

# 2024

Switzerland, 16-19 May

ICOM

Costume Committee  
Annual Conference

# PRINTS



From Painted Cloth  
to Printed Textiles

ICOM international  
council  
of museums

ICOM COSTUME international committee  
for the museums and collections  
of costume, fashion and textiles

**2024 ICOM Costume Annual Conference**  
**‘PRINTS: From Painted Cloth to Printed Textiles,’ Switzerland 16-19 May 2024**

The theme of the 2024 ICOM Costume Committee Annual Conference, ‘PRINTS: From Painted Cloth to Printed Textiles’ aims to explore techniques, dyes, and design patterns in clothing culture throughout time and geographical zones. Following the Huguenots’ banishment from France in the mid-17th century, Switzerland became a hub for the manufacturing and trade of printed textiles. Industries related to the production of printed fabrics experienced a rapid growth throughout the 19th century. To this day, Switzerland produces high-quality printed fabrics, and Swiss museums house valuable collections of such items.

Printing techniques, widely used in contemporary fashion, are the most popular way to decorate clothing fabrics. The annual theme for the conference is dedicated to the history and contemporary relevance of prints in fashion, focusing attention on both the beauty of vintage prints and their contemporary uses.

Today’s fashion is difficult to imagine without the possibility of printing. This particular decorating technique’s simple design process and low cost—in comparison with weaving techniques—allow printed fabric patterns to be created in both large enterprises and small businesses.

The Proceedings of the annual conference 2024 showcase ongoing projects, exhibitions, museums, and collections on research topics reflecting PRINTS throughout history, in conjunction with the development of new technologies, the influence of art movements, social or political events, and changing tastes.

The annual conference presented a new format with several venues in different Swiss museums—Switzerland being known for having the highest rate of museums per inhabitant. ICOM Costume members were happy to discover a portion of them related to the field of dress, fashion and, textiles in Geneva, Prangins, Yverdon, Neuchâtel, and Lausanne.

Day one was hosted at the Museum of Art and History in Geneva, for paper sessions followed by a tour of the Graphic Arts Cabinet and its great collection of fans, specialised collections of Indian miniatures, fashion plates, books of ornaments and textiles sample books. The day ended with a printing workshop session at the atelier GeGrave, where we experienced printing techniques on paper and textile. Second day, hosted at the Swiss National Museum—Château de Prangins—offered paper sessions followed by tours of the galleries and of the [permanent exhibition of \*Indiennes\*](#), as well as workshops about natural dyeing plants and techniques, organised in the garden. The third day took place on the shores of Lake Neuchâtel, at the Swiss Fashion Museum in Yverdon, with a visit to the space dedicated to couturier Robert Piguet (1898-1953), at the castle, and a visit to the fashion reserves foreshadowing the future deployment of the Swiss Fashion Museum. Afterwards, participants were welcomed at the Neuchâtel Museum of Art and History and had the opportunity to study an exceptional 18th century Banyan [Robe de Meuron](#). The committee also had the privilege of witnessing a very unique demonstration of [18th-century automatons](#) kept by Jacquet-Droz in the museum’s collections, on the occasion of the International Museum Day, on 18 May. A visit to a 17th-century private historical site for *Indiennes* manufacturing on the edge of the lake marked the end of the day.

The congress ended with an excursion day to Lausanne and a visit to two exceptional sites: the Olympic Museum in Lausanne and the SAPA Foundation for the Performing Arts and Entertainment.

I would like to thank all participants, speakers, and attendees, representatives of 16 countries. I feel very grateful to our dedicated colleagues and their wonderful staffs for organising and hosting the conference paper sessions, and for arranging museums visits and workshops in the different venues: the Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève, the Musée national suisse at château de Prangins, the Musée suisse de la mode in Yverdon-les-Bains, the Musée d’art et d’histoire de Neuchâtel, the musée Olympique in Lausanne, and the Fondation SAPA ■

Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, Chair of ICOM Costume Committee,  
Château de Versailles, France.

ISBN: 978-2-491997-92-2

Proceedings edited by Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset, for ICOM Costume Committee.

Proofreading and graphic design by Virginie Lassarre.

Image caption and copyright (cover): Silk pattern camisole in reserve on an indigo background, Swiss National Museum, inv. LM 7612 © MNS

## Indian Chintzes and Printed Cottons at the Fries Museum

Arnolli, Gieneke

Former Curator at the Fries Museum, Leeuwarden, the Netherlands

### Abstract

The Fries (Frisian) Museum, located in Leeuwarden (the Netherlands), houses about 700 items of Indian chintzes and European printed cottons.

If Frisian women used to wear the international west-European fashion, the traditional dress worn in the tiny Frisian town of Hindeloopen was different. During the 18th century, Hindeloopen women started to include Indian cotton fabrics in their traditional costumes instead of local wool and linen. The Hindeloopen chintz gowns, or *wentkes*, and the use of different ginghams for aprons and headkerchiefs created a continuing interest in these exotic textiles in Friesland.

Outside Hindeloopen, chintz was popular for women's jackets, short bodices, and especially the lining of large straw 'sunhats,' to be worn over traditional huge lace caps. Frisian babies were swaddled in chintz wraps and wore tiny chintz jackets, caps and separate sleeves. The 'Japone rok,' inspired by Japanese kimonos, was used by men as indoor clothing.

### Content

1. Introduction
2. Hindeloopen, Amsterdam and the VOC
3. Hindeloopen in the Fries Museum
4. The *wentke*
5. Seven 'stages of enlightenment'
6. 'Japanese' kimono made in India
7. Multicoloured chintzes at the exhibition *Chintz: Cotton in Bloom*, 2018
8. Dutch printed cottons
9. Chintz in the informal sphere

### Introduction

The art and history of the province of Friesland are reflected in the collections housed by the Fries (Frisian) Museum. Amongst these are more than 700 clothing items and indoor textiles created from Indian chintzes and European printed cottons, using the chintz technique.

Friesland was a prosperous coastal region connected to overseas trade. In the 18th century, the Netherlands occupied a special place in Europe due to the relatively abundant use of Indian chintzes in clothing, especially in Friesland. Hand painted cotton sold 'by the metre,' was used for women's jackets and skirts, for morning gowns and men's waistcoats, for children's hats and baby jackets, palampores, quilted large and small blankets, swaddle cloths, etc.

If Frisian women generally used to wear the international west-European fashion with their own headdress, the traditional costume worn in the tiny town of Hindeloopen was unique in the province. Chintz, together with gingham—chequered cotton, also from India—became characteristic of the distinctive Hindeloopen regional costume.

### **Hindeloopen, Amsterdam and the VOC**

Located at the southwest coast of the province, the tiny town of Hindeloopen was the last of the eleven Friesland towns having city rights. Its inhabitants were oriented towards Amsterdam, as the sea around the town was too shallow for their merchant ships. In Amsterdam, the goods delivered by the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), the Dutch East Indian Company founded in 1602, were auctioned and put on the market.

The Baltic trade with Scandinavia, Russia and the Baltic states constituted the major focus of the Hindeloopen working men. The main flourishing period of the town lay between 1650 and 1790, when Hindeloopen owned a large fleet of over eighty ships, with Amsterdam standing as its home port, where the money was spent. The city provided exotic luxuries, like Chinese porcelain and, of course, Indian chintzes and gingham.

The Dutch East India Company appropriated most of the chintz trade and exchanged cotton from India for popular Indonesian spices or Japanese metals. The multi-coloured fabrics were occasionally took back home by VOC employees and merchants, where they were very much appreciated. Consequently, from 1664 onwards, the VOC's *Eischen van retour* (Requirements for Return) instructed their overseas representatives to buy chintz for the Dutch market.

### **Hindeloopen at the Fries Museum**

The Frisian Society for History and Culture celebrated its 50th anniversary in 1877, with a large historical exhibition at His Majesty's Palace in Leeuwarden—the first ethnological exhibition in the Netherlands. A Hindeloopen room in which life-size dolls in costumes were drinking tea received the most attention (**Fig. 1**).

Proceeds from this exhibition made it possible for the Society to purchase a building in which the Fries Museum was established in 1881. Not one, but two Hindeloopen rooms were given a place in the museum: a small one with painted box bed walls, special small bed steps, and a wooden fireplace doll dressed as a Hindeloopen woman wearing a long flowered coat; and a second one, with life-size dolls, which, since 2013, has been on display in a new museum building in the centre of Leeuwarden.

## The *wentke*

The traditional Hindeloopen women's costume included garments, which have been preserved since the 16th century. Its most striking feature was a long, close-fitting open coat, the *wentke*, which was worn on special occasions (**Fig. 2**).

Made of local wool and linen in the 17th century, women progressively started to incorporate Indian cotton fabrics in their traditional costumes during the 18th century. Since about 1700, different Indian gingham were used for aprons and neckerchiefs. The chintzes, which appeared after 1750, combined with the gingham for the neckerchief, breast cloth, and apron, made a great change in the attractiveness of their costumes. Even underwear became part of this new trend. For instance, the under vest, or *underst oerlof*, was worn beneath the *wentke* with a black corset or boning-free stays. It had chintz bands and sleeves only visible in summer, when the *wentke* was not worn (**Fig. 3**). The colourful cotton *wentkes* were only used for festive occasions during winter months, from November till February, when the men were at home.

What was special was that the colours had a symbolic meaning: a multi-coloured *wentke*—as it was combined with red, white and blue chequered gingham—with a red ground, was definitively not for mourning (**Fig. 4**); a bride-to-be wore a white veil and a white *wentke* with red flowers, a so called 'milk-and-blood chintz,' and different red and white gingham. When the vows were exchanged in the church, she would wear the traditional old-fashioned black wool *wentke*. Floral chintz was even worn during mourning.

We know about these colour schemes because Hendrik Lap (1824-1874), an amateur artist from Hindeloopen, painted these Hindeloopen women and girls, at the request of the Leeuwarden archivist, bookseller and publisher, Wopke Eekhoff (1809-1880). Eekhoff was a prominent member of the Fries Genootschap, the founder of the Fries Museum, for more than 40 years (**Fig. 5**).

## Seven 'stages of enlightenment'

The Hindeloopen women showed seven 'stages of enlightenment,' ranging from deep mourning till out of mourning. The most intense period of mourning lasted seven years. In the fourth enlightenment, it was customary to wear a black chintz *wentke* with white flowers. During the subsequent stage, the *wentke* would have a white background with blue flowers, like the bed cape (c. 1830) made of chintz *wentke* (c. 1750) (**Fig. 6**). But not all white-ground fabrics with blue flowers were intended for mourning. Several examples of blue flowered aprons could be found outside Hindeloopen, for instance.

Numerous remarkable black and white chintzes have been preserved, among which two coupons with an original note. The smaller one is a European block-printed cotton, with a note indicating that the fabric was meant for making sleeves (**Fig. 7**). The large piece is an Indian chintz with a note stating that the fabric was given as a present by three young

couples, as a souvenir from their trip to Groningen in 1791. It also must have been meant for making sleeves to an under vest (**Fig. 8**).

### **‘Japanese’ kimono made in India**

In 1954, an article was published about Hindeloopen *wentkes* stated that Hindeloopen women used to sew the so-called *japonse rok*—a chintz morning gown—into the *wentke* (Lubberhuizen-van Gelder 1954, 90). Maybe students in the streets wearing such a morning gown inspired Hindeloopen women who visited Amsterdam. However, such a reused morning gown is never seen in surviving *wentkes*.

The Fries Museum collection displays a morning gown (*japonse rok*), in the style of a Japanese kimono. It was made in India and painted in accordance with VOC specifications, around 1700. The Netherlands had already been introduced to the Japanese quilted silk kimono sometime earlier.

At the end of the 17th century, the silk wadding of the kimono, presented by the Emperor of Japan, was removed before its shipment so that the garment could be packed away as compactly as possible to prevent water damage. The wadding was not usually replaced later, though.

The red chintz *japonse rok* has never been wadded but still has a strong Japanese character: it is a wide model with wide sleeves. Moreover, the pattern is inspired by the well-known Japanese motif of a pine tree with prunus blossoms, which can also be seen on many Japanese and Chinese ceramics. Like a kimono, the front and back are made from a single piece of cloth. There is a complete pine tree on the back while both front panels feature loose branches with fan-shaped bunches of pine needles. A gusset—a triangular piece of fabric that is slightly shorter than the kimono—is sewn on both sides of the opening. This explains why, at the bottom, it appears as though a square has been cut out on both sides. The kimono is lined with coarser cotton with a pattern of small, scattered flowers; the gussets, with equally coarse cotton printed with an elegant Mughal carnation pattern.

### **Multi-coloured chintzes at the exhibition *Chintz: Cotton in Bloom*, 2018.**

According to the scholar Johann Hermann Knoop (Kassel, 1700- Amsterdam, 1769) women from smaller towns of Friesland particularly loved to wear multi-coloured chintzes (Knoop 1763, 465). The Fries Museum is privileged to have such multi-coloured chintzes with red, green, purple, or blue grounds in its collection. Many examples were displayed for the exhibition *Chintz: Cotton in Bloom* (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum 2017; London: Fashion and Textile Museum 2021). Some fabrics are like new, have never been washed and have not lost their shine (**Fig. 9**).

The large palampore (bed-cover or hanging panel) with a purple ground has an interesting caption in the inventory book. The original text read: ‘Bed Sheet (chintz): a large sheet of flowered chintz, old-fashioned, on the bedstead.’ At that time, bedding was normally made of white linen. Today, however, this chintz could be used as a fashionable duvet cover.

