, a headdress made of muslin circles with a crisp tulle edge and a bouquet of artificial flowers in the middle. As regards the region of Biłgoraj, women would put on a *chamelka*, a hoop made of hazel twigs supporting a long sheet of cloth called *plachta* and covered with a band of cloth, *zatyeczka*, decorated with red or black embroidery.



63. Matron of honour's headgear, Krzywowierzba, the poviats of Włodawa, photo by J. Świeży, 1939; from the collection of the Lublin Museum



64. A woman in *kimbałka* and kerchief, Krzywowierzba, the poviats of Włodawa, photo by J. Świeży, 1939; from the collection of the Lublin Museum

A similar type of headdress, *kimbałka*, was worn in the area of Włodawa. It was covered with netting, wrapped in diversely hued listing and additionally decorated with a kerchief called *ręcznik*, adorned with *perebory* pattern and tied at the back of the head. The *kaptur* or hood drawn over the *kimbałka* was made of silk or percale and enriched by golden or silver metal thread. Married women in the region of Bug river would wear such hoods. Under the influence of town dress, caps and half-caps made of tulle gained popularity in the middle of the nineteenth century, beginning with the dress of Krzczonów and Lubartów. They were given to brides on their wedding days, and each married woman owned a few or several of them. The main method of decorating caps, apart from pleats and lace, was embroidery in white thread. Popular among European magnates and bourgeoisie since the fifteenth century, it appealed also to residents of the Polish countryside. Use of embroidery often resulted in very intricate and precise ornaments and beautiful compositions – most often plants and flowers, as well as geometric patterns at the sides. The main technique used was huck embroidery following closely the thread of tulle fabric. The caps were finished with lace or dentated edging and blanket stitch. Artificial flowers and leaves or ribbons served as additional decoration⁵³⁵.



65. A woman in tulle half-cap, Zaklików, the powiat of Kraśnik, photo by J. Świeży, 1930; from the collection of the Lublin Museum

CORSET DECORATIONS

Elaborate female corsets decorated with braided cords were also astonishing. The dark (among others, black, purple, navy blue and green) background of velveteen, satin or plain cloth matched the colourful embroidery perfectly. Corsets of the Krzczonów region must be singled out; they were initially decorated with multihued ribbons and streamers, and later with golden and silver metal thread, sequins and ribbons shimmering with metal threads. Another type of corsets was worn in the region of Bug River. They were adorned with the heart motif and decorated with red and green ribbons. Yellow stitching was with time enriched by silver metal thread and sequins. Corsets of wives of sieve makers from the region of Biłgoraj and Tarnogród were remarkable as well. They were sewn from multicolour brocade with metal threads, Chinese colourful silk with jacquard floral ornaments, or plain damask silk.

535 J. Świeży, *Ludowe stroje głów kobiecych w województwie lubelskim* [Female headgear in the Lubelskie voivodship], in: "Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne", PTL vol. 18:1961, pp. 392-415.

A very interesting method of decoration of linen cloth was hand-printing, employed mainly in the second half of the nineteenth, and the first years of the twentieth century. It involved covering homespun cloth (that was later to become the so-called *malowanka*, “a painted skirt”) with an ornamental pattern. Either planks or wooden blocks were coated in paint and pressed to the cloth. The prints were monochromatic, most often black, navy blue, blue or green, as well as geometric or plant-like. According to an unwritten tradition, the colour and pattern allowed for recognition of the village from which the wearer came. Apart from women’s skirts, in the region of Tomaszów Lubelski men’s trousers were also sewn from hand-printed cloth with stripes or check. Usually, small town’s tailors or pedlars – mostly Jews - residing in the poviats of Biłgoraj, Zamość, Krasnystaw, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów handled the printing. The technique was also known in the region of Chełm and Włodawa⁵³⁶.

EMBROIDERY AND LACE

Lubelszczyzna was a region of numerous types of stitches and embroidery patterns and ornaments. Among the traditional ones, there were counted stitches, called thus because the embroiderer would count the threads of the cloth while working – in order to complete the desired ornament in its most precise form. Such was for instance the cross stitch, which adorned collars, cuffs, cuts in sleeves as well as their tops. The ornament with crosses, geometric and plant motifs was ordered into parallel stripes. In the dress of Tomaszów and Hrubieszów, the embroidery made stylistic references to neighbouring region of Volhynia. As regards free embroidery independent of the structure of the cloth, the most characteristic was the chain stitch with wavy, spiral and volute patterns. It was the richest in the dress of Biłgoraj, where red, black or blue compositions created an intricate pattern on a shirt, apron, *nakrywka* (head cloth) or *zatyeczka* (band of cloth wrapped around the cap).

An interesting decorative technique was applied for woven embroidery, the so-called *perebory* pattern, encountered among residents of Ruthenian origins, decorating the costumes of Podlasie region, especially in the area of Włodawa and Bug river. This type of embroidery was mostly done with factory-made cotton thread in black, brown, navy blue or red. Quite a high number of ornaments (rhombuses, stars, crosses or stylised flowers) were woven in stripes on a large piece of cloth. Afterwards, smaller pieces were cut off and used as decorative bands and trimmings of tops of sleeves, collars, and cuffs. Skirts, aprons and *ręczniki* (kerchiefs) were woven whole with the *perebory* pattern as the finish.

Lace, which in Polish manor estates appeared in the sixteenth century as ornament imported from Italy and Flanders, in folk dress became noticeable at a larger scale at the turn of the twentieth century. Machine-made lace was purchased in shops, but handmade fishnet and crochet were also used. They served as trimmings to cuffs and collars of shirts, and decorated caftans, aprons, caps and less often skirts. An exception here would be the skirts from the regions of Bug River, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów.⁵³⁷

536 P. Greniuk, *Druki ludowe na płótnie w południowej Lubelszczyźnie [Folk prints on cloth in south Lubelszczyzna]*, “Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, iss. 9-10:1949, pp. 268-285.

537 E. Fryś, A. Iracka, M. Pokropek (eds.), *Sztuka ludowa w Polsce [Folk art in Poland]*, Warsaw: 138-170.

Jewels constituted an exceedingly important element of the dress. As a matter of fact, the average affluence level of the rural folk was low; yet, richer farmers often owned jewellery worth several head of cattle. Silver and coral ware was believed to be most precious. However, cheaper alloys imitating noble metals were used more often. Most frequently, bakfon (copper, tin and nickel alloy), tombac and brass were utilised.

The precious stone associated with the folk jewellery in Lubelszczyzna was coral. It was predominantly used for coral beads, which gave rise to the term “korale”, applied in Polish to most of types of beads. Natural coral was regarded as protection against curses and ailments. The beads were also a symbol of prestige, since their quality and number indicated the social class and wealth of the owner. Beads of intensively red colour were most valued, especially if they were smooth and in shape of oblate spheres or cylinders. The largest one was strung in the middle and often finished with silver or brass plate. Such necklaces were embellished with silver or bakfon crosses, medallions, scapulars or silver coins. The high price of natural coral imported from Mediterranean countries resulted in —sometimes-excellent— imitation attempts, for instance lacquered beads.

At the turn of the twentieth century, coral beads started being replaced by colourful, silver or white beads made from blown glass, which were significantly cheaper. In the 1920s, they became an indispensable supplement to most of Polish female folk costumes. Their low price, and consequently accessibility for a wider circle of buyers, definitely influenced their popularity. Amber, produced in bulk in Gdańsk and brought to the region by rafters returning home, was also competing for a prominent position. However, it was never of such importance in Lubelszczyzna as real coral beads⁵³⁸.

WOVEN AND LEATHER SASHES AND WALKING STICKS

Until the First World War, men from the southern part of Lubelszczyzna used to wear leather sashes. They were decorated with brass rings or stripes of embossed ornaments (rhombuses, stars, circles, crosses, windmills and volutes) pressed into leathers with iron moulds, and with ornamental buckles. The leather *kalita* bag worn in the region of Biłgoraj was similarly decorated. In the 1920s, in the dress of Krzczonów the leather belt was replaced by a velveteen one, with hooks and eyes, decorated with *okienka* (windows), bugles and sequins. Alternatively, velvet sashes were trimmed with red and green pleated ribbon, metal threads, sequins and glass beads. In the area of Podlasie, sashes were replaced with colourful woven bands (made of linen, with narrow or broad stripes), as well as with *pojasy* girdles (woollen, red and orange). Men would gird themselves twice and tie a bow in front or on the left side, especially on holidays. Such bands were also elements of the female dress.⁵³⁹

Walking sticks also constituted an interesting addition to male costumes. Sticks were not solely for the elderly or shepherds to lean on; they also served as a sign of power of the rural district council head or borough leader. Most noticeable in its decoration were the numerous motifs, plant-like, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic. Usually, rural carpenters (such as Bolesław Rudko from Chmielów, the powiat of

538 M. Imiołek, *Zdobnictwo i elementy biżuterii w stroju ludowym wybranych regionów Polski południowej i wschodniej* [Ornaments and jewellery in folk costumes of selected regions in southern and eastern Poland], Kielce:

539 E. Kępa, *Zdobnictwo strojów ludowych na Lubelszczyźnie* [Ornaments of folk costumes in Lubelszczyzna], Lublin:

Parczew) or sculptors (e.g. Jakub Madej from Horodzieżka, the powiat of Łuków and Andrzej Siek from Lipiny Dolne, the powiat of Biłgoraj) created them.

CONCLUSION

Significance attached to dress has led to it becoming one of the most important methods of folk artistic expression. Dress was a work of art with colourful and multi-dimensional composition, created by hand by its owners themselves together with multiple specialists from villages and small towns, such as weavers, tailors, embroiderers, lacemakers, sheepskin coat-makers and cobblers.

A TYPOLOGY OF TRADITIONAL DRESS VARIETIES
FROM THE LUBELSKIE VOIVODSHIP

INTRODUCTION

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Festive dress used to have a special material and emotional value. It was also used to denote regional autonomy. Depending on the type of dress one could quickly determine another person's social class or place of residence. Most costumes in the discussed area ceased to be worn during the interwar period, and it is only in more isolated subregions that they remained in use for a little longer. As a result, not all types of folk costumes from this region could be reproduced; it also difficult to determine their number. After the war, there also prevailed an opinion that one dress is typical for the Lublin region, namely the folk costume from Krzczonów⁵⁷⁰. Consequently, it was mistakenly thought to be representative for the whole large region. The purpose of this paper is to determine the basic types of folk costumes, as well as present the key similarities and differences between them.

Lublin voivodship was created in 1999. It mostly covers⁵⁷¹ the historical region of the former voivodship from before the partitions of Poland, and the area that corresponds to the interwar period. Lublin voivodship was and still is typically agricultural in character; it was never homogenous in terms of ethnicity⁵⁷² or religion. Hence, it is difficult to call it an ethnographic region; some administrative divisions within the region do not correspond to language or ethnographic divisions. Currently, as a result of

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570 J. Świeży in publication entitled *Folk costumes of the Lublin area* [Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny] published in Warsaw in 1954 called Krzczonów folk costume a Lublin area dress – which was probably based on the fact that it was the only preserved traditional dress from Lublin powiat.

571 Lubelskie voivodship covers area between Vistula and Bug rivers; from the west and north-west it neighbours with Sandomierz and Radom region, from the north with Mazowsze and Podlasie, whereas from the east with Volhynia in the Ukraine and Polesie in Belarus. In the south it is separated from Rzeszów area by lower San river and Puszcza Solska forest.

572 Until the end of WWII in the east part of the region there lived Ruthenian nations, whereas in towns there were Jewish communities. The region was also inhabited by settlers from Germany, Holland, Romania, as well as Tatars and Armenians, although those two groups were rather small and did not significantly influence the culture of this region.

scientific studies⁵⁷³, Lubelszczyzna is presented as a relatively homogenous area⁵⁷⁴ and is usually referred to as cultural region with internal diversity. The region is often divided into a few sub-regions: southern Podlasie, Polesie, Powiśle, Wyżyna Lubelska, Roztocze, Zamojskie or Chełmskie. Each of these smaller regions developed their own traditional dress.

STATUS OF RESEARCH ON LUBLIN FOLK DRESS⁵⁷⁵

One of the first researchers who took a broader interest in folk costumes from a specific region was Janusz Świeży. In his publication from 1954, Świeży listed 8 dress types related to the areas of Biłgoraj, Kraśnik, Zamość and Krasnystaw, Tomaszów, Hrubieszów, and Lublin which also covers Krzczonów traditional dress; Lubartów, Puławy, and from the northern part of the region (Włodawa, Nadbuże, Radzyń, Łuków, Podlasie and Masuria, as well as Podlasie and Little Rus)⁵⁷⁶. Moreover, the researcher, when discussing traditional dress from southern Podlasie, decided to include folk dress from Chełm⁵⁷⁷ in the Atlas of Polish Folk Costume. On the other hand, Barbara Kaznowska-Jarecka, when she presented folk dress from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród, also in this series, included a short description of traditional dress from the area of Janów Lubelski and Kraśnik⁵⁷⁸. Janina Petera proposed another typology in 1973. She described 12 types of folk dress: Włodawa dress with two subtypes – Chmaków and Poleszuców, Bielsko-Biała, Radzyń, Łuków, Lubartów, Puławy, Krzczonów, Biłgoraj and Tarnogród; the traditional dress of sieve makers; dress Zamość and Krasnystaw, Tomaszów and Hrubieszów⁵⁷⁹. Elżbieta Kępa proposed a similar number of types; she added folk costume from Kraśnik and Janów⁵⁸⁰. In the information booklet to the exhibition on material culture and folk art in Lubelszczyzna, Danuta Powiłańska-Mazur and Celestyn Wrębiak state that there are 12 basic types of folk dress in the region, with 22 subtypes. They also mention that some types have not been preserved. In a chapter on traditional dress, they limited dress descriptions to Podlasie dress with subtypes, Puławy, Krzczonów, and Biłgoraj dress, as well as dress worn by sieve merchants from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród⁵⁸¹. Marek Bem, when describing rural song ensembles from the Chełm region lists the following types of dress: Podlasie folk costume with two subtypes: Włodawa and

573 Studies carried out by researchers from Lublin universities concerning ethnology, ethnolinguistics, linguistics, dialectology, folklore, countryside sociology, as well as studies carried out by historians.

574 J. Styk, *Conditions and dynamics of regions development in Poland* [Uwarunkowania i dynamika kształtowania się regionów w Polsce], in: M. Dziekanowska, J. Styk (ed.), *Region in theoretical concepts and empirical diagnoses* [Region w koncepcjach teoretycznych i diagnozach empirycznych], Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS 2008, pp. 12.

575 The status of presented research is not comprehensive as it will not cover those publications which discuss only one type of dress.

576 J. Świeży, *Folk Costumes of the Lublin Area* [Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Sztuka, 1954.

577 Idem, *Podlasie (Nadbuże) Folk Costume* [Strój podlaski (nadbużański)], Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, part IV, issue 5, Wrocław: Publishing House of the Polish Ethnological Society 1958, pp. 8-9.

578 B. Kaznowska-Jarecka, *Biłgoraj and Tarnogród Folk Costume* [Strój biłgorajsko-tarnogrodzki], Atlas of Polish Folk Costume, part V, issue 8, Wrocław: Publishing House of the Polish Ethnological Society 1958, pp. 8.

579 J. Petera, *Folk Costumes of the Lublin Area* [Stroje ludowe Lubelszczyzny], „Kalendarz Lubelski 1973”, issue 16, Lublin 1973, pp. 170-180.

580 E. Kępa, *Ornamentation of Folk Costumes in Lubelszczyzna* [Zdobnictwo strojów ludowych na Lubelszczyźnie], Lublin: The Lublin Museum 1984, pp. 1.

581 D. Powiłańska - Mazur, C. Wrębiak, *Material heritage and folk art of Lubelszczyzna. Exhibition information booklet* [Kultura materialna i sztuka ludowa Lubelszczyzny. Informator do stałej wystawy], Lublin: The Lublin Museum 1981.

Nadbuże; as well as Chełm and⁵⁸² Krasnystaw⁵⁸³. Janina Petera, in a chapter on the Zamość region folk dress described the following types of dress: Zamość, Ranogród and Biłgoraj, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów. In general studies on folk dress in Poland only selected types of folk dress from Lubelszczyzna are usually presented. In their album, Barbara Bazielić and Stanisław Gądomski presented folk costume only from the areas of: Krzczonów, Podlasie, Łuków, Puławy, Biłgoraj and dress worn by Biłgoraj sieve makers⁵⁸⁴. Teresa Karwicka lists ten types related to specific areas: Biłgoraj and Tarnogród, Janów Lubelski and Kraśnik, Puławy (Powiśle), Krzczonów, Lubartów, Łuków, Chełm, Zamość and Krasnystaw, Tomaszów Lubelski, Hrubieszów, and Podlasie with two types - from Włodawa and Nadbuże⁵⁸⁵. In a recent publication on folk costumes in Poland by Elżbieta Piskorz-Branekova, the following types of folk dress are described: from Podlasie with three subtypes (Radzyń, Włodawa and Nadbuże), from Łuków, Zamość, Tomaszów and Hrubieszów, Biłgoraj and Krzczonów⁵⁸⁶.

Some discrepancies between authors could result from the differences in areas of occurrence of dress types; drawing such distinctions is rather arbitrary and there is some natural overlap. Some dress types are not listed because of the lack of materials or physical items that allow for a more detailed description (such may be the case with folk dress from Janów Lubelski or from the area of Krasnystaw). My own research and information derived from available publications, iconographic materials, and traditional costume elements collected in museums suggest that the following main types of folk dress occur in Lubelszczyzna: Podlasie dress (with subtypes from Nadbuże, Włodawa, Radzyń and Mazowsze), Łuków, Chełm, Lubartów, Powiśle Puławy, Krzczonów, Krasnystaw, Biłgoraj and Tarnogród, dress of Biłgoraj sieve makers, dress from the area of Janów Lubelski, Zamość, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski, dress of gentry from the areas of Międzyrzecz, and a separate group that comprises festive dress of Ruthenian people who lived in the eastern part of the region. There are no descriptions of folk dress from the areas closest to Lublin since urban dress was adopted very quickly. A few photographs that exist from the areas around Motycz, Wojcieszków and Niedzwica Kościelna show that such dress was strongly influenced by urban fashion already at the end of the 19th century.

Nowadays, determining the precise areas of occurrence of specific folk dress types from the region remains difficult. In the northeast part of the region people wear folk costume characteristic to Podlasie: between *Wieprz and Bug rivers the Nadbuże subtype, in the Krzna basin and a tributary of Bug river on the*

582 Description of this dress is also provided by J. Petera in article entitled *Chełm area folk costumes at the turn on the 19th and the 20th century* [Chełmskie stroje ludowe na przełomie XIX i XX w.], „Rocznik Chełmski” 1996, v. 2.

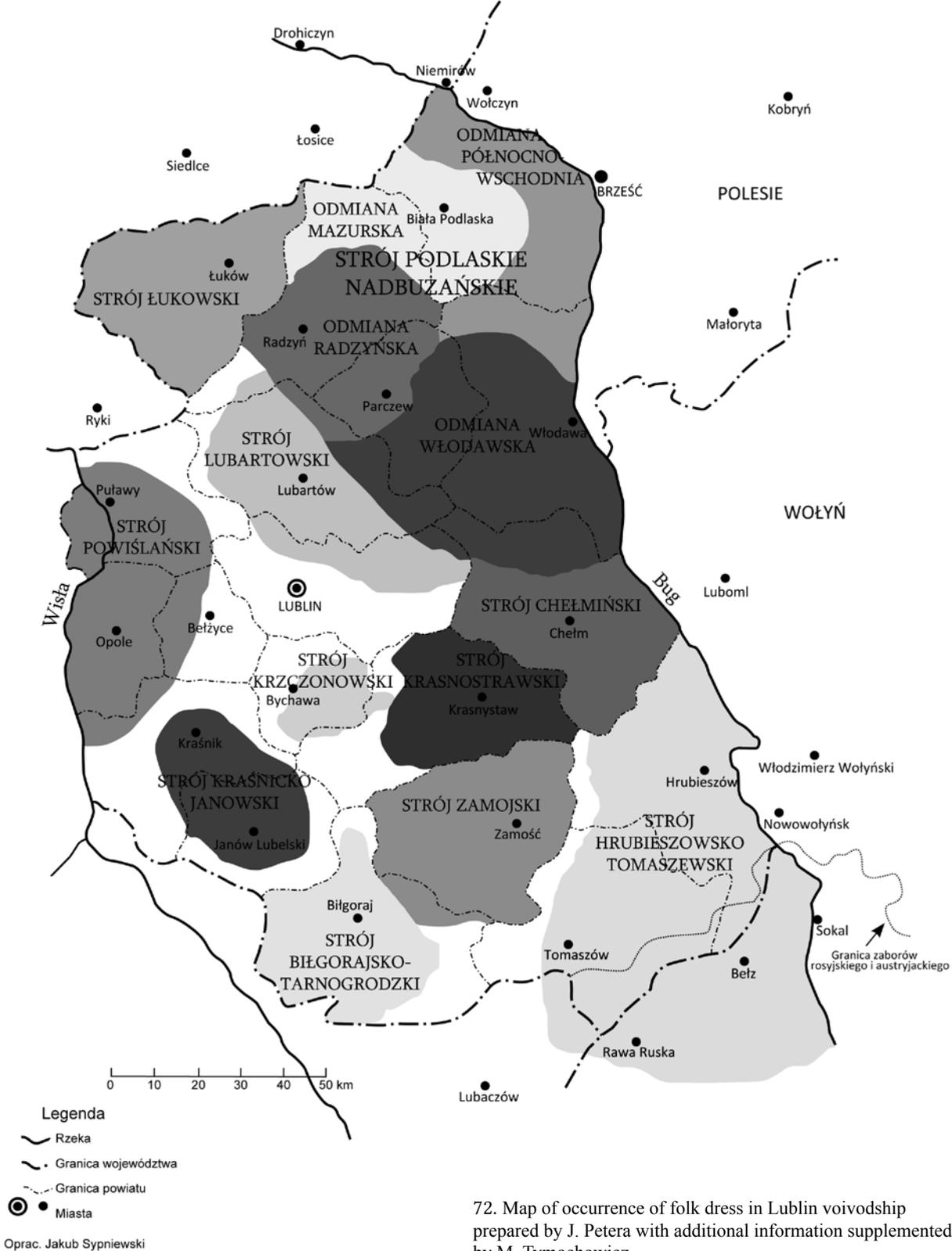
583 M. Bem, *Countryside singing dress, its role and meaning in the culture of contemporary countryside in Chełm voivodship* [Wiejskie stroje śpiewacze i ich rola i znaczenie w kulturze współczesnej wsi woj. chełmskiego], Włodawa: Muzeum Pojezierza Łęczyńsko - Włodawskiego 1998.

584 B. Bazielić, S. Gądomski, *Folk costume in Poland* [Strój ludowy w Polsce], Warszawa: Fundacja Kultury Wsi 1995.

585 T. Karwicka, *Folk dress in Poland* [Ubiory ludowe w Polsce], Wrocław: PTL 1995, pp. 99-107.

586 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *Polish folk costume* [Polskie stroje ludowe], v.1,2,3, Warszawa: Sport i Turystyka – MUZA SA 2005, 2007.

STROJE LUDOWE



72. Map of occurrence of folk dress in Lublin voivodship prepared by J. Petera with additional information supplemented by M. Tymochowicz

186 left side. Folk dress from Masuria extended to the west and south part of the Bielsko-Biała powiat⁵⁸⁷, as well as to the north and west part of the Radzyń powiat. Folk dress from Włodawa was worn between Włodawa and Zielawa river and all the way to Parczew, and in the Chełm powiat from Siedliszcze to Wólka Tarnowska. Folk costume from Radzyń was present in the large area of former Radzyń powiat, just as folk costumes characteristic to Łuków, Lubartów, Krasnystaw and Zamość were present in areas corresponding to their poviats. Folk dress from Puławy was worn by people at the right side of the Vistula bank in Puławy, Opole, as well as in the northern part of Kraśnik powiat. Folk dress characteristic to Janów was worn near Modliborzyce, Janów Lubleski and Kraśnik, whereas folk dress characteristic to Krzczonów was worn in the southern part of Lublin powiat. In central southern part of the former powiat, people used to wear folk dress typical for Chełm. The area of occurrence of festive dress from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród included the territory from Frampol on the north to Majdan Sieniawski in the south, Huta Krzeszkowska and Lipiny in the west, and Aleksandrów and Łukowa in the east. In the south east part of the region, on a wide strip of land between Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubleski, in the east beyond Rawa Ruska and Sokal, as well as on both banks of Bug river people wore folk dress characteristic to Hrubieszów and Tomaszów, which Ukrainian researchers consider to be typical for the Sokal town area. (Print: Map 1.)

CLASSIFICATION OF LUBLIN FOLK DRESS

The great number and diversity of folk dress can be partly attributed to the fact that various costumes were made in different decades, the region was not homogenous in terms of economic development, and that it was inhabited by different ethnic groups (from Małopolska, Mazowsze, Podlasie, and groups from the east influenced by their eastern neighbours). Current research does not conclusively determine the number of folk costume types, but the types can be classified according to various criteria. In the first classification the main criterion was a type of fabric used to make folk clothing; in the second one - colours; in the third group it was whether specific dress types could be connected with any ethnicity. Of course, such typologies will result in overlapping criteria, which is unavoidable in case of large groups of folk costumes.

COMMON ELEMENTS FOR ALL TYPES OF LUBLIN FOLK DRESS

Types of Lublin folk dress share certain elements: shirt with characteristic cut where fabric was sewn in at the top of sleeves; a large turndown collar that men commonly wore untucked. Russet coats differed only slightly in terms of cut, abundance of decorative elements and colour. In the whole region, brown was the dominating colour, but russet coats were also made from blue, navy, and grey fabric; in the sub-region related to Łuków and Podlasie it was a variety characteristic to Mazowsze, as was in Puławy and Lubartów sub-regions. In the south, i.e. areas related to Zamość and Hrubieszów, there were also grey and white russet coats. Trims on russet coats in individual sub-regions differed with regard to cord colours, appliques, and the character of these decorative elements. Russet coats from Krzczonów were decorated with red and navy cords lined around the neckline, around the neck to the waist. As a result, it had

587 For the purpose of this article we refer to powiat areas according to administrative division from 1975 as it better corresponds to older administrative divisions from the times when folk costume was actually worn.



73. Traditional dress from Biłgoraj, source: from the collection of the Ethnography Department of the Lublin Museum



74. Traditional dress from Włodawa, source: from the collection of Ethnography Department of the Lublin Museum



75. Traditional dress from Łuków, source: from the collection of the Ethnography Department of the Lublin Museum

a shape of curvy lines going in two borders finished with helix-shaped ornaments. Braided cord was also used to decorate the waistline, creasing below the waistline, and vents at the bottom. Russet coats from Lubartów and Bełżyce area were decorated in a similar fashion. In russet coats from areas near Tomaszów and Hrubieszów “pocket lapels were usually hemmed with navy cloth, lapels around the neckline with red cloth, whereas lines of cord were sewn on along the edge of the stand-up collar or trim, at the front from the neck all the way down to the waistline, as well as along the navy and red appliques on the garment”⁵⁸⁸. A more modest, blue braided cord could be found on russet coats worn near Biłgoraj and Nadbuże; near Włodawa the braided cord could be orange⁵⁸⁹, whereas near Zamość it was red pale navy blue. Such decoration with various types of haberdashery was commonly used for corsets and women’s caftans and it was usually arranged in lines along garment edges.

Poorer people who could not afford a russet coat would sew the so called *plótnianki*, i.e. clothing made from linen. Similarly, people made straw hats or hats from special type of grass, and *wścieklice* fur caps with a high sheepskin cap band and vent on the side tied with a coloured ribbon.

When it comes to decorative elements used at the end of the 19th century, people took special liking to cross-stitch used to embroider unsophisticated motifs. It was found on clothing from Kraśnik, Janów, Zamość, Puławy, as well as Tomaszów and Hrubieszów. Sometimes, it also accompanied other types of

588 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *Traditional costumes and embroidery from areas of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów* [Tradycyjne stroje i hafty hrubieszowsko-tomaszowskie], Zamość: Muzeum Zamojskie 2011, pp. 22.

589 E. Kępa, *Zdobnictwo...*, op. cit., pp. 8.

stitches, e.g. in folk dress from Krzczonów, Biłgoraj, Hrubieszów and Tomaszów, Zamość. At the beginning of the 20th century, it became so popular that it replaced the so called counted stitches in Krzczonów, and woven embroidery – *perebory* – in traditional dress from Włodawa and Bielsko-Biała. (Print 1.)

Every female folk dress was accessorized with one or more strings of beads. Beads made from real coral were valued the most, and worn with folk costume from Biłgoraj, Zamość, Tomaszów, Hrubieszów. In Biłgoraj and Zamość, the beads were additionally adorned with old coins or a cross. Less wealthy women would buy cheaper imitations made from plastic in various colours. Such beads were called *laki* or *dętki* (worn with traditional dress from Biłgoraj, Krzczonów, Nadbuże, Włodawa, Radzyń and Zamość).

Some groups of elements were common for folk dress of smaller areas, e.g. in the southern part of the voivodship men wore leather belts fastened with buckles. These were decorated with brass pegs, impressed ornaments, and modest trims from dyed leather. In central and northern part of the region, russet coats and shirts were tied around the waist with woven belts or belts made on weaver's reed (*krajka*). The latter was also worn by women in Krzczonów, who tied them around their skirts or used as a decorations for bonnets. In Podlasie, such woven belts were fastened to beads. They differed only in terms of colour patterns. In the north, in the Radzyń sub-region, *krajka* usually had orange and red stripes. In folk costumes from Włodawa, Chełm, and Hrubieszów and Tomaszów, such belts were called *pajos* and were in multiple colours. In Krzczonów, in the first half of the 19th century, such belts were manufactured using the shot-through method, where a colourful geometric pattern is made against a red background. Later, they were made thicker and were re-woven in colourful stripes⁵⁹⁰. On the other hand, in Biłgoraj, woven belts with stripes in many colours were worn by young ladies who usually bought them in market places or during fairs.

Differences could be also noted when it comes to the type of material used to make moccasins. In the south, they were made from single piece of leather, whereas in the north, in folk dress from Włodawa, they were made from bast.

In a few types of traditional dress from the southern part of the region, married women wore wooden hoops on their heads; they pulled mesh bonnets on the hoops. Bonnets differed mainly when it came to ornaments. In folk costume from Biłgoraj, women would attach a rectangular piece of linen, called *zatyczka*, onto the *chamelka*, i.e. the hoop. In Biłgoraj, the edges of *humelka*, which is another name for such headgear, were adorned with red and green ribbons with floral motifs. In the Zamość area, the hoop was called *obiecainka* and young married women would wear it in much smaller sizes. The hoop came in two types. The first type was worn with a mesh bonnet and decorated with black embroidery, sometimes enriched with red colours; the second type, called *skosniak*, had a piece of kerchief from twill fabric pulled over it. In Hrubieszów and Tomaszów folk dress, such hoop was called *kimbałka* and women pulled a bonnet on it. Similar headgear was worn in the northern part of the voivodship, in villages located on river Bug, from Kobylany to Sierpelice, in the south up to Nossów, and in the west from Rokitno and Dobryń. In the Radzyń powiat women wore colourful percale or satin bonnets on *kimbałka*⁵⁹¹.

In Lubelszczyzna, original phenomena can be observed among many types of folk dress. These include the volute motif in embroidery characteristic to Biłgoraj folk dress, inspired by ornamentation dating back to Bronze Age. Equally unique is embroidery in Krzczonów traditional dress, with ornaments in regularly

590 J. Świeży, *Folk dress from Krzczonów area* [Strój krzczonowski], op. cit., pp. 35.

591 J. Świeży, *Folk dress from Podlasie area...* [Strój podlaski], op. cit., pp. 30, 32.



76. Traditional dress of sieve merchants from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród, source: from the collection of the Ethnography Department of the Lublin Museum

arranged stripes in original colours. Part of such dress were caftans and jerkins, as well as belts which had so called *okienka* that turned them into a sort of short capes which covered the whole person. It was only in traditional costume from Nadbuże and Włodawa that people adopted woven embroidery, the so called *perebory* (ornamentation method borrowed from Ruthenians who lived in this area). Undoubtedly, each type of folk costume present in this area is an interesting artistic creation. (Print 2.)

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLK DRESS ACCORDING TO FABRIC TYPE

Most folk costumes from the discussed region were made from natural fabrics – linen and wool. If we take such distinction into consideration, then we can differentiate between two subgroups of dress: the first group would comprise dress in which linen was the dominant fabric, and include folk dress from Włodawa, Biłgoraj and Krzczonów worn until the 1870s. The second group would include clothes made from wool – known as *pasiaki* – which were part of traditional costume in Nadbuże, Masuria, Radzyń, Łuków, Chełm, Lubartów and Powiśle. (Print 3.)

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In the second half of the 19th century, some changes started to appear in regional traditional dress. This was caused by the increasing availability of mass-produced fabric and haberdashery. Some elements of clothing began to be made by skilled craftsmen, which often resulted in the introduction of new elements and cuts. Folk dress from Krzczonów, as well as the dress of sieve merchants from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród were almost completely made from store-bought fabrics. Mass-produced fabrics were significantly less common in other folk costumes. They were not used at all in traditional dress from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród or Włodawa. Consequently, these costumes are considered to be the most archaic.

Initially, folk dress from the Krzczonów area was made exclusively from homespun fabrics. Once mass-produced fabric had been introduced, its appearance changed almost entirely. Apart from changes to some parts of the dress, such as the skirt or apron⁵⁹², completely new elements were introduced, including the corset, waistcoat and caftan. Ornamentation was rich, and encompassed e.g. *okienka* and a new type of embroidery. Such dress became particularly colourful and almost overlaid with decorative elements, but also lost a lot of features common for clothing from this region. The only things that remained unchanged from the original version were the *humelka* and the russet coat.

⁵⁹² It is difficult to determine nowadays the origin of apron which was so short and surrounding the whole person. Such form of apron is not to be found in any other type of folk dress in Poland, and it is equally difficult to find similarities to folk dress worn in other European countries. Its foreign origin can be only suspected on the basis of information found in "Wisła" magazine from 1902 which describes people from Krzczonów in the following way: "They were more intelligent and smarter than their neighbours which is probably related to the fact that they used to breed and deal in horned cattle, and since now they deal in and sell beautiful horses, they are worldly people". The type of apron which emerged in the interwar period was interchangeably worn with longer, narrower, knee-length apron made from white cotton and decorated with white lace and ribbons.

The dress of sieve merchants from Biłgoraj and Tarnogród was made from very expensive imported fabrics such as brocade, silk, and damask. Women's dress was distinct in terms of corset cut and outerwear, which was called *szuba*. Such dress pieces were adopted from the dress of landowners: "Serdaczki vests came here «from the wide world», since women (...) from the area of Biłgoraj never (...) wore such garments"⁵⁹³. Corsets were baroque in cut and had 4 or 6 trapezoid tabs, whereas the cut of the *szuba* was similar to *żupan*. Outerwear was made from sapphire, thin cloth decorated with silver buttons. In the winter, it was additionally lined with fur⁵⁹⁴. (Print 4.)

Some costumes show influences of urban fashion. These include folk dress from the area of Janów Lubelski, Kraśnik or Łuków, as well as towns and villages near Lublin. Elements of urban dress were relatively quickly adopted by men. For example, men from the Radzyń and Łuków areas adopted them as early as the beginning of the 20th century. As a result, typical festive male folk dress from this area has not been preserved.

TPOLOGY ACCORDING TO COLOUR SCHEME AND ORNAMENTATION

After the enfranchisement of peasants, changes took place not only in fabrics or cuts, but also colour schemes and ornamentation, including embroidery. More vivid colours were introduced in folk dress in the northern and central part of the voivodship. This was also related to the quick development of weaving techniques. Many different striped and plaid fabrics were woven and used to make skirts and aprons in Radzyń, Łuków, Włodawa, Lubartów, Parczew, and Puławy poviats, and even in Opole Lubelskie. Striped fabric varied in terms of stripe thickness and pattern. In the Nadbuże macro-region, as well as in Lubartów and Puławy, aprons worn over skirts had vertical and horizontal stripes, and were decorated with lace or fringe at the bottom.

In the south, the colour of women's dress was more subdued. Women wore linen skirts with handmade pale blue prints⁵⁹⁵. The so-called *malowanki* were usually geometrical or floral designs⁵⁹⁶. Trousers in the folk dress from Tomaszów were striped or plaid. This method of decorating fabrics was used in southern Małopolska from the San to Ośława valley in the Carpathian mountains. In Lubelszczyzna, print works were used since the second half of the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century; they were found in Tarnogród, Różanka, Józefów, Gorajec, Modrzyniec near Zamość, Komarówka and Tomaszów Lubleski⁵⁹⁷. In this region, shirts and aprons from the area of Hrubieszów made in the interwar period were particularly colourful. Embroidery motifs and patterns were borrowed from the Ruthenians.

593 Z. Malewska, *Corset in Polish folk costume* [Gorset w ludowym stroju polskim], "Ethnographic papers and materials" [„Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”] 1961, v. XVIII, part I, pp. 379.

594 A. Ławicka, M. Tymochowicz, *Dress of sieve makers from Biłgoraj area* [Strój sitarski z Biłgorajskiego], „Spotkania z Zabytkami” 2005, issue 2, pp. 33-34.

595 They could be also found in some towns and villages near Włodawa. See: T. Karwicka, J. Petera, *Folk art of Lubelszczyzna* [Sztuka ludowa Lubelszczyzny], Lublin: The Lublin Museum 1959, pp. 22.

596 P. Greniuk, *Folk prints on cloth in southern Lubelszczyzna* [Druki ludowe na płótnie w południowej Lubelszczyźnie], „Polska Sztuka Ludowa” 1949, issue 9-10, pp. 268.

597 R. Reinfuss, *Polish folk prints on cloth* [Polskie druki ludowe na płótnie], Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 1953, pp. 46-47.

It has been mentioned that the variety of folk dress from this region can be accounted for by the fact that Lubelszczyzna is ethnically and historically not homogenous. The northern and north-western part of the region had strong ties with Mazowsze and the neighbouring Podlasie Zachodnie. In this area, the *pasiak* striped fabric was used to make women's skirts, aprons and capes; the latter were called *nakrywki* in Łuków folk dress. *Pasiak* in Lubelszczyzna had more subdued colours. Vivid colours were introduced at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when people started to use mass-produced dyes. Apart from that, people made fabric with thin stripes sometimes arranged into symmetrical patterns against a solid background.

Common elements for Małopolska, which were also part of folk dress in Biłgoraj and Zamość, include a cloth cap called *gamerka* or *czapka na cztery powiaty*. Such caps were worn by the Lasowiacy in Sandomierz and Łańcut areas, where they were called *czapka na cztery gubernie* or *na cztery strony*



77. Traditional dress from Krzczonów from the 1st and 2nd period, source: from the collection of the Ethnography Department of the Lublin Museum

*świata*⁵⁹⁸. In Zamość, people wore caps called *magierki*, *ślachmyce* or *pończosznice*; these were also part of folk dress in Krzczonów where people called them *szlachmyce*, whereas Krakowiacy Wschodni and Laskowiacy called such caps *magiera*. When it comes to women's headgear, ladies wore *rańtuch* kerchiefs. The tradition of wearing such headgear preserved the longest in the area between Tanew and San rivers in traditional costume from Biłgoraj, but also among the Lasowiacy and in the area of Łańcut. Similar headgear called *zawoja* was part of the Włodawa folk dress and the only difference was in the way it was worn.

Types of dress worn in the northeastern part of the region inhabited by Ruthenians had certain common elements with the folk dress from Podlasie. It can be observed in folk dress from Nadbuże and Włodawa areas. Woven embroidery called *perebory* was borrowed from the eastern neighbours. Such type of ornamentation was used in this region from the middle of the 19th century. It was present in traditional costume from northern Ukraine, most of Belarus and Great Russia. Woven embroidery introduced in folk dress from Lubelszczyzna was distinct for its dense ornamentation arranged symmetrically into stripes. It had a considerable number of simple stripes that separated geometrical patterns;

598 B. Bazielić, *Folk costumes of European nations* [Stroje ludowe narodów europejskich], part II *Folk costumes in Central and Eastern Europe* [Stroje ludowe Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej], Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski 1997, pp. 79.

these patterns included shapes such as diamonds, stars or crosses. Initially, embroidery was made in solid colours: black, brown or blue. In Bielsko-Biała and parts of Włodawa, the patterns were also red and navy blue interlaced with dark and yellow thread. At the beginning of the 20th century, woven embroidery gradually gave way to cross-stitch, which was usually black and red, and presented geometrical or floral motifs.

In the south-eastern part of Lubelszczyzna, in the folk dress from Tomaszów and Hrubieszów, shirts and aprons were decorated with elaborate geometrical and floral cross-stitch designs, with visible influence from Volhynia⁵⁹⁹. First, black thread was used; other colours had been introduced later. Embroidery was sometimes enhanced with white, and later colourful flat embroidery. Decorations were particularly rich on aprons. Elaborate designs, made with thread in vivid colours could take up even three quarters of the fabric. (Print 5.)

The variety and richness of folk dress from this region can be primarily attributed to the location of the region in the borderlands, diverse geographical conditions, different economic status of specific regions, and historical processes. Despite many years of attempts to document folk dress from the region, as well as to collect items and iconography, the number of types of folk dress was eventually impossible to determine. Currently the important challenge described in this paper is the fact that folk dress from Krzczonów area is considered by many to be representative for the whole region of Lubelszczyzna. As a result, many people associate this one particular dress type with such a large area. Meanwhile, the dress is definitively not representative for the whole region, and neither are any of the types described here. Hence, such generalizations should not be used. This is important, because for most people from this region folk dress represents their individual characteristics, and is a marker of identity and sense of belonging to one of Lubelszczyzna's sub-regions.

599 E. Piskorz-Branekova, *Traditional costumes and embroidery from areas of Hrubieszów and Tomaszów* [Tradycyjne stroje i hafty hrubieszowsko-tomaszowskie], Zamość: The Zamość Museum 2011, pp. 45.

THE PRZEWORSK TRADITIONAL COSTUME IN THE FOLK COSTUME EXHIBITION IN
THE PRZEWORSK MUSEUM VS. 'PRZEWORSK DRESS' AS A STAGE COSTUME USED
BY LOCAL FOLK PERFORMERS

INTRODUCTION

The paper constitutes a general description of main elements of female and male festive costumes worn in villages nearby Przeworsk, between 1750s and 1940s. The research has been based on both the collection of costumes from the Przeworsk Museum⁶⁰⁴ and the reports from field trips conducted by Teresa Szetela-Zauchowa, in 1965 and 1969, in the communes of Przeworsk, Tryńcza and Zarzecze⁶⁰⁵. Further, the article discusses the disappearance of the festive Przeworsk dress in favour of the so-called 'Kraków dress', together with the issue of diminishing tradition of wearing or seeing original folk costumes. The 'Przeworsk' dress worn nowadays by folk song and dance bands in the region serves as an example.



78. A girl in a white corset, Przeworsk, photo by B. Zajączkowska, the interwar period. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum

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604 The current collection of folk costumes of the Przeworsk Museum is partially available to see at www.muzeum.przeworsk.pl, and includes: 38 female corsets (3 corsets with peplum waists, 3 bodices, 2 so-called 'strzępne' corsets (cut into strips) from the region of Grodzisk, 21 colourful corsets from Cracow, 7 white corsets embroidered with thread, 1 female vest ('kiklik'), 1 female bodice with fur ('bekieszka'), 8 blouses / jackets, 28 aprons, 16 skirts, 5 female shirts with ruffs, 2 green net caps, 2 bonnet scarves with embroidered edges, 10 woolen shoulder scarves, 3 summer shoulder scarves, 16 light-wool headscarves, 2 velvet headscarves, underwear (2 bras, 2 underskirts), 1 żupan. Male clothing in the collection includes: 3 long vests, 3 long cloths, 2 burnouses, 1 male shirt, trousers of broadcloth, 2 sheepskins, 2 sheephats, 5 metal belts with rings, 1 studded leather belt, 6 pairs of high-top boots. Additionally, we have various iconographic materials at our disposal; they are photographs from museum collections or borrowings from private persons cooperating with the facility.

605 Archive of Field Resources, F. Kotula Ethnographic Muzeum in Rzeszów (AFR EMR), *Strój ludowy, plastyka obrzędowa, zebrała Teresa Szetela* [Folk costume and visuals of rituals, collected by Teresa Szetela], vol. 168; *Strój ludowy, plastyka obrzędowa, zebrała i opr. Teresa Szetela-Zaucha* [Folk costume and visuals of rituals, collected and edited by Teresa Szetela-Zaucha], vol. 219.



80. A katana 'dressed with beads', Rozbórz, the commune of Przeworsk, 19th century, photo by G. Sznaj, 2006. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum



79. Fronts and sleeves of contemporary 'Przeworsk coats', Krzeczowice, the commune of Kańczuga, photo by K. Ignas, 2005



81. A navy blue apron with colourful long stitch, Gniewczyzna Łańcucka, the commune of Tryńcza, ca. 1910, photo by G. Sznaj, 2008. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum



82. Gorset z kapami – przód, Ujezna, gm. Przeworsk, XVIII–XIX w., fot. G. Sznaj 2006. Ze zbiorów Muzeum w Przeworsku



83. 'Duszlak', a male vest, Gorliczyna, the commune of Przeworsk, 19th/20th century, photo by G. Sznaj, 2006. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum

The regional range of the Przeworsk costume has been established by Stefan Lew in the 1930s. He regarded San as the river dividing two regions recognised in costumology: the region of Przeworsk and of Jarosław⁶⁰⁶. Krzysztof Ruszel, in turn, believes the Przeworsk dress to be a type of regional dress worn in the second part of the nineteenth century in the eastern part of the region. Those several villages closest to Przeworsk were inhabited by Rzeszowiacy⁶⁰⁷.

The most impressive element of women's costumes were the so-called 'panieńskie' corsets worn by young women ready to marry, by girls aged 12 to 20, and by young married women⁶⁰⁸ - mostly in the summer and as festive outfits. All the corsets in the museum collection are made of stiff and extraordinary fabrics (damask, plush, satin, or velvet); they have linings made of cotton or linen cloth. They are decorated with haberdashery, and embroidered with colourful thread, beads or silver and gold sequins.

The oldest type of corsets called in the town 'bodices decorated with altembas' have a flap or flaps and are fastened by hooks and eyes⁶⁰⁹. These flaps are in fact wide peplums stiffened with felt, in the shape of four trapezoidal pieces of cloth. The stiff peplum served most probably as support for heavy metal rings or hoops⁶¹⁰.



84. Portrait of a woman in a corset, Przeworsk, photo by B. Zajączkowska, the interwar period. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum

606 K. Ruszel, *Leksykon kultury ludowej w Rzeszowskim*, hasło: przeworski strój [Lexicon of folk culture in Rzeszowskie, item: the costume of Przeworsk], Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Mitel 2004, pp. 329-330. More on the topic: K. Ruszel, *Z badań nad kulturą ludową Rzeszowiaków* [From studies on folk culture of the area of Rzeszów], in: „Prace i materiały z badań etnograficznych”, vol. 5, Rzeszów 1985, pp. 7-55.

607 S. Lew, *Między Przeworskiem a Sieniawą* [Between Przeworsk and Sieniawa], „Widnokrąg” (Dodatek do „Nowin rzeszowskich”), 1971, issue 51 (533), pp. 2-3. Cf: S. Lew, *W dorzeczu Mleczki. Studium historyczno-etnograficzne* [In the Mleczka basin. A historical and ethnographic study], Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo Mitel 2004, chapter 5, ‘Burnusy i duszlaki’ [The burnusy and duszlaki], pp. 32-37. First descriptions of festive and everyday outfits were made by Aleksander Saloni in *Lud łańcucki* [The people of Łańcut], ‘Materiały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne’, vol. 6: 1903, pp. 191-193; *Lud wiejski w okolicy Przeworska* [The rural folk in the area of Przeworsk], ‘Wisła’ vol. 11: 1897, pp. 741-742.

608 The collection of Przeworsk Museum features a photograph of an elderly woman wearing a corset. Most probably, she only put it on for the sake of the impressive portrait photo taken in the Przeworsk photographer's studio.

609 Franciszek Kotula was the first to describe such a corset, but misidentified the number of the peplums: there are four, not three, flaps underlined with thick felt and resembling trapezes: F. Kotula, *Poszukiwanie metryk do stroju ludowego* [Searching for birth certificates of folk costume], Rzeszów 1954, p. 48.

610 The museum collection also features three corsets with flaps sewn from raspberry and orange patterned damask, embroidered with the so-called ‘pasamuny’ at the edges by the neck, around the shoulders and waist, along the fastening and around each flap. These golden pasamuny were made of haberdashery ribbons or golden thread, forming an intricate geometrical pattern of tabs.



85. Portrait of a man in a vest, photo by B. Zajączkowska, Przeworsk, the interwar period. From the collection of the Przeworsk Museum

A later type of corsets characteristic for the area were bodices. They were fastened with buttons, flared, with short and narrow peplums, and with edges trimmed with black ribbon⁶¹¹. Their decoration consisted of vertical striped patterns, symmetrically placed along the fastening and around the peplum. They were enriched with store bought haberdashery ribbons, as well as embroidery with black beads and silver sequins. These decorations were rather modest and dark, but at the same time refined and elegant.

The most frequently encountered category of corsets consisted of the so-called Cracow corsets (following the Cracow fashions, girls would dress in the 'Cracow way'), sewn and worn since the beginning of the twentieth century⁶¹². Among those, attention should be paid to white corsets made of satin and light wool, worn by girls and bridesmaids on, among others, wedding days. Embroidered with colourful thread and plumetis, as well as monochrome silver and golden sequins that formed plant-like and flowery patterns, they constitute masterpieces of embroidery art.

Long-sleeved jackets or coats with extra insulation were called *katany*, *kabaty*, *kaboty*, *kaftany*, *kataniki*, *kacabaję*, *kocubaję*⁶¹³ or simply jackets with flaps decorated with beads⁶¹⁴. They served as the autumn and winter festive outfit for women - mostly those who were older and more mature. They were paired with a square shoulder scarf folded in half or diagonally. The so-called Przeworsk type of jackets, analysed by Teresa Szetela-Zauchowa⁶¹⁵,

611 Cf. F. Kotula, *Gorsety ludowe XVIII – XX w. z terenu województwa rzeszowskiego* [*Folk corsets in the region of Rzeszów from the 18th to the 20th century*], Rzeszów 1970, p. 5. The cut of the bodice in: F. Kotula, *Strój łańcucki* [*The dress of Łańcut*], Wrocław: PTL 1955, p. 27, fig. 29, type IV.A-C, 'a corset called 'stanik' with buttons, Kraczkowa, the powiat of Łańcut, The Rzeszów Museum, inventory no. 1396'.

612 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 53, Gniewczyna Łańcucka. They are quite short, tight and sharp cut, covering the chest and performing the function of external bra; fastened with hooks and eyes or with ribbons. At the bottom, they have from 21 to 36 tabs, shaped like tongues. Symmetrical plant and flowery ornaments covered each tab, the front and the back of the corset.

613 AFR EMR, vol. 168, p. 2, 4, Roźniatów.

614 Resources from field trips. The Przeworsk Museum, Interview with Janina Horodecka from Grzęska, born in 1925, ref. no. MP/AE/WY/31/2010.

615 T. Szetela - Zauchowa, *Katany ludowe w zbiorach Muzeum w Rzeszowie. Komentarz wystawy* [*Folk jackets in the collection of the Rzeszów Museum. A commentary to the exhibition*], Rzeszów 1971, pp. 8-11. As the author writes, 'One must mention here certain decorations of jackets from Przeworsk, incomparable with anything in our region. Only certain corsets could compete with them as regards the plentifulness of motives. However, the artistic value of Przeworsk jackets is the highest. They match the hue of the pattern with the background particularly well, bringing in the harmony enriched by golden and opalescent sparkle. There are also contrasts. (...) Fields in the drawings [motifs] are filled by beads in matching colours, creating stylish and exceptional flowers and leaves.' *Op. cit.*, p. 9.



86. A Corpus Christi procession, Gać, the post-war period. Owned by Ryszard Hanejko from Gać

was padded with wool and buttoned up; it also had two pockets sewn in the front. The bottom side of the sleeves was lined with twill fabric, in other words patterned wool. The back of the coat was longer and curved, while the neck and edges were trimmed with black ribbon. Places visible from under the scarf (the front and edges of sleeves) were decorated. On the top, under the neck, the round collar of the shirt (ruff) showed.

Shorter blouses called *katanka* were a subtype of the jacket with a modified cut based on ordinary clothes from towns and cities. Thinner, with or without lining, they were shorter in the front and longer in the back. Paired with lavish, voluminous skirts gathered at the back, they were fastened in the middle or at the side, and featured either a stand-up collar, or a turn down angular collar and tie. The decorations were placed in the front and the middle, as symmetrically sewn patterned ribbons or stripes of patterns.