Outside of Hindeloopen, Frisian women wore fashionable jackets with a special headdress with a huge lace cap. Additionally, they wore a large straw hat outside. Most of the surviving huge sunhats are lined with chintz (**Fig. 5**). A special sunhat was lined with printed cotton with a kind of *Chinoiserie* pattern. Around 1780, the cotton was printed by Oberkampf, at Jouy, France. A ceramist expert informed me that this is based on a Korean still life featuring vases and scrolls (**Fig. 9**).

### Dutch printed cottons

Chintz became extremely popular but was rather expensive; therefore, it is not surprising that people in Europe quickly looked for cheaper ways to create this colourful fabric with vivid patterns themselves. Lacking the skills to hand-paint the decorations, the European printers opted for printing blocks. In 1678, two Amsterdam merchants established the Netherlands' first cotton print company in Amersfoort. Unfortunately, no sampler books have survived. More cotton print works followed in rapid succession, especially in Amsterdam. These companies flourished around 1750, when they were finally able to approximate the quality of Indian chintz.

Then, the cotton printing industry moved to Switzerland, France and England, where Oberkampf, in Jouy, near Paris, and Peel, in Lancashire in particular, became the leading European companies. Instead of using the same quality cloth used for the Indian chintz, producers in the Netherlands continued to print on coarser (and less expensive) cloth imported from India. This led to the demise of the Dutch printing companies. In fact, Oberkampf was actually shocked when he visited Amsterdam in 1774. He had never suspected that the work would be so much more expensive and of such poor quality than the fabrics he produced (Riello 2013, 125-126).

Colours of Dutch printed cottons were never as bright as the ones of Indian chintzes. A special example is the fabric of a skirt, or petticoat, which must have been printed in the Netherlands. The lower part is decorated with an exotic seascape: the name 'Curacao' is displayed on the sterns of three vessels sailing in the foreground, with billowing sails, and armed with cannons. The fluttering red, white and blue flag has a monogram 'G W C', the Dutch initials of the Patented West India Company, WIC. Between the tall ships, small fishing boats float past mountainous islands with palm trees and Asian houses. The lower part is unique, while the floral motifs on the upper part are typical of late 18th century European printed cottons.

The WIC was founded in 1621 to trade in West Africa as well as North and South America. After the VOC, it stood as the second most important trading company, almost exclusively focused on the trade in African slaves to the West Indies. A closer inspection of the skirt reveals dark figures on the fishing boats and the islands. The name 'Curacao' does not refer to a specific ship, but to the destination. The WIC made Curaçao a free port in 1674. It then became the epicentre of the Dutch slave trade until 1815 (Dijkstra 2017, 16-17).

The *kroplap* (literally, 'breast cloth') was a special Dutch rural item of clothing worn under a jacket with a deep neckline. A *kroplap* consists of two parts, connected on the shoulders.

Sometimes one shoulder seam is completely loose and closed with hooks and eyes. They are mostly lined with linen, even though some of them have no lining at all.

However small, the *kroplappen* shows fragments of interesting patterns like the chintz one with red ground, and the exotic pattern on a white ground which is probably Dutch. One can understand Oberkamp's comments (**Fig. 10 & 11**).

Today, some Dutch folkloristic costumes still show something of the *kroplap*, such as the floral square in the neckline of the Volendam women's national costume or the large starched extended shoulder caps of the Spakenburg women's (De Jong 2021).

### Chintz in the informal sphere

Those who have money to spend will show it off. Early in the 18th century, some related Frisian noble families wore palampores made in India, with their coats of arms painted on them. These items were sparsely used and were probably stored in chests, and only taken out to show off with on special occasions (Hartkamp 2021, 49-68).

On the left, a palampore featuring the coat of arms of the Burmania family, with blue 'Chinese' mountains and blossoming trees on the border (**Fig. 6**). In the same style, another palampore presents the combined coat of arms of the van Welderen and Rengers families in the centre, and cornucopias with flowers in the corners. The palampore with the coat of arms of the Frisian Beucker family, hidden in between blossoming trees, birds, and butterflies, is also exceptional.

Large palampores were turned into colourful quilted blankets while small pieces were used for pillowcases. A loose T-shaped gown, also called a *banyan* or *cambay*—a name derived from the Indian port of Khambhat—was a garment reserved for the informal sphere. It was lined with European-printed cotton. Women wore an open informal robe or *contouche*: a *robe volante* or sack dress, of printed linen with floral motifs, painted and dyed using the chintz technique. The fabric was probably printed in England. The name *contouche* is said to be derived from the Polish *kontusz*, a long male garment with hanging sleeves, girded with a sash, traditionally worn by the nobility in Eastern Europe (Biedrońska-Słota 2018) (**Fig. 6**). Cotton sold 'by the metre' was used for children's blankets and swaddle cloths for babies, baby jackets, caps, separate sleeves, mittens, and mitts.

The red and blue colours were particularly resistant to washing (**Fig. 12**). It is precisely these 18th Century small chintz baby clothes that have been preserved in large numbers. In the collection of the Fries Museum, there are about 115 pairs of separate sleeves and even more tiny caps. It is clear that even the smallest piece of chintz had value. They are too small for a modern-day baby head, but they show a wealth of colours and floral motifs.



## Bibliography

Arnolli, Gieneke. 2017. *Sits katoen in bloei*. Zwolle. WBOOKS.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. 2018. 'Between Justaucorps, Zupan and Kontusz. Exchange of Information on Styles of Garments Based on Drawings in Polish Tailor's Books' in *ICOM Costume Proceedings*, Utrecht.

Arnolli, Gieneke. 2017. 'The Mysterious Hindeloopen Chintz Wentke Revealed' in *ICOM Costume Proceedings, London*.

Arnolli, Gieneke. 2018. 'Chintz, New in the 17th Century' in, *ICOM Costume Proceedings, Utrecht*.

De Jong, Adriaantje. 2021. *Secrets of the Traditional Dress*. Utrecht. Museum Spakenburg <https://www.museumspakenburg.nl/geheimen-van-de-klederdracht>

Dijkstra, Julia. 2017. 'De West-Indische Compagnie rok' in, *Sits, katoen in bloei*. Zwolle. WBOOKS.

Hartkamp-Jonxis, Ebeltje. 2021. 'Indian Chintzes with Dutch Coats of Arms (1725-1750)'. *Oud Holland 2021-volume 13*. Den Haag. RKD.

Knoop, Johann Hermann. 1763. *Tegenwoordige staat of Historische Beschrijvinge van Friesland, Leeuwarden*, pp 462-496.

Lubberhuizen-van Gelder, A.M. 1954. 'Hindelooper wentken.' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*-2. pp 88-91

Riello, Giorgio. 2013. *Cotton: The Fabric that Changed the World*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.



---

Fig. 1

Hindeloopen room,  
J. Bosmans.  
Historical Exhibition of Friesland, 1877.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden, P01226.

---

Fig. 2

Hindeloopen *wentke*,  
Indian chintz with large floral bouquets.  
About 1785.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden T1946-003VIII.



---

Fig. 3

Hindeloopen under vest or *underst oerlof* with  
chintz bands and sleeves.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden, T1956-213,  
permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.

---

Fig. 4

Back: Palampore T01181D;  
Left: Chintz jacket T1957-431 and gingham apron  
with chintz border T0740;  
Centre: Red jacket T01145 and petticoat T09137;  
Right: Green jacket T01835 and petticoat T09619.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden,  
exhibition *Chintz Cotton in Bloom*, 2018.



---

Fig. 5

Left: Frisian traditional costume, ca. 1780, blue Indian chintz jacket TT1979-026; Indian chintz petticoat, border with scenes of hunters and fruit trees, imported by the United East Indian Company, T02944.

Right: Chintz lining for sunhat, T1957-81.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden,  
Exhibition *Chintz cotton in bloom*, 2018.





Fig. 6

Left and right: Palampores with Frisian coats of arms, India Coromandel Coast, 1725-1730, T1964-025, T1964-026.

On loan Stichting Hora Siccama van de Harkstede Fonds;  
Centre: 1730-1740, T1990-030. On loan from Beucker Andreae family.

Centre: Red quilted blanket, Indian chintz 1725-1750, T1957-08.

Left: Japone rok, or cambay, T1957-434.

Right: Contouche T1957-450.

Fries Museum, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



Fig. 7

Coupon block-printed cotton for mourning, Hindeloopen ca. 1790.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden, T1957-691, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



Fig. 8

Coupon Indian painted chintz for mourning, Hindeloopen ca. 1790.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden, T1957-690, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



---

**Fig. 9**

Frisian sunhat with European printed cotton lining, fabric c. 1780, Oberkampf, Jouy, France.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden T1957-371, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



---

**Fig. 10**

Short under bodice or *krolap*, fabric 1725-1750, Indian chintz.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden T1957-492, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



---

**Fig. 11**

Short under bodice or *krolap*, European, probably Dutch printed cotton, 1750-1800.

Fries Museum Leeuwarden T11079, permanent loan Ottema-Kingma Foundation.



Fig. 12

Centre: Baby jacket with matching mittens (top right), Indian Chintz, 1725-1750, T1952-055 & T1952-056A+B several baby caps and pairs of separate sleeves;  
Bottom left: extended mitaines, closing at the back, so-called 'bear claws', T07429A.

Collection Fries Museum Leeuwarden

## **Chasubles et parements liturgiques peints**

Berthod, Bernard

Musée d'Art Religieux de Fourvière, Lyon, France

### **Résumé**

Les décors peints sur les vêtements liturgiques et les parements sont connus depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Cette pratique est une alternative économique employée par les couvents pour pallier le manque de ressources tout en assurant un service religieux convenable. Ce type de parements se rencontre surtout dans les monastères, où le vœu de pauvreté est particulièrement fort, notamment dans ceux de l'ordre du Carmel ou des Clarisses. Cependant, quelques exemples attestent aussi d'une possibilité narrative plus facile à exécuter qu'en broderie. C'est le cas d'une très belle chasuble offerte à Pie VI, et d'une autre, réalisée par des carmélites de la région lyonnaise, conservée au musée de Fourvière, qui illustre l'histoire de leur implantation locale par la création de trois monastères.

### **Contenu**

1. Introduction
2. Les exemples antérieurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle
3. Le contexte ecclésial du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle
4. Quelques exemples

### **Introduction**

Il existe, dans de nombreuses collections de paramentique, des vêtements liturgiques dont le décor est peint sur le tissu de fond. Il est légitime de s'interroger sur leur raison d'être. En effet, pour la plupart, les vêtements liturgiques sont enrichis de broderies, de perles, voire de métaux précieux. Quelles sont les circonstances qui ont valorisé cette pratique ? Cette dernière répond-elle à une volonté ecclésiale, théologique, apologétique ? Obéit-elle à une exigence propre à certaines communautés religieuses ?

Quelques pièces très rares attestent de décors peints sur des vêtements liturgiques et des parements connus depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. En revanche, cette pratique se répand dans les couvents comme une alternative économique employée par les congrégations pour pallier le manque de ressources, tout en assurant un service religieux convenable. Ce type de parements se rencontre surtout dans les monastères de l'ordre du Carmel ou de l'ordre des Clarisses, où le vœu de pauvreté est particulièrement fort. Quelques exemples attestent toutefois d'une possibilité narrative plus facile à exécuter qu'en broderie. Cette pratique, qui

se développe à partir de la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui inclut également des procédés d'impression, perdue encore aujourd'hui<sup>1</sup>.

### **Les exemples antérieurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle**

Les parements peints antérieurs au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et conservés aujourd'hui sont extrêmement rares. L'un des exemples les plus significatifs est celui de la mitre de damas de soie sergée, de couleur blanche, et ornée d'un décor peint à l'encre de Chine noire, conservée au musée de Cluny - musée national du Moyen Âge, à Paris<sup>2</sup>. Le décor, représentant la mise au tombeau et la résurrection du Christ, est attribué à un peintre parisien ayant exercé entre 1365 et 1370<sup>3</sup>. Ce parement était de ceux utilisés les jours de deuil et de pénitence à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris. De la même façon, l'historien d'art Jannic Durand fait mention du remarquable antependium de Narbonne, également décoré en camaïeu à l'encre noire (Durand 2001, p. 210-211). De telles chapelles sont ainsi décrites dans l'inventaire de Charles V, établi en 1379, puis dans celui du duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi, en 1404.

### **Le contexte ecclésial du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle**

Le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle est marqué par la tenue du concile de Trente, dont les conclusions influenceront durablement la vie de l'Église catholique. Les pères conciliaires, réunis à Trente de 1545 à 1563, portent une attention particulière à la célébration liturgique et à la vénération de l'Eucharistie. À la suite du concile, les pontifes romains demeurent attentifs à la question liturgique ; ils promulguent de nombreux textes encadrant les cérémonies et promeuvent la liturgie romaine avant de l'imposer à l'ensemble du monde catholique. Le cadre dans lequel s'exerce la liturgie doit être digne et festif ; le développement de l'art baroque fera de ce cadre un théâtre sacré, où tous les acteurs tiennent une place bien définie et portent des vêtements appropriés, dans un décor somptueux. Les évêques, tenus à résidence, sont priés, à l'occasion des visites pastorales des paroisses de leur diocèse, de veiller au respect de ces normes et d'insister sur la beauté que doit revêtir tous les actes liturgiques.