Another element of female dress, worn by both unmarried and married women, was an apron bound together in the back. It was worn as part of festive dress. For instance, to have the food blessed on Holy Saturday, the housekeeper would wear the housekeeper's outfit, namely an apron⁶¹⁶. Such an apron was a rectangular piece of fabric folded at the top, pleated or sewn into a pipe, which ended as ties at the back. It could have been made of thin cloth, batiste or tulle, and decorated with embroidery, tabs or lace⁶¹⁷.

616 Resources from field trips. The Przeworsk Museum, Interview with Janina Marek from Ujezyna, born in 1930, ref. no. *MP/AE/WY/29/2010*.

617 The museum collection features the following types of aprons: white with inserts and tabs, white decorated with dark blue and purple embroidery, white tulle ones, white with white Broderie anglaise, a dark blue decorated with colourful plant-like patterns in long stitch. The oldest method for decoration of aprons was inserting stripes of crocheted lace between the pieces of white cloth. Such inserts were called 'stawka', 'szlorka' or 'ślorka'. Additionally, narrow pin tucks ('szczypanki' or 'przyginki') would go all along the whole apron. The edges of the aprons were also trimmed with crochet lace. Hand-made embroidery is characteristic for the region of Rzeszów and Przeworsk because it is colourful: purple and dark blue, especially on shirts and aprons. The plant and flowery motifs of twigs, leaves and lily flowers filled up to two-thirds of the apron.



87. Children tossing flowers on Corpus Christi, Gać, the post-war period. Owned by Ryszard Hanejko from Gać

At the end of the nineteenth century, wealthy women wore aprons sewn from machine-made tulle. At the time, tulle became popular. A piece that had been densely embroidered in the factory with stripes of geometric plant and flowery patterns, was used to create the apron. Its edges were finished with crocheted tabs. In the area of Przeworsk these were called *drucikowe* or *drucianki*.

A small group of aprons from Grodzisk Górny, made by hand, is worth further analysis. They were made of white cotton cloth and had large tabs or curves at the bottom - filled with broderie anglaise, long stitch or open-work embroidery (Richelieu) - and were decorated with fruit or flower motifs. The most modern shape of aprons was that of white, machine-made clothes covered with broderie anglaise and long stitch. Again, stripes of stylised plant motifs covered the fabric. The cut-off sides of the aprons are finished with white haberdashery. Aprons in dark colours, navy blue and black, decorated with colourful plant patterned embroidery at the edges, were particularly interesting. There is one such apron in the collection of the museum, and it comes from Gniewczyna Łańcucka. The National Museum of the Region of Przemyśl owns more aprons from the interwar period, from the areas of Przemyśl and Lwów⁶¹⁸. They

618 100 na 100. Katalog wystawy jubileuszowej Muzeum Narodowego Ziemi Przemyskiej 1909-2009 [A hundred for one hundred. Catalogue of the jubilee exhibition of The National Museum of the Region of Przemyśl], Przemyśl 2010, pp. 191, 196. Cf: A. Karczmarszewski, *Ludowe obrzędy doroczne w Polsce południowo-wschodniej* [Annual folk rituals in the Southern and Eastern Poland], Rzeszów 2011, p. 299, photograph entitled: 'On the way to church with flowers, Przeworsk, 1930s.' - a woman in a dark-coloured apron with colourful flowery embroidery.



88. Wreath-makers of the ZMW 'Wici' association in Sietesza, 1937. As printed in: J. Rudnicki, *Sietesz od czasów dawnych do współczesności* [Sietesz since the old to modern times], Przeworsk 1998, p. 294

are embroidered by hand with long stitch or cross stitch, in flowery patterns. Interestingly, the song and dance group from Wyszatyce near Przemyśl, which cultivates Polish and Russian folklore, has copied these aprons for their costumes.

Female skirts in the collection of the Przeworsk Museum differ as regards the fabrics, colours and trimming. What joins them is the cut: they are long (75 - 90 cm), very wide (with 'four shelves', or four sections of fabric as wide as the whole skirt: 300 - 450 cm), as well as voluminously gathered at the back. At the waist, they are fastened with a fabric tube ending in ties to be fastened at the left side. At the bottom, a wide trim makes them stiffer on the underside, while black ribbon is sewn between the trim and the very bottom edge. Checked skirts were described by Aleksander Saloni as "worn in winter, made of cheap drill or fustian, usually brown and plaid"⁶¹⁹, but they were not encountered much more often than other patterns. Summer skirts were sewn from patterned cloth. Other white cloth skirts, called *fartuchy*⁶²⁰ (lit. aprons) were decorated by hand-made embroidery or with lace inserts.

619 A. Saloni, *Lud wiejski w okolicy Przeworska* [The folk people of the Przeworsk area], p. 742. Female Przeworsk costume, in: *Ubiory ludowe w Rzeszowskim* [Folk costumes of Rzeszowskie. CD. Wydawnictwo multimedialne Muzeum Etnograficznego im. F. Kotuli w Rzeszowie 2010.

620 AFR EMR, vol. 20, Grzęska, p. 20.

Women's skirts had small round collars - *kryzy, kryzki, krezy* or *krezki* - made of cloth or tulle, densely embroidered with white broderie anglaise or crochet lace, or covered with purple or navy blue long stitch. Inserts from lace, cloth with factory-made white open-work embroidery, or "store-bought embroidered tulle" were all used for long sleeves of the shirts. Cuffs were also finished with lace or embroidery. Women's shirts were made on the basis of a simple cut called *przyramkowo-marszczony*. They were shorter or longer, with the bottom part or *nadolek* added as a piece of thicker, darker cloth.

Historical sources also report female headdress worn on the head and shoulders and called *rańtuch, zaodziejaczka* or *zaodziejka*⁶²¹. This strap of homespun linen cloth was either white or decorated with purple thread. At the shorter ends and in the middle, it was decorated with geometric embroidery in white, red, brown or black. Such counted needlework was referred to as *piski*⁶²².

Smaller forms of headdress - *rąbek* or *zawicie*⁶²³, were also well known. They were very thin and small, narrow linen or muslin scarves folded in half, with red embroidery in the middle⁶²⁴. Worn on the head and shoulders, their ends were either put down free or bound around the head⁶²⁵. Even until now, the name *zaodziejka* is a general term for any scarf worn on the head and shoulders⁶²⁶. Thin scarves with tassels were worn specifically on the shoulders; the fabric was light in colour, decorated with a flowery edging. In the winter, they were folded diagonally or in half and then wrapped round the head and shoulders⁶²⁷. Narrow and one-sided plush shoulder scarves with lace tassels were a later addition, worn on the checked scarves or coats. Other types of shoulder scarves included *kazmierka* or *kaźmierka*⁶²⁸ (thin, black with long tassels) or *jasionka/jesionka*, checked in beige and brown, with tassels as well.

Female headdress could be, for instance, factory-made scarves, in the size of ca. 70 x 70 cm, printed in flowery, fruit or paisley patterns. The motifs were repeated four times in each corner, and the fabric was thin twill. Their dialectal names refer to the repeated ('double') pattern: *dubytkowe* (Dębów), *dybetka* (Przeworsk), *dubetka* (Nowosielce), *dybytko* (Żurawiczki), *dobytko* (Grzęska). Aome purple ("beetroot"), green, beige ("nude", as they said in Nowosielce), black or dark blue scarves feature a sky motif, and had

621 A. Saloni, *Lud łańcucki [The people of Łancut]*, p. 192. F. Kotula, *Poszukiwanie metryk [Searching for birth certificates]*, p. 23-35. F. Kotula, *Strój łańcucki [The costume of Łancut]*, pp. 31-33. AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 37, Nowosielce. Archive of the Przeworsk Museum, J. Puchała, *Wspomnienie z wystawy w roku 1908 [A memory from the 1908 exhibition]*, MP-OP-80, p. 3.

622 AFR EMR, vol. 168, p. 17, Urzejowice.

623 AFR EMR, vol. 168, p. 9, Krzeczowice.

624 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 64, Tryńcza; p. 37, Nowosielce; vol. 168, p. 9, Krzeczowice.

625 Visual materials regarding the look and manner of wearing of a rantuch, first half of the 19th century: : A. Błachowski, *Ubiór i krajobraz kulturowy Polski i Ukrainy Zachodniej w ikonografii J. Głogowskiego i K. W. Kielisińskiego [Dress and cultural landscape of Poland and Western Ukraine in the imagery of J. Głogowski and K. W. Kielisiński]*, Toruń: Muzeum Etnograficzne w Toruniu 2011, p. 192 (fig. 302-303), p. 202 (fig. 320-321), p. 206-207 (fig. 327-328).

626 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 34, Dębów.

627 The collection of the museum also features square scarves of average size of 165 x 165 cm. These thick, checked, woolen scarves with twisted tassels were called in the region 'płachta', 'derka', 'plet' or 'pletówka'. Black scarves resembling felted wool were referred to as 'baranówka' or 'baranowa'.

628 Its name comes most probalby from cashmere or 'kazimir', thin woolen fabric. M. Michałowska, *Leksykon włókiennictwa [Lexicon of textile industry]*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 133-134.

been worn by elderly women until now, during Lent and Easter. The scarves were folded diagonally and tied under the chin or at the back of the head. Other scarves included the so-called Turkish scarves with tassels: the colourful woollen flowery *szelinówka*⁶²⁹.

Several most important elements of the wedding dress are worth mentioning: the straw hat or headdress with ribbons, net cap of the married woman, the bonnet scarf and the metal belt or ring⁶³⁰. During the wedding, the matron of honour would put a 'chamełka' - a ring of reed or flexible twig on the head of newly married bride; she covered it with a red or green bonnet⁶³¹. There are two bonnet scarves in the museum collection: both are large (134 x 132 cm, 168 x 160 cm), white and thin with edges decorated with white embroidery. Bonnets of married women, spread on the chamełka are netted and made from green thread. They come from Kańczuga, where bonnet makers were active until the beginning of 1940s⁶³².

A rather archaic element of the Przeworsk dress is the metal belt called *obręcz* or *obrączka*, rings made of metal sheets, for instance brass coated with gold, fastened with a buckle and clasp, with added ornaments attached to its segments and to the leather belt. Along the leather belt, frayed green or turquoise ribbon was affixed. In the region of Przeworsk and Łańcut such belts were obligatory for the bridesmaid and worn over the corset with the peplum. In the last wills from the 18th century they are described as rings or hoops. At the beginning they were worn only by women and inherited along the female lines as an indispensable element of wedding dress; later on the custom spread among the men, too. They are believed to come from the knightly culture, having been transferred further from the gentry or bourgeoisie fashion. Typically, goldsmiths from Lwów and Kraków forged them⁶³³.

Żupan is a type of a long coat or russet coat. It looks like a long, navy blue or dark brown coat with red lapels, decorated with cast brass buttons (*boncoły*, *bomble*, *gdulki*) on the right, and loops of braided navy blue silk cord on the left. "They were never buttoned up, and buttons and loops were there just for the sake of it"⁶³⁴; the cuffs were decorated with colourful and flowery brocatelle. Żupan was an element of women's dress worn for instance by the bride or matron of honour at the wedding, or by the *kuma* or

629 (State of the parish in 1917.) Few illiterates, only among the elderly. Almost everybody dresses the same. Men wear cloth hats with a small *ruff*, instead of shorter, they wear longer vests called *duszlak*, shirts made of blue cloth and similar trousers. High-top boots. For colder times, they have burnouses, or coats from blue cloth that look like soldiers from behind. For winter, they have white sheepskins. Women wear short skirts and caftans, and colourful woolen 'szelinówka' scarves on heads. All of them have high-top boots, no one uses ankle boots. They also have corsets, beautifully embroidered with small coloured glass beads. Nobody almost sows flax or hemp, since the younger can't even spin and they buy factory-made linen. Private collection of Ryszard Kapusta from Przeworsk. *The chronicle of Urzejowice parish*.

630 Cf: A. Targońska, *Stroje weselne w Małopolsce środkowej w procesie zmian [Changes in the wedding dress of Central Małopolska]*, in: Ruszel K. (ed.), *Wesele. Materiały z konferencji Obrzędowość weselna w Rzeszowskim – tradycja i współczesność*, Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów: Miel 2001, pp. 73-100.

631 The hair was first put through the ring and divided into two strands. The chamełka was covered with hair and bound with a string. Then, the bonnet ('cap') was put over it and everything was bound with its ties. Finally, a white or colourful twill scarf was wrapped around the head, tied at the back and above the forehead.

632 O. Mulkiewicz, *Koronki siatkowe w Kańczudze [Net lace in Kańczuga]*, 'Polska sztuka ludowa', year 12: 1958, issue 3, pp. 169-174. AFR EMR, vol. 219, Nowosielce, p. 35

633 F. Kotula, *Z badań nad strojem ludowym Rzeszowiaków [From studies on the folk dress of Rzeszów people]*, 'Polska sztuka ludowa', 1952, issue 4-5, pp. 213-223. F. Kotula, *Poszukiwanie metryk [Searching for birth certificates]*, pp. 5-10. K. Buczkowski, B. Marekowska, *Pasy metalowe polskie i obce w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie [Foreign and Polish metal belts in the collection of the National Museum in Kraków]*, Kraków 1965, pp. 9-29.

634 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Nowosielce, p. 36-3; Studzian, p. 21.

godmother during the baptism⁶³⁵. Between the 17th and 18th century, it was an element of bourgeois dress. Men wore it as well, when they appeared in the roles of matchmakers at weddings or in folk horse-riding groups. They fastened it with a listing: a 3-meter-long and half a meter wide woven woollen belt with horizontal stripes, folded in half. The listing hung at the left side after several wraps around the waist. It is also known that men wore a żupan when guarding Christ's tomb and then at musters and parades in Gniewczyna Łańcucka, during Easter⁶³⁶. A significant source has been recently published on the subject: drawings and prints of K. W. Kielisiński, done in 1830s. There, women in navy blue żupans include both village girls and women from the area of Przeworsk and Radymno, and middle-class women from nearby Jarosław⁶³⁷.

Factory-made navy blue cloth (referred to as *siwe*) was used for men's clothing. It was the base for trousers and long vests. Elements of the vest's cut were related to uniforms from WWI; an example could be the lapels cut into two arches with acute angles. Male festive dress consisted of a long vest called *duślak*, *duszlak*, or *druszlak*⁶³⁸, buttoned with several metal buttons at the neck. It would be made of black, navy blue, or indigo (dark purple) cloth and lined with cotton. The shirt was worn over the trousers, and girded twice with leather belts with studded patterns and a round brass buckle.

The linen long cloth belonged to popular men's outerwear. In Dębów, Tryńcza, Gorzyce and Świętoniowa it was called *pótlonka*, while in Żurawiczki - *plytonka*. It was a white coat with long sleeves and a topstitched stand-up collar. Made on the basis of the "long poncho" cut, it had two layers of fabric. The thin summer *plótnianka* was accompanied by a straw hat, which served mostly as head coverage during the harvest⁶³⁹. The coat could also become a cover during sleep.

Men's outerwear that was very fashionable in the interwar period was a long navy blue coat, the so-called *burnouse*, imitating an officer's military uniform. According to a source born in 1886: "A man from Przeworsk could be recognised by the hat and burnouse in Vienna"⁶⁴⁰, "if someone didn't have a burnouse, he didn't go as a matchmaker"⁶⁴¹. The *burnouse* was worn both in the summer with a hat and in the winter with a sheepskin hat. Made from navy blue cloth, it had an extra layer at the back, two rows of buttons and a straight collar. Its ornaments were stitches in beige or grey contrasting thread: simple top stitching and wavy lines on the edges of the collar and front, pocket lapels, edges of cuffs and the back train in two parts. Burnouses were made until the First World War, and worn until the 1930s.

Another type of outerwear was a short garment made of grey cloth, cut down the back for about 10 cm: the *oberak* or *oberok*. This was a double-breasted jacket with lining, with a turndown collar, lapels on the chest, and black buttons. When buttoned up, it showed the vest - *duślak*.

635 W. Badura, *Husów wieś powiatu łańcuckiego. Zarys etnograficzny* [*Husów in the powiat of Łancut. An ethnographic outline*], 'Lud', year 10: 1904, p. 34.

636 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Gniewczyna Łańcucka, p. 45

637 Cf. footnote 20.

638 The informal dialectal name may come from the buttonholes. There are 12, 15 and 18 buttons in the three vests in the Museum collection. The unusual number of buttonholes could have caused the association with a sieve (Polish: *durszlak*). Another attempt at explanation of the name is associated with the dialectal saying present for instance in the dialect of Siedlecza village near Kańczuga. There, 'chycić za duszaki' means 'to catch someone under the chin'.

639 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Grzęska, p. 22: 'Straw hats were only worn for harvests. Not to church.'

640 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Rozbórz, p. 27, source born in 1886.

641 AFR EMR, vol. 168, Żurawiczki, p. 11.

The hat from the region of Przeworsk is mainly known from descriptions and photographs⁶⁴². It was rather small and cone-shaped with a narrow cap edge (*kania*), decorated with a colourful braid. Various hues of silk cords were repeated: yellow, green, grey, white and blue, white and red – so “it looked like a flowerpot”⁶⁴³, “it looked like a milkpot”⁶⁴⁴. Besides, in winter sheepskin hats *baranica* were worn interchangeably with black woollen ones⁶⁴⁵.

Both women and men wore sheepskin coats in the winter. These had black collars or stand-up collars and black cuffs. The hardened leather was white and richly decorated with stitches, pieces of red cloth, woollen pompons and chamois. Fastened with leather stubs, its tails would open wide during walking. When it was raining a *plótnianka* was worn over it in order to protect the leather⁶⁴⁶. Sheepskin coats were made and decorated by furrier guilds in Kańczuga and Kosin⁶⁴⁷.

In the Przeworsk area, men’s shirts had very narrow, turndown collars with two buttons. The collars, fronts (‘the bosom’) and cuffs of shirts were covered with white broderie anglaise. Another type of shirt was worn in the north of the Przeworsk region: at the neck, it was stitched round and had two holes at the edge - through which thin blue or red ribbon was strung. The collar and sometimes the bosom (the front where the shirts were cut), were decorated with colourful “grey and red thread”⁶⁴⁸. Men’s shirts were worn over the trousers rather than tucked inside⁶⁴⁹.

The belt in the museum collection is the so-called studded belt, 7 cm wide, 185 cm long, with a round brass buckle. Its surface is covered with studded ornaments, the so-called *wybijanka*: rosettes, indented arches, leaves, rings⁶⁵⁰. Such patterns were pressed into the belt with metal stamps. Men would wrap the belt around their waists twice.

Both men and women wore black leather high-top boots. The leather part was soft and connected the upper and the vamp. The shoes were called *zasuwane* (Grzęska), *opuszczane* (Ubieszyn), and *spuszczane* (Rozbórz, Studzian). At the sides of the uppers, there was decorative stitching, such as “the motifs of flowers and leaves”⁶⁵¹. Leather patterns sewn onto the front of the shoes were a different kind of ornament. After WWI, stiff uppers (*oficery, oficerki*) became popular and fashionable.

642 F. Kotula, *Folklor słowny osobliwy Lasowiaków, Rzeszowiaków i Podgórczan [The peculiar linguistic folklore of the people of Rzeszów, Podgórczanie and Lasowiacy]*, Lublin: Wydawnictwo lubelskie 1969, p. 10. The photo features ‘A group of girls and boys from Cieszacin Mały, the powiat of Przeworsk, in folk costumes of 1909’ - two men in hats.

643 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Studzian, p. 33

644 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Gniewczyna Łańcucka, p. 51

645 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Gorliczyna, p. 19.

646 F. Kotula, *Strój łańcucki [The costume of Łancut]*, pp. 17-18, p. 31, fig. 35 – cf. the cut, pp. 45-47. F. Kotula, *Strój rzeszowski [The costume of Rzeszów]*, Lublin: PTL 1951, p. 21. Female white furs from ram skin, with large round collars, decorative cuff edges, cut tassels, buttons and loops were called ‘konduszowe’ in Ubieszyn. AFR EMR, vol. 219, Ubieszyn, p. 62.

647 J. Kudła, *Historia Miasteczka Kańczugi pisana 1899 r [The story of the town of Kańczuga written in 1899]*, Rzeszów: wydawnictwo 2009, pp. 332-333.

648 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Ubieszyn, p. 37; Tryńcza, p. 64.

649 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Dębów, p. 30; Nowosielce, p. 37.

650 F. Kotula, *Strój łańcucki [The costume of Łancut]*, pp. 18, 44.

651 *Urzejowice*, eds. J. Orzechowska, J. Wąsacz - Krztoń, J. Żyła, Urzejowice 2011, pp. 413-417.

Until World War I, it was mostly men who were tailors in villages. Village tailors sewed all the traditional elements of clothing for both sexes - *duślaki*, *burnouses*, *oberoki* - as well as undergarments (such as long johns). Girls, often from big or poor families, who had to look for jobs outside of the farm, were their willing students and trainees. Courses in common tailoring and usage of sewing machines were also organised by companies - intermediaries selling such machines⁶⁵². Thus, tailors made clothes for both men and women, but women were responsible for dressing up the garments: adding beads or sequins to corsets and coats, often with ready-made black bead ribbons or with plates. They could have been sisters, wives, daughters, or customers of the tailor⁶⁵³. These talented and intelligent embroiderers would usually decorate skirts with plumetis, finish corsets, jackets or bodices, embroider cloth with white and colourful thread or broderie anglaise, make crochet lace and, additionally, also busy themselves with tailoring.

COSTUME FABRICS

Up until the first half of the nineteenth century, the main resource from which clothing had been made was homespun hemp and flax cloth⁶⁵⁴. "Old people went to church like geese, dressed in white. If someone dressed in black, they called him a Jew", said a source born in 1886⁶⁵⁵. Spinning was the job of women, weaving - of specialised weavers, of whom usually at least one operated in each village. Cloth for thick coats, russet coats and other outerwear was produced in Rakszawa near Łańcut. Sheep were grown for wool. Farmers would keep 30 to 40 sheep in order to fulfil the needs of the cloth factory in Rakszawa. Sheepskin was hardened by furriers from Kańczuga and Kosina, so that it was white and ready for making winter clothes, such as thick leather trousers called *skórzaki* or *kożuszaki*, worn with the fur on the inside, as 'winter clothing'. At the beginning of the 20th century, cheap drill⁶⁵⁶ appeared in the shops. It became the fabric for everyday male trousers and short vests. During market days in villages, on weekdays in towns, and in Jewish shops various things were bought: needles, colourful thread, red ribbons, beads and printed headscarves, factory-made fabrics: ready-made and embroidered tulle, batiste and lighter cloth, as well as haberdashery (ribbons with black beads, sequins, strings of beads or beads by weight)⁶⁵⁷.

652 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Gniewczyna Łańcucka, p. 46.

653 AFR EMR, vol. 219, Gniewczyna Łańcucka, p. 50.

654 The detailed list of possessions left behind by Antoni Płachta from Sietesza, who passed away in 1822, included, among others: 'one new sheepskin coat', 'two already worn-out coats', 'sheep skins not yet hardened for coats', 'linen cloth, 50 yards, 'hemp cloth, 48 yards', 'carded cloth, 45 yards'. J. Rudnicki, *Sietesz od czasów dawnych do współczesności. Część druga. Pokłosie [Sietesz since the old to modern times. Part two: the aftermath]*, Przeworsk:wydawnictwo 2003, pp. 146-147.

655 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 67, Gorzyce.

656 M. Michałowska, *Leksykon włókiennictwa [Lexicon of textile industry]*, p. 47, *the definition of: DRILL*.

657 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 47, Gniewczyna.

The above examples, forms, and functions of the Przeworsk costume had disappeared before the Second World War. The lethal blow was dealt by the so-called Kraków dress, propagated among others by the Youth Associations 'Wici' and the Folk University in Gać⁶⁵⁸. It took its shape in the interwar period; without an equivalent in the traditional Kraków costume, it was a free adaptation of traditional patterns and it was "of contaminated nature"⁶⁵⁹. Harvest Home festivals and Corpus Christi processions were occasions for wearing it. In the female version, its characteristic feature was a lot of colourful ribbons sewn horizontally on aprons and skirts⁶⁶⁰, as well as a flower wreath on the head. In the male dress, a Kraków hat with a peacock's feather and breeches⁶⁶¹. Children also had a functioning version of the costume worn by girls on Corpus Christi and the following eight days of celebrations - for flower tossing. It was an imposed costume and an artificial model. Without its own tradition, it was treated like a theatrical costume put on during official state celebrations. This was mostly visible after the war, when folk culture was put into service of communist propaganda. Traditional festive dress stopped being considered aesthetically pleasing, and became associated with pre-war poverty and backwardness. In the consciousness of village inhabitants who were aiming at social advancement it became obsolete and anachronistic. In fact, it even became a source of embarrassment. Most often, its authentic beauty remained unnoticed. The disappearance of traditional festive dress was the most significant result of such an attitude.

658 In 1929 and 1930 a discussion on folk dress was held in the publications of Village Youth Association, 'Wici'. It was mostly negative. Folk costume was regarded as a museum-only curiosity, impractical and with uncomfortable cuts and shapes; only its colourfulness was appreciated. Franciszek Fołta from Gać wrote: 'When we organised last year's harvest celebrations in Spala, our colleagues from the Centre wrote in 'Wici' persuading everyone, even from 'the higher spheres', to feel like a villager on that day and wear the clothes of the earth. I did it and just felt really uncomfortable; it is very tiring in the summer. (...) Folk dress will disappear, and there is no cure for that. Wherever the youth is organised, folk dress disappears. Well, how to use it, if it's neither comfortable nor practical? The dresses of girls, our colleagues are beautiful, for example in Kraków or Łowicz. They can stay. In spite of the fact that the folk dress cannot be used in everyday life, it should be precious and sacred to us. Let's put it on during great celebrations in our villages. We, the folk youth, must have the heart and soul from the country. We must create our own folk culture to replace the tumbling down gentry, so that the whole nation could draw strength from our village culture.' *Stroje ludowe [Folk costumes]*, 'Wici', 1929, issue 37, p. 8.

659 B. Kożuch, E. Pobiegly, *Stroje krakowskie [The folk costumes of Kraków]*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo M 2004, p. 119; J. Kamocki, *Wpływy polityczne na strój ludowy Małopolski północnej w dobie porozbiorowej 1772-1918 [Political influences on the folk costume of Northern Małopolska in the post-partition period, 1772-1918]*, 'Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie', vol. VII: 1979, p. 104. I would like to extend my thanks to Ms. Elżbieta Pobiegly, Ph.D from the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków for her consultations concerning the so-called 'Kraków dress'.

660 AFR EMR, vol. 219, p. 71, Wólka Ogryzkowa. The Kraków dress belongs to the collection of the Open Air Museum of the Village of Markowa.

661 W. Fołta, *Życie z własnego nadania [A life granted to oneself]*, Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1987, pp. 130, 135. Kraków dress became popular as the national costume in relation to, among others, the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald celebrated in 1910. A. Targońska, *Moda chłopska (w okolicy Rzeszowa w początkach XX wieku). Folder wystawy [Folk fashion in the area of Rzeszów at the beginning of the 20th century]*, Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie, Rzeszów 1989, no page number.

When the first song and dance groups in the Przeworsk region appeared, the matter of their costume arose as well. Unfortunately, the old dress patterns and well-preserved examples were not consulted. It was believed that the best and safest choice would be a ready-made model of the costume offered by a tailoring company sewing regional and folk costumes. Such was the suggestion of instructors and directors of cultural facilities. It was easier and more convenient to order the model of a stage costume than to search for old costumes in the field - and then thoroughly reconstruct and copy them. And thus, the song and dance groups in the area acquired their "uniforms"⁶⁶². As Antoni Kroh put it, "a synthetic folk costume of an unknown region" was born⁶⁶³. The problem had already been noted by Franciszek Kotula, passionate researcher of folk culture, in 1968: "I have mentioned numerous times already that costume designers for folk groups allow themselves extraordinary extravagances. I understand that it is common to dramatize some elements of rather unattractive costumes; to beautify or improve them. But this must happen within the limits of responsibility and authenticity. In no case should the costume intended for the stage become grotesque. (...) And it is grotesque, when the male costume simply becomes a uniform - something which is clearly at odds with the facts that shaped the costume. In fact, it was diverse even within one type of clothing. (...) It was a costume, not uniform. The imagination of village tailors was sometimes capital; the willingness to be original also played a role. It may be proven by the sources and iconography which has been preserved"⁶⁶⁴.

Nowadays, the uniform appears in two forms in the region: in the so-called Rzeszów dress and so-called Przeworsk dress. 'Recipes' for 'uniforms' have been published in, among others, "Folklor taneczny Ziemi Rzeszowskiej" [The Dance Folklore of the Rzeszów Region]. The only original elements in group's costumes are woollen *dybetka* scarves and shoulder scarves, and very rarely aprons. The grotesque and artificial character of folk costume as a uniform is clearly visible during the annual Polish Festival of Folk Ensembles and Singers in Kazimierz Dolny. Groups from very distant villages of Podkarpacie, such as Harta near Dynów (the "Młoda Harta" band), Orzechowce near Przemyśl ('Orzechowiacy'), Gniewczyna Tryniecka near Przeworsk ('Zespół Śpiewaczy Dolanie'), Lubzina near Ropczyce ('Kapela Rodzinna Kurasie'), and the folk group from Trzciana near Rzeszów all perform in the same costumes. Ensembles from the powiat of Przeworsk and Jarosław are in a similar situation: the 'Rzeszów dress' is worn by members of groups from Grzęska (the commune of Przeworsk), Kisielów, Maćkówka, Roźniatów, Łapajówka (the commune of Zarzecze), and Gniewczyna Tryniecka (the commune of Tryńcza). In turn, the 'Przeworsk dress' is worn by groups from Gorliczyn (the commune of Przeworsk), Gać, Krzeczowice (the commune of Kańczuga), Jawornik Polski, Pawłosiów (the commune of Jarosław), and Rudołowice (the commune of Roźwienica). More ambitious bands have attempted to reconstruct the festive dress worn in the past in their villages, with more or less success. They come from Ujezna (the commune of Przeworsk), Dębowo (the commune of Gać), Majdan Sieniawski (the commune of Adamówka), and Pigany (the commune of Sieniawa)⁶⁶⁵.

662 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Odzież [Clothing]*, in: *Etnografia Polski. Przemiany kultury ludowej*, vol. 1, Wrocław -Warszawa-Kraków- Gdańsk: Ossolineum 1976, p. 404.

663 *Czy w etnografii występują białe plamy? [Are there blank spots in ethnology?]* L. Stomma, *Etnologia [Ethnology]*; A. Kroh, *Sztuka ludowa [Folk art]*. 'Polska Sztuka Ludowa. Konteksty', vol. XLIII: 1989, issue 4, pp. 205-209.

664 F. Kotula, *To strój, a nie mundur! [It is a costume and not uniform!]* 'Widnokrąg' (Dodatek do 'Nowin rzeszowskich'), 1968, issue 27, p. 6.

665 A. Haszczak, *Folklor taneczny Ziemi Rzeszowskiej [Folk songs and dances of Rzeszowskie]*, Warszawa: COMUK 1989, pp. 152-155: 'The festive outfit of the area of Przeworsk'. Cf also: *Dances of the Regions of Podkarpacie*. CD 1-2. Wyd. Polskie Radio Rzeszów. Edited by: A. Haszczak, J. Danak-Gajda. Rzeszów 2008.

The Przeworsk dresses ordered from and made by companies based in Rzeszów are full of flaws. For instance, the bodice is wrongly cut in the dress of the 'Gacanki Folk Group' from Gać. It is missing a pair of back flaps, which leads to it being ill fitting and unflattering. As F. Kotula aptly noticed 40 years ago, "The newly created corsets are all banal and primitive, since they are made from 'whatever' materials and 'however' possible."⁶⁶⁶ Another example could be 'Jawor Song Group' from Jawornik Polski, where the ladies wear thick woollen plaid skirts. In the summer, the peak time for folklore festivals, high temperatures lead to much discomfort with these skirts. A common problem lies with the corsets, which used to be attributes of single or newly married women - they are tight and fit closely to the body, as the prettiest, attractive and sexy element of the festive maiden costume. Corsets used to be worn in the summer. Currently, they are put on by women regardless of the season and their marital status. Originally, they were closely fastened with hooks and eyes, buttons or ribbons. Nowadays, corsets are very often too tight and thus the ribbons at the chest reveal a gap. Of course, the reason for that is the lack of tradition of wearing festive corsets together with the lack of knowledge on who, when and how wore corsets in the past.

Unfortunately, such are the practices in Podkarpacie. Examples from other regions are uplifting, however. Folk ensembles from former Chełmskie (30 bands in 1998) have four dress patterns at their disposal: the costume of Włodawa, the Bug region, Chełm and Krasnystaw. As Marek Bem, employee of the Museum of Łęczynsko-Włodawskie Lake District in Włodawa writes in his paper on folk song ensembles, "Almost all costumes are made by hand by the band members themselves. Each group organises their own costumes without interventions from any third parties. Each group member has their own old costume that they used to wear in full or partially, and currently devotes the costume to band performances. Damaged elements of the costume are made according to patterns of the originals"⁶⁶⁷.

Who or what needs the Przeworsk costume nowadays? From their work in the field, ethnographers and museum employees learned that it is mostly stage performers. Our museum is contacted by seamstresses, owners of companies producing folk dresses, instructors of song and dance ensembles that have Przeworsk dances in their repertoire, as well as members of amateur song groups from the region⁶⁶⁸. The ambitious performers are not satisfied with the ready-made models of 'the Przeworsk dress', and intuitively search for something better, more authentic, original.

Each of the folk groups operating in the region has songs and theatrical performances in its repertoire. They also set up the Farmers' Wives Associations, present local cuisine, and participate in church celebrations. They always celebrate the Assumption of Mary and bring the harvest wreath into the church. They believe it is their duty to wear folk dress on these occasions, since they treat it as a virtual

666 F. Kotula, *Gorsety ludowe...* [*Folk corsets...*], p. 7.

667 M. Bem, *Wiejskie zespoły śpiewacze. Ich rola i znaczenie w kulturze współczesnej wsi województwa chełmskiego* [*Folk musical groups, their role and importance in modern folk culture of Chełmskie voivodeship*], Włodawa: no publishing house, 1998, pp. 124-130.

668 In 2005, costumes from the collection of the Przeworsk Museum were analysed by the tailors of State Folk Group of Song and Dance 'Mazowsze'. Examples of the 'duszlak' vest, the corset with peplums and the studded leather belt served as their basis for dresses used in presentation of Przeworsk dances. The leather belt was faithfully reproduced by Antoni Herdzik's saddler company of Nisko. However, the way in which the dancers wore the belt, was different than the original. Instead of wrapping it twice around the waist, it was looped as one does it with the so-called 'Rzeszów belt', and a very long end hung on the left side of the dancer, as if in a caricature.

sign of folk identity, confirmation of their heritage and pride in being a villager. It is sad, therefore, that their costumes remain a trivial ersatz; they differ so much from the original and its tasteful ornamentation, minimal colour palette, and elegant cut. Definitely, high costs of materials are problematic. The manner in which specialist companies make costumes also leaves much to be desired: the design is made in a hurry, at a mass scale, with imprecision. As a result, simplified patterns and models are repeated⁶⁶⁹. The Dębowo Song Group serves as an example of how simple ignorance and lack of tradition of wearing folk dresses constitute the main problem. The ladies, following the model of tulle aprons called *drucianki*, but unable to find the tulle or to afford it, sewed their aprons from jacquard curtains. After an intervention, they visited the museum and saw the collection of vintage aprons. Having understood the beauty of the original, they sewed copies of cloth aprons and decorated them with lace inserts and pin tucks.

CONCLUSION

The Przeworsk costume described in the article constitutes, in its richness and diversity, promising material for attempts at reconstruction of its elements. Various reproductions of each element appear both thoroughly researched and creative. The graphics illustrating this paper further prove that the willingness to be original was one of the features of (mainly female) folk costume that is forgotten or ignored nowadays. In reality, it translated to multiple variants of ornamentation, colours, and decorations with the common and fashionable cuts and manners of wearing. The contemporary so-called 'Przeworsk dress' has undergone 'massification' and simplification, similarly to the so-called Kraków dress in the post-war period.

669 Cf the websites: www.strojeludowe.ipr.pl/strona/region/35; www.stroje-ludowe.pl/index.php5?site=oferta&id=66; www.polonez2.ipr.pl/galeria.html. (accessed on: 27 November 2012).

LINEN CLOTH IN SOME CONTEXTS OF TRADITIONAL POLISH CULTURE

INTRODUCTION

Flax is one the most popular crops. It was very important to traditional economy: flax is used to weave linen cloth, make ropes and binders; its seed (flaxseed, linseed) is used to press oil, etc. Flax was also significant in folk herbalism and was used in various rituals. Despite such widespread use of the plant, its role and meaning in traditional culture so far has not been adequately explained or described. The purpose of this paper is to fill in this gap, although it only describes the function and meaning of linen cloth and clothing made from it in selected contexts of traditional Polish culture.

Clothes have always played various roles and were not only significant from the point of view of aesthetics but also the story they could tell. Types of clothes, the way they were matched or decorated are clear sources of information about the gender, age, ethnicity, or profession of the wearer. Apart from this, in the context of traditional culture, analysing which type of fabric was chosen for making specific garments can reveal additional information. The reasons for choosing a certain fabric type may tell researchers more about different aspects of the fabric. This text is an attempt at such analysis with regard to linen cloth and clothes made thereof. The analysis is based on records, accounts and descriptions from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century from the territory of Poland (with reference to some regions, e.g. between Vistula and San rivers, or the area inhabited by the Lasowiacy I used literature from the interwar period of the 20th century since in this area traditional costume remained in use longer than elsewhere). I also refer to interviews carried out at the beginning of the 1990s, mainly in the area where the Lasowiacy and the Rzeszowiacy lived.

LINEN CLOTH AS A CARRIER OF INFORMATION ON WEALTH

Choosing to wear linen cloth was a symbol; it was a clear message about the wealth of an individual, among others. However, the meaning of this message was region-specific. For example: in the mountains of Beskid Śląski men's shirt or women's *kabotek* and *uobrus* were sewn from linen cloth and worn by poor people (wealthier people would choose *ćwilich* or *karton* fabrics to sew such garments). It was a clear sign to all people living in a specific area and an element of countryside etiquette: "it was unbecoming for *the poorer*

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90. Two best men, Rzeszów area, beginning of the 20th century. From the collection of F. Kotula's Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów

people to dress up like the rich ones"⁶⁷¹. In this case, we can clearly see that linen cloth was characteristic to people with a low material status. However, the same fabric used for sewing clothes had a completely different status in areas where traditional culture, in its strict sense, was preserved for longer. Information from Lipnica near Kolbuszowa (later confirmed also by interviewees from the area inhabited by the Lasowiacy) states that everyday clothes were sewn from linen canvas, but also from flannel and other fabrics. Yet, on "festive days" people would wear only linen clothes. Upon questioning, one of the interviewees mentioned that she still remembers linen *fartuchy* (skirts), which used to be common in the area where the Lasowiacy lived. In the 1930s, they were no longer made because people started to prefer mass-produced fabrics but "elderly women still wore such clothes; and [linen] *fartuch* was meant for church going"⁶⁷². The same story applies to kerchiefs: in the period mentioned above women wore store-bought, colourful kerchiefs but „(...) elderly women still wore linen kerchiefs: one on the head and one on the back. And to keep warm, a woman would

fold these kerchiefs"⁶⁷³. In some areas (e.g. where the Lasowiacy lived) linen dress was considered to be a festive dress that was a proof of wealth and prudence of the lady that wore it.

Linen cloth and clothes played an important role in the economy. Many farms in the whole Poland grew flax - not only for their own needs but also for sale. Money obtained from selling linen products was used for other household needs or fees⁶⁷⁴.

LINEN CLOTH AND ITS FUNCTION AS A GIFT

The material collected for the analysis helps define other functions of linen and linen clothing related to traditional family rituals. Many sources suggest that linen cloth and clothes may have served as gifts. It was customary to bestow linen cloth upon a child that was to be baptized. It was a duty of the godmother or

671 K. Hermanowicz-Nowak, *Folk dress* [Strój ludowy], „Etnografia Polska”, v. XXVIII, issue 1, pp. 87.

672 Author's own research.

673 Interview on site: Interviewee: Zofia Szczęch, born 1900, in Lipnica in Kolbuszowa powiat, residing in Lipnica; interview by J. Dragan, 1991; Mechanical Documentation Archive at Folk Museum in Kolbuszowa.

674 Rzeszów region: S. Udziela, *Tarnów – Rzeszów. Ethnographic materials collected by Oskar Kolberg and organized by Seweryn Udziela* [Materiały etnograficzne, zebrał Oskar Kolberg, uporządkował Seweryn Udziela], „Materiały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne”, V. 11, 1910: pp. 129-130; Kurpie, Puszcza Myszyniecka: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 4, complete works* [Mazowsze, cz. IV, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 27, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, pp. 52-53; A. Bruckner, *Old Polish encyclopedia* [Encyklopedia staropolska], v. 2, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Trzaski, Ebarta i Michalskiego 1939, pp. 161.

both godparents⁶⁷⁵. The linen cloth gift was called “krzyżmo” and the child was often wrapped in it before the ceremony in the church⁶⁷⁶, whereas after the baptism the cloth was used to sew shirts for the baby or kept safe until wedding or a funeral. The accounts also say that it was not allowed to use such cloth for the needs of other persons, and the only exception was the child’s mother as “for other people it was not proper”⁶⁷⁷.

During the wedding ritual, the bride would often give a linen shirt (or kerchief) to the groom. The gift was prepared especially for him before the wedding (also, frequently embroidered by the bride herself). The groom wore the shirt when going to church for the wedding ceremony⁶⁷⁸.



89. Headdress of the bride. Reconstruction by M. Kozłowa from Tarnobrzeg, Folk Museum in Kolbuszowa

- 675 Poznańskie: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie], v. 11, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1963, pp. 51; area of Warsaw: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 1, complete works* [Mazowsze, cz. I, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 24, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1963, pp. 216; “the godmother bestows upon the child a piece of the thinnest white cloth linen (...) which the mother uses to sew a shirt for the baby” – Drohiczyn: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 5, complete works* [Mazowsze, cz. V, Dzieła wszystkie], t. 28, Poznań: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, pp. 118.: The gift of linen for sewing shirts was a duty: in Łowicz area the godmother had to offer *krzyżmo* or shirts (the godchild may demand such gift even 6 years after baptism), otherwise “a great sin would trouble her conscience and the child will be unhappy and go to the other world naked”: J. S. Bystrzeń, *Slavic family rituals. Rituals related to the birth of child* [Słowiańskie obrzędy rodzinne. Obrzędy związane z narodzeniem dziecka], Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Umiejętności 1916, pp. 83.: In Modlnica near Cracow the godmother had to sew a shirt for the baby herself because shirts would be torn very quickly, whereas in Siedlce area she would sew baby’s shirt using her own wedding sheet: O. Kolberg, *[Cracow region, part 2, Complete works]* Krakowskie, cz. II, Dzieła wszystkie, v. 6, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1963, pp. 5; J. S. Bystrzeń *op. cit.* pp. 82.
- 676 Rzeszów region: A. Saloni, *People from the Rzeszów region* [Lud rzeszowski], „Materiały Antropologiczno-Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne”, v. 10: Kraków 1908, pp. 71; Procisne, Bóbrka: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1, Complete works* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I, Dzieła wszystkie], v.49, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1974, pp. 302-303.
- 677 Podhale: W. Pol, *Ethnographic papers on regions in the northern part of the Carpathian mountains* [Prace z etnografii północnych stoków Karpat]. Wrocław, b.m.w. 1966, pp.116.
- 678 Kaszuby: O. Kolberg, *Pomerania region, Complete works* [Pomorze, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 39, Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne 1965, pp. 365; Central Poland: J. P. Dekowski, *Family customs and rituals* [Zwyczaje i obrzędy rodzinne], „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi”, Seria Etnograficzna, issue 24: 1983, pp. 207; Rozwadów region: W. Gaj-Piotrowski, *Social culture of people from the area of Rozwadów* [Kultura społeczna ludu z okolic Rozwadowa], „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, v. 26: Wrocław 1967, pp. 178; Bóbrka: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 345; The Lasowiacy: K. Ruszel, *The Lasowiacy* [Lasowiacy], Rzeszów: Regional Museum in Rzeszów 1994, pp. 94; Chełm powiat: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1, Complete works* [Chełmskie, cz. I, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 33, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, s. 254, 287; upon Bug river: O. Kolberg, *Volhynia, Complete works* [Wołyń, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 36, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, pp. 35-36; in Komańcza there the bride had to have loose hair in that moment (A. Drożdż, A. Pieńczak, *Comments to PAE* [Komentarze do PAE], *Customs, rituals and beliefs related to birth and bringing up a child* [Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia związane z narodzinami i wychowaniem dziecka]. V. 9. part 1, Wrocław-Cieszyn: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 2004, pp. 369).

Gifts in the form of linen were also given to the bride who received them from the groom, the groom's parents, *szwaska* (matchmaker) and wedding guests⁶⁷⁹. The bride gave shirts, kerchiefs or linen trousers also to the family of the groom, as well as people who held various functions during the wedding, and sometimes also to the guests⁶⁸⁰. Linen products became a special type of gift, a way of paying for services performed by individuals during family rituals or paying people who were in some way involved in the organization of such rituals⁶⁸¹. When it comes to funeral rites, linen cloth was customarily given to the deceased; some coins wrapped in linen cloth were added as a "donation for the poor before going to the other world"⁶⁸².

LINEN CLOTH AS MARKER OF DISTINCTION FOR PLACES AND PEOPLE

Garments sewn from linen cloth provided information strictly related to viewing family rituals as rites of passage⁶⁸³. Linen clothing marked an individual who was in a transitive position (liminal).

I have already mentioned the custom of godparents giving linen cloth or a linen shirt to their godchild. This gift of linen can be treated as marking the liminal situation; especially because it was a custom to wrap the child in such cloth for the baptism⁶⁸⁴.

From the very beginning, the bride's headgear was an extraordinary and special part of wedding rituals. A bride would usually wear a white kerchief with colourful flowers attached to it (for a week, from courtship to the wedding party). Sometimes a bride's head was wrapped in linen cloth on the day before the wedding or it would be wrapped in a kerchief before the blessing⁶⁸⁵. Quite often, bridal dress was made entirely from white linen cloth⁶⁸⁶. Sometimes the bride would be handed over to the groom

679 Kaszuby: O. Kolberg, *Pomerania region* [Pomorze], *op. cit.*, pp. 365; Chełm powiat: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 242; Bóbrka: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 342; Dragacz near Świecie: A. Drożdż, A. Pieńczak, *op. cit.*, pp. 36.

680 Kaszuby: O. Kolberg, *Pomerania region* [Pomorze], *op. cit.*, pp. 365; Procisne, Bóbrka: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 344; upon Bug river: O. Kolberg, *Volhynia* [Wołyń], *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; Chełm powiat: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 254; Central Poland: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 207; Polesie: S. Dworakowski, *Family customs of Polesie Rzeczyckie in Wysokomazowiecki powiat* [Zwyczaje rodzinne Polesia Rzeczyckiego w powiecie Wysoko – Mazowieckim], Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego 1935, pp. 73.

681 There is no such information with regard to baptism or wedding in Poland. In Volhynia accounts mention that when it comes to wedding the payment is received by the cooks, musicians and the innkeeper: O. Kolberg, *Volhynia* [Wołyń], *op. cit.*, pp. 32-35. In Stryj powiat a midwife who was assisting during labour would receive a piece of linen cloth for apron: J. S. Bystron *op. cit.* pp. 78. Linen cloth is also bestowed upon a priest for performing funeral rituals: Podlasie: O. Kolberg, *Volhynia* [Wołyń], *op. cit.*, pp. 177; Solina: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 532; a kerchief or linen cloth were used as payment for the consent for the wedding ("for the girl's braid"): Podlasie: O. Kolberg, *Volhynia* [Wołyń], *op. cit.*, pp. 201;

682 Podlasie: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 177, 182.

683 According to the theory of Arnold van Gennep: A. van Gennep, *Rites of Passage. Systematic study of ceremony* [Obrzędy przejścia. Systematyczne studium ceremonii], Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 2006.

684 Rozwadowskie W. Gaj – Piotrowski, *op. cit.* pp. 145-146

685 Łuków: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 3, complete works* [Mazowsze, cz. III, Dzieła wszystkie], t. 26, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1963, pp. 173; Chełm powiat: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 251; Bóbrka, Leszczowate: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 345.

686 Łuków: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 3* [Mazowsze, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 180 footnote.

covered with white linen cloth⁶⁸⁷. Occasionally, before the beilager, the bride would put on a *rańtuch*. She had to wear it until the capping ceremony, or until she gave birth to a son, because before that she was considered a virgin⁶⁸⁸. Linen cloth attached to the groom's clothes was also used to distinguish the groom⁶⁸⁹.

Descriptions of traditional funeral rituals are the richest source of information about distinguishing individuals with liminal characteristics. People used to make special clothes from woven cloth without knots for the deceased; ideally, clothes should be new and made only from linen cloth⁶⁹⁰. The cut of such clothes was different than the cut of garments made for the living: it was usually simple, with as few seams as possible (a special stitch, called running stitch, different from popular quilting, was used to sew pieces of linen together⁶⁹¹). A deceased man would be dressed in an ankle-length shirt called *czeheł*, *śmiercielnica*, *żgło kitel* or *gzło*⁶⁹². He would also wear linen dress, trousers and a special cap called *duchenka*⁶⁹³. On his feet he would either wear socks, a wrapped piece of cloth serving as socks, or just linen cloth⁶⁹⁴.

687 Wieluńskie, Skierniewickie, Mazowsze: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 265.

688 Cracow region: O. Kolberg, [Cracow region, part 2] Krakowskie, cz. II, *op. cit.*, pp. 77; Włodawa: O. Kolberg, Chełm area, part 1 [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 232; Siedlce area: H. Biegeleisen, Weddings [Wesele], Lwów: 1927, pp. 248;

689 Wzdów: O. Kolberg, Sanok and Krosno region, part 1 [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 482.

690 Masuria: K. Renik, *On contacts with the dead – folk beliefs* [O kontaktach ze zmarłymi – ludowe wyobrażenia], „Polska Sztuka Ludowa”, issue 1-2, 1986, pp. 37; Głuchów commune, Skierniewice voivodship: J. P. Dekowski, *Protective functions of magic in villages of the Głuchów commune in Skierniewice voivodship* [Funkcje ochronne magii we wsiach gminy Głuchów w województwie skierniewickim], „Prace i Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego i Etnograficznego w Łodzi”, Seria Etnograficzna, issue 27: 1987, pp. 45; Jarosław, Sieniawa: T. Burzyński, *Funeral customs and rituals in villages near Jarosław and Sieniawa in Przemyśl voivodship* [Zwyczaj i obrzędy pogrzebowe wsi z okolic Jarosławia i Sieniawy w województwie przemyskim], in: „Rocznik Przemyski”, V. 24-25: Przemyśl 1986, pp. 547; Central Poland: B. Jankowska, *Dress of the deceased at the turn of the 19th and 20th century* [Ubiór zmarłego na przełomie XIX/XX wieku], in: J. Bohdanowicz (ed.), *Comments to PAE* [Komentarze do PAE], v. 5: *Funeral customs, rituals and beliefs* [Zwyczaj, obrzędy i wierzenia pogrzebowe]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 1999, pp. 80-81.

691 A. Targońska, Peasants' coffin and mourning dress [Chłopskie odzienie trumienne i żałobne], in: K. Ruszel (ed.), *Folk funeral customs* [Ludowe zwyczaje pogrzebowe], Rzeszów: Regional Museum in Rzeszów 1993, pp. 56.

692 Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 1* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. I], v. 9, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1962, pp. 169; Toruń and Chełm poviats: O. Kolberg, *Pomerania region* [Pomorze], *op. cit.*, pp. 115; Kujawy region: O. Kolberg, *Kujawy region, part 3, Complete works* [Kujawy, cz. III, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 3, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1962, pp. 248-249; O. Kolberg, [Cracow region, part 2] Krakowskie, cz. II Cracow region, *op. cit.*, pp. 6; Jarosław, Sieniawa: T. Burzyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 545; Central Poland: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 266.

693 Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 1* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 169; Kujawy region: *Kujawy region, part 3* [Kujawy, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; Central Poland: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 236. Procisne, Solina: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 528-529; Pniewo: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 3* [Mazowsze, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 148; The Lasowiaczy: K. Ruszel, *op. cit.*, pp. 115.

694 Kujawy region: O. Kolberg, *Kujawy region, part 3* [Kujawy, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; Polesie: S. Dworakowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 146; Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 2, Complete works* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. II, Dzieła wszystkie] v. 10, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1963, pp. 77-78; Jarosław, Sieniawa: T. Burzyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 545; Czorsztyn, Szczawnica: O. Kolberg, *Mountains and foothills, part 2, Complete works* [Góry i Podgórze, cz. II, Dzieła wszystkie] v. 45, Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne 1968, pp. 185.