Depuis le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, le vêtement liturgique porte souvent un décor historié participant à la beauté de la liturgie tout en liant cette dernière aux textes sacrés. C'est ainsi que sont représentées, sur les parements, des scènes de l'Ancien Testament, de la vie du Christ et des saints. Le décor est aussi réalisé en fonction du temps liturgique ; les célébrations funèbres sont particulièrement marquées par un décor adapté.

Ce décor met en œuvre des artistes dessinateurs et brodeurs. La peinture sur soie intervient souvent car elle permet un bel embellissement de l'étoffe à moindre coût. Ce procédé est particulièrement appliqué au sein des communautés monastiques ayant fait vœu de pauvreté, comme les carmels, les couvent franciscains, mais aussi dans les paroisses

---

<sup>1</sup> Nous ne traiterons pas des parements liturgiques ornés de parchemins peints dont nous connaissons quelques exemples : la mitre de Jacques de Vitry, peinte à Paris vers 1220-1225 (voir de Vos 2024, p. 86-87) et l'ensemble au décor baroque conservé à la cathédrale de Saint-Gall (voir Schmuki 2005).

<sup>2</sup> inv. Cl 12 924.

<sup>3</sup> Louvre M.I. 1121.



pauvres. La pratique est également très présente dans les monastères de la Visitation Sainte-Marie, dès le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

### Quelques exemples

- Les parements entièrement peints, ou en partie, à l'usage des communautés religieuses

La peinture peut couvrir toute la surface du vêtement ; c'est le cas d'une chasuble confectionnée en satin de soie, au décor carmélitain peint en trompe-l'œil imitant la broderie de soie polychrome et des galons en fils métalliques<sup>4</sup>. Le décor peut être aussi circonscrit à un élément central réalisé sur une toile, laquelle est ensuite appliquée sur la soie formant le corps du vêtement<sup>5</sup>.

- Les parements imprimés

L'impression constitue une variante à la peinture. La chasuble de satin de soie imprimée et peinte, conservée à Abegg Stiftung (Suisse), est un exemple d'impression à la plaque de cuivre. Réalisée en France ou au Pays-Bas vers 1700, elle présente un décor de fleurs au style indien et de cornes d'abondance. L'étoffe fut probablement initialement destinée à être un vêtement civil ; elle est dénommée « furie », parce que les dessins étaient « si extraordinaires & [jetés] pour ainsi dire sur l'étoffe avec si peu d'ordre et de proportion qu'on eut pu croire qu'ils estoient l'ouvrage de quelque furie ». La mode évoluant, elle a été réutilisée pour confectionner une chasuble selon la pratique de l'époque.

Un unicum, ou presque, est une chasuble imprimée en toile de coton (**Fig. 1**). Cette chasuble en indienne, imprimée à la planche à bois, à *disposition*, dans le dernier tiers du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, est composée de deux parties cousues aux épaules<sup>6</sup>. Le décor en trompe-l'œil, qui imite un lampas de soie, se développe en grandes fleurs rouges et en fleurettes sur la croix dorsale. Les broderies en fils métalliques qui circonscrivent la croix, le tau antérieur, ainsi que les bordures sont aussi simulées par une impression jaune or. Xavier Petitcol précise qu'elle a été réalisée par un grand nombre de jeux de planches d'impression. Le motif, tant du fond que des orfrois, se rapproche beaucoup de ceux de la manufacture Oberkampf à Jouy<sup>7</sup>. Conservée dans la collection de l'abbaye de La Lucerne, elle paraît ne pas avoir été portée (Leicher 2023, p. 38, 42-43). De fait, n'étant pas en soie, elle contrevient aux règles de l'Église catholique romaine. Nous émettons l'hypothèse qu'elle a été réalisée à titre d'essai à la fin de la tourmente révolutionnaire, alors qu'un grand nombre de vêtements liturgiques en soie disparaissaient et que le clergé de l'Église nationale désirait reprendre un

---

<sup>4</sup> Trésor de la cathédrale de Saint-Bertrand de Comminges (voir Aribaud 1998).

<sup>5</sup> Nous connaissons l'exemple d'une peinture sur cuir rapportée sur une chasuble, datable de la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Basilique Notre-Dame de Gray (doubs) (voir Weber 2015)

<sup>6</sup> Nous remercions chaleureusement Xavier Petitcol de nous avoir signalé cette chasuble et Anna Leicher de nous avoir transmis les informations techniques.

<sup>7</sup> Communication de M. Xavier Petitcol du 29 juillet 2024.

culte officiel plus austère que celui de l'Église romaine, toujours sanctionnée et interdite par le Directoire. Petitcol signale un modèle identique, provenant d'une collection privée, actuellement exposée au musée Borély de Marseille<sup>8</sup>.

À la fin du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle, le styliste liturgique Stefano Zanella reprend cette technique pour orner plusieurs modèles de mitres (**Figs. 2, 3 & 4**) lorsque la commande dépasse la dizaine ; ce fut le cas pour celles des évêques ayant participé au voyage apostolique de Benoît XVI en Turquie, en octobre 2006, et celles créées pour la communauté des capucins de San Giovanni Rotondo, près de Bari, en 2004 (**Fig. 5**). Il réalise le décor au pinceau ou à l'aide de tampons de bois qu'il confectionne lui-même (**Fig. 6**) et qu'il imprègne de peinture (Berthod 2005, p. 28).

- Les parements peints à vocation narrative

### La chasuble de Pie VI et Pie VII

La chasuble et ses accessoires constituent un rare exemplaire d'un ensemble paramentique peint à la fin du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle et début du xix<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les cinq pièces – chasuble, manipule, étole, voile de calice et bourse –, ont été réalisées sur une durée de dix ans, entre 1795 et 1806, et sont entrées dans le patrimoine des comtes Chiaramonti trois ans après la mort de Pie VII, lors d'un partage des biens du feu pape, le 25 septembre 1826.

Le décor néoclassique est l'œuvre du prêtre et architecte Saverio Casselli, ayant signé chaque pièce (Giordano 1995). Cet ecclésiastique, issu de la petite noblesse, est peu connu : architecte de la ville pontificale de Bénévent et surintendant de la fabrique archiépiscopale, il se voit confier la construction d'un pont sur le Calore (Moschese 2012). Proche de la Cour papale, son père fut le médecin du cardinal Vincenzo Maria Orsini da Gravina, futur Benoît XIII. En 1818, Saverio Casselli est lui-même nommé successivement camérier d'honneur en habit violet de Pie VII, puis camérier secret surnuméraire de Léon XII, en 1822 (Archivio Segreto Vaticano 1818, 1822, 1828).

La chasuble, de forme romaine et en soie blanc écru, est formée de deux parties peintes avant d'avoir été montées<sup>9</sup>. La colonne du dos et le tau de la face antérieure sont matérialisés par le décor géométrique. Les cartouches rectangulaires ou ovoïdes qui rythment la frise portent des *putti* représentés comme des camées. Au bas, posées sur une corne, s'épanouissent très largement les armes du pape Chiaramonti<sup>10</sup>.

La technique est un dessin à la plume, *fatta a penna*, rehaussé de gouache aux tons pastel où prédominent les gris, les roses, jaunes or et verts tendres (Spinelli 2003, p. 704). Ce décor n'est pas habituel pour un vêtement liturgique ; il fait appel à la grammaire ornementale des décors muraux, comme on peut s'attendre de la part d'un architecte (**Fig. 7**).

---

<sup>8</sup> Jusqu'à fin octobre 2024. Communication de M. Xavier Petitcol du 29 juillet 2024.

<sup>9</sup> Dimensions : 106 x 64 cm.

<sup>10</sup> Les armes se lisent : partie en 1 d'azur au calvaire avec la croix à double traverse flanquée des lettres PAX, le tout d'or ; en 2 d'azur à la bande d'argent chargée de trois têtes de maures bandées d'argent, en chef d'azur chargé de trois étoiles à six rais d'or.

### Chasuble des carmélites d'Oullins, 1905

La chasuble de forme française est réalisée en soie agrémenté de galons filés or et d'un décor peint à la gouache. Des personnages figurent dans ce décor architecturé de style néogothique. Sur le devant, cinq d'entre eux se tiennent devant la Vierge à l'Enfant couronnée et assise sur un trône (**Fig. 8**). À sa droite, sainte Thérèse de Jésus (1515-1582) tient contre elle le Livre de la règle qu'elle vient d'établir et, derrière elle, se trouve saint Jean de la Croix (1542-1591). À gauche de la Vierge, Mère Raphaël de Jésus est agenouillée et tient un parchemin sur lequel sont inscrits les mots : *Charité, Obéissance, Silence*. Derrière elle se tient l'archange Raphaël et, un peu plus loin, sainte Élisabeth de Portugal. Sur l'arrière de la chasuble, le Christ ressuscité contemple trois couples d'anges qui, chacun, porte un monastère (**Fig. 9**).

Cette chasuble a été réalisée vers 1905 en souvenir de la vie apostolique de Mère Raphaël de Jésus et rappelle la fondation de trois carmels de la région lyonnaise dans les villes d'Oullins, de Saint-Chamond et de Roanne. Mère Raphaël de Jésus, née Elisabeth Ranchier (1829 -1914), entre au carmel d'Arles en 1847 et en est élue prieure en 1855 ; la création de la chasuble marque le cinquantenaire de son élection. Elle fonde le carmel de Oullins en 1861, celui de Saint-Chamond en 1868 et celui de Roanne en 1897, qui tous trois adoptent la devise « Charité, Obéissance, Silence » (Lavallée 1939).

### Chasuble et dalmatiques de Mgr Pierre Pfister, 1924

Pierre Pfister (1895-1963) est un prêtre du diocèse de Besançon dont la vocation sacerdotale est liée à celle d'écrivain et d'artiste. Dès son adolescence, il peint les environs de Besançon puis s'intéresse à la peinture murale, réalisant plusieurs décors pour les églises paroissiales de Jouhe (Doubs) et Rainans (Doubs) en 1921-1922. Ordonné prêtre en juin 1924, il continue de peindre et orne plusieurs vêtements liturgiques. Son ministère se poursuit à Rome où il devient chanoine de Saint-Jean-de-Latran et protonotaire apostolique.

L'ensemble, composé d'une chasuble et de deux dalmatiques, est orné de scènes du Nouveau Testament et d'une quarantaine de figures de saints, de bienheureux Francs-Comtois ou de patrons de membres de sa famille et d'amis (Weber 2015, p. 280-286). Ce décor est placé en orfroi central pour la chasuble et en laticlaves sur les dalmatiques.

### **Bibliographie**

Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, anno 1818, rubrica 220, fasc. I, ff. 164r-170v. ; *Annuario pontificio, Notizie per l'anno 1822*, Roma, Stamperia Cracas, p. 156 ; *Annuario pontificio, Notizie per l'anno 1828*, Roma, Stamperia Cracas, p. 217.

Aribaud, Christine. 1998. *Soieries en Sacristie*. Toulouse. Musée Paul-Dupuy, Somogy.

Berthod, Berthod. 2005. *Ils habillent le pape*. Lyon. Musée de Fourvière.

Durand, Jannic. 2001. « Mitre peinte », *Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, n° 57, 2001.

Giordano, Giovanni. 1995. « Mons. Saverio Casselli architetto beneventano ». *Studi beneventani*.

J., de Vos. 2024. « Mitres », *Merveilleux trésor d'Oignies*, Paris.

Lavallée, Fleury. 1939. *Mère Raphaël de Jésus, carmélite, fondatrice des carmels d'Oullins, Saint-Chamond, Roanne*. Lyon. E. Witte.

Leicher, Anna. 2023. *Au fil du sacré : une mode en soie*, Abbaye Royale de Fontevraud.

Moschese, Patrizia. 2012. « Saverio Casseli, ingegnere de la pontificia città di Benevento », *Storia dell'ingegneria, Atti del 4° Convegno nazionale* (sous la direction de Salvatore d'Agostino). Naples.

Schmuki, Karl. 2005. « Die Kultur der Abtei St. Gallen », *Fürstabtei St. Gallen – untergang und Erbe, 1805 – 2005*, Sankt-Gallen.

Spinelli, Giovanni. 2003. *Pio VII, papa benedettino, nel bicentenario della sua elezione. Atti del Congresso storico internazionale* (Cesena-Venezia, 15-19 settembre 2000). [Centro Storico Benedettino It.](#)

Weber, Daniel. 2015. *Trésors des sacristies : Splendeurs des textiles de la liturgie catholique en Franche-Comté*, Besançon. Association culturelle pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine de l'église Sainte-Madeleine à Besançon.



Fig. 1

Chasuble imprimée en indienne.

Fondation Abbaye de La Lucerne, La Lucerne d'Outremer.

© Studio Guézou



Fig. 2

Mitre, laine, sanctuaire de San Pio da Petrelcina,  
San Giovanni Rotondo, X Regio, Stefano Zanella.

© Sartoria X Regio

Fig. 2 bis

Mitre, laine, sanctuaire de San Pio da Petrelcina,  
San Giovanni Rotondo, détail des fanons,  
X Regio, Stefano Zanella.