A deceased woman wore a long linen shirt called *czeheł*, *żgło*, *śmiertelnica* or *gzło*⁶⁹⁵. A married woman would have a kerchief or a bonnet on her head⁶⁹⁶ and on the back she would have another kerchief called *plachta*, *rqbek* or *rańtuch*⁶⁹⁷. The deceased woman was usually dressed in skirt and a cape, whereas a young girl would have an apron so that “she could carry flowers for the Holy Mother”⁶⁹⁸. Women would be dressed in stockings and linen slippers called *kapcie* or *onuce*, i.e. linen cloth wrapped around feet serving as socks⁶⁹⁹. People observed the custom which recommended that clothes for deceased women should be new and complete, “otherwise the family may disperse”, and it would be best if the deceased would be wearing “all white” or be wrapped in linen cloth, covering part of the face⁷⁰⁰.

Sometimes dead men were wrapped in seamless shrouds; women would receive a sheet from the linen cloth they had received upon being baptized⁷⁰¹. Children were dressed in long white shirts; their feet were left bare. A miscarried foetus was usually wrapped in a clean white cloth and buried next to a roadside cross⁷⁰². According to beliefs, clothes for the deceased, in particular the *gzło*, which was in direct contact with the body, had to be made of linen. There is a certain significance to this requirement, as funeral dress was supposed to protect the deceased “from purgatorial fire”⁷⁰³.

People who held significant functions in various rituals were also associated with linen clothes or linen cloth. Numerous accounts specify the dress of people who held important functions during weddings, noting that linen elements were used to mark them as separate from other wedding participants. During a wedding ritual (sometimes even starting from the engagement) the matchmaker and best men wore a linen scarf or *rańtuch* tied around the waist or neck, or thrown over the shoulders⁷⁰⁴. Sometimes they held a handkerchief, or put it in a pocket so that its corners were visible. Sometimes the best man would

695 Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 1* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 169; Kujawy region: O. Kolberg, *Kujawy region, part 3* [Kujawy, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 248-249; Central Poland: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 236, 266; Jarosław, Sieniawa: T. Burzyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 545; whole Poland: B. Jankowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-80

696 Kotlin in Pleszew powiat: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 2* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 218-219; Głochów commune in Skierniewice voivodship: A. Twardowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 45. Lublin area: J. Petera, *Traditional funeral rituals and customs in Lubelszczyzna* [Tradycyjne obrzędy i zwyczaje pogrzebowe na Lubelszczyźnie], in: „Etnolingwistyka”, v. 9/10: 1997/1998, pp. 329-330.

697 Lublin and Podlasie Powiśle region: R. Kukier, *Folk funeral customs, beliefs and rituals of people from Lublin and Podlasie Powiśle region* [Ludowe zwyczaje, wierzenia i obrzędy pogrzebowe mieszkańców pogranicza Powiśla Lubelsko – Podlaskiego], in: „Studia i Materiały Lubelskie. Etnografia”, v. 2, 1967, pp. 193; The Lasowiacy: K. Ruszel, *op. cit.*, pp. 115; Czorsztyn, Szczawnica: O. Kolberg, *Mountains and foothills, part 2* [Góry i Podgórze, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 185; Kotlin in Pleszew powiat: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 2* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 218-221.

698 The Lasowiacy: K. Ruszel, *op. cit.*, pp. 115; Mogilno, Gniezno: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 3* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. III] *op. cit.*, pp. 52

699 Procisne, Solina: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 528-529; Czorsztyn, Szczawnica: O. Kolberg, *Mountains and foothills, part 2* [Góry i Podgórze, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 185.

700 Lublin and Podlasie Powiśle region: R. Kukier, *op. cit.*, pp. 193; Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 2* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; A. Targońska, *op. cit.*, pp. 59.

701 Kurpie: H. Biegeleisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 52.

702 Polesie: S. Dworakowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 162.

703 Opoczno and Łask area: J. P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 266.

704 Wieluń, Sieradz and Łódź area: J.P. Dekowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 206; Włodawa: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221; Rzeszów region: A. Saloni, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 101; Kujawy region: O. Kolberg, *Kujawy region, part 3* [Kujawy, cz. III], *op. cit.*, pp. 256; Poznań powiat - O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 1* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 188; Narwia river area, Mazowsze: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 5* [Mazowsze, cz. V], *op. cit.*, s. 140.

wear a short embroidered apron during the wedding. The apron would have been made for this occasion from linen cloth by the bride⁷⁰⁵. The status of the *szwazka* matchmaker, and other elderly women, such as the married woman who performed the capping would also be marked as special⁷⁰⁶. Some accounts mention special markers worn by funeral participants. For example, the family would wear linen cloths as a sign of mourning; the women walking behind the funeral procession covered their hair and faces with linen kerchiefs⁷⁰⁷. However, no information exists about using linen as an emblem of funeral processions, although there was a custom that involved wrapping the cross and banner carried during the funeral with linen spinning material⁷⁰⁸.

Linen clothes were also used to mark the location of a ritual. During events related to childbirth or baptism, linen cloth was draped in the windows; a woman in labour was covered with linen cloth “to be protected from evil forces and so that no one would see her”⁷⁰⁹. If the occasion was a wedding, the main room in the bride’s house would be decorated in a special way, in particular the place where the newlyweds were supposed to sit⁷¹⁰. Linen emblems were also typically used to mark the procession going from the bride’s house to the groom’s house⁷¹¹. Some accounts say that the house where a coffin with the deceased was located was marked with linen as well. Linen cloth was draped in the main room and at the front door, and used to cover mirrors⁷¹².

LINEN CLOTH AS A MARKER OF STATUS CHANGE

Linen cloth was used to mark change of status as part of a ritual, typically a wedding. It was common practice to tie the hands of the bride and groom together with a linen kerchief (during the engagement or wedding blessing). This is similar to the act of covering the hands of a future husband and wife with a stole during a church wedding ceremony. Until the 16th century, such way of getting married was commonly accepted, considered valid by the whole village community, as well as by the church⁷¹³.

705 Such apron was worn by a best man during wedding ritual in the area of Tarnobrzeg (reconstruction by Maria Kozłowa, kept in a collection of the Folk Museum in Kolbuszowa);

706 Sanok: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 314; Kaszuby: O. Kolberg, *Pomerania region* [Pomorze], *op. cit.*, pp. 367.

707 To protect hair from falling: Cyców: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 186; A. Targońska, *op. cit.*, pp. 59.

708 Solina: O. Kolberg, *Sanok and Krosno region, part 1* [Sanockie – krośnieńskie cz. I], *op. cit.* pp. 532.

709 Czarny Dunajec: H. Biegeleisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 200;

710 “a towel was hung on a peg, just like a canopy” – Podlasie: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 1* [Chełmskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 195, 215, 223.

711 except for the most popular methods of marking in the form in yarn or tools for linen processing, sometimes people would carry before the procession a linen cloth (kerchief) “like a banner” Rakoniewo: O. Kolberg, *Przemysł area, Complete works* [Przemyskie, Dzieła wszystkie], v. 35, Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, 102.

712 Poznań area: O. Kolberg, *Grand Duchy of Posen, part 1* [Wielkie Księstwo Poznańskie, cz. I] *op. cit.*, pp. 170; Głuchów commune in Skierniewice voivodship: A. Twardowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 46.

713 Podlasie [here Kolberg adds: *just like everywhere else*]; “in the Middle Ages the matchmaker (...) acting under power granted upon him and called upon by the consenting families would wed the bride and the groom – and acting as a priest would tie their hands with a towel – just like hands of newlyweds are tied with a stole. People were wedded in such way even at the beginning of the 16th century and the church allowed that”; H. Biegeleisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 172; Puszcza Białowieska forest: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 5* [Mazowsze, cz. V], *op. cit.*, s. 133-134; Cracow region: O. Kolberg, *Cracow region, part 2* [Krakowskie, cz. II], *op. cit.*, pp. 28.

Health benefits used to be one of the most important functions of linen cloth in traditional culture. There are numerous examples of how linen cloth and clothes were traditionally used to treat various diseases and ailments. For examples, *gacie* underpants, shirts or aprons were believed to have the power to cure eye diseases, fever, tuberculosis, matted hair, cough, ulcers, erysipelas, rabies, pain, burns, frostbites or even “the great disease”⁷¹⁴. Rubbing linen cloth, wrapping the ill person or ailing spot in linen (preferably turned inside out), burning the cloth, incensing the surroundings with smoke from burnt clothes, burning linen clothes, as well as hanging linen garments on a tree or at the roadside cross was considered to be an effective remedy for all ailments listed above. Such methods were also used to treat animals⁷¹⁵. Linen cloth was also used in some actions the purpose of which was to prevent an epidemic⁷¹⁶.

The descriptions presented above allow us to assume that in traditional culture linen cloth had a protective - apotropaic - function. P. Kowalski notes that an apotropaic item was supposed to ward off demonic forces, protect from spells, diseases or any other unauthorized contact with the *sacrum*. Thanks to its properties, this item drew a boundary between man and the otherworld, closing the way for demons; it was able to undo the harm that was done by an unclean spirit. Such protection could be provided by ritual dress, which was worn during a transformation of a man who is in the middle of disorganization, after having gone through ritual death (it denotes a stage of separation in rites of passage)⁷¹⁷. This stage is clearly visible in all family rituals. It can be also noted in other elements of rituals⁷¹⁸. In numerous contexts that have been mentioned before, linen cloth is depicted as having apotropaic properties. Persons in liminal situations who required special protection wore linen; and the necessity of making linen clothes for such occasions was often emphasized. This supports the argument that linen was thought to have protective properties. Changing status, crossing boundaries between various stages of life, or touching the *sacrum*, exposed a person to various dangers. Hence, the abovementioned obligation to use linen cloth on these occasions only confirms its significance in traditional culture.

714 The Lasowiacy: Z. Libera, A. Paluch, *Herbarium of the Lasowiacy* [Lasowiacki zielnik]. Kolbuszowa: Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Miasta i Gminy 1993, pp. 44-46; Bratkowice: A. Saloni, *op. cit.*, pp. 142; S. Udziela, *op. cit.*, pp. 292; territory of Poland: H. Biegeleisen, *Medicine of the Polish people* [Lecznictwo ludu polskiego], Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 1929.

715 The Lasowiacy: Z. Libera, A. Paluch, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47; Chełm area: O. Kolberg, *Chełm area, part 2* [Chełmskie, cz. II] v. 34, Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Muzyczne. Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1964, pp. 169, 212-213.

716 In such circumstances the borders had to be made tight by surrounding *orbis interior* by using various magical means: at midnight and in silence twins or virgins would plow around the village dressed in light, white shirts. An alternative was to sow poppy or flax around the border: In Rozwadówek (Włodawa powiat) in the evening all women from the village used to gather and from sunset to sunrise performed all activities related to linen processing: swingling, hackling, spinning and weaving a piece of cloth which they would later put in front of the threshold to Orthodox church. Each person from the village going to the church would step on the cloth, and the thread left after weaving *the magical cloth* [!] was used to surround the whole village to protect it from cholera: H. Biegeleisen, *Lecznictwo...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 298.

717 P. Kowalski, *Lexicon - signs of the world. Omen, superstition, meaning* [Leksykon – znaki świata. Omen, przesąd, znaczenie]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1998, pp. 22-23.

718 that includes ritual washing, silence and a number of ways of isolate the person.

We should also mention a number of persons who play various functions during rites of passage. The dress of such persons has already been described as a marker of distinction. However, in the context of the apotropaic function of linen clothing, the dress gains deeper significance. Those who accompanied the person in a liminal situation during the rite of passage also required protection, both from the *sacrum*, as well as the person in liminal situation. The protection from contact with such person concerned other members of the community. Various methods were used to isolate and distinguish the person undergoing status change, in particular the bride⁷¹⁹. It is also worth mentioning that clothes and linen cloth were used to mark the location of a ritual, as some of such activities were intended to provide protection for the participants.



91. Wedding procession, Rzeszów area, 1950s. From the collection of F. Kotula's Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów

Particular attention should be paid to persons with liminal characteristics. Wrapping a baby in linen cloth with its head covered; making special clothes for the baptism; or using the *krzyżmo* later; the white linen clothes worn by the bride; covering the heads of the soon to be married couple, in particular the head of the bride; funeral dress worn by the deceased in the coffin – these were probably clear signs for everyone that such persons were in the middle of an initiation, temporarily caught up between two stages of the human order. Their clothing was supposed to guarantee them a safe passage “from one stage to the other”. According to R. Callois, the religious interpretation of the world required that man, upon getting close to the *scarum*, underwent a real transformation. New, special clothing worn for the rite of passage was a manifestation of this transformation⁷²⁰. The use of linen cloth in traditional medicine may be related. Disease was perceived to result from a disruption in the balance and normal functioning of the human body, a sign of the impurity of man. Treatment required procedures that would restore this order (similar mechanisms to those in play during rituals)⁷²¹.

SYMBOLIC MEANING OF LINEN CLOTH AND THE EXTRASENSORY WORLD

Finally, it would seem proper to define the meaning of linen cloth, traditionally believed to have so many extraordinary properties. Undoubtedly, everything goes back to the omnipresence of flax; the plant was commonly grown on the territory of Poland since the ancient times. For centuries, linen cloth was the

719 e.g. it was forbidden to work in a field or do housework during “wedding prologue”: after engagement a girl would not take part in regular chores, but just focus on preparing wedding trousseau – Puszcza Białowieska forest: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 5 [Mazowsze, cz. V]*, , *op. cit.*, s. 135; see description above.

720 R. Callois, *Element and order [Żywioł i ład]*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 1973, pp. 69.

721 P. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 54

basic material used to make clothing⁷²². The abovementioned descriptions describe such cloth as “white”. Woven linen cloth was grey; to make it suitable for making clothes it had to be bleached in lye and dried in the sun. It is interesting that white has been considered a symbol of perfection, spirituality, sanctity, sacredness and festivity since time immemorial. According to traditional beliefs, white is associated with the absolute, or the beginning and end. Hence, people chose this colour to accompany them during ceremonies of birth, wedding, and death⁷²³. The festive nature of all rituals, including family rituals, was always emphasized by putting a white linen tablecloth on the table⁷²⁴.

The special character of linen cloth is visible in its connection with demonic figures. According to folk beliefs, “white” clothes were worn by death, goddesses, *mamony* or water sprites⁷²⁵. The traditional dress of *planetnik* (a spirit that had power over rain) was a white linen dress, and the spirit would keep the rain in a linen cloth, which was visible in the sky in the form of clouds⁷²⁶. The extraordinary character of linen cloth is supported by the story about the magical linen cloth⁷²⁷.



92. *Druźbak*, reconstruction by M. Kozłowa from Tarnobrzeg. M: Folk Museum in Kolbuszowa

722 The plant comes from Asia Minor and the fibre has been known since ancient times to Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, as well as Celts and Gauls. It was known in the territory of Poland in neolith and was commonly grown in peasant's and grange farms: K. Ruszel, *Lexicon of folk culture in Rzeszów region* [Leksykon kultury ludowej w Rzeszowskim], Rzeszów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie 2004, pp. 279.

723 W. Kopaliński, *Dictionary of symbols* [Słownik symboli], Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna 1999, pp. 22-23.

724 „tables set for wedding feast are covered with white, linen tablecloths. So say the songs and folk in whole Poland. As first you lay the cloth for the bread. If there's a wedding, never place bread on a table without a tablecloth” – Podlasie area and whole Poland: O. Kolberg, *Mazowsze region, part 5* [Mazowsze, cz. V], , *op. cit.*, s. 177;

725 Rzeszów region: A. Saloni, *op. cit.*, pp. 101; Nowy Sącz area: O. Kolberg, *Mountains and foothills, part 2* [Góry i Podgórze, cz. II] *op. cit.*, pp. 510. Żuków in Włodawa commune: F. Czyżewski, *On demonology of eastern Lubelszczyzna region* [Z demonologii wschodniej Lubelszczyzny], „Etnolingwistyka” v. 3: 1990, pp. 164.

726 Sandomierz area: J. R. Tomicczy, *Tree of life. Folk vision of the world and men* [Drzewo życia. Ludowa wizja świata i człowieka], Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza 1975, pp. 112; Podhale, Żywiec area: Cz. Witkowski, *Ways of fighting against storm and hail by peasants in Cracow voivodship* [Sposoby zwalczania burz i gradów przez chłopów w woj. krakowskim], „Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie”, v. 2: 1967, pp. 133-134.

727 in Jegliniec near Sejny tell a story of an elderly woman that helped a stranger deliver a baby next to a dirt road. The strange woman asked her helper not make a cross sign over the baby. As a sign of gratitude, the stranger gave to the elderly woman a bolt of linen cloth but warned the women to never unfold it completely. Mindful of the warning, the woman would cut every now and then a piece of cloth to sew shirts, but she was never running out of the linen cloth. Once she passed away, her neighbours unfolded the bolt of linen cloth completely – inside there was a frog and once the fabric was unfolded, it fell into pieces, as did shirts made from it. R. Zowada, *Other activities performed by an elderly woman during puerperium and later* [Inne czynności wykonywane przez babkę przy połoгу i w późniejszym okresie], in: Kłodnicki Z., Pieńczak A. (eds.), *Comments to PAE* [Komentarze do PAE], v. 9. part I: *Customs, rituals and beliefs related to childbirth and bringing up a child* [Zwyczaje, obrzędy i wierzenia związane z narodzinami i wychowaniem dziecka]. Wrocław-Cieszyn: Wydawnictwo Polskiego Towarzystwa Ludoznawczego 2010, pp. 168.

Canons of Christian religion contain many references to linen cloth, which was closely associated with divine figures. As already mentioned, a linen apron used to be funeral dress for a young girl was supposed to let her to carry flowers for the Holy Mother. The *gzło* was to protect her against purgatory fire. Linen was also used as a sacrifice for God, when in the event of drought people prayed for the rain during holy mass (the linen was used then to make church dress)⁷²⁸. According to Roman Catholic canons, dress of the priest had to be made from one homogenous piece of linen, preferably “the purest” white linen woven without knots or seams and sewn from a single piece of cloth⁷²⁹. In comments to the Book of Leviticus, the human body of Jesus Christ was compared to a dress made of linen⁷³⁰.

SUMMARY

This paper emphasizes the popularity of linen cloth, and lists its functions in traditional culture. It is clear that people thought linen to be very important. However, it was not the cloth alone that was deemed to have such extraordinary properties, but rather the material, i.e. flax thread that was used to make linen cloth and sew garments. The significance of flax, here in the form of linen cloth, should not be underestimated. This meaningful material is impossible to replace. Undoubtedly, the great faith in the power of flax is illustrated by the numerous ties of this plant to demonic figures, and the Christian Son of God - Jesus. Hence, it is understandable that traditional culture sees flax as having apotropaic properties, magical powers, and the ability to restore order between “this and the other” world (healing power), assigning it with a great symbolic meaning.

Due to the limited scope of this paper, I did not include information about the special properties of flax in its other forms, i.e. yarn, distaff, thread, rope, flax fruits - including flaxseed and oil derived from it, or the tools for processing flax. A comprehensive analysis should include the properties, function, and meaning of flax; the information about all its forms (processed and unprocessed), and their functions in family and annual rituals; as well as other contexts of use. An analysis like that would allow us to present a full picture of the significance of linen in traditional culture that this inconspicuous plant with extraordinary magical powers deserves.

728 Podhale: J. Pawłowska, *Some customs of Podhale mountaineers from Karajanów village (Nowa Ruda powiat)* [Niektóre zwyczaje Górali Podhalańskich we wsi Krajanów (powiat Nowa Ruda)], „Prace i Materiały Etnograficzne”, v. 23: Wrocław 1963, pp. 333.

729 P. Kowalski, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-208; Ch. Zieliński, *Sacral art. [Sztuka sakralna]. What one should know about the construction, furnishing, equipping, decoration and maintenance of the house of God. Handbook developed on the basis of church regulation* [Co należy wiedzieć o budowie, urządzeniu, wyposażeniu, ozdobie i konserwacji Domu Bożego. Podręcznik opracowany na podstawie przepisów kościelnych], Poznań: Wydawnictwo św. Wojciecha 1960, pp. 223-224.

730 Origen (2nd/3rd century AD) in his comment wrote: “Flax thread comes from the earth; therefore it is a “sanctified linen tunic” that Christ, the true highest priest, puts on when takes up the nature of an earthly body; for it is said about the body that “it is earth and it will go into earth””. Gottfried of Admont (12th century AD) stated that “by flax thread that comes from earth, we should understand man, as man also comes from earth”: S. Kobiela, *Florarium christianum. Symbolism of plants - Christian ancient times and Middle Ages* [Florarium christianum. Symbolika roślin - chrześcijańska starożytność i średniowiecze], Kraków-Tyniec: Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów 2006, pp.118-120.

CAPTIONS:

Best man with a staff in wedding procession; Jasionów, by F. Kotula, 1955. From the collection of F. Kotula's Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów.

A pair of best men from the area of Rzeszów; from Photographic Studio of E. Janusz in Rzeszów, 19th/20th century. From the archive of F. Kotula's Ethnographic Museum in Rzeszów.

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THE "POLISH FOLK COSTUMES ON THE INTERNET" PROEJCT
– A CLASSIC ETHNOGRAPHIC SUBJECT SEEN FROM A NEW PERSPECTIVE

PROJECT BEGINNINGS

“Polish folk costumes on the Internet” is a project implemented since 2011 by Prof. Witold Dynowski's Ethnographic Laboratory Association in Warsaw. The aim of the project is to fill in a gap in Internet resources by collection reliable information about folk costumes from as many ethnographic regions as possible. The result of the project is a website www.strojeludowe.net which was launched in 2011 and since then has been regularly updated and expanded. At the same time we hope that soon it is going to become an online repository of knowledge about folk costumes.

The initial search carried out for the purpose of the project revealed that, upon typing “folk costume”, search engines usually direct users to websites of clothing manufacturers who make clothes for folk ensembles, whereas expert knowledge about folk dress from various regions can be found only on websites of local museums, associations etc., institutions, or sometimes in Wikipedia. Therefore, such knowledge was usually scattered, chaotic and not visually appealing. Photographs of folk dress on the websites of clothing manufacturers are contemporary photographs of individual dress elements, which are usually reconstructions presented out of their original context. On the other hand, folk dress presented on museum websites concern folk costumes from specific regions but it is difficult to compare them with one another. What was missing was a place online where visitors could find information on the topic with regard to a larger number of costumes from various regions. A place that would have interesting and attractive iconographic resources at the same time. Our assumption was to create a website which could be a source of expert knowledge on the subject for everyone who wishes to find it: schools which are engaged in regional programmes, primary and secondary school students, university students, journalists, folk ensembles, community centres, as well as designers and artists who look for inspiration in folk culture, and other people who for any reason may be interested in folk costumes.

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Another important assumption was to present folk costumes from Poland in all their diversity. To picture as broad context as possible we decided to use a wide framework to fit ethnographic regions which cover both the contemporary and pre-war borders of Poland. That means folk costumes of various ethnic groups, including Hutsuls and people who lived in different parts of Podlasie. By diversity we also meant that folk costumes from various regions would be included, rather than only those from the most popular and well-known regions. From the very beginning, the website included information about well-known dress, such as dress of Krakowiacy Zachodni, dress from Podhale region or Łowicz, as well as lesser known or even forgotten folk costumes recognized only by experts and enthusiasts, e.g. folk costumes from the area of Iłża (Radom powiat, Mazowieckie region) or Hrubieszów (Lublin region).

However, the idea for a website devoted to the subject of folk costumes did not come directly from us, but from Elżbieta Piskorz-Branekova who for many years has been a curator of Poland's and Europe's Ethnography Department of the Ethnographic National Museum in Warsaw. Since she possesses great knowledge about folk costumes, she offered to make the project our common undertaking⁷³³: "Let us join our efforts and create a website devoted to folk costumes from different regions of Poland". Alicja Woźniak, ethnographer related to Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź, also joined the project. They were responsible for the preparation of texts - description of folk costumes, as well as selection of iconographic materials.



PRESENTATION OF FOLK COSTUMES ON THE INTERNET

Descriptions and extensive iconography constitute two elements which complement each other to present traditional costumes on our website. Folk dress descriptions from each region include: text about the history of traditional dress in a specific region, its most important features, bibliography (for those who use our website as a starting point for research) and galleries in which we present individual elements of men's and women's attire with short descriptions, and - if possible - embroidery details. Such elements are presented in various ways. The gallery includes photographs of buildings from museum collections, drawings, reproductions, photographs of clothes styled on models, and - usually most interesting for the visitors - archival photographs from museum collections and archives (including National Digital Archives), and from private collections. In case of most of the described costumes there also is a "Do it yourself" tab where users find information about ornamentation on costumes and files to download with embroidery patterns to try at home.

As the Internet is mostly a visual medium, we needed to find partners to help us implement the project. Our partners became museums, cultural centres and individuals who agreed to share their collection of postcards, paintings, old photographs and pieces of clothing. This became the fabric from

⁷³³ We already had some experience with online projects as in 2009 we prepared the skanseny.net website.

which we could weave our story about folk dress. Visual materials are prerequisites for the existence of this website. Using new technologies and the power of the Internet allowed us not only to present a classic ethnographic subject from a new perspective, but also to create a channel through which we could present museum collections that are not available for regular viewing. Internet websites provide an opportunity to reach people who do not actively search for information related to traditional culture or history and provide them with knowledge about folk dress. For that to succeed we need to reach out to people with materials uploaded to galleries: provide a link to www.strojeludowe.net on other websites, or to make content available on social media like the National Digital Archives (one of the partners in our project). Internet users enjoy such materials. Not only do they browse them, but also comment, share on their profiles etc.

What makes www.strojeludowe.net particularly valuable is the fact it has become an online virtual album that gathers museum collections from various institutions scattered throughout Poland. In many cases, it gives Internet users a chance to become better acquainted with those museums while they would never have been able to visit them due to the location of individual institutions and the websites of many institutions lack the information about their collections. For the museums, it is an excellent form of promotion and popularization of knowledge. However, taking advantage of this opportunity requires a minimum of knowledge of the cultural tendencies and practice related to Internet use.

In this regard, our experiences turned out to differ from those of various institutions. Many museums were open to collaboration and heads of museums agreed for the collections to be used under various conditions. In some cases we could use them without any limitations, in other cases agreements had to be signed for the use of individual photographs. However, some institutions approached by the Association with a request to use their materials were afraid that our website would discourage people from visiting museums and exhibitions. Afraid to lose their visitors, they did not view us as partners, but rather clients who wanted to use their property. On several occasions we were asked the borrowed material would involve be used once. Photographs on the Internet, once uploaded, can be viewed thousands of times, shared and saved by the users. Here we touch upon a board issue of Internet culture, which we need to face more and more frequently, as well as the issue of availability of museum materials or archives financed by public funds⁷³⁴.

The website was launched mid-November 2011. Since then, it was visited by over 25,000 unique users, 18% of which return to the website. The users are Polish language speakers (as the website is in Polish) and mainly come from Poland (in specific order - from Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, Wrocław and Łódź), but also from the USA, UK and Germany. The website also noted some interest from Qatar, the Philippines, Nepal, Mongolia and Azerbaijan. Most users are directed to the website after typing “folk costumes” in search engines. It was this phrase, in various configurations, typed into search engines that directed users to our websites.

⁷³⁴ Read more on the topic: A. Czyżewska, *Uwalniamy muzea - wyzwania dla skansenów i muzeów etnograficznych* [Freeing up the museums - challenges for open air and traditional ethnographic museums], “Etnografia Nova” journal, Issue 4: 2012, pp.283-294.

224 — Actions designed to promote the project turned out to be very interesting. Their purpose was not only to promote the website, but the subject of folk costume in general so that it could be presented in a new, attractive and interesting way to those, who are new to the topic. It is particularly important to present folk costumes in a context that is no longer familiar to young people. Their only contact with folk costume, if they come into contact with it at all, is usually in museums or in the context of performances of folk groups or song and dance ensembles, such as “Mazowsze” or “Śląsk”. The function and use of folk costumes in the Polish countryside during the interwar period or in the 1950s and 1960s is unfamiliar to young people. Pictures on our website show the dress as it was worn by regular people in their everyday life. Of course, we realize that folk costume was a festive dress, worn on special occasions. It was also adapted to the needs of the owner according to his or her preferences, taste, and opportunities. And that is how we wanted to show folk costume. We did not want to depict it as something removed from everyday life, or a piece of fabric in a display cabinet. Our purpose was (and still is) to elicit an individual response from the viewer with regard to specific elements of folk dress. At the same time, we hope to popularize the knowledge about folk costumes as broadly as possible, both in the context of the practice of wearing such clothing, as well as the manufacturing process of individual costume elements. We also wanted to introduce an element of aesthetic education related to the ornamentation of folk costumes, and reach beyond virtual experience. Since the project is implemented by a team related to Warsaw, part of the promotional activities were carried out there. Referring to local heritage and folk costume with the closest affinity to Warsaw, we decided to use folk dress from Wilanów to promote our project.

In our attempt to promote the project and its ideas we used the Wilanów embroidery pattern, which we printed on bottle openers and large quality cotton bags. Thanks to external funding, we managed to make 1000 bags later given out to people in Warsaw. The bag decorated with a black print that challenged the stereotypes that associated folk design with multi-coloured patterns became at some point a recognizable, and even desired accessory for women in Warsaw. As a result, we had an attractive, convenient and useful gadget for everyday use related to a local, but little-known folk dress, which thanks to its characteristics was appreciated by many people. Such people just carried the bag every day, thus introducing an element of Wilanów folk costume, i.e. embroidery, to Warsaw streets in a completely new form.

Another promotional activity we organised was sewing workshops inspired by folk dress. Sewing projects included simple skirts sewn from wedges, simple corsets, and trousers inspired by the Łowicz folk costume. Inspiration could be found not only in designs, but also in the fabric patterns we had carefully selected and made available to the participants. Each workshop took place in a large room of the Laboratory and lasted approximately 3 hours; participants had to enrol by e-mail. We had 5 instructors who could sew. All participants brought their own sewing machines to use during the workshop. Each instructor was looking after two participants who independently prepared elements of garments they had chosen, starting from pattern making and finishing with decorative elements. As a result, the skirts and trousers made during the workshop were tried on with delight by their makers. We hope they are worn to this day, and their wearers remember where the inspiration came from.

To show the multidimensional character of folk costumes, which could channel both their past and contemporary nature, we also organized weaving and embroidery workshops during which participants learned specific skills, including decoupage and screen printing. The latter was particularly interesting, as

the participants used screen printing to freely transfer the familiar and well-known Wilanów embroidery pattern onto the fabric. After 100 years, the black design was back in fashion. This time it was not on top of sleeves or kerchiefs, but rather on t-shirts and sweatshirts worn by people from Warsaw districts such as Wilanów, Ursynów, Służew. Each participant received detailed information about Wilanów embroidery.

Our most recent promotional activities include fashion shows and a chance to wear traditional dress. In 2011, as part of a fashion show we named ETNO TRENDS SHOW, members of the Song and Dance Ensemble Warszawianka presented folk costumes from various regions discussed by Elżbieta Piskorz-Branekova during the show. That way, the audience not only saw the clothing but also compared various costumes, noticed differences and learned their origins. A year later, as part of ETS, we organized a “Try on a costume” event in collaboration with Łowiczanka, a company that rents out traditional folk costumes from Łowicz. After e-mail enrolment, each participant could try on a traditional costume from Łowicz and was photographed wearing it. We wanted to provide an individual experience of trying on folk dress from Łowicz with all its characteristics, weight, and texture of fabrics. For many people it was for the first time in their lives that they could try on a folk costume and have this new experience.

SUMMARY

One of the objectives Ethnographic Laboratory Association is to support and cultivate cultural heritage. This objective can be fulfilled by means of educational and cultural activities. Creating an online compendium of folk costume, organizing a number of workshops attended by over 150 people, preparing promotional gadgets distributed among 100 people are actions that fulfil the objectives we had in mind for our organization. Those activities provided additional value to the participants. For some people it was a dream come true to have a photo session in a folk dress; others rejoiced at their first attempt at sewing, or making beautiful gifts with the Wilanów embroidery pattern. Gadgets are convenient accessories which can be used on a daily basis, whereas www.strojeludowe.net is a source of knowledge and inspiration.

The project “Polish folk costumes on the Internet” has received financing from the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the City of Warsaw, The Office of the Marshal of the Mazowieckie Voivodeship and Leopold Kronenberg’s Bank Foundation. Our partner with regard to the subject matter of the project was Polish Ethnological Society. The Internet website presents iconographic materials from the collections of: National Digital Archives, National Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw, Archeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź, Ethnographic Museum branch of National Museum in Wrocław, Weaving Museum in Kamienna Góra, Northern-Mazowieckie Museum in Łomża, Museum in Łęczycza, Zmojski’s Museum in Zamość, Stanisław Staszic’s Museum in Hrubieszów, Regional Museum in Tomaszów Lubelski, Wieluń area Museum, Museum in Łowicz, Śląsk Cieszyński Museum in Cieszyn, Radom Countryside Museum, Regional Museum in Hża, Mazowieckie Museum in Płock, National Museum in Szczecin, Karkonoskie Museum in Jelenia Góra, Regional Museum in Jawór, City Museum of Tychy, Public Library in Pyrzyce, Community Centre in Bukowina Tatrzańska, Łowicz Area Centre of Culture, Tourism and Promotion, Communal Cultural Centre in Sanniki, and from collections of the following publishing houses: Muza SA and Edytor, as well as a from few private collections.

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Justyna Słomska–Nowak, Hubert Czachowski

O STROJACH LUDOWYCH INACZEJ... MIĘDZY ESTETYCZNYM A FILOZOFICZNYM WYMIAREM WIEJSKIEJ ODZIEŻY

Tekst opowiada o możliwych kierunkach interpretacji w rozważaniach nad tradycyjną ludową odzieżą, zachęcając do odczytywania tego zjawiska ponownie oraz do odkrywania w nim ukrytych znaczeń i idei. Według autorów pomocne będą w tym analizy estetyczne i filozoficzne. Stroje odświeżone zaliczane są w szczególności do wytworów kultury materialnej lub do sztuki ludowej, raczej rzadko interpretuje się je jako skończone, doskonałe formy estetyczne. Równie rzadko sięga się po analizy filozofów dotyczące tak pomocnych zagadnień jak moda czy filozofia odzieży.

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Anna Weronika Brzezińska

STRÓJ LUDOWY – OD BIOGRAFII PRZEDMIOTU DO TOŻSAMOŚCI PODMIOTU

współczesne konteksty funkcjonowania stroju ludowego (lub jego elementów) pełnią dwie ważne funkcje: podkreślają tożsamość oraz są nośnikiem tradycji oraz wskazują na jego wartości – wspomnieniowe i pamiątkowe. Na pierwszym planie jest człowiek i jego historia oraz przedmiot z nim związany, stający się świadkiem wydarzeń i tym samym posiadający swoją własną historię – biografię. Stroje ludowe można rozpatrywać na dwóch płaszczyznach badawczych jako historię pojedynczego przedmiotu (elementu stroju) oraz poprzez historię jego użytkownika. Strój ludowy może być traktowany jako wartość i nośnik treści kulturowych oraz tożsamościowych. Przyczynkiem do rozważań nad nową metodologią badania strojów ludowych w kontekście biografii przedmiotu jest projekt artystyczny fotografi Violki Kuś pt. „Top Model Made in Poland”

Barbara Hołub

ZNAKOWY CHARAKTER KOBIECYCH NAKRYĆ GŁOWY

Artykuł ma na celu zrekonstruowanie podstawowych dla naszej kultury, i wobec tego najważniejszych, znaczeń ulokowanych w tradycyjnych kobiecych nakryciach głowy. Założeniem artykułu było zebranie przykładów konkretnych funkcji pełnionych przez kobiece nakrycia głowy na obszarze województwa lubelskiego, a także posegregowania ich w sposób, który nie tylko pozwalałby na ich opis, ale również ukazał system wierzeń z nimi związanych. Zatem nie tylko przedstawienie, ale przede wszystkim próba odkrycia oraz zrozumienia mechanizmów, które wpływały na powstawanie konkretnych elementów nakryć głowy a zanik innych, przemian w formie i tym samym w funkcjach, co w rezultacie wiąże się z częściowym odtworzeniem niektórych aspektów wizji świata, jaką posługiwały się starsze pokolenia, a tym samym lepszego zrozumienia sposobu myślenia i działania naszych przodków oraz nas współczesnych.

CELE, FUNKCJE I NOWE ASPEKTY BADAWCZE WSPÓŁCZESNYCH OPRACOWAŃ NA TEMAT TRADYCYJNEGO STROJU LUDOWEGO (NA PRZYKŁADZIE PUBLIKACJI PT. „STROJE LUDOWE KIELECCZYŻNY”)

Pozycja „Stroje ludowe Kielecczyżny” wydana we wrześniu 2012 r. przez Muzeum Wsi Kieleckiej ma charakter popularno – naukowej monografii, przedstawiającej różne aspekty zjawiska kulturowego, jakim bezsprzecznie był tradycyjny strój ludowy, w konkretnym regionie geograficzno – historyczno – etnograficznym określonym jako Kielecczyżna a usytuowanym na północnych krańcach historycznej Małopolski i zamieszkałym w znacznej większości przez Sandomierzan, jedną z małopolskich grup etniczno – regionalnych. Istotny wpływ na wykształcenie się na tym terytorium zróżnicowanych form strojów ludowych i ich specyfiki miał fakt, iż przez całe wieki na Kielecczyżnie przenikały się wpływy małopolskie i mazowieckie, co musiało pozostawić ślady we wszystkich dziedzinach lokalnej kultury, w tym również w kulturze ludowej. Na Kielecczyżnie funkcjonowały zatem następujące stroje ludowe: strój kielecki, strój świętokrzyski, strój sandomierski, strój krakowski wschodni, strój radomski i strój opoczyński.

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Alicja Mironiuk-Nikolska

„WIELOBARWNE ZASTĘPY ŻEŃCÓW” – CZY FOTOGRAFIE Z I DOŻYNEK PREZYDENCKICH W SPALE W 1927 ROKU MOGĄ STANOWIĆ ŹRÓDŁO DLA BADAŃ NAD STROJEM LUDOWYM?

Tekst jest omówieniem albumu fotografii wykonanych podczas I Dożynek Prezydenckich w Spale w 1927 roku. Fotografie przedstawiają sceny z udziałem władz państwowych oraz uczestników dożynek – młodych rolników z całej Polski ubranych w odświętne stroje ludowe. Zdjęcia wykonane przez Karola Pęcherskiego pozwalają zapoznać się ze strojami z wielu regionów Polski, w tym także z wieloma szczegółowymi rozwiązaniami jak sposób noszenia biżuterii, wzór haftów. Pochodzenie strojów: nazwy regionów, a nawet konkretnych wsi doprecyzowuje artykuł zamieszczony w piśmie „Siew” – wydawanym przez Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej - pomysłodawcę i organizatora dożynek. Dopelniające się słowo i obraz sprawiają, że album jest przydatnym i interesującym źródłem dla badań nad strojem ludowym Polski lat 20. XX wieku.

Ludmiła Ponomar

JĘZYKOWO-ETNOGRAFICZNE BADANIA STROJU LUDOWEGO POLESIA

Przedmiotem omawianych badań jest strój ludowy Polesia funkcjonujący na prawym brzegu od połowy XIX do połowy XX wieku. Badania dotyczą Kijowszczyzny, Żytomierszczyzny, Równienschczyzny, a także terenów znajdujących się w Strefie Wykluczenia wokół Czarnobylskiej AES (lub przesiedlonych z jej terenów wiosek). Specyficzne cechy ubrania uwarunkowane są specyfiką historycznego rozwoju i sąsiedztwem kultur innych państw (Polski i Białorusi). Na podstawie map jest prześledzona wariantowość przestrzenna badanych zjawisk, dokonano także typologii elementów odzieży występującej na terenie dla Zachodniego i Środkowego Polesia.

POMINIĘTE ... KIERUNKI ROZWOJU ZBIORÓW TKANIN I UBIORÓW LUDOWYCH NA PODSTAWIE KOLEKCJI
MUZEUM ETNOGRAFICZNEGO W POZNANIU

Duża część zbiorów wielu kolekcji ubiorów ludowych to elementy odświętnych strojów kobiecych. Wynika to z zaszczości historycznych oraz większej dostępności w terenie strojów odświętnych niż roboczych. Niewielka reprezentacja ubiorów męskich łączy się z ich wcześniejszym zanikiem, a dziecięcych z brakiem szerszego występowania aż do początków XX w. Powszechny deficyt obuwia oraz form biżuteryjnych to wynik postrzegania ich w kulturze wsi jako elementów szczególnie prestiżowych, które niechętnie sprzedawano. Przeoczeniu przy gromadzeniu zbiorów ulegały ponadto różne drobne, choć niezbędne elementy ubiorów, takie jak szpilki do włosów i chust, rękawiczki, pończochy i skarpety, a gromadzenie bielizny utrudniało zawstydzienie respondentów. Badania nastawione na uzupełnienie tych braków mogą zaowocować niespodziewanymi odkryciami nieznanych dotąd elementów ubioru.

Sylwia Geelhaar (Tatara)

PROBLEMATYKA REKONSTRUKCJI STROJU LUDOWEGO DOLNEGO POWIŚLA

Artykuł omawia zachowane przekazy źródłowe pisane i ikonograficzne, dotyczące dawnego stroju ludowego regionu Powiśla sztumsko – kwidzyńskiego na tle porównawczym strojów dawnych Prus Wschodnich. Omówione zostały okoliczności zanikania stroju oraz tematyka powojennej rekonstrukcji do celów estradowych i jej funkcjonowanie w świadomości współczesnych.

Aleksandra Paprot

CZY STRÓJ ŻUŁAWSKI MOŻE BYĆ TRADYCYJNY?

Żuławy to region wielokulturowy, którego ciągłość tradycyjnych praktyk społeczno-kulturowych przerwała II wojna światowa. Wymiana ludności po wojnie spowodowała wprowadzenie nowych zjawisk i zwyczajów przez przesiedleńców i repatriantów. Na przestrzeni wielu lat zaczęły tworzyć się także tradycje związane z potrzebą istnienia ludowego stroju żuławskiego. Analiza tych tendencji w odniesieniu do kultury sprzed i po 1945 roku pozwala na krytyczne spojrzenie względem wytwarzania tradycyjnych elementów kultury materialnej budujących tożsamość regionalną. Autorka w artykule stara się odpowiedzieć na pytania: 1) W jakim stopniu komercyjność wpłynęła na potrzebę wytworzenia stroju żuławskiego? 2) Czy strój żuławski może być tradycyjny? 3) Jak sytuuje się jego pozycja względem bagażu kulturowego powojennych osadników?

Janusz Kamocki

STROJE SPISKIE U WĘGIERSKICH POLAKÓW

W roku 1717 grupa górali polskich osiedliła się w węgierskiej wsi Derenek, w roku 1943 ich potomkowie musieli tę wieś opuścić, jednakże raz w roku organizowali zjazdy w tej opuszczonej wsi. Te zjazdy z czasem stały się świętem wszystkich Polaków zamieszkujących Węgry, przyjeżdżały na nie również zespoły artystyczne z polskich gór. Ostatnio udało się udokumentować z jakiej okolicy pochodzili osadnicy, nawiązały się z powrotem kontakty rodzinne i wzajemne odwiedziny. Polacy w Derenku nie zachowali tradycji stroju regionalnego, obecnie więc istniejący u nich zespół muzyczny „Polska Drenka” jako swój strój reprezentacyjny przyjął paradny ubiór kobiecy z terenów z których wywędrowali ich przodkowie.

KOSTIUMY UŻYWANE PRZEZ KOROWODY DOŻYNKOWE W WYBRANYCH MIEJSCOWOŚCIACH OPOLSZCZYZNY (2005-2012)

Celem przyznawarskiego artykułu jest przedstawienie różnorodności kostiumów używanych przez uczestników grup korowodowych. Rozpiętość używanej odzieży podczas dożynek jest różna: od autentycznych strojów ludowych noszonych przez kobiety w pocz. XX wieku, po współczesne ich modyfikacje oparte głównie na swoistej estetyce. Temat tym bardziej wydaje się być interesujący, gdyż i dziś ubiór stanowi swoistą legitymizację przynależności narodowej, tak ważnego problemu, który dotyka Śląsk Opolski. Analiza w dużej mierze oparta jest na dokumentacji fotograficznej, wywiady zaś w przyszłości dadzą pełny obraz zjawiska. Dlatego autorka będzie kontynuowała badania nad tym tematem.

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Małgorzata Kurtyka

REKONSTRUKCJA STROJU ZAGŁĘBIOWSKIEGO

Strój zagłębiowski nie jest obecny w dzisiejszej kulturze regionu, a z powszechnego użytku wyszedł dawno temu. Trudno o autentyczny okaz stroju, a w zbiorach muzealnych dostępne są jego pojedyncze elementy. Na terenie Zagłębia Dąbrowskiego widoczne są wpływy trzech typów strojów ludowych: mazowieckiego, śląskiego i małopolskiego. Autorka dokonała rekonstrukcji stroju zagłębiowskiego na potrzeby i w związku z pracami nad odtworzeniem wesela zagłębiowskiego w formie widowiska. W poszukiwaniu materiałów i informacji przeprowadziła rozmowy i wywiady z mieszkańcami Zagłębia. Potrzebne są badania źródłowe z zaangażowaniem szerszej gamy środków i metod badawczych, w tym przeprowadzenia badań terenowych oraz dokonanie szczegółowych kwerend w archiwach i dostępnych zbiorach regionalnych.

Hanna Golla

DOLNOŚLĄSKI STRÓJ LUDOWY. TRADYCJA W KONFRONTACJI ZE WSPÓŁCZESNOŚCIĄ

Dolny Śląsk zwany jest „regionem regionów”, a termin ten odnosi się do zmian, jakie zaszły po 1945r., kiedy doszło tutaj do prawie całkowitej wymiany ludności. Od tego czasu Dolny Śląsk borykał się z wieloma problemami związanymi z adaptacją i integracją przesiedleńców. A do dzisiaj jednym z takich problemów jest strój ludowy i to jak go możemy współcześnie określić – dolnośląski czy może (z uwagi na kulturę heterogeniczną) z Dolnego Śląska? Od 2008r. we Wrocławiu organizowany jest Festiwal Tradycji Dolnego Śląska, na którym występują zespoły ludowe, powołujące się na różne tradycje osadnicze, ale również pragnące zidentyfikować się ze swoją obecną małą ojczyzną. Po analizie strojów, w jakich zespoły występowały w kolejnych 5 edycjach festiwalu, można wyodrębnić 3 grupy, w których ujawniają się poszczególne tendencje.

STRÓJ WILAMOWSKI W XXI WIEKU

Kobięcy strój wilamowski jest strojem bardzo różnorodnym i bardzo różni się od innych strojów ludowych w Polsce. Prześladowany po wojnie, utrzymał się do dziś dzięki zespołom regionalnym, które zmieniły nieco jego formę. Dla części osób jest on dziś tylko kostiumem scenicznym, ale wielu traktuje go dalej jako strój ludowy, dziedziczony po przodkach i nosi go utożsamiając się w ten sposób ze swoimi korzeniami. Po doborze elementów ubioru danej osoby można rozpoznać, jaki jest jej stosunek do stroju. Strojem tradycyjnie noszonym przez małe dziewczynki do sypania kwiatów podczas procesji był w Wilamowicach strój krakowski, który wypierany jest dziś przez miniaturę stroju wilamowskiego. Mimo iż jest to pewna innowacja, pomaga ona w rozwijaniu w młodym pokoleniu chęci do noszenia stroju. Należy jednak zwrócić uwagę, aby strojów tych nie wykonywano kosztem oryginalnych elementów.

Stanisława Trebunia-Staszela

PODHALAŃSKIE ELEGANTKI I MIEJSCOWI KREATORZY MODY

Strój podhalański jako jeden z nielicznych elementów tradycyjnej kultury zachowuje nadal swą żywotność, towarzysząc mieszkańcom Podhala w czasie ważnych świąt kościelnych, rodzinnych, a także uroczystości o charakterze regionalnym i narodowym. Co więcej, począwszy od końca lat 80. XX wieku przeżywa on okres swoistego odrodzenia, zarówno pod względem skali społecznego występowania, jak i różnorodności pojawiających się w nim form, fasonów i technik zdobniczych. Przedstawiony tekst stanowi próbę przybliżenia współczesnego krawiectwa podhalańskiego, które przybiera różne odcienie i kierunki rozwoju, począwszy od strojów utrzymanych w tradycyjnej konwencji, poprzez stylizowane na góralską modę kostiumy, aż po twórczość spod znaku "folk-design".

Kinga Czerwińska

STROJE LUDOWE ŚLĄSKA CIESZYŃSKIEGO: TRADYCJE – PRZEMIANY – PERSPEKTYWY

Kształtowana przez pokolenia struktura stroju ludowego stała się symbolicznym kodem, wyrażającym system wartości, reguły zachowania, rytuał. Jako rodzaj medium komunikacyjnego strój informował o społecznej pozycji i obrzędowej roli nosiciela, był wyrazem prestiżu, odrębności i przynależności do danej grupy społecznej i regionalnej, co w obszarze pogranicza jakim jest Śląsk Cieszyński ma znaczenie zasadnicze. Po latach regresu, kiedy strój funkcjonował jedynie jako ideologiczny i sceniczny rekwizyt, w ostatnich latach nastąpił jego renesans. Zainteresowanie strojem ludowym i rosnąca potrzeba jego posiadania, sprzyja jego rekonstrukcji oraz żywotności dawnych technik zdobniczych, w tym przede wszystkim haftu i koronek.

STRÓJ KRAKOWSKI W PRZESTRZENI MIEJSKIEJ

Historia krakowskiego stroju ludowego jest interesującym fenomenem kulturowym pod wieloma względami. Coraz częściej pełni on nowe funkcje w różnych kontekstach przestrzeni miejskiej lub odgrywają istotną rolę w wydarzeniach miejskiego życia. Istotnym czynnikiem w tym procesie były zachodzące na terenie Rzeczypospolitej historyczno – polityczne zmiany, a także rozwój gospodarczy oraz dziewiętnastowieczna moda na to chłopskie odzienie. Zmiany urbanistyczne, które następowały na początku XX wieku w Krakowie i okolicach pociągnęły za sobą nadanie nowej roli temu regionalnemu strojowi. Wówczas to granice miasta zaczęły się rozszerzać włączając do swoich struktur okoliczne wsie i lokalne zwyczaje oraz tradycje.

Elżbieta Piskorz-Branekova

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CZY STRÓJ NOSZONY W OKOLICACH HRUBIESZOWA I TOMASZOWA LUBELSKIEGO MOŻEMY NAZWAĆ HRUBIESZOWSKO – TOMASZOWSKIM? PROBLEM Z TERMINOLOGIĄ

Strój hrubieszowsko-tomaszowski, przed rokiem 1939 noszono na terenach ciągnących się szerokim pasem pomiędzy Hrubieszowem i Tomaszowem Lubelskim. Na południowy wschód sięgał poza Rawę Ruską i Sokal, obejmował swym zasięgiem oba brzegi rzeki Bug. Po II wojnie światowej, zmieniły się granice, w wyniku czego w Polsce noszono go już tylko we wsiach położonych na południowy wschód od Tomaszowa i południe od Hrubieszowa, a granicą wschodnią występowania stał się Bug. Szczytowy okres jego rozwoju przypadał na przełom wieku XIX i XX. Potem obserwujemy stopniowy zanik, ale jeszcze przed II wojną światową był on ciągle noszony, a pewne elementy (głównie koszule męskie) nie wyszły z powszechnego użycia nawet po 1945 roku. Stroje hrubieszowsko - tomaszowskie to modelowy przykład odzieży, która kształtowała się pod wpływem kultury dwóch grup etnicznych. Wymieszane w nim elementy typowe dla współistniejących nacji powodowały, że badacze, szczególnie po II wojnie światowej minimalizowali swe nim zainteresowanie, obawiając się oficjalnego zadeklarowania ich korzeni. Obecnie jest już tylko muzealnym wspomnieniem, a nawet zespoły folklorystyczne nie zawsze chętnie go używają, traktując jako nie do końca swój i mało sceniczny.