© Sartoria X Regio



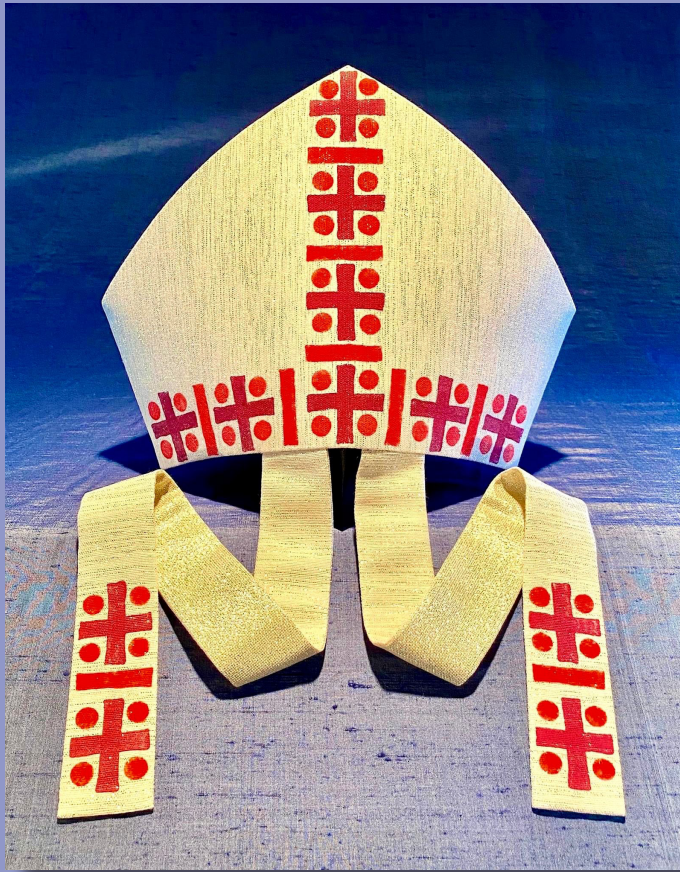


Fig. 3

Mitre laine, soie pour les évêques participant au voyage apostolique de Benoît XVI en Turquie, octobre 2006.

X Regio, Stefano Zanella.

Coll. X Regio © Sartoria X Regio



Fig. 4

Impression sur laine, détail.  
X Regio, Stefano Zanella.

© Sartoria X Regio



Fig. 5

Tampon avec l'emblème de la « confraternité » franciscaine pour les mitres de San Giovanni Rotondo.  
X Regio.

Coll. X Regio. © Sartoria X Regio

---

Fig. 6

Étole de carême avec l'emblème franciscain, soie et tampons. Sanctuaire de San Pio da Petrelcina, San Giovanni Rotondo. X Regio, Stefano Zanella.

© Sartoria X Regio



---

Fig. 7

Chasuble de Pie VII. Soie. Face postérieure.

Coll. comte Chiaramonti. Ch. Beleyer, Château de Fontainebleau;

---

Fig. 8

Chasuble des carmélites d'Oullins, moire de soie, galon filé or, 1905. Face antérieure.

Musée de Fourvière, Lyon. © Jean-Pierre Gobillot



Fig. 9

Chasuble des carmélites d'Oullins, moire de soie,  
galon filé or, 1905. Face postérieure.

Musée de Fourvière, Lyon. © Jean-Pierre Gobillot



Fig. 9 bis

Chasuble des carmélites d'Oullins, moire de soie,  
galon filé or, 1905.  
Détail de l'ange portant le carmel d'Oullins.

Musée de Fourvière, Lyon. © Jean-Pierre Gobillot

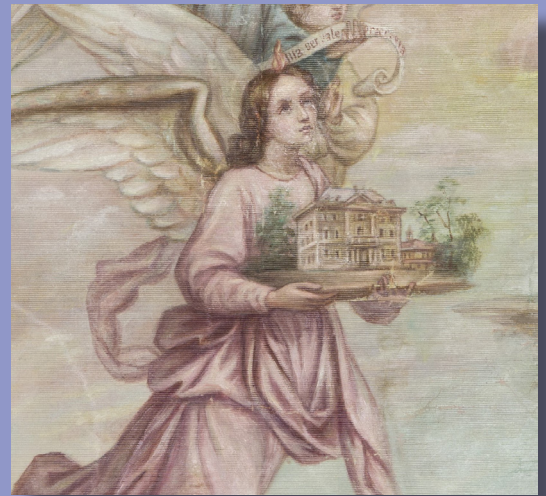


Fig. 9 ter

Carmel d'Oullins. Maquette, bois, carton,  
vers 1920.

Musée de Fourvière, Lyon © Fondation Fourvière





## **The Archive of the Neue Augsburg Kattunfabrik (NAK)**

Breil, Michaela

State Textile and Industry Museum Augsburg (tim), Germany

### **Abstract**

The pattern archive of the New Augsburg Calico Factory (1782-1996) (Neue Augsburg Kattunfabrik, NAK) forms the founding collection of the State Textile and Industry Museum Augsburg (tim). The core of the NAK collection consists of 550 pattern books with an estimated 1,5 million patterns, which are considered national cultural treasures and among the most valuable museum collection in the Federal Republic of Germany. In addition to this collection, there are engraving and roller books, records of the engraved copper plates and roller printing, colour recipe books, pattern drawings, production documents, templates, printing rollers, print design patterns, a sample archive, couture dresses, photo documentation, and archival sources. Copying books from the years 1782-1792 are outstanding sources that detail international trade in raw materials and products, as well as the struggle for printed calicoes quality. The main book of Schöppler & Hartmann, from the same decade, provides instructive insights into the quantities and qualities of the produced calicoes. This contribution highlights the variety of sources and the different levels of information that can be derived from them.

### **Content**

1. Introduction
2. Commercial journal and letter copybooks
3. Pattern books
4. Drafts and designs
5. Routing slips
6. Conclusion

### **Introduction**

In the second half of the 18th century, the city of Augsburg developed into the most significant centre of the economically lucrative calico printing in southern Germany, driven by the increasing consumption of these refined cotton fabrics. In 1782, Johann Michael Schöppler (1754-1839) and his brother-in-law Gottfried Hartmann (d. 1824) took over a long-established calico printing business in Augsburg and managed it under their own name

(Fahn 2010; Chronik 1960). Under their successor Karl Ludwig Forster, the calico printing factory developed into the 'largest and most modern production in southern Germany' (Fassl 1987) with an international clientele, thanks to the latest technical equipment and chemical developments (Fassl, 'Johann Gottfried Dingler', 1987). Economic difficulties and unresolved succession within the family business led to the transformation of the calico printing factory into a joint-stock company in 1880. From 1885, the Augsburg Company operated under the name 'Neue Augsburg Kattunfabrik' (New Augsburg Calico Factory), NAK (**Fig. 1**). It was not until 1996 that bankruptcy sealed the end of the Neue Augsburg Kattunfabrik and its long corporate history.

The NAK archive, unique in its completeness, forms a central collection of the State Textile and Industry Museum Augsburg (tim). At the very centre of the surviving NAK archive are 550 numbered fabric sample books dating from 1792-1994 holding an estimated 1,5 million patterns. These belong to the most valuable museum collections in the Federal Republic of Germany and are considered as national cultural treasures. The NAK archive also includes 337 sample books related to film printing and documentation of workshops from the period between the 1920s and 1996, 65 books with prints of the engraved plates and rollers, nine recipe books, four books explicitly documenting the prints of the rollers, approximately 85,000 pattern designs, countless fabric swatches from the years 1975-1996, tools, printing rollers, engraved and embossing rollers (*Moletten, ochtermoletten*), pantograph plates, photo albums, the employee magazine from the second half of the 20th century, and much more.

### **Commercial journal and letter copybooks**

Two of the most important sources on the company's history from its early days offer unique information on the history of calico printing in Augsburg. These include the commercial journal from the years 1782-1792 and two letter copybooks containing the company's outgoing correspondence.

The commercial journal<sup>1</sup> is an administrative source of accounting that records even the smallest expenses of the company. It provides information on the company's resources, material, and goods cycle (Murr and Breil, 2019) (**Fig. 2**). Eleven different accounts refer to the company's structure and its integration into the local and global money and goods cycles: the 'Profit & Loss Account,' the 'Secret Ledger Account,' and the 'Account of Exchange' document financial transactions. Then, the 'Cash Account' informs about cash receipts and disbursements on-site in Augsburg. The 'Goods or Merchandise Account' documents the retail trade of small quantities of various goods in Augsburg (printed fabrics, dyes, wine, commissioned goods in very small orders). The 'Firewood Account' records the costs for heating the workshops. Information on general expenses, such as contributions to the poorhouses, interest, notary fees, and feed for cows and horses, are provided by the 'Expenses Account.' The entries in this account reflect, among other things, the business and social microcosm in which the company was locally embedded. The 'Printing Block Account'

---

<sup>1</sup> Schöppler & Hartmann, Journal (January 1783 - March 1792), Staatliches Textil- und Industriemuseum Augsburg (tim), Inv. Nr. 000262.

is related to the production area in its narrower sense, with expenses for the production of printing models and engraved copper plates. This account offers the opportunity to further research the profession of printing block cutters in Augsburg via the aforementioned names.

The three final accounts to be listed combine local and global goods cycles. The 'Household Account' lists goods obtained through major trading houses in Augsburg, Frankfurt, or Leutkirch; for example, we read about large quantities of wine, chestnuts, Limburger cheese, Selters water, and silk stockings, as well as tax payments and monthly deposits into the ménage—the company's general budget account. Transfers from the 'Profit and Loss Account' equalised the balance in this account.

The 'Manufacturing Account' and the 'Account for Dye' provide the largest amount of information on local and global trade relations. The 'Manufacturing Account' lists expenses for production and revenues from the printed goods, including, among other things, wages for employees such as printers, painters, drafters, finishers, apprentices, labourers, as well as wage and material costs for preparing the raw materials for printing (oil, candles, brooms for bleaching, bran, manure), external but local services such as grinding the finishing stones for Chintz costs for fulling, payments to the mangle master, and interest payments, such as the annual interest for the printing workshops.

The procurement of raw fabrics, whether Augsburg calicoes or East Indian fabrics, was not recorded in the journal. Clients supplied the raw materials at their own expense. Nevertheless, between the years 1786 and 1792, the calico printing factory already emerged as the fourth largest importer of Indian fabrics in Augsburg.

On the revenue side, each shipment to various customers is listed with details on packaging units, quantities, pattern categories, unit prices, and packaging costs. The fabric quality information proves enlightening, as it reveals the provenance of the fabrics, such as Batthas, Guinees, and Casses from India, Mousseline from Switzerland, and calicoes from Augsburg or Saxony. Last but not least, Schöppler & Hartmann's main customers from near and far are recorded here. The 'Account for Dye' also reflects the purchase of printing ingredients from the local, regional, and transnational environment.

Starting from 1785, the listing of inventory (stocktaking) in March or April of each year provides information on the stock of goods within the company. It also records the respective transfers for account balancing. Separate inventory overviews are maintained for the 'Account for Dye' and the 'Manufacturing Account.' The inventory list for the 'Manufacturing Account' specifies the stock of fabrics either in reserve or in production. Raw materials and goods in the printing workshops were recorded only in terms of quantity, but without financial value. Further subdivisions reflect completed work processes, distinguishing between fabrics that were prepared for printing, goods in the bleaching process, and finishing goods. The respective inventory results analysis allows for conclusions to be drawn about the quantities of goods that the calico printing factory constantly needed.

The two letter copybooks<sup>2</sup> complement the information from the journal and provide evidence of a total of 267 correspondents across 1,931 letters from the years 1783 to 1795. These sources reveal the complex interplay of various cycles: from raw materials, chemicals, and dyes to patterns, goods, information, and financial transactions. An economically efficient network centred around Augsburg arises from these cycles, which virtuously connect local and global dimensions through the medium of letters. These also provide insights into the weather in Augsburg, as it had a significant impact on the bleaching process and thus, on the quality of the finished fabrics (Schmölz-Häberlein 2021). Since there were no standards like DIN norms as we know them today, they highlight the struggle for quality between customers and the printing house. Finally, they inform us about how pattern development and ordering between wholesalers in Frankfurt and the printing house in Augsburg were carried out. However, these letters only represent a small part of the company's communication, as the most extensive transactions were conducted in person by Johann Michael Schöppler and Gottlieb Hartmann. The main customer of the calico printing house, the trading house Issak Hanau, from Frankfurt, had a representative in Augsburg with whom all business transactions, pattern development, and quality control were discussed verbally on-site. This is a gap that can never be closed.

Linked to these written sources is Schöppler & Hartmann's first sample book, which, in addition to the letters and accounts, provides valuable insights into the products (Breil 2019).

## Pattern books

Aside from the fabric samples themselves, the 555 textile sample books are a self-contained collection that, in many cases, reveal only a few additional details. However, they are a product of the industrial phase of fabric printing and, as a 'document per se, a phenomenon of the manufacturing industry and, above all, industrial culture.' As such, they reflect the nature and principle of industrial production, namely the production of a series (Kluge 1993).

The year 1792 marks the designation of the first preserved sample book (**Fig. 3**), which contains drawings, fabric samples, and model prints on paper from the years 1783 to 1800. In 1786, Schöppler & Hartmann were able to produce 173,486 pieces of calico and had about 300 employees (Fassl 1988). With the first sample book, they established a company-specific series of sources that was maintained for almost 200 years until the successor company, the Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik, went bankrupt in 1996. The sample book predominantly features designs set on a black background, less frequently on white or red ones. The motifs consist of flowers, blossoms, or imaginative bouquets (Breil 2019).

While the first sample book does not seem to be systematically arranged, the subsequent examples from the years 1825-1835 already demonstrate a commitment to documenting their own production. For instance, the sample book contains imprints of block prints on paper, along with small fabric pieces that show the documented pattern in its actual colours

---

<sup>2</sup> See Schöppler & Hartmann, *Kopierbuch*, vol. 1 (03.12.1783 - 29.08.1788); *Kopierbuch*, vol. 2 (01.09.1788 - 27.07.1793), *tim Inv. Nr. 000256 und 000257*.

(**Fig. 4**). Simultaneously, the first collection sample books were created, showcasing serial production through fabric samples and their corresponding design numbers (**Fig. 5**). The collection sample books, which continued until the 1990s, are easily recognisable by their clear structure and the design number that identifies each sample piece. They represent a not yet fully explored source for researching the development of textile design in Central Europe over a time span of 200 years.

A second group of sample books within the chronological arrangement comprises sample books of ‘competitors,’ which contain patterns from European fabric printing companies, mainly from Great Britain, France, Switzerland, and the present-day Czech Republic (**Fig. 6**). These books served the purpose of industrial espionage, or, in other words, the comparison of their own production with international trends. Schöppler & Hartmann certainly used somebody else’s patterns, recombined them, and created new designs that, even with the slightest variations in colour and pattern, sold successfully over the years (Bianchi-Königstein and Breil 2020). In the last third of the 19th century, subscription books produced in Paris or Italy took over this function.

A third category of sample books is of a technical nature. They contain colour recipes, or document the series of experiments with new dyes. The colour spectrum is large. Others serve to document printing patterns, copper plates, or copper rollers in the form of black prints of the tools on light paper (**Fig. 7**). These types of tool books only began to be produced in series as the era of the family business approached its end. The transformation of the company into a joint-stock company required documenting, evaluating, and ultimately using the factory inventory in a new, more economical way.

A particular visual delight is presented by the sample books dedicated to ‘Augsburg Red,’ as the locally known Turkey red-dyed cotton fabrics were called (**Fig. 8**). These printed fabrics developed into an award-winning branded product of the company in the first half of the 19th century. Pharmacist and chemist Johann Gottfried Dingler (1778-1855), together with Daniel Koechlin, researched Turkey red dyeing around 1800 in Mulhouse, Alsace (France). Dingler brought this knowledge to Augsburg. Along with the Augsburg fabric printers, especially Wilhelm Kurrer—the head of dyeing at Schöppler & Hartmann—the quality of Turkey red dyeing was advanced to perfection. Recipe books reveal how much the dyers at Schöppler & Hartmann repeatedly experimented with formulas, chemical compositions, and colour variations in their dye kitchens. Kurrer and Dingler published their research results in numerous publications, such as the *Polytechnisches Journal* (Fassl 1987).

The colourful fabrics produced by Schöppler & Hartmann, and later by the Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik for over 200 years, were primarily used for clothing and, from 1870 onwards, also served as upholstery fabrics. Predominant motifs included floral elements and Paisley patterns, which were produced across Europe following the English model. Between 1850 and 1880, the Kattunfabrik manufactured scarves and aprons that were mainly exported to Eastern Europe (**Fig. 9**). Unlike other printed fabrics, these were exclusively made using hand-printing techniques. They are ‘the only products that largely left the NAK premises in a finished state’ (Murr and Loibl 2010).

Since the early 19th century, exports extended from Austria-Hungary through the Balkan countries, Sardinia, Russia, and the Americas, even reaching Africa. Sample book No. 80,

from the years 1861 to 1866, for example, attests to Schöppler & Hartmann's extensive trade relations with Brazil (**Fig. 10**). The headquarters of the two repeatedly mentioned Brazilian business partners were in Rio de Janeiro and in the Pernambuco region, with its capital, Recife, whose port was closest to the Western European economic centres. The sample book documents the fashionable preferences of the Brazilian clientele: popular Augsburg export goods were printed woolen fabrics, usually featuring colourful floral patterns (Breil 2015).

The sample book archive was housed in special rooms and was not accessible to everyone, even during the company's operational years. This likely contributed to its preservation beyond World War II (1939-1945). The bombing of Augsburg in 1944 also hit the Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik buildings, destroying not only premises, production machines, and warehouses but presumably also additional company records that existed previously. It is noteworthy that there are very few archival materials and other references to the company's history from the pre-war period.

## Designs and drafts

In addition to the sample books, the drawing archive of the Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik from the 1940s onwards has been preserved. It contains approximately 85,000 pattern drawings, which served not only for documentation but also as templates for new designs. The NAK acquired designs either from external designers or had them developed by its employed pattern designers. Labels with numbers attached to the drawings indicate whether the designs have in fact gone into production. The first part of the number represents the design number and refers to the printing technique. Designs with four-digit numbers were produced by NAK on *rouleaux* printing machines, while designs with five-digit numbers were made on rotary screen printing machines. The digits after the slash indicate the year. Drawings without numbers were not included in the fabric printing collection. However, they served as inspiration for designers, who could use the extensive archive in their creative process.

## Routing slips

The routing slips represent the process between design and the printed fabric ready for sale.

The production sheet for the pattern contains, in addition to the design template, numerous details about further processing. The large stamp in the centre indicates the workflow from the design studio to the production of the printing stencils and back, and then on to the department for colour matching ('Colouristics') which finally determined the colours of the pattern. Each department in turn stamped additional information on the sheet. The red stamp on the left provides information about the composition of the colours or the required opacity. To its left, the blue stamp indicates the type of rotary screen, in this case a lacquer screen with a printing width of 160 cm and a printing repeat length of 64 cm. The stamp labelled 'Film' in the lower right contains the design number and indicates how long it took to produce

the printing template. The associated fabric swatch is the evidence of the produced fabric. The swatch consists of three fabric strips. It shows the same fruit motif as that of the routing slip and the preserved rotary screen printing stencils (**Fig. 11**). The motif is rendered in various colour variations with yellow, brown, and red accents. The fabric strips display different repeats and thus, document the replication of the pattern design on yardage. The fabric was produced in 1993 for the 1994 spring and summer season.

## Conclusion

The sample collections of the NAK archive, with their interdisciplinary source value, allow for a variety of research approaches in the fields of textile and fashion design, textile technology, textile chemistry, as well as economic and social history, which have yet to be explored. From the perspective of globalisation research, the early written sources related to the first sample books offer an instructive insight. As early as the 18th century, Augsburg patterns were being exported worldwide. In terms of production, the calico printing company was involved in the global trade of raw materials. To make the sample book archive accessible for research, the sample books have been digitalised since 2021 and are available online<sup>3</sup>. A virtual exhibition in English and German presents the history of the company<sup>4</sup>.

## Bibliography

[K.A. Metzger]: *Chronik der Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik Augsburg 1781-1960*, Augsburg [1960].

Bianchi-Königstein, Meike and Breil, Michaela. „»Anonyme« Objekte. Textile Überlieferungen zum Kleidungsverhalten der Frauen im Nürnberger Raum während des 19. Jahrhunderts“. In: *nmt 2020. Jahrbuch* edited by netzwerk mode textil e.v., Augsburg 2020, 18-29. [https://netzwerk-mode-textil.de/images/stories/Jahrbuch\\_nmt\\_2020/nmt-20\\_02\\_Bianchi-Breil\\_s1-12.pdf](https://netzwerk-mode-textil.de/images/stories/Jahrbuch_nmt_2020/nmt-20_02_Bianchi-Breil_s1-12.pdf) (23.6.2024)

Breil, Michaela. „Von Augsburg in die Welt. Die Druckstoffe der Neuen Augsburger Kattunfabrik (NAK)“. In: *Stoffmuster im Fokus - Renaissance und Rezeption*, edited by Dorothee Haffner / Katharina Hornscheidt, Berlin 2015, 82-105. ([https://www.intelligente-verbindungen.de/download2/08\\_IntellVerb2\\_Breil.pdf](https://www.intelligente-verbindungen.de/download2/08_IntellVerb2_Breil.pdf)) (23.6.2024)

Breil, Michaela. „Augsburger Kattune zur Mozartzeit - Eine Spurensuche“. In: *Mozarts Modewelten. Beiträge zur Wahrnehmungs- und Kleidungsgeschichte in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* edited by Michaela Breil and Johannes Pietsch, Augsburg 2019, 143-169.

---

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:BSB-CMS-000000000008529?lang=de>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:BSB-CMS-000000000009711?lang=en>

Fahn, Monika. 2010. 'Die Musterbücher der Neuen Augsburger Kattunfabrik (NAK)' in, *Die süddeutsche Textillandschaft. Geschichte und Erinnerung von der Frühen Neuzeit bis in die Gegenwart*, edited by Karl Borromäus Murr et al., Augsburg 2010, 413-466.

Fassl, Peter. 1987. 'Johann Gottfried Dingler (1778-1855) – Apotheker und Chemiker, Unternehmer und technologischer Schriftsteller' in, *Unternehmer – Arbeitnehmer. Lebensbilder aus der Frühzeit der Industrialisierung in Bayern*, edited by Rainer A. Müller, München, 171-176.

Fassl, Peter. 1987. 'Karl Ludwig Forster (1788-1877). Ein Pionier der Augsburger Textilindustrie' in, *Unternehmer – Arbeitnehmer. Lebensbilder aus der Frühzeit der Industrialisierung in Bayern*, edited by Rainer A. Müller, München, 177-185.

Fassl, Peter. 1988. *Konfession, Wirtschaft und Politik. Von der Reichsstadt zur Industriestadt, Augsburg 1750-1850*. Sigmaringen.

Kluge, Andrea. 2001. 'Entdecken einer neuen Welt. Typologie und interdisziplinärer Quellenwert von Stoffmusterbüchern' in, *Geschichte braucht Stoff – Stoffe machen Geschichte. Historische, quellenkundliche und archivische Aspekte von Stoffmusterbüchern* edited by Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Chemnitz, Chemnitz, 89-105.

Kluge, Andrea. 1991. *Der Stoff aus dem die Mode ist ... Die Stoffmustersammlung der Neuen Augsburger Kattunfabrik*, edited by Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik. Rosenheim.

Kluge, Andrea. 1993. *Stoffdruck des frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, dargestellt an der Mustersammlung der Neuen Augsburger Kattunfabrik*, Vol. 1: Text, Vol. 2. Anhang. Eichstätt Diss.

Kurrer, Wilhelm Heinrich von. 1844. *Die Druck- und Färbekunst in ihrem ganzen Umfange, von dem Standpunkte der Wissenschaft und der praktischen Anwendung bearbeitet, oder die Kunst, Schafwoll-, Seiden-, Baumwoll- und Leinen-Stoffe zu drucken und zu färben*, Nürnberg, zweite erweiterte Auflage.

Murr, Karl Borromäus and Breil, Michaela. 2019. 'Textile Printing in Early Modern Augsburg: At the Crossroads of Local and Global Histories of Industries' in, *Cotton in Context. Manufacturing, Marketing and Consuming Textiles in the German-speaking World (1500-1900)*, edited by Kim Siebenhüner, John Jordan, Gabi Schopf, Wien ; Köln ; Weimar, 91-118.

Loibl, Richard and Borromäus Murr Karl (ed.). 2010. *Staatliches Textil- und Industriemuseum Augsburg. Museumsführer*. Augsburg.

Schmölz-Häberlein, Michaela. 2021. 'Wetterextreme, Wirtschaftskrisen und unternehmerisches Handeln: die Kooperation der Augsburger Kattundruckerei Schöppler & Hartmann mit jüdischen und christlichen Großhändlern (1783-1786)' in, *Annales Mercaturae* 7 (2021), 107-153.





Fig. 1

Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik, Lithographie, around 1900.

tim Inv. Nr. F032-027.0



Fig. 2

Schöppler & Hartman, Journal (January 1783 – March 1792).

tim Inv. Nr. 000262, Page 292, February 1787.

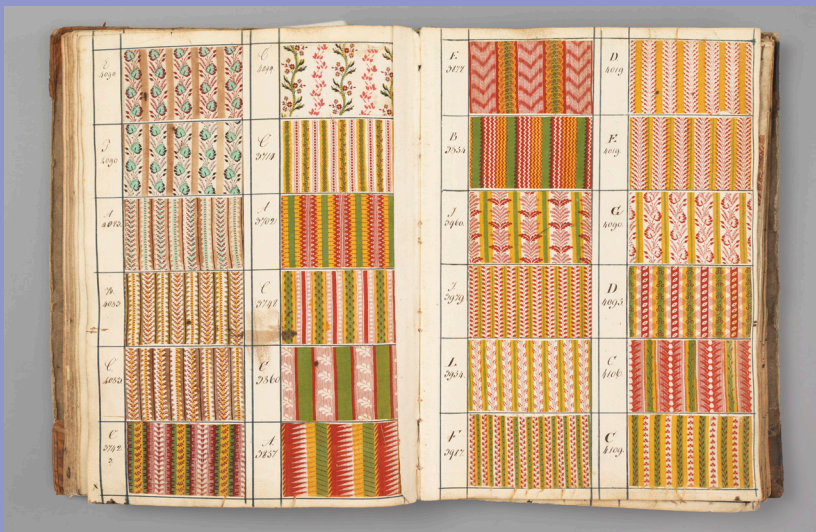


---

Fig. 3

Schöppler & Hartmann, Pattern Book,  
1792 [1783-1800].

tim Inv. Nr. 004001, unpaginated



---

Fig. 4

Schöppler & Hartmann, Pattern Book, 1800-  
1805.

tim Inv. Nr. 00403, unpaginated



---

Fig. 5

Schöppler & Hartmann, Pattern Book, 1820.

tim Inv. Nr. 004007, unpaginated



Fig. 6

Designs from 'Winter in Vienna,'  
Schöppler & Hartmann, Competitor Pattern Book, 1852.

tim Inv. Nr. 004046, unpaginated



Fig. 7

Schöppler & Hartmann,  
Pattern Book for technical documentation.

tim Inv. Nr. 004153, 1877, unpaginated

Fig. 8

Schöppler & Hartmann, Pattern Book, 1833.

tim Inv. Nr. 004015, unpaginated





**Fig. 9**

Schöppler & Hartmann, Pattern Book for Scarves, 1862.

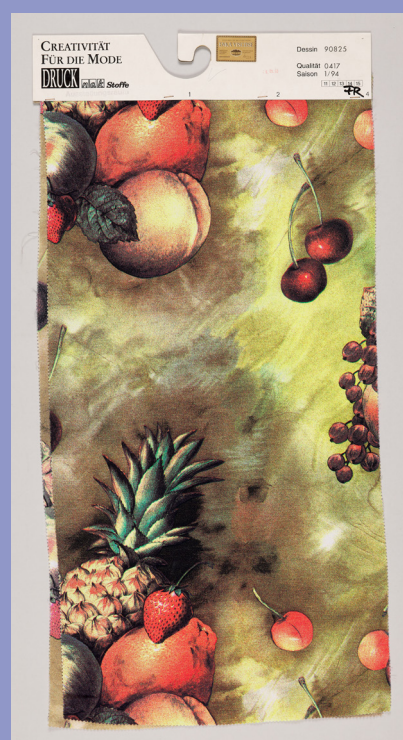
tim Inv. Nr. 004086, unpaginated



**Fig. 10**

Schöppler & Hartmann,  
Pattern Book for the Export to Brazil,  
1861-1866.

tim Inv. Nr. 004080, unpaginated



**Fig. 11**

Neue Augsburger Kattunfabrik,  
Hanger 1994.

tim, Inv. Nr. 003880

## **Blue-dye Fabric in Hungary: A Living Tradition**

Kollár, Csilla

Hungarian National Museum, Budapest, Hungary

### **Abstract**

From the second half of the 18th century, imported blue-dyed cotton fabrics were used by wide sections of Hungarian society. The Hungarian name *kétfestő* refers to the technique that consists of printing a dye-resistant white paste onto a cloth before dyeing it over with indigo dye. It was a popular product throughout Eastern and Central Europe mostly used by peasants and country town citizens.

In the middle of the 19th century, blue-dyed calico acquired a specific ideological meaning and importance. In these years, supporting local industry and products was crucial for Hungarian politicians and patriots.

Following the upper classes' brief fad, the blue-dyed calico continued to be used in lower-class attire and folk costume, especially in regions with a population of German origin. As part of high fashion movements, it was worn again more widely between the two World Wars and in the second half of the 1970s.

There are still some family-owned workshops, run by the second to seventh generation of printers. This appreciated traditional knowledge was inscribed in 2018 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, by UNESCO.

### **Content**

1. Indigo dyeing as Cultural Heritage of Humanity
2. Technique
3. The importance of indigo dyeing in the 19th century
4. Indigo dyeing as part of everyday life
5. Raise of indigo dyeing in the 1970's
6. New perspectives

### **Indigo dyeing as Cultural Heritage of Humanity**

Thanks to an exemplary Central-European collaboration, in 2018, the *kétfestő* tradition, that is, the technique of blue-dyeing, was added to the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. An international committee consisting of 24 members assessed the multinational petition entitled *The Blaudruck/Modrotisk/Kétfestés/Modrotlač, a reserve-process block printing and indigo dyeing in Europe*. The committee unanimously agreed on the craft's significance, as well as the importance of its preservation. The petition resulted from a collaboration between Hungary, Germany, Austria, Czech Republic, and

Slovakia. The listed countries do not only share the duties and the success, but also the responsibility to preserve this heritage. In a quickly changing world, when there are so many differences that separate us, it is important to find threads that connect. In my short presentation, I cannot aim to elaborate in detail on the history of this more than three-hundred-year-old craft, its diverse motifs differing from one region to another, or its role in fashion and home decoration. My goal is to give an outline of those significant historical events and developments in fashion history that influenced the use of blue-dye fabrics in Hungary.

## Technique

Blue-dyeing as a technique refers to the practice consisting of printing a dye-resistant paste onto a cloth before dyeing it over with indigo dye. The resistant paste preserves the white colour of the washed, dried, calendered cotton fabric. To apply the pattern onto the cloth, craftsmen use hand-made wooden block. Eighteenth-century patterns sometimes eternalised the popular silk designs of the age. The application of the paste (*pap*, in Hungarian), which was coloured slightly green for the sake of visibility, was first carried out mainly by hand, by block printing, but the execution of patterns covering the whole surface of the fabric could happen with the help of machine force. The patterned fabrics were dipped into vats filled with dissolved indigo, and then the paste was removed by putting the cloth into an acidic solution. Subsequently, the drying and usually the calendaring followed (**Fig. 1**).

## The importance of indigo dyeing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century

This technique reached Hungary through German mediation, and by the 1840s it survived exclusively among the peasantry and the working class. This tendency was changed by the activity of the Protective Association, founded by political reformer Lajos Kossuth; this organisation aimed to support and revive the underdeveloped Hungarian industries, including textile manufacture. The association's activities and the ways in which high society women supported it and purchased Hungarian textiles were frequently covered by the press. Due to the low quality and the limited variation of available products, it was a real sacrifice on their part. Some fashion plates and their descriptions, published in the popular Hungarian magazine *Pesti Divatlap*, depicted blue cotton dresses for elegant young ladies (**Fig. 2**):

*One of the ladies is wearing a simple blue cotton dress with puffy batiste sleeves, white and blue fur strings and a lace apron; the other appears in a red velvet and gold waist, and white satin skirt. (Pesti Divatlap, January 23, 1845, 118)*

*One of the ladies is wearing a black velvet or silk coat and a dress made of domestic textile. The other, the lady with an angelic face, has an also beautiful and simple gala or ball gown, and it made of blue calico or chintz would be really nice for our Hungarian ladies. (Pesti Divatlap, January 1, 1845, 23)*

The Protective Association organised a ball in February 1845 that thrilled women throughout the country. At this event, which received great media publicity, guests were expected to wear garments of Hungarian production. This requirement caused much difficulty to ladies

who wished to shine and dance in comfortable clothes, with good absorbent capacity. The fabric of silk ball dresses could be purchased from Hungarian manufacturers even though they did not offer such a variety as was provided by imported products; however, light cotton clothes suitable for young, unmarried women were not produced in the country—the only type of Hungarian cotton fabric was the blue-dyed calico, favoured by the peasantry. The press showed great enthusiasm, regularly reported on the party preparations, and encouraged ladies to have their Hungarian design ball dresses manufactured from domestically produced fabrics. For this reason, and as a source of inspiration, newspapers came to be enriched with fashion illustrations. According to the reviews, many ladies made compromises and opted for the blue-dyed calico, which was also known as ‘kitchen’ fabric, due to its perceived inferiority. Although we cannot see any blue-dye dresses in the only extant picture of the ball organised by the Protective Association, the initiation was documented, and Count Gyula Batthyány’s representation of the event, painted in the 1930s, shows a composition full of blue costumes. Although social efforts made in order to develop the Hungarian textile industry were swept away by the 1848 Revolution, memories of the movement and the war of independence were kept by blue-dye print blocks and related textiles showing Kossuth’s portrait and the coat of arms named after him.

### **Indigo dyeing as part of everyday life**

Blue-dye fabrics survived as folk clothing after their brief heyday. In some villages, they were also worn as holiday garments, and due to their colour, they were proper attire in times of mourning as well; in Nógrád County, they were even called the ‘Kossuth mourning dresses.’ Most of the time, however, they served as ordinary attire for busy workdays. Their functioning as working clothes is proved by the ensemble of a blouse, a skirt, and an apron held by the Textile Collection of the Hungarian National Museum, the discoloured, worn-out, and numerously mended fabric of which evokes years of hardships and suffering (**Fig. 3**).

At the turn of the century, the middle class used blue-dyed fabrics for home textile, daily work, and home attire, because of its durability and affordable price. The earliest examples of breakfast and brunch clothes printed with figural patterns, pastries, coffee cups, and spoons appeared in middle-class households. German-speaking residents constituted the first considerable clientele in the countryside. German people who settled in Hungary after the expulsion of the Turkish troops played a significant part in the craft’s spread and preservation. Although my family no longer wore this type of garments when I was born, the sight of the elderly women of the German villages of South Baranya, dressed in blue-dye costumes, is a strong childhood memory of mine (**Fig. 4**).

Between the two World Wars, besides the active craftsmen working in the countryside and mostly satisfying local demands, there was a considerable production of blue-dye fabrics in the factories of the capital city as well. The excelling Goldberger Company itself developed from the family’s blue-dye manufacture in Buda. City residents first utilised block-printed cotton fabrics primarily as home textiles, or as indoor clothing and summer dresses material. As a result of the Hungarian Dress Movement initiative, these garments were more and more often made after Hungarian design and of local materials (**Fig. 5**). Following the tragedy of Trianon (1920), the urge to preserve national traditions influenced the way of dressing as well. The Movement launched design competitions and encouraged costume designs and

materials that fit the national tradition. The most successful fairs were run by Klára Tüdös (Fig. 6).

### Raise of indigo dyeing in the 1970's

The 1970s saw the next flourishing of blue-dye fabrics in Hungary, thanks to the experimentation of talented decorative artists and folklore popularity in the field of international fashion. The artist Ilona Bakó created her modern, practical attires, primarily for women, using traditional motifs. She said in 1973:

*We can design excellent, folkish modern clothes if we utilize tradition by adopting both ornament and the technique of the production. Blue-dye clothes are manufactured in this manner, in their case I aimed for consistently following this principle. (Ez a divat 1973, 6. no. 4.)*

Her colleague, Irén Bódy, was devoted to blue-dyeing craft. She learnt to use this technique by herself and developed fruitful collaborations with several craftsmen and collections. Her first solo exhibitions were organised in 1962 and 1967. She also arranged an exhibit at Budapest's Museum of Applied Art, in 1970. Enriching fashion with folklore motifs was a dominant international trend in the 1970s (Fig. 7). Accordingly, Hungarian designers worked under the influence of folklore ornaments and dress patterns. Besides Kalocsa and Matyó-style embroideries, blue-dye motifs quickly gained popularity as well. The glass artist Márton Horváth even designed a jewel collection inspired by blue-dyeing, which was internationally recognised and valued by professionals. The year 1975 marked the peak of the technique's popularity. Blue-dyeing-inspired dresses were frequently seen on the runway and in public spaces by both domestic and international audiences. But popularity soon caused quality to decline. Because of the high demand, blue-dye-inspired fabrics appeared in factory mass production and were often produced in low quality and with unimaginative designs. Irén Bódy made a significant contribution to the innovation and, therefore, preservation of this technique. She experimented with applying the pressed patterns on various fabrics other than cotton (Fig. 8).

*At the introduction of decorative artists, various unique designs could be seen. In the first picture, we present one of the most interesting models, made from a winter blue-dye fabric, that is, a sporty ensemble designed in blue-dye pattern microcord velvet [...] the skirt with large motifs, and the polka dot coat. The novel fabric was designed by Irén Bódy, decorative artist, and the model, by Margit Szilvitzky, who was awarded the Munkácsy prize. The coat can be fastened with a yellow zip, the lady is wearing a yellow sweater and a tight cap. (Ez a divat 1974. 11. no. 5.)*

Irén Bódy used silk and velvet bases as well. Thicker clothes decorated with blue-dye motifs could be worn in colder weather. Suits made from blue-dye corduroy and shirts manufactured from blue-dye cotton were aimed at male audiences. Young men mostly wore these in dance halls, completing their outfit with jeans.

*An exclusive novelty for young people is the "blue-dye" corduroy suit with printed ornament, combined with blue-patterned white batiste shirt or blouse. Both for girls and boys. (Ez a divat 1975. 3. no. 4.)*



Irén Bódy saw possibilities in blue-dye fabrics in fields other than fashion, too. She designed home textiles and created textile artworks as well. Her tapestry, *Hussar*, was awarded at the World Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Toronto. In another large-scale tapestry, she depicted the blue dyeing manufactures that were still active in 1975. By the 1980s, blue-dyeing lost much of its popularity, and was almost forgotten.

### **New perspectives**

Nowadays, however, there are several progressive initiatives. In her thesis work 'New Dimensions of Blue Dye,' in 2021, Rózália Tóvaj experimented with the 3D printing of blue-dye motifs. She said:

*my masterwork is a reinterpretation of the Hungarian blue-dye tradition. Its purpose is to pass on rich cultural resources, to rethink sample systems, and to adapt them to the present. Its ultimate result is the transcription of the blue sculptures with 3D printing on soft materials. The experimental material collection presents the traditional compositional methodes of the blue paint sample categorized. They are displayed in different spatial effects, materials, and indigo painting in traditional blue and white color combinations.*  
(Kókai 2018, 20)

In the year of its UNESCO listing, the Hungarian Gypsy fashion brand Romani Design revived and popularised Roman customs by fusing vibrant flower designs with blue-dyed textiles. In 2022, the Sugarbird brand launched modern synthetic fabrics with printed blue-dye motifs. A couple of smaller companies are similarly committed to modernising and preserving this tradition (**Fig. 9**).

Today there are five active blue-dyeing manufactures in Hungary; most of these are based on family tradition and pass on their specialised knowledge from generation to generation. The Kovács family from Tiszakécske and Szentendre, the Horváth family from Tolna, the Gerencsér-Tóth family from Győr, the Skorutyák family from Bácsalmási and the Sárdi family from Nagynyárádi are all exponents of the blue-dyeing craft in Hungary. Learning this profession, both in theory and practice, is only possible in these manufactures.

Blue-dyeing craft is traditionally celebrated every summer in an international festival organised in Nagynyárád.

Besides craftsmen, museums also take a substantial part in securing the survival of this technique, tracing its history, and passing on the related knowledge: primarily the Blue-Dye Museum and the Goldberger Textile Collection located in Pápa.

The clue might be to make the national traditions part of everyday life (**Fig. 10**).

## Bibliography

- Domonkos, Ottó. 1981. *A magyarországi képfestés*. Budapest. Corvina Kiadó.
- F. Dózsa, Katalin 2014. 'A képfestő az úri divatban' in, F. Dózsa Katalin, *Megbámulni és megbámultatni. Viselettörténeti tanulmányok*. 191-199. Budapest. L'Harmattan.
- Pásztor, Emese. 1994. *A képfestés művészete – Bódy Irén kiállítása Pápán*. Veszprém. Új Horizont.
- Czeglédy, Katalin. 1979. 'Mint a levegő, vagy a víz.' *Ez a divat évkönyv*. 135.
- Potóczy Júlia. 1973. 'Ez a divat bemutatja,' *Ez a divat*. 26. évf 6. szám 3-4.
- Kókai, Zsófia. 2018. *MOME Diploma*. 20.
1845. 'Műmelléklet.' *Pesti Divatlap*, January 23, 1845. 118.
1845. 'Műmelléklet.' *Pesti Divatlap*, January 1, 1745. 23.



**Fig. 1**

János Skorutyák in his blue dyed workshop, Bácsalmás, 1984.

Fortepan/Gábor Viktor, Photo number: 194563



**Fig. 2**

Fashion Plate, 1845. Pesti Divatlap, January 23.  
Hungarian National Museum



**Fig. 3**

Kékfestő dress, around 1955.  
Inventory number: 1986.74.1-3.

Hungarian National Museum, Early Modern Textile Collection

---

Fig. 4

Children wearing blue dyed dresses, 1941.

Fortepan/Chuckyeager tumblr, Photo number: 143733



---

Fig. 5

Erzsébet, Haranghy: Holiday dress.  
Fashion design Around 1937.

Inventory number: 1973.68.

Hungarian National Museum



---

Fig. 6

Printed cotton sampler, around 1935.

Inventory number: 1973.151.1.

Hungarian National Museum,  
Early Modern Textile Collection





---

Fig. 7

Woman wearing blue dyed dress,  
Budapest, 1973.

Fortepan/Urbán Tamás, Photo number: 88097



---

Fig. 8

Bleu dying dresses designed by Irén Bódy, 1979.

Ez a divat. Évkönyv, 137.



---

Fig. 9

The author's daughter, 2019.



---

Fig. 10

Kékfestő workshop,  
'Örök kék' manufacture, 2024.

## **Prints From the Work of Gosia Baczyńska, a Polish Fashion Designer During the Polish Transition Era**

Kowalska, Joanna Regina

National Museum in Krakow, Poland

### **Abstract**

Gosia Baczyńska started her career in 1997, and since then, she has been the most recognisable personality in the Polish fashion world. She was the first Polish designer to have her collections showcased on the Paris Fashion Week catwalks. Since 2008, Gosia Baczyńska has used custom-made prints in high fashion collections. Draperies from 15th century Dutch paintings were her source of inspiration for prints. She transformed them into printed patterns on silk fabrics she used for the collection displayed at Porczyński Gallery in Warsaw. Interesting prints can also be found in 'The Big Laundry' collection. They were created for Gosia Baczyńska by graphic designer Rober Kuta and refer to the murals in Warsaw's Praga district and kitchen wall hangings. We can also find customised prints in other important collections such as: 'Frankenstein's Dream,' 'Black Spring,' 'Eastern Europe Goes Wild - Wild West,' and 'Per Aspera ad Astra.'

### **Content**

1. Gosia Baczyńska and her path to fame
2. A collection 'for princesses,' Porczyński Gallery, 2008
3. The 'Great Laundry' performance, 2011
4. 'I feel love,' Paris Fashion Week 2013
5. 'Frankenstein's Dream,' 2015
6. 'Black Spring,' 2015
7. 'Eastern Europe Goes Wild - Wild West,' 2017
8. 'Per Aspera ad Astra,' 2019
9. Gosia Baczyńska in the National Museum in Krakow's collections

## **Gosia Baczyńska and her path to fame**

Gosia Baczyńska is one of the most outstanding Polish fashion designers of the 21st century. Her name is recognised in Poland and abroad. Second only to Arkadius (Arkadiusz Waremczuk), who gained fame on London catwalks at the turn of the century, she was the only Polish designer to draw the attention of the international fashion world and be invited to participate in the Paris Fashion Week shows.

Her path to fame as a designer was not the easiest one. Born in the small town of Kępno on August 13, 1965, she completed her studies at the Academy of Fine Arts in Wrocław, at the Faculty of Glass and Ceramics Design (1989-1996)—thus repeating the first stage of the outstanding *Moda Polska* designer Jerzy Antkowiak's creative process. In 1991, she interrupted her studies to go to London. There, she managed to find a job in a tailoring studio, working for young London designers, including Alexander McQueen.

In 1996, Małgorzata (Gosia) Baczyńska founded the company FRI 13.08 Design and Development Studio. The ten years that followed were an arduous process of climbing to the top. Initially, she worked in Wrocław, and her clothes were sold in the most prestigious boutique of the city, Lalka. Her first success came in 2000, when her show was recorded and broadcasted on Fashion TV. Her designs then appeared on fashion magazine covers in Poland, including *Elle*, *Glamour* and *In Style*. In 2001, Gosia Baczyńska opened an atelier in Warsaw, and her creations became increasingly popular. Her first Warsaw fashion show took place in 2002. The designer skilfully searched for sponsors who gave her the opportunity to have a highly intense presence in the fashion world. Thanks to the Lexus brand, world-class models Alek Wek, Liz Jagger and Helena Christensen participated in her shows in 2005 and 2006. She also cooperated with Canon. For a general audience, she designed the 'La carrousel' collection for the Reserved brand of the large Polish company LPP SA, in 2010. Additionally, she accepted to collaborate with the Teatr Wielki Opera Narodowa, creating excellent costumes for *La Traviata* by Giuseppe Verdi, directed by Mariusz Treliński, and for the opera *Iwona, Princess of Burgundy*, directed by Marek Weiss-Grzebiński. She also cooperated with the Polish Red Cross<sup>1</sup>.

Gosia Baczyńska's versatility, sensitivity to inspirations from the world around her, fascination with the past, and creativity preventing her from repeating old patterns, have made her an independent, original fashion designer. She was the first Polish designer who creatively used customised prints in high fashion collections.

## **A collection 'for princesses', Porczyński Gallery 2008**

Gosia Baczyńska's collection was on display at the Porczyński Gallery, in 2008. It developed out of a fascination with the Middle Ages, although the references to this era are very non-

---

<sup>1</sup> About Gosia Baczyńska: K. Sulej, *Modni. Od Arkadiusa do Zienia*, Warszawa 2015, s. 294 – 317; Aleksandra Boćkowska, *Gosia Baczyńska*, December 2017, culture.pl (<https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/gosia-baczynsk>, visit 23.08.2024) Photos of all designer's collections and art projects are available at her website: <https://www.gosiabaczynska.com/> (visit 22.07.2024).



obvious, as will be the case throughout the designer's work. It was the collection where she used customised prints for the first time. Her two main sources of inspiration were 15th century Dutch paintings and the medieval armour. She was especially fascinated with the Capilla Real de Granada's collection of Dutch paintings, which she visited during her holidays<sup>2</sup>. After returning back home, she researched and ordered prints mirroring the shape of draperies from Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van der Goes's gothic paintings. The collection also featured armour-like, stiff, well-cut clothes that contour the mannequin's body. The collection was being described in journals as 'made for princesses'<sup>3</sup> (**Fig. 1**).

### The 'Great Laundry' performance, 2011

The 2011 collection 'Wielkie Pranie' ('The Great Laundry') received wide attention in Poland<sup>4</sup>. The household appliances manufacturer, LG Electronics, sponsor of the show, expected that one of its products would be shown. Gosia Baczyńska had to figure out how to do so without obscuring the artistic expression of her performance. She wanted to demonstrate that she had a connection to the Praga district of Warsaw, where she had only been operating her atelier for two years. The fashion performance was organised in a Praga backyard, where an LG washing machine played the role of an important prop; the show itself was called *The Great Laundry*. For this event, Gosia Baczyńska was inspired by the animated film *Tango* by Zbigniew Rybczyński (Oscar 1983). The show took the form of a dynamic performance, choreographed and directed by Jarosław Staniek. Gosia Baczyńska's designed clothing became costumes for the characters hurrying through the yard: an office worker, a cleaning lady, a girl heading to a nightclub, or a schoolgirl. At the climax of the show, there were several dozen characters on the backyard 'stage,' over and over repeating the actions assigned to their roles, just like in the Rybczyński's movie. For this collection, prints were designed imitating writings and pictures that could be found on Prague city walls or on kitchen wall hangings (for example: 'Tell no one what happens at home')<sup>5</sup> (**Fig. 2**).

### 'I Feel Love,' Paris Fashion Week 2013

During the 2013 Paris Fashion Week, Gosia Baczyńska presented her collection 'I Feel Love' (S/S 2014), which was a major turning point in her career<sup>6</sup>. Baczyńska became the first

---

<sup>2</sup> Anna Jurgaś, *Motywy piękna*, w: „Viva!”, nr 4.

<sup>3</sup> Gosia Baczyńska: kolekcja dla księżniczki (kobieta.wp.pl, 1.04.2008) - <https://kobieta.wp.pl/gosia-baczynska-kolekcja-dla-ksiezniczki-5982779316827265g>, visit 22.08.2024.

<sup>4</sup> *Wielkie pranie Gosi Baczyńskiej i LG: niezwykły pokaz mody*, Dziennik.pl, 17.10.2011 (<https://kobieta.dziennik.pl/moda-na-topie/galeria/362036,wielkie-pranie-z-lg-gosia-baczynska-pre-collection-2012.html>, visit 23.08.2024).

<sup>5</sup> The video of the show is available at: <https://youtu.be/s1P902Rzsdo> (visit 22.08.2024).

<sup>6</sup> Natalia Kędra, *Gosia Baczyńska - pokaz kolekcji "I Feel Love"*, 28.06.2013, elle.pl, (<https://www.elle.pl/artykul/gosia-baczynska-pokaz-kolekcji-i-feel-love>, visit 23.08.2024); Michał Zaczynski,

Polish designer to have her name included in the calendar of this major global fashion event. The title of the collection refers to the song 'I feel love' by Donna Summer, the 'disco queen' who died in 2012. The artist was also inspired by David Bowie and the 2013 exhibition honouring him at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

### **'Frankenstein's Dream,' 2015**

During the Paris Fashion Week, the 'Frankenstein's Dream' collection (A/W 2015/2016) created for the brand's 18th anniversary was presented at the Palais de Monaco. The first inspiration was a self-portrait of a man from 1909 taken in a photo booth—such photographs were printed on a long, narrow strip of photographic paper. The designer was also fascinated by the film adaptation of Mary Shelley's novel from 1931 and the story of Dr. Frankenstein's monster. Some of the designer's outfits from this collection give the body a sort of anatomical crust, while others feature multiplied faces from photographs or shiny materials that resemble celluloid film. The mannequins appeared to have been sewn together from different elements and take the form of beautiful brides for Dr. Frankenstein's monster<sup>7</sup> (**Fig. 3**).

### **'Black Spring,' 2015**

The title of a collection of short stories by American author Henry Miller, who wrote in Paris among other places, is repeated in the 'Black Spring' collection (S/S 2015 & S/S 2016) that was presented in the Palais de Monaco in Paris. In one of his novels ('Tropic of Cancer'), Henry Miller included 'eleven commandments of writing' and his creative routine, which became the motto of the show<sup>8</sup>. This time, Gosia Baczyńska had to figure out how to incorporate these written words into clothing. Her inventiveness in this field was astonishing: various forms of pleating or transparent cellulose inserts became extremely helpful in hiding and revealing the maxims. Two dresses were covered with a print inspired by a typesetter's font. The most beautiful was a dress made of vertical, dense pleats with a 'collar' featuring one of the commandments. Dresses with a flocked lace bodice decorated with printed sentences and a pleated skirt with cut-outs 'windows' and a black ball gown with a corset with golden printed commandments were also presented (**Fig. 4**).

---

*Gosia Baczyńska: I Feel Love. Relacja z pokazu + wywiad*, 19.07.2013, [michalzaczynski.com](http://michalzaczynski.com) (<https://michalzaczynski.com/2013/07/19/gosia-baczynska-i-feel-love-relacja-z-pokazu/>, visit 23.08.2024); <https://www.gosiabaczynska.com/collections> (visit 23.08.2024).

<sup>7</sup> *Gosia Baczyńska Fall 2015: Frankenstein's Dream*, 28.03.2015, [Fashionwindows.com](http://Fashionwindows.com), <https://www.fashionwindows.com/gosia-baczynska-fall-2015-frankensteins-dream-2/>, visit 23.08.2024.

<sup>8</sup> Marta Kowalska, 'Black Spring' Gosia Baczyńskiej w Warszawie, 16.06.2015, [elle.pl](http://elle.pl) (<https://www.elle.pl/artykul/black-spring-gosia-baczynskiej-w-warszawie#gosia-baczynska-black-spring-wiosna-lato-2015-i-2016-pokaz-w-1>, visit 23.08.2024); Michał Zaczynski, *Gosia Baczyńska: „Black Spring” – recenzja kolekcji*, 16.06.2015, [michalzaczynski.com](http://michalzaczynski.com) (<https://michalzaczynski.com/2015/06/16/gosia-baczynska-black-spring-recenzja-kolekcji/>, visit 23.08.2024).

### **'Eastern Europe Goes Wild - Wild West,' 2017**

The 'Eastern Europe Goes Wild - Wild West' collection was created in 2017, inspired by the the Wild West imaginary<sup>9</sup>. Its main motifs were feathers, fringes, thistles, and bandanas. Outfits recalled an evening in a saloon and luxurious versions of farmers' clothes. The collection also presented customised prints echoing the 'The Big Laundry' collection: motifs of guns, knives, handcuffs and cacti, associated with the Wild West.

### **'Per Aspera ad Astra,' 2019**

'Per Aspera Ad Astra' collection (2019) was Gosia Baczyńska's last collection before the COVID pandemic (2020), referring to the Italian Renaissance<sup>10</sup>. Many models featured the face of Sandro Boticelli's *Madonna del Magnificat*, and fluttering bands were filled with Latin maxims. Religious inspirations and admiration for the art of Sandro Botticelli are clearly visible in the collection, which not only includes expensive, shiny outfits, but also sets consisting of straight-cut trousers or skirts and sweatshirts or bomber jackets (**Fig. 5**).

Although the present article was just a short insight into Gosia Baczyńska's life and oeuvre, her creativity and courage in designing prints were quite amazing.

### **Gosia Baczyńska in the National Museum in Krakow's collections**

The National Museum in Krakow collects designs from the best Polish contemporary designers. In 2020, the museum started to cooperate with Gosia Baczyńska and decided to buy a selection of her works from different collections. Most of them were obtained this year thanks to the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The museum received funds from the Cultural Promotion Fund, for the project 'Building the MNK design collection - Purchase of a clothing collection designed by Gosia Baczyńska.' The museum has also organised an exhibition devoted to the designer, *Gosia Baczyńska—Exhibition from the Collections of MNK*, where 21 of the most interesting outfits from the museum's collections are displayed (MNK the Szolajski, pl. Szczepański 9, 13.06.2024 – 5.06.2025).

---

<sup>9</sup> Kinga Nowicka, *Pokaz Gosi Baczyńskiej 'Eastern Europe Goes Wild, Wild West' wiosna-lato 2018*, 22.11.2017, glamour.pl (<https://www.glamour.pl/arttykul/pokaz-kolekcji-gosi-baczynskiej-east-europe-goes-wild-west-wiosna-lato-2018-171122051342>, visit 23.08.2024);

<sup>10</sup> Karolina, *Gosia Baczyńska „Per Aspera Ad Astra” jesień/zima 2019*, 4.11.2019, fashionspot24.blog (<https://fashionspot24.blog/2019/11/04/gosia-baczynska-per-aspera-ad-astra-jesien-zima-2019/>, visit 23.08.2024).

---

**Fig. 1**

Evening gown in silk fabric with a custom-made print inspired by the draperies in a Gothic painting.  
Collection shown at the Porczyński Gallery in Warsaw,  
2008, National Museum in Krakow.

Obtained in 2024, financed by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage from the Cultural Promotion Fund, project: 'Building the MNK design collection - Purchase of a clothing collection designed by Gosia Baczyńska',  
inv. no. MNK XIX-12898.

© Anna Olchawska, Photographic Workshop of  
the National Museum in Krakow



---

**Fig. 2**

Mini-dress sewn from silk scarves designed for the collection and printed in Italy (drawing: Robert Kuta, pattern design: Gosia Baczyńska and Assi Kootstra), with figures and sayings from kitchen wall hangings ('Tell no one what happens at home').  
Great Laundry collection, 2011, National Museum in Krakow,  
obtained in 2024, financed by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage from the Cultural Promotion Fund, project:  
'Building the MNK design collection - Purchase of a clothing collection designed by Gosia Baczyńska,' inv. no. MNK XIX-12899

© Anna Olchawska, Photographic Workshop of the  
National Museum in Krakow





**Fig. 3**

Dress made of lace, fabric imitating celluloid film and fabric decorated with a print with the face of a man, Frankenstein's Dream collection, Fall/Winter 2015/2016; National Museum in Krakow, obtained in 2024, financed by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage from the Cultural Promotion Fund, project: 'Building the MNK design collection - Purchase of a clothing collection designed by Gosia Baczyńska,' inv. no. MNK XIX-12909.

© Anna Olchawska, Photographic Workshop of the National Museum in Krakow



**Fig. 4**

Evening gown in white acetate: back knife-pleated, front panel knife-pleated and draped. Collar and bodice with decorative band with printed sentences, Black Spring collection, Spring/Summer 2015, National Museum in Krakow, obtained in 2024, financed by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage from the Cultural Promotion Fund, project: 'Building the MNK design collection - Purchase of a clothing collection designed by Gosia Baczyńska,' inv. no. MNK XIX-12911.

© Anna Olchawska, Photographic Workshop of the National Museum in Krakow



**Fig. 5**

Sequin dress with thin straps. Printed on the bodice is a collage from Sandro Botticelli's painting *Madonna Magnificat*: the image of the Madonna is surrounded by silk tulle, 'Per aspera ad astra' collection, 2019, Gift 2024, National Museum in Krakow, inv. no. MNK XIX-12918.

© Anna Olchawska, Photographic Workshop of the National Museum in Krakow

## **Une coopération économique franco-indienne suite à la visite des ambassadeurs de Tipou Saëb à Versailles, en 1788**

Lamy, Gabriela

Direction du Patrimoine et des jardins, Château de Versailles, France

### **Résumé**

En 1787, Tipou Saëb (Tippoo Saïb, Tipo Saib, Tipou Sultan, Tipoo Sultan ou Typou Sultan), roi de Mysore, en Inde, envoya une ambassade en France pour demander au roi Louis XVI un soutien militaire afin de chasser les Anglais hors de son pays. À défaut d'obtenir l'envoi de soldats, les ambassadeurs revinrent avec un groupe de 32 artistes et ouvriers issus du monde de l'armement (fondeurs de canons, de bombes et de boulets, armuriers), des manufactures (tisserands, teinturiers, horlogers) et du milieu scientifique (médecin, chirurgien, jardiniers), dont les parcours sont intéressants à étudier. Les sources manuscrites des Archives nationales d'outre-mer (Aix-en-Provence) et de la Bibliothèque centrale du Museum national d'histoire naturelle (Paris) ont ici été privilégiées.

### **Contenu**

1. Introduction
2. Les ambassadeurs en France
3. Préparatifs du voyage
4. MacNémara, les muscadiers et les girofliers
5. Seringapatam
6. *Tipu's Tiger*

### **Introduction**

Face à l'emprise grandissante des Anglais en Inde, Tipou Saëb (1750-1799), roi de Mysore, envoya une ambassade en France afin de former une alliance offensive et défensive contre l'Angleterre, inspiré par le soutien militaire apporté par les Français aux insurgés d'Amérique contre les Anglais. Tipou disposait déjà, grâce aux relations tissées par son père, Hayder Ali (1721-1782), avec les Français, d'excellents officiers d'artillerie et de génie : dans sa capitale à Bangalore, deux fonderies de canons avaient ainsi été construites (Lafont 2012).

Surnommé le « tigre de Mysore », Tipou Saëb, musulman fanatique, personnage irascible et tyrannique, était inflexible dans sa haine des Anglais.

En échange d'une aide militaire, il octroya à La France tous les avantages d'un commerce privilégié avec son empire.

## Les ambassadeurs en France

Trois dignitaires formaient l'ambassade de Tipou Saëb (**Fig. 1**) :

- Mohamed Dervish Kahn, premier ambassadeur, âgé de 40 ans environ, dont Élisabeth Vigée Lebrun réalisera le portrait (Bastien 2018, p. 200-205) ;
- Akbar Ali Khan, deuxième ambassadeur, 70 ans, accompagné de son fils Aga Saheb ;
- Mohamed Osman Khan, âgé de 50 ans, troisième ambassadeur, accompagné de son neveu Goolami Saib ;
- et un interprète, César, ancien fourrier des troupes de couleur de l'île de France (Tantet 1899, pp. 394-420).

La suite, composée de trente-deux personnes, quitta Pondichéry le 22 juillet 1787 à bord de la corvette l'*Aurore*, commandée par Pierre Monneron. Elle arriva onze mois plus tard à Toulon, le 9 juin 1788. Arrivés à Paris le 16 juillet, les Indiens furent logés dans un hôtel rue Bergère : il faut alors y nourrir en tout soixante-sept personnes, Indiens et domestiques français compris<sup>1</sup>.

Ils furent invités à la Manufacture royale de papiers peints de Jean-Baptiste Réveillon et voulurent établir une telle entreprise en Inde. En outre, ils visitèrent l'Imprimerie royale, l'Hôtel de la Monnaie et la Bibliothèque du roi. On put les croiser au Palais royal et à la Manufacture de porcelaine de Sèvres, où une foule se pressa pour les voir se promener dans les jardins de Saint-Cloud. Deux nouvelles robes inspirées de leurs tenues, la « robe à la Tippoo-Saïb » et la « redingote à l'Indienne », furent proposées le 20 août 1788 dans le Magasin des modes nouvelles, françaises et anglaises (Martin 2014, pp. 37-68).

Ils logèrent quelques jours au Grand Trianon, où vingt-quatre jardiniers passèrent trois nuits entières à arroser les gazons avant leur visite. La reine Marie-Antoinette, impressionnée par ces visiteurs, fit faire leurs portraits en cire grandeur nature, et les logea, groupés avec l'interprète et un esclave fumant leurs pipes, dans une des maisons du hameau au Petit Trianon. À la Révolution, le 7 avril 1794, sept figures en cire représentant « les envoyés de Tiposaïb et leur suite avec leurs costumes sous un palanquin chinois<sup>2</sup> », furent proposées à la vente.

Le 10 août 1788, les trois ambassadeurs furent reçus en audience solennelle par Louis XVI au château de Versailles, dans le salon d'Hercule<sup>3</sup>.

Au nom de Tipou Saëb, ils demandèrent au roi l'envoi de 3000 soldats et 128 artistes et ouvriers : dix fondeurs de canons de fer, dix armuriers, dix fondeurs de bombes, dix fondeurs de boulets, dix ouvriers de la manufacture des porcelaines, dix verriers, dix ouvriers de la manufacture des glaces, dix ouvriers fabricants de draps, dix ouvriers de la manufacture des tapisseries, dix horlogers, dix cultivateurs et ouvriers pour le chanvre, deux imprimeurs en langues orientales, un médecin, un chirurgien, deux ingénieurs et deux jardiniers<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Archives nationales d'Outre-Mer (dorénavant ANOM), COL C2 188.

<sup>2</sup> Archives départementales des Yvelines, 2Q 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Mercur de France*, 23 août 1788, pp. 176-180.

<sup>4</sup> ANOM, COL C2 189, f° 258.

Des arbres fruitiers particuliers à l'Europe, des graines de fleurs pour composer un beau parterre, des graines de lin et de chanvre, des girofliers, des camphriers, furent également réclamés.

Louis XVI ne pouvant accéder à leur demande de soutien militaire, les ambassadeurs durent se contenter d'une coopération économique composée de 32 artistes ou ouvriers volontaires, chargés « d'étendre l'empire des arts et des sciences dans cette intéressante partie de l'Asie<sup>5</sup> ».

### Préparatifs du voyage

André Thouin, jardinier en chef au Jardin du roi à Paris, fut chargé par César Henri de La Luzerne, ministre de la Marine, de trouver les « hommes d'art » et les végétaux demandés (Easterby-Smith 2016).

- Vilmorin-Andrieux, marchand-grainier à Paris, envoya graines potagères, semences de fleurs de « parterre des plus belles variétés », graines et noyaux d'arbres fruitiers<sup>6</sup> ;
- Varin, jardinier-fleuriste à Rouen, fit livrer des graines de lin cultivées en Normandie et en Zélande (Pays-Bas), ainsi que des oignons de fleurs de 25 espèces différentes, des pattes d'anémones et des pépins de pommes et de poires ;
- Beauvais fils, marchand-fleuriste à Paris, envoya 53 espèces de plants d'arbres fruitiers en deux exemplaires chacun ;
- Enfin, du Jardin du roi, on remplit une caisse de douze tubercules de quatre variétés de pommes de terre (légume d'usage alimentaire encore nouveau en France), de noyaux d'arbres fruitiers et de 37 sortes de bulbes et de graines de fleurs rares<sup>7</sup>.

Une Convention pour les artistes et ouvriers fut proposée le 28 septembre 1788 aux trois ambassadeurs agissant au nom de « Typou Sultan Victorieux » et aux futurs expatriés. Cette dernière se composait de sept articles, attestant notamment d'une durée de quatre années d'engagement et la liberté d'exercice de leur religion. Une