Agnieszka Ławicka

PIĘKNO ZAKŁĘTE W DROBIAZGU. ELEMENTY DEKORACYJNE W STROJACH LUDOWYCH LUBELSZCZYZNY

Zdobnictwo stroju ludowego, także na Lubelszczyźnie, rozwijało się już od czasów renesansu i baroku. Opisy źródłowe z XVIII w. mówią o występowaniu w stroju ludowym różnorodnych ozdób. Były to przede wszystkim aplikacje, szamerunki, hafty, cynowe guzy czy pasy nabijane gwoździami. Nie bez znaczenia był także fakt, że w okresie pańszczyźnianym zlecano poddanym wykonywanie dla dworów i kościołów haftów, koronek czy całych strojów według gotowych wzorów. Moda zachodnia docierała do chłopów początkowo głównie poprzez miasta, a od XVIII w. także poprzez zarzucającą swój strój sarmacki warstwę szlachecką, oraz za pośrednictwem wędrownych handlarzy lub ludzi reprezentujących wędrowne zawody, na przykład flisaków czy sitarzy biłgorajskich. Bogactwo zdobień było widoczne szczególnie na nakryciach głów, dekoracji gorsetów, delikatności koronek, ornamentach haftów czy wzorach na pasach męskich i misternej sycerze lasek drewnianych.

Ubiór ludowy pasa nadwiślańskiego od Annopola do Gołębia występował także na terenach oddalonych sporo od Wisły na wschód. Różnił się zasadniczo od ponad 10 znanych typów strojów Lubelszczyzny. Ikonografia i zachowane w muzeach i zbiorach prywatnych jego elementy wskazują, że był on podobny do ubiorów małopolskich i mazowieckich. Najbliższy był strojowi radomskiemu, zwłaszcza jego odmianie iłżeckiej. Przestał być używany już na początku XX wieku, jedynie w miejscowościach oddalonych od miast lub przywiązanych do tradycji bogatych wsiach niektóre jego elementy jak korale, chustka *szalinówka*, męska czapka barania, kozuch, buty z cholewami noszono jeszcze po II wojnie światowej. Znakiem rozpoznawczym stroju Powiśla Lubelskiego były pasiaki. Szyto z nich zapaski noszone na spódnicach i na ramionach. Wraz z innymi elementami stroju przechodziły one przez Wisłę z Kielecczyny.

STRÓJ KRZCZONOWSKI NIE LUBELSKI

Stroje ludowe z terenu województwa lubelskiego – mimo, iż opracowywane są od ponad półwiecza – nie zostały ostatecznie opisane. Dotychczas nie ustalono ich liczby, ani też zasięgu występowania niektórych z nich. Powszechnie uważa się, że występuje jeden strój lubelski, z którym identyfikowany jest strój krzczonowski. W niektórych opracowaniach wymienia się ponadto takie typy, jak strój biłgorajsko-tarnogrodzki i podlaski z odmianą włodawską. Niniejszy artykuł ma na celu ustalenie ostatecznej liczby strojów typowych dla badanego obszaru oraz wykazanie zasadniczych podobieństw i różnic między nimi. Autorka, na podstawie prowadzonych badań, przy zastosowaniu kilku kryteriów podziału, dokonuje typologicznego wyodrębnienia odmian strojów charakterystycznych dla Lubelszczyzny. W pierwszej za główne kryterium podziału przyjęto rodzaj materiału, z którego wykonane są stroje; w drugiej – stosowaną kolorystykę; w trzeciej zaś – pochodzenie poszczególnych elementów, co pozwoliło wyróżnić stroje, w których wszystkie elementy wywodzą się z kręgu kultury tradycyjnej oraz takie, w których wykorzystano części odzieży pochodzące ze sfery szlacheckiej, a także z mody miejskiej. Ostatnim kryterium podziału jest przynależność poszczególnych strojów do obszarów etnicznych. Systematyka pozwoliła ukazać nie tylko bogactwo lubelskich odmian strojów, ale przede wszystkim ich zróżnicowanie, co z kolei potwierdza, że dla tak dużego i odmiennego kulturowo obszaru nie można wyznaczyć jednego typu stroju.

STRÓJ PRZEWORSKI NA PRZYKŁADZIE KOLEKCJI STROJÓW LUDOWYCH MUZEUM W PRZEWORSKU A TZW. „STRÓJ PRZEWORSKI” JAKO KOSTIUM ESTRADOWY ZESPOŁÓW FOLKLORYSTYCZNYCH W REGIONIE

Odświętny strój ludowy noszony w okolicach Przeworska na podstawie kolekcji i nowo pozyskanych eksponatów oraz fotografii archiwalnych ze zbiorów Muzeum w Przeworsku, a także zbiorów Archiwum Materiałów Terenowych Muzeum Etnograficznego w Rzeszowie. Historyczny obraz stroju przeworskiego: XVIII w. - gorsety z kapami i metalowe obręcze, XIX/XX w. - staniki przeworskie, 1 poł. XX w. - gorsety typu krakowskiego, tiulowe zapaski i koszule. Wytwórcy i materiały; kolorystyka i zdobienia. O stroju ludowym w miejscowym folklorze ustnym. Brak tradycji ubierania odświętnego stroju ludowego i wynikające stąd problemy.

PŁÓTNO LNIANE W WYBRANYCH KONTEKSTACH TRADYCYJNEJ KULTURY W POLSCE

W artykule omówiono występowanie płótna lnianego oraz odzieży w różnych kontekstach tradycyjnej kultury w Polsce. Dobór tkaniny lnianej stanowił niegdyś informację dla członków danej społeczności o statusie majątkowym. Często pełniła ona funkcję daru, ofiarowywanego osobom mającym cechy mediacyjne w tradycyjnych obrzędach rodzinnych: służyła jako ich oznaka, a także innych osób, pełniących w nich określone funkcje. Ponadto pełniła rolę oznakowania miejsca przebiegu zdarzeń oraz zmiany stanu jako czynności obrzędowej. Istotnym jej zastosowaniem było tradycyjne leczenie. Wiązało się to z postrzeganiem tkaniny lnianej jako apotropeionu, czego wyrazem były jej związki ze światem nadzmysłowym. Znalazły one odbicie w wierzeniach ludowych a także w kanonach wiary chrześcijańskiej.

Anna Czyżewska, Małgorzata Kunecka

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PROJEKT „POLSKIE STROJE LUDOWE W INTERNECIE”,
CZYLI KLASYCZNY TEMAT ETNOGRAFICZNY W NOWYM UJĘCIU

Strojeludowe.net to strona internetowa poświęcona polskim strojom ludowym z różnych regionów Polski. Została przygotowana przez Stowarzyszenie „Pracownia Etnograficzna”. Obecnie prezentuje stroje z 28 regionów etnograficznych, ale będzie poszerzana o kolejne prezentacje. Jestem efektem współpracy stowarzyszenia z muzeami, wydawnictwami i prywatnymi kolekcjonerami, którzy zdecydowali się udostępnić swoje zbiory na potrzeby projektu. Interesujące są też działania promocyjne realizowane wokół portalu, które pozwalają w nowy sposób spojrzeć na tematykę strojów ludowych.

Justyna Słomska-Nowak, Hubert Czachowski

VOLKSTRACHTEN MAL ANDERS – ZWISCHEN ÄSTHETISCHER UND PHILOSOPHISCHER DIMENSION DER DÖRFLICHEN KLEIDUNG

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Der Text stellt mögliche Interpretationen und Überlegungen zu traditioneller Volkskleidung vor und ermutigt dazu, in der abermaligen Lektüre dieses Phänomens neue Aspekte und Ideen zu entdecken. Nach den Autoren helfen hierbei ästhetische und philosophische Analysen. Die festliche Kleidung gehört insbesondere zur materiellen Kultur oder Volkskunst. Eher seltener interpretiert man sie als vollendete ästhetische Formen. Genauso selten greift man nach philosophischen Analysen betreffend so wichtigen Fragen wie Mode oder Kleidungsphilosophie.

Anna Weronika Brzezińska

VOLKSTRACHT – VON DER BIOGRAPHIE BIS ZUR IDENTITÄT DES GEGENSTANDES

Zeitgenössische Kontexte von Funktionsweisen der Volkstracht (oder ihrer Elemente) erfüllen zwei wichtige Aufgaben: Sie unterstreichen die Identität und sind Traditionsträger sowie weisen auf ihren Wert für die Erinnerung und für das Andenken. An erster Stelle steht der Mensch und seine Geschichte und der mit ihm verbundene Gegenstand, der von Ereignissen zeugt, wodurch er auch eine eigene Geschichte im Sinne einer Biographie hat. Volkstrachten kann man in zwei Forschungsperspektiven prüfen: als Geschichte des einzelnen Gegenstands (oder Trachtenelement) sowie als Geschichte ihres Nutzers. Volkstracht kann auch behandelt werden als Träger von kulturellen und traditionsbildenden Inhalten. Es gibt ein neues Projekt der Fotographiekünstlerin Viola Kuś „Top Model Made in Poland“, das einen Beitrag zu einer neuen Methodologie in der Erforschung von Volkstrachten im Kontext der Biographie des Gegenstandes (Dingtheorie) leistet.

Barbara Hołub

ZEICHENCHARAKTER DER WEIBLICHEN KOPFBEDECKUNGEN

Dieser Artikel hat zum Ziel, die Bedeutungen zu rekonstruieren, die mit jenen traditionellen weiblichen Kopfbedeckungen verbunden sind, die für unsere Kultur grundlegend, sogar am wichtigsten sind. Die Vorhaben des Artikels war es, konkrete Beispiele für die Funktionen dieser Bedeckungen in der Wojewodschaft Lublin zu sammeln und darzustellen, sowie diese so zu ordnen, dass nicht nur ihre Beschreibung möglich wird, sondern auch das damit verbundene System von Volksglauben. Also nicht nur Darstellung, sondern auch ein Versuch zu die Mechanismen zu verstehen, die zur Entstehung der einzelnen Elemente der Kopfbedeckung beitragen und zum Schwinden anderer Elemente geführt haben. Ebenso interessieren Wandel in Form und Funktion, wodurch manche weltanschaulichen Aspekte sichtbar werden, die für ältere Generationen charakteristisch sind, und damit auch ein besseres Verständnis für die Denkweise und Handeln unserer Vorfahren und uns selbst leisten.

ZIELE, FUNKTIONEN UND NEUE FORSCHUNGSASPEKTE ZEITGENÖSSISCHER BEARBEITUNGEN ZUM THEMA
TRADITIONELLE VOLKSTRACHT (AM BEISPIEL DER PUBLIKATION „VOLKSTRACHTEN IN DER REGION KIELCE“)

Das im September 2012 vom Museum Wsi Kieleckiej veröffentlichte Buch „Kielcer Volkstrachen“ hat einen populärwissenschaftlichen Charakter. Sie schildert verschiedene Aspekte einer kulturellen Erscheinung, was zweifelslos eine Tracht ist, in einer konkreten geographisch, historisch und ethnografischen Region, die als Kielcer Region bezeichnet wird und sich befindet am nördlichen Rand des historischen Kleinpolens und wird mehrheitlich von Sandomierzanie bewohnt, eine ethnische Gruppe Kleinpolens. Ein wichtiger Einfluss auf die Gestaltung in dieser Region hatte der Fakt, dass durch Jahrhunderte hindurch sich in der Kielcer Region die Einflüsse aus Kleinpolen und Masowien durchdrungen haben. Dies hinterließ Spuren in allen Formen lokale Kultur. In der Kielcer Region gab es also: die Kielcer Tracht, die Heiligkreuztracht, die Sandomierzer Tracht, die Ostkrakauer Tracht, die Radomer Tracht und die Opoczner Tracht.

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Alicja Mironiuk-Nikolska

„VIELFARBIGE SCHAREN DER SCHNITTER“ – KÖNNEN DIE FOTOGRAFIEEN VOM ERNTEFEST IN SPAŁA VON 1927
EINE QUELLE FÜR DIE FORSCHUNG ZUR VOLKSTRACHT SEIN?

Der Text bespricht ein Album mit Fotos, die während des 1. Präsidialen Erntefest in Spała 1927 gemacht wurden. Die Fotos zeigen Szenen mit den Stadtbehörden und den Teilnehmern des Erntefestes – junge Bauern aus ganz Polen gekleidet in festlichen Trachten. Die Fotos wurden von Karol Pęcherski aufgenommen. Sie erlauben es, die Trachten vieler Regionen Polens detailliert kennenzulernen, z. B. die Art und Weise wie Schmuck und Stickereimuster getragen wurden. Zur Herkunft der Trachten: Die Namen der Regionen, sogar konkrete Dorfnamen, präzisiert ein Artikel in der Zeitschrift „Siew“ – herausgegeben vom Verein Związek Młodzieży Wiejskiej (Landjugendverein). Der Verein war zugleich Träger und Organisator des gesamten Erntefestes. Bild und Wort ergänzen sich, so dass sie das Album zu einer nützlichen und interessanten Quelle für die Forschung zu den Trachten im Polen der 20er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts machen.

Ludmiła Ponomar

SPRACHLICH-ETHNOLOGRAPHISCHE FORSCHUNG DER VOLKTRACHT VON POLESIE (POLESSIEN)

Der Forschungsgegenstand ist eine Volkstracht aus der Region Polessien auf der rechten Uferseite des Dnepr von der Hälfte des 19. Bis zur Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Diese Forschungen betreffen die Regionen von Kiew, Żytomierz/Schytomyr und Równe/Riwne (alles in der heutigen Ukraine), aber auch die Gebiete innerhalb der Sperrzone von Tschernobyl (oder der umgesiedelten Dörfer aus dieser Region). Spezifische Eigenschaften dieser Kleidung sind bedingt durch historische Entwicklung und die Nachbarschaft zwei anderer Staaten (Polen und Weißrussland). Aufgrund von Karten werden räumlichen Varianten des Forschungsgegenstandes verfolgt. Zusätzlich wird eine Typologie der Kleidungselemente geboten, die auf dem Gebiet West- und Mittelpolessiens vorkommen.

DIE NICHTBEACHTETEN – ENTWICKLUNGSRICHTUNGEN DER TEXTIL- UND TRACHTENSAMMLUNGEN AM
BEISPIEL DER SAMMLUNG DES ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN MUSEUMS IN POZNAŃ

Einen Großteil vieler Kleidungssammlungen machen die Elemente der feierlichen weiblichen Trachten aus. Dies leitet sich historisch her und auch aus der größeren Zugänglichkeit zu Festkleidung im Vergleich zur Arbeitskleidung. Eine geringere Repräsentation der männlichen Kleidung hängt mit deren früheren Rückgang zusammen, bei der Kinderkleidung mit dem Mangel an verbreitetem Vorkommen bis zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts. Das allgemeine Defizit an Schuhen sowie von Schmuck ist das Ergebnis einer Wahrnehmung in der Dorfkultur als besondere Prestigeelemente, die nur ungern verkauft wurden. Beim Aufbau der Sammlung wurden kleinere, wiewohl notwendige Elemente meist übersehen: Haarnadeln, Tuchfibeln, Strümpfe, Socken. Das Sammeln der Unterwäsche wurde durch die Scham der Befragten erschwert. Forschungen zur Ergänzung dieser Mängel können überraschende Entdeckungen bringen zu den bisher kaum bekannten Kleidungselementen.

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Sylvia Geelhaar (Tatara)

DIE REKONSTRUKTIONSPROBLEMATIK BEI DER VOLKSTRACHT DER NIEDERWEICHSELREGION

der Artikel handelt von den erhaltenen schriftlichen und ikonographischen Quellen über die alten Volkstracht der Region Sztum und Kwidzyn – heute bezeichnet als Dolne Powisle – im Vergleich zu den Volkstrachten im ehemaligen Ostpreußen. Besprochen werden die Umstände des Rückgangs der Tracht sowie die Thematik der Rekonstruktion nach dem 2. Weltkrieg zu Bühnenzwecken und ihre Funktion heutzutage.

Aleksandra Paprot

KANN DIE GROSSENWERDERTRACHT TRADITIONELL SEIN?

Die Werderregion ist multikulturell. Die Kontinuität der dortigen traditionellen, sozialen und kulturellen Praktiken wurde durch den 2. Weltkrieg unterbrochen. Der Bevölkerungsaustausch nach dem Krieg hat bewirkt, dass neue Sitten und Gebräuche durch die Umsiedler und Repatrierten eingeführt wurden. Im Laufe vieler Jahre begannen neue Traditionen mit einem Bedürfnis nach Volkstracht für die Werderregion. Die Analyse der Tendenzen in Bezug auf die Kultur vor und nach 1945 erlaubt eine kritische Sichtung der hervorgebrachten traditionellen Elemente der materiellen Kultur, auf denen die regionale Identität aufbaut. Die Autorin will die Fragen antworten: 1) Im welchem Grad hat die Kommerzialisierung Einfluss auf den Bedarf nach einer werderischen Tracht? 2) Kann die werdersche Tracht traditionell sein? 3) Wie ist die Position der Tracht in Bezug auf das kulturelle Gepäck der Neuansiedler nach dem Krieg?

TRACHTEN AUS DER REGION ZIPS (SPISZ) BEI UNGARISCHEN POLEN

Im Jahr 1717 siedelte sich eine Gruppe polnischer Bergleute im ungarischen Dorf Derenek an; 1943 mussten ihre Nachfolger das Dorf verlassen. Dennoch organisierten sie einmal pro Jahr ein Treffen für das verlassene Dorf. Diese Treffen wurden mit der Zeit zu einem Fest aller Polen, die in Ungarn wohnen. Hierzu kamen auch die Traditionsgruppen aus den verschiedenen polnischen Bergbaugebieten. Vor kurzem gelang es zu dokumentieren, woher diese Ansiedler stammen, so dass familiäre Kontakte und gegenseitige Besuche möglich wurden. Die Polen in Derenek haben keine eigene Volkstracht bewahrt. Heute hat die Musik- und Folkoregruppe „Polska Drenka“ als repräsentative Tracht die festliche Frauentracht angenommen, die aus dem Gebiet stammt, aus dem die Vorfahren ausgewandert sind.

Izabela Jasińska

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KOSTÜME BEI ERNTEFESTUMZÜGE IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN ORTEN IM OPPELENER SCHLESILIEN (2005-2012)

Das Ziel dieses Beitrag ist es, die Vielfältigkeit der Kostüme zu präsentieren, die von den Erntezugsteilnehmer getragen werden. Die Spannweite der benutzten Kleidung während des Erntefestes ist umfangreich: von authentischen Volkstrachten, die Frauen noch zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts getragen haben, bis zu zeitgenössischen Modifikationen, bei denen die Ästhetik im Vordergrund steht. Das Thema ist umso interessanter, weil auch Kleidung heutzutage eine eigentümliche Legitimierung der Nationalzugehörigkeit darstellt - ein wichtiges Problem, das im Opperener Schlesien aktuell ist. Die Analyse beruht zu einem großen Teil auf der fotografischen Dokumentation, Interviews jedoch werden zukünftig das Phänomen vervollständigen. Deswegen wird die Autorin die Forschung zu diesem Thema fortsetzen.

Małgorzata Kurtyka

REKONSTRUKTION DER TRACHT AUS DEM DOMBROWAER KOHLENBECKEN (ZAGŁĘBIE DĄBROWSKIE)

Die Tracht aus dem Dombrowaer Kohlenbecken (Zagłębie Dąbrowskie) ist in der Kultur der Region nicht mehr anwesend und schon vor langer Zeit aus dem allgemeinen Gebrauch verschwunden. Es ist schwer, ein authentisches Stück zu finden; in den Museumssammlungen gibt es nur noch einzelne Elemente. Im Dombrowaer Kohlenbecken (Zagłębie Dąbrowskie) sind die Einflüsse von drei Trachtentypen sichtbar: Masowianer, Schlesier und Kleinpolnischer Tracht. Die Autorin hat die Dombrowaer Tracht für eine Aufführung einer traditionellen Dombrowaer Hochzeit rekonstruiert. Auf der Suche nach Materialien und Informationen hat sie Interviews mit Einwohnern der Region geführt. Weitere Quellenforschung ist nötig mit verschiedenen Mitteln und Methoden, darunter Feldforschung und auch ausführliche Recherchen in Archiven und in regionalen Sammlungen.

Hanna Golla

NIEDERSCHLESISCHE VOLKSTRACHT. TRADITION IN KONFRONTATION MIT DER GEGENWART

niederschlesien gilt als „die Region der Regionen“: Dieser Ausdruck bezieht sich auf Veränderungen nach 1945, als es zu einem kompletten Bevölkerungsaustausch kam. Von dieser Zeit an mühte sich Niederschlesien mit vielen Problemen im Zusammenhang mit der Integration und Anpassung der

Umsiedler. Bis heute ist eines der Probleme die Volkstracht und wie wir es heutzutage definieren können: niederschlesische Tracht oder vielleicht (in Hinsicht auf die heterogene Kultur) Tracht aus Niederschlesien? Seit 2008 findet in Wrocław/Breslau ein Traditionsfestival Niederschlesiens statt, auf dem sich die Volksgruppen präsentieren, die sich auf verschiedene Traditionen der Ansiedler berufen, aber sich auch mit ihrer jetzigen Heimat identifizieren wollen. Nach einer Analyse der Trachten der letzten fünf Festivaljahre, in denen diese Gruppen auftraten, kann man drei Gruppen ausmachen, die spezifische Tendenzen aufweisen.

Tymoteusz Król

WILMESAU TRACHT (WILAMOWICE) IM 21. JAHRHUNDERT

Die Wilmesauer Frauentracht ist sehr vielfältig und unterscheidet sich deutlich von anderen Volkstrachten in Polen. Trotz der Verfolgungen nach dem Krieg hat sich die Tracht bis heute dank der regionalen Volksgruppen erhalten, die deren Form aber etwas verändert haben. Für manche Personen ist diese Tracht nur ein Bühnenkostüm, aber für viele gilt sie als Erbe der Vorfahren und wird weiter getragen als Ausdruck für ihre identitäre Verwurzelung. Danach, wie eine Personen die Elemente zusammenstellt, lässt sich ihr Verhältnis zur Tracht erkennen. Die traditionelle Tracht der kleinen Mädchen bei Fronleichnamsumzügen in Wilmesauer war eine Krakauer Tracht, die heute durch einer Miniatur der Wilmesauerer Tracht ersetzt wurde. Trotz dieser gewissen Innovation hilft es der jüngeren Generation, ein eigenen Zugang zu der Tracht zu entwickeln. Man muss aber darauf achten, dass diese Trachten nicht auf Kosten der originalen Elemente hergestellt werden.

Stanisława Trebunia-Staszal

DIE ELEGANTEN DAMEN AUS PODHALE (KARPATENVORLAND) UND DIE EINHEIMISCHEN MODESCHÖPFER

Die Podhaler Tracht als eine der wenigen Elemente der traditionellen Kultur bewahrt immer noch ihre Vitalität, indem es aktiv von den Einwohnern der Region zu wichtigen Kirchenfesten, Familienfesten, aber auch regionalen und nationalen Festen getragen wird. Mehr noch, von Beginn der 80er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts an erlebt die Tracht eine eigentümliche Renaissance, sowohl hinsichtlich ihrer gesellschaftlichen Verbreitung als auch hinsichtlich der Vielfalt von Formen, Schnitten und Schmucktechniken. Dieser Text unternimmt eine Annäherung an die zeitgenössische Schneiderei in Podhale, die verschiedene Entwicklungsrichtungen und Facetten aufweist: von konventionellen Trachten über regional stilisierte Kostüme bis zu Erzeugnissen im Zeichen von „folk-design“.

Agnieszka Kurasińska-Woźniak, Kinga Czerwińska

VOLKSTRACHTEN AUS DEM TESCHENER SCHLESILIEN: TRADITIONEN – WANDLUNGEN – PERSPEKTIVEN

Die durch Generationen gestaltete Struktur der Volkstracht wurde zu einem symbolischen Kode, der ein Wertesystem, Verhaltensregeln und Rituale ausdrückt. Als eine Art von Kommunikationsmedium informierte die Tracht über die soziale Position und rituell festgelegte Rollen des Trachtträgers. Sie war auch ein Prestigezeichen von sozialer und regionaler Zugehörigkeit, was in einer Grenzregion wie Teschener Schlesiens eine grundsätzliche Bedeutung hat. Nach Jahren des Rückgangs, als die Tracht nur als Requisit für Ideologie und Bühne diente, kam es zur Renaissance. Das Interesse an und das wachsende Bedürfnis nach der Volkstracht begünstigte ihre Rekonstruktion sowie auch die Wiederbelebung alten Verzierungstechniken, vor allem Stickerei und Spitze.

KRAKAUER TRACHT IM STÄDTISCHEN RAUM

Die Geschichte der Krakauer Tracht ist in vielerlei Hinsicht ein interessantes Kulturphänomen. Immer öfter hat sie neue Funktionen in verschiedenen Kontexten des städtischen Raumes ausgefüllt; und sie spielt heute eine wichtige Funktion bei Ereignissen des städtischen Lebens. Wichtiger Faktoren in diesem Prozess waren die historisch-politischen Veränderungen auf dem Gebiet der Republik Polen wie auch die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung und auch die Mode im 19. Jahrhundert für die bäuerliche Tracht. Die urbanen Veränderungen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts haben bewirkt, dass die Tracht in Krakau und Umgebung eine neue Rolle erhalten hat. Damals haben sich die Stadtgrenzen erweitert und die umliegenden Gemeinden und Dörfer haben neue Sitten und Bräuche in die Stadt gebracht.

Elżbieta Piskorz-Branekova

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KANN DIE TRACHT AUS DER REGION HRUBIESZÓW UND TOMASZÓW LUBELSKI AUCH BEZEICHNET WERDEN ALS HRUBIESZOWER-TOMASZOWER TRACHT? EIN PROBLEM MIT DER TERMOLOGIE

Die Tracht aus der Region Hrubieszów und Tomaszów wurde vor dem Jahr 1939 in einem Gebiet getragen, das sich zwischen Hrubieszów und Tomaszów Lubelski erstreckt. Im Südosten reichte die Region bis hinter Rawa Ruska und Sokal und umfasste in ihrer Ausdehnung beide Ufer des Flusses Bug. Nach dem 2. Weltkrieg haben sich die Grenzen geändert, infolgedessen wurde die Tracht innerhalb Polens nur noch in den Dörfern getragen, die sich in Tomaszów und südlich von Hrubieszów befinden. Die Ostgrenze wurde der Fluss Bug. Der Höhepunkt ihrer Entwicklung war an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert. Danach können wir den Rückgang beobachten. Aber noch vor dem 2. Weltkrieg wurde sie ständig getragen und gewisse Elemente (vor allem die männlichen Hemden) sind sogar nach 1945 nicht aus dem Gebrauch geraten. Diese hrubieszower-tomaszower Tracht ist ein beispielhafter Modell für die Entwicklung aus dem Einfluss zweier ethnischer Gruppen. Die darin vermischten Elemente sind typisch für die nebeneinander existierenden Nationen. Das führte dazu, dass die Forscher nach dem 2. Weltkrieg wenig Interesse zeigten, weil sie befürchteten, deren Herkunft offiziell erklären zu müssen. Heute aber ist die Tracht nur eine museale Erinnerung, und auch die Folkoregruppen nutzen sie nicht so gern, weil sie diese nicht für ihre eigene halten oder als bühnentauglich erachten.

Renata Bartnik

VOLKSTRACHT AUS DER REGION POWIŚLE LUBELSKIE – ORIGINAL UND DARSTELLUNG IN POLNISCHER GRAFIK UND MALEREI

Die Tracht der Bevölkerung im Weichselgebiet von Annapol bis Gołab trat auch in den von der Weichsel entfernten Gebieten im Osten auf. Sie unterschied sich grundsätzlich von zehn bekannten Lubliner Trachtentypen. Die Ikonographie und die in Museen und Privatsammlungen aufbewahrten Elemente weisen darauf hin, dass sie der Kleidung aus Kleinpolen und Masowien ähnelte. Am nächsten war sie der Radomer Tracht, besonders in ihrer Variante aus der Region Ilża. Sie wurde zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts bereits nicht mehr genutzt. Jedoch gab es sie noch bis zum 2. Weltkrieg in weit entfernten und besonders reichen Dörfern, denen die Tradition wichtig war. Allerdings wurden nur einige Elemente gepflegt wie Korallketten, das Tuch *szalinówka*, männliche Fellmützen, Pelz, Stiefel. Ein besonders charakteristisches Element der Tracht aus Powiśle Lubelskie waren die Pasiaki (Stoffen mit quergestreiften Ornamenten). Hieraus wurden sog. Zapaski als Schürze oder als eine Art Schulterumhang gemacht. Zusammen mit anderen Elementen kamen sie aus der Kielcer Region über die Weichsel.

DIE VERZAUBERENDE SCHÖNHEIT DES DETAILS. DEKORATIVE ELEMENTE IN DEN LUBLINER VOLKSTRACHTEN

Die Verzierung der Volkstracht, auch in der Lubliner Region, hat sich seit der Renaissance und Barockzeit entwickelt. Die Beschreibungen in den Quellen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert berichten, dass in den Volkstrachten verschiedene Verzierungen vorkamen. Es handelte sich vor allem um Applikationen, Kurzwaren, Stickereien, Zinnknöpfe oder mit Nägeln beschlagene Gürtel. Nicht ohne Bedeutung war die Tatsache, dass im feudalen Zeitalter die Untertanen verpflichtet waren, für die Höfe und Kirchen Stickereien, Spitzen und auch ganzen Trachten nach Mustervorlagen zu fertigen. Die westliche Mode kam zu den Bauern durch die Städte, und ab dem 18. Jahrhundert durch die Adelschicht, die ihre eigene sarmatische Tracht langsam aufgab, sowie durch wandernde Händler oder die Leute, die Wanderberufe repräsentierten, z. B. Flößer oder Siebmacher. Der dekorative Reichtum zeigte sich bei den Kopfbedeckungen, Miedern, zarten Spitzen, Stickereiornamenten oder bei Mustern auf den Männergürteln und auch raffinierten Holzschnitzereien an den Stäben.

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Mariola Tymochowicz

TYPOLOGISCHE UNTERSCHIEDE DER VOLKSTRACHTEN IN DER WOJEWODSCHAFT LUBLIN

Die Volkstrachten aus der Region Wojewodschaft Lublin sind nicht abschließend beschrieben, obwohl sie seit gut 50 Jahren bearbeitet werden. Bisher wurde weder die Anzahl der Trachten, noch das Verbreitungsgebiet mancher Trachten festgestellt. Allgemein nimmt man an, dass es nur eine Lubliner Tracht gibt, die man auch für die Krzczonower Tracht hält. In manchen Bearbeitungen werden zusätzlich solche Trachttypen erwähnt, wie die Tracht aus Biłgoraj-Tarnogród, aus Podlasie mit einer Włodawer Variante. Dieser Artikel will erschließen, wieviele Trachten typisch für dieses Gebiet waren, um Unterschiede und Ähnlichkeiten aufzuzeigen. Auf Grundlage dieser Forschungen und unter Annahme bestimmter Abgrenzungskriterien nimmt die Autorin eine Typologie von Trachtvarianten vor, die für die Lubelski Region charakteristisch sind. Die Materialsorten sind das Hauptkriterium, das zweite Kriterium ist die Farbgestaltung, das dritte Kriterium sind die Elemente, die eine Unterscheidung der Trachten erlauben: nach Volkskultur, Gutsbesitzerkultur und Stadtkultur. Das letzte Kriterium ist die Zugehörigkeit nach ethnischen Gebieten. Diese Systematik erlaubt es nicht nur, den Reichtum dieser Trachten zu zeigen, sondern auch ihre Vielfältigkeit, was bestätigt, dass man für ein so großes und Kulturen reiches Gebiet nicht einen einzigen Trachtentyp ausmachen kann.

Katarzyna Ignas

TRACHT AUS DER REGION PRZEWORSK AM BEISPIEL DER VOLKSTRACHTENSAMMLUNG IM MUSEUM PRZEWORSK UND SO GENANNT „PRZEWORSKI-TRACHT“ ALS BÜHNENKOSTÜM DER FOLKLOREGRUPPEN DER REGION

Festliche Volkstracht aus der Gegend um Przeworsk kennen wir von Textilsammlungen und alten Fotografien aus dem Museum Przeworsk und auch aus den Sammlungen des Ethnographischen Museums Rzeszów (Feldmaterialarchiv). Zur historischen Darstellung der Przeworski Tracht: 18. Jh. Korsette und metallene Reifen; 19/20. Jh. sog. Przeworski Mieder, 1. Hälfte 20. Jh. – Korsette nach Krakauer Art, Schulterumhänge aus Tüll und Hemden. Hersteller und Stoffe; Koloristik und Verzierung. Der Text behandelt auch die Volkstracht in der lokalen mündlichen Folklore sowie den Rückgang der Tradition, sich in festlichen Trachten zu kleiden, und die damit verbundenen Probleme.

LEINENSTOFF IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN KONTEXTEN DER TRADITIONELLEN KULTUR POLENS

der Artikel bespricht das Vorkommen von Leinenstoff und -kleidung in verschiedenen Kontexten der traditionellen Kultur Polens. Die Auswahl der Leinenstoffe war früher ein Anzeichen für den Vermögensstatus der Besitzer. Oft hat der Stoff die Funktion einer Gabe für Personen, die eine spezielle Rolle in den traditionellen, familiären Bräuchen einnahmen. Es zeichnet ihre mediale Eigenschaft aus. Außerdem spielt der Leinenstoff bei Übergangsritualen eine große Rolle. Er wurde wesentlich genutzt in der traditionellen Medizin als Schutzzauber, weil man glaubte, dass Leinen mit der überirdischen Sphäre verbunden sei. Dies spiegelte sich im Volksglauben und auch christlichen Glaubensregeln wider.

Anna Czyżewska, Małgorzata Kunecka

PROJEKT „POLNISCHE VOLKTRACHTEN IM INTERNET” – EIN KLASSISCHES ETHNOGRAPHISCHES THEMA IM NEUEN GEWAND

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Strojeludowe.net ist eine Internetseite, die sich den verschiedenen Trachten in den einzelnen polnischen Regionen widmet. Sie wurde eingerichtet vom Verein „Pracownia Etnograficzna”. Jetzt präsentiert sie Trachten aus 28 ethnographischen Regionen, aber wird ständig erweitert. Die Seite ist das Resultat einer Zusammenarbeit mit den Museen, Verlagen und Privatsammlern, die sich entschieden haben, die eigenen Sammlungen für das Projekt zur Verfügung zu stellen. Besonders interessant sind auch die Aktivitäten, um das Portal zu bewerben. Sie erlauben es, die Trachtenthematik auf eine neue Weise zu sehen.

Юстына Сломска-Новак, Хуберт Чаховский

о народном костюме иначе... между эстетическим и философским измерением крестьянской одежды

В данном тексте рассказывается о возможных направлениях интерпретаций в создании традиционного народного костюма. Автор призывает к новому прочтению этого явления, открытию в нём скрытых значений и идей. Полезными для исследования в данном контексте будут эстетический и философский анализ. Чаще праздничный костюм представляется как произведение народного искусства, часть материальной культуры общества, но редко трактуется как законченные, превосходные эстетические формы. Столь же редко осуществляется обращение к философскому анализу таких вспомогательных тем, как мода и философия одежды.

Анна Вероника Бжезиньска

народный костюм - от биографии предмета к самоидентичности

Современный контекст функционирования народного костюма (или его элементов) выполняют две важные функции: подчеркивают национальную идентичность, являются носителем традиции, а также указывают на его историческую ценность. На передний план исследования выдвинут человек и предмет, связанный с ним, который становится свидетелем происходящих событий, и тем самым создаёт свою собственную историю – биографию. Народный костюм можно рассматривать в двух исследовательских плоскостях – как историю отдельного предмета (элемента костюма), а также историю его владельца. Народный костюм может трактоваться как ценность, а также как носитель культурной информации и идентичности. К поиску новой методологии исследования народной одежды в контексте биографии предмета подтолкнул художественный проект фотографа Виольки Кусь под заглавием «Топ Модель. Сделано в Польше».

Барбара Холуб

знаковая символика женских головных уборов

цель написания данной статьи – реконструкция фундаментальной для польской культуры символики традиционных женских головных уборов. Материал составлен на основании сбора примеров конкретных функций, выполняемых женскими головными уборами на территории Люблинского воеводства, а также их классификации таким образом, чтобы данные функции были не только описаны, но и продемонстрированы в системе с ними связанных верований. Это, прежде всего попытка открыть и понять механизмы, которые повлияли на возникновение одних и исчезновение других элементов головного убора, на изменение формы, и тем самым выполняемых функций. В итоге для лучшего понимания образа мышления и действий не только наших предков, но и современников воссоздаются некоторые аспекты традиционной картины мира.

цели, функции и новые исследовательские аспекты современных разработок на тему традиционного народного костюма (на примере книги «народный костюм келецкого региона»)

Книга «Народный костюм Келецкого региона», изданная в сентябре 2012 г. Музеем Келецкой деревни, носит характер научно-популярной монографии. В ней описываются различные аспекты такого культурного явления, каким, несомненно, являлся традиционный народный костюм в конкретном историко-этнографическом регионе, расположенном на северных окраинах исторической Малопольски. Этот регион заселен преимущественно сандомежанами, одной из малопольских этнических групп. Существенное влияние на специфику бытования дифференцированных форм народного костюма на изучаемой территории оказал тот факт, что некоторое время на Келецкий регион большое влияние оказывали малопольская и мазовецкая одежда, что оставило глубокий след как в локальной, так и в народной культуре. Таким образом, в Келецком регионе функционировали следующие народные костюмы: Келецкий, Свентокшиский, Сандомежский, Восточно-краковский, Радомский и Опочыньский.

Алиция Миронюк-Никольска

«разноцветные звенья жней...» - могут ли фотографии с первых президентских дожинок в спале в 1927 году представлять собой источник изучения народного костюма?

Текст является обсуждением альбома фотографий, сделанных во время Первых Президентских Дожинок в Спале в 1927 году. На фотографиях изображены сцены с участием властей и участников дожинок – молодых земледельцев из всей Польши, одетых в праздничные народные костюмы. Автор Кароль Пэнхэрский знакомит читателя с народными костюмами разных регионов Польши, а также с многими деталями способов ношения бижутерии, образцами вышивки. Происхождение костюмов, названия регионов, а также конкретных деревень, уточняются в статье, опубликованной в журнале «Сев», изданном Союзом сельской молодёжи – идейным вдохновителем и организатором дожинок. В результате проведенного исследования, можно сделать вывод, что альбом является важным источником для изучения народного костюма Польши 20-х годов XX века.

Людмила Пономарь

лингво-этнографическое исследование полесского народного костюма

Предметом изучения является народный костюм, функционировавший на территории Правобережного Полесья на протяжении второй половины XIX – первой половине XX века. Территория исследования затрагивает Киевскую, Житомирскую и Ровненскую области, а также Зону отчуждения вокруг Чернобыльской АЭС (или переселенные из этой зоны деревни). Наличие специфических черт в одежде данного региона обусловлено спецификой исторического развития и этнокультурного влияния соседних государств (Польши и Беларуси). На основании проведенного картографирования, прослежена пространственная вариантность исследуемых явлений, также произведена типология элементов одежды, представленных на территории Западного и Среднего Полесья.

проблематика реконструкции народного костюма нижнего повислья

В статье рассматривается народный костюм Штумско-Квидзыньского Повислья на основании изучения письменных и иконографических источников. Автором проведен сравнительный анализ предмета исследования со старинным костюмом Восточной Пруссии. Были выделены обстоятельства исчезновения костюма, затронуты тематика послевоенной реконструкции для эстрадных коллективов, функционирование традиционного костюма в современном сознании.

Александра Папрот

может ли жулавский костюм быть традиционным?

Жулавы – это поликультурный регион, в котором традиционные общественно-культурные связи прервала Вторая мировая война. Послевоенная миграция населения стала причиной введения переселенцами и репатриантами новых явлений и обычаев. В связи с появлением в это время новых традиций, возникла необходимость формирования народного жулавского костюма. Анализ данных культурных тенденций до и после 1945 года позволяет критически оценить традиционные элементы материальной культуры, на которых основывается региональное самосознание. Автор в статье старается ответить на следующие вопросы: 1) в какой степени коммерциализация повлияла на необходимость создания жулавского костюма? 2) может ли жулавский костюм быть традиционным? 3) какую роль он играет по отношению к культурному багажу послевоенных переселенцев?

Януш Камоцкий

списский костюм у венгерских поляков

В 1717 году группа польских горцев поселилась в венгерской деревне Дэрэнэк. В 1943 году их потомки были вынужденные покинуть эту деревню, однако раз в год они организовали съезды в этой покинутой деревне. Со временем эти съезды превратились в настоящий праздник всех поляков, которые живут в Венгрии. Также туда приезжали художественные коллективы из польских гор. В последнее время удалось зафиксировать, из каких окрестностей были родом переселенцы, восстановить семейные связи и организовать взаимные контакты. Поляки в Дэрэнку не сохранили локального традиционного костюма. В настоящее время праздничный женский костюм деревень, из которых мигрировали их предки, использует в качестве своего сценического костюма музыкальный коллектив «Польская Дрэнка».

Изабелла Ясиньска

костюмы для дожиночных хороводов в опольском регионе (2005-2012 гг.)

Автор ставит целью ознакомление с разнообразием костюмов, которые одевают участники дожиночных хороводов. Широта применения одежды во время дожинок достаточно рознородна: от аутентичных народных костюмов, которые носили женщины в начале XX века, до современных модификаций, основанных на своеобразной эстетике костюма

изучаемого региона. Данная тема весьма интересна для исследования, поскольку и сегодня народный костюм подчеркивает этническую принадлежность владельца, а это является актуальной проблемой для Опольской Силезии. Анализ в значительной степени опирается на документальную фотографию, а полевые материалы создадут в будущем полную картину данного явления. Поэтому автор будет продолжать изучение этой темы.

Малгожата Куртыка

реконструкция заглэмбёвского костюма

Заглэмбёвский народный костюм давно вышел из употребления и не встречается в современной культуре региона. Трудно найти аутентичный экземпляр костюма, его отдельные элементы доступны лишь в музейных коллекциях. На территории Домбровского бассейна прослеживается влияние трех типов народного костюма: Мазовецкого, Силезского и Малопольского. В результате проведения исследовательских работ над созданием сценической версии заглэмбёвской свадьбы, автор статьи произвел реконструкцию Заглэмбёвского костюма. В поисках необходимых материалов была проведена серия интервью с местными жителями. В перспективе необходимо привлечение более широкого спектра источников и исследовательских методов, в том числе проведение полевых этнографических исследований в регионе, поиски в архивах, и доступных региональных коллекциях.

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Ханна Голля

нижнесилезский народный костюм. традиция в сравнении с современностью

Нижняя Силезия называется «регионом регионов». Данный термин связан с изменениями, которые произошли в стране после 1945 года, когда в составе населения произошли крупные изменения. С тех времен в регионе возникли многочисленные проблемы, связанные с адаптацией и интеграцией переселенцев. До сегодняшнего дня одной из таких проблем является народный костюм, и в частности, то как его по-современному назвать: «Нижне-Силезский» или, в связи с гетерогенностью культуры региона, – «костюм из Нижней Силезии»? С 2008 года во Вроцлаве организуется Фестиваль традиций Нижней Силезии, на котором выступают народные ансамбли, опирающиеся в своём творчестве на традиции переселенцев, которые также хотели бы отождествить себя со своей теперешней малой родиной. В результате анализа костюмов, в которых выступали коллективы в 5 последних фестивалей, можно выделить 3 группы, в которых выявляются свои особенности.

Тымотэуш Круль

вилямовский народный костюм в XXI веке

Вилямовский женский традиционный костюм очень разнообразен и отличается от других народных костюмов Польши. Данный вид костюма сохранился в XXI веке благодаря региональным фольклорным коллективам, которые немного видоизменили его форму. На сегодняшний день для некоторых это всего лишь сценический костюм, но много кто относится к нему как к костюму традиционному, унаследованному от предков, и носит его, отождествляя себя, таким образом, со своими корнями. Выборка элементов костюма указывает на отношение

владельца к народной одежде. В Вилямовицах во время процессии маленькие девочки одевали для посыпания цветов традиционно Краковский костюм, который сегодня вытеснен миниатюрой Вилямовского костюма. Несмотря на то, что это новация, она помогает молодому поколению в развитии желания носить народную одежду. Однако следует обратить внимание, что в этих костюмах не используются оригинальные элементы.

Станислава Трэбуня-Сташель

подхальянские модницы и местные создатели моды

264 Подхальянский народный костюм как один из немногочисленных элементов традиционной культуры продолжает бытовать до сих пор, сопровождая жителей Подхалья во время важных церковных, семейных праздников, а также национальных и региональных и торжеств. Поскольку, начиная с конца 80-х годов XX столетия, его распространение вышло за рамки праздничной обрядности, и стали появляться новые формы, фасоны и декоративные техники, можно говорить о периоде своеобразного ренессанса Подхальянского народного костюма. Данный текст представляет собой попытку подробнее рассмотреть современное подхальянское портняжное дело, которое развивается в различных направлениях: костюмы, сделанные согласно традиционным канонам, стилизованные на горальские мотивы, работы в стиле «фолк-дизайн».

Кинга Чэрвиньска

народный костюм тешинской силезии: традиции – новации – перспективы

Сформированная поколениями структура народного костюма является символическим кодом, выражающим систему ценностей, правил трансляции, ритуалов. Костюм информировал об общественной позиции и обрядовой роли его носителя, выражал имущественный статус, своеобразие и принадлежность к конкретной этнической группе, поскольку в пространстве пограничной полосы, какой является Тешинская Силезия, это имеет важное значение. После долгого периода регресса, когда костюм функционировал только как идеологический и сценический реквизит, наступило его возрождение. Интерес к народному костюму и растущая потребность иметь таковой в домашнем гардеробе, способствует его реконструкции и продолжению использования древних декоративно-прикладных техник, в этом числе ручной вышивки и плетения кружев.

Магдалина Кветиньска

краковский костюм в пространстве города

История Краковского народного костюма представляет собой интересный для исследователя культурный феномен. Всё чаще он выполняет новые функции в различных контекстах городского пространства, и играет существенную роль в событиях городской жизни. Существенным фактором в этом процессе были происходившие историко-политические изменения на территории Республики Польши, экономическое развитие, а также мода XIX века на крестьянскую одежду. В начале XX века произошла урбанизация Кракова и его окрестностей, что придало региональному костюму новое значение. В те времена начали расширяться границы города, включая в свою структуру близлежащие деревни, и соответственно локальные обычаи и традиции.

можем ли мы назвать костюм, который носят в районе хрубешова и томашова люблинского хрубешовско- томашовским? терминологическая проблема

Хрубешовско-томашовский костюм до 1939 года носили на территориях, лежащих между городами Хрубешовым и Томашовым Люблинским, на юго-востоке охватывая земли около Равы Русской и Соколом, включая оба берега реки Буг. После Второй мировой войны границы изменились, в результате чего в Польше костюм стали носить уже только в деревнях лежащих на юго-восток от Томашова и юг от Хрубешова, а на востоке проходила граница по реке Буг. Наивысший период развития народного костюма пришелся на конец XIX – начало XX вв., затем наблюдается постепенное исчезновение. Но следует отметить, что еще перед Второй мировой войной традиционный костюм был в постоянном употреблении, а некоторые элементы (главным образом, мужские рубашки) не вышли из всеобщего употребления даже после 1945 года. Хрубешовско - томашовский костюм – это яркий пример народной одежды, которая складывалась под влиянием культуры двух этнических групп. В нём смешаны типичные черты для сосуществующих наций. После Второй мировой войны исследователи минимизировали свой интерес к данному костюму, опасаясь официального раскрытия его исторических корней. На сегодняшний день, исследуемый костюм представляется только как музейный экспонат, и даже фольклорные коллективы не всегда охотно его применяют в своем творчестве, считая его не совсем своим и малопримгодным для сценических выступлений.

Агнешка Лавицка

красота, заключенная в мелочах. декоративные элементы в народном костюме люблинского региона

Декорирование народного костюма на Люблинщине начало развиваться в эпоху ренессанса и барокко. Согласно описаниям из источников XVIII в. в народном костюме используются разнообразные украшения. Это были, прежде всего, аппликации, плетеные застёжки, вышивка, оловянные пуговицы, пояса. Немаловажен факт, что в период крепостничества подданным поручали выполнять для дворов и костёлов вышивку и кружева, костюмы по готовым образцам. Первоначально западная мода приходила к крестьянам главным образом из города, а с XVIII в. также от дворянского рода сарматов, и посредством странствующих торговцев или иных людей – представителей странствующих профессий, например плотовщиков или билгорайских ситников. Богатство декорирования особенно наглядно прослеживалось на головных уборах, украшении корсетов, тонкости кружев, орнаментах вышивок или узорах на мужских поясах и искусно вырезанных деревянных тростей.

Рената Бартник

народный костюм окрестностей повислья люблинского – оригинал и образ в польской графике и живописи

Надвислянский народный костюм широко бытовал на территории от Аннополя до Голэнбя, встречался также в регионе, достаточно отдаленном на восток от Вислы. Существенным образом отличался от более 10 известных типов костюмов Люблинского региона. Иконография и элементы традиционного костюма, которые хранятся в музеях и частных коллекциях, показывают, что исследуемый костюм имеет сходные черты с Малопольским и

Мазовецким народными костюмами. Наиболее близок был к Радомскому костюму, особенно к его Илжецкой разновидности. Перестал употребляться уже в начале XX века. Однако на территориях, удаленных от городов, в деревнях с богатыми традициями еще после Второй мировой войны носили некоторые элементы костюма: бусы, платок-шаль, мужскую баранью шапку, тулуп, сапоги. Отличительной особенностью костюма Повислья Люблинского были «пасаки» (ткань в полоску). Из неё шили передники, которые носили на бретельках либо одевали на юбку. Вместе с другими элементами костюма они пришли из Келецкого региона с другого берега Вислы.

Мариоля Тымохович

нелюблинский кшчоновский народный костюм

Несмотря на то, что традиционная одежда, зафиксированная на территории Люблинского воеводства, исследуется уже более полувека, она всё ещё не до конца изучена. До сих пор учёные не установили точное количество видов и границы территории бытования народного костюма. Распространено мнение, что так называемый Кшчоновский народный костюм представляет собой один из видов Люблинского. Кроме того в некоторых исследованиях упоминаются такие виды, как Билгорайско-Тарногородский тип народного костюма и Подляский костюм с разновидностью Влодавского. Цель написания данной статьи: установить окончательное число видов типовых костюмов для исследуемого региона, выявить подобные и различные черты между ними. На основании проведенных исследований автор совершила типологизацию разновидностей костюмов, встречающихся в Люблинском регионе. За первый и главный критерий типологизации был принят материал, из которого сделан костюм; за второй – колористическая гамма; за третий – происхождение отдельных элементов, что позволило выделить костюмы, в которых части одежды имеют происхождение из традиционной крестьянской культуры, а также такие, в которых присутствуют элементы из дворянской и городской моды. Последний критерий классификации – принадлежность костюмов к конкретному этническому пространству. Проведенная типологизация показала не только большое количество разновидностей Люблинского костюма и их внутреннее разнообразие, но и то, что для такого большого культурного пространства нельзя выделить единственный тип костюма.

Катажина Игнас

пшеворский костюм на примере коллекции народного костюма музея в пшеворске, и так называемый «пшеворский костюм» как эстрадный костюм фольклорных коллективов региона

Праздничный народный костюм, который носили в окрестностях Пшеворска, известен на основании материалов музейной коллекции и архивных фотографий из собрания Музея в Пшеворске, а также коллекции Архива региональных материалов Этнографического музея в Жешове. В статье изложены основные этапы исторического развития костюма: XVIII в. – жилеты с кружевами и металлическими обручами; конец XIX – начало XX вв. – пшеворские жилеты; первая половина XX в. – жилеты краковского типа, тюлевые передники и рубашки; автор рассматривает также производителей и материалы; особенности колористики и отделки. В тексте также освещены следующие вопросы: символика традиционного костюма в устном народном творчестве, исчезновение традиции ношения праздничного народного костюма, и вытекающие отсюда проблемы.

льняное полотно в некоторых аспектах польской традиционной культуры

В данной статье автор рассматривает льняное полотно и одежду в различных аспектах польской традиционной культуры. В прошлом выбор льняной ткани нёс важную информацию об имущественном статусе. В традиционных семейных обрядах льняное полотно фигурировало в качестве ценного подарка. Оно обозначало также место действия событий и ключевые изменения в ритуальной сфере. Льняное полотно активно использовалось в народной медицине. Это было связано с традиционными представлениями поляков о льняной ткани как обереге из-за её связи с потусторонним миром. Данные представления нашли своё отражение в народных верованиях, а также в канонах христианской веры.

Анна Чижевска, Малгожата Кунэцка

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проект «польский народный костюм в интернете», или новый подход к классической этнографической теме

Strojeludowe.net – это интернет-сайт, посвященный традиционному костюму разных регионов Польши, был подготовлен обществом «Этнографическая мастерская». В настоящее время на сайте демонстрируются костюмы из 28 этнографических регионов, в скором будущем планируется пополнение коллекции. Интернет-сайт является результатом сотрудничества общества с музеями, издательствами и частными коллекционерами, которые решили сделать доступными свои собрания на потребности проекта. Большой интерес вызывают рекламные мероприятия, посвященные порталу. Они позволяют по-новому взглянуть на тему народного костюма.
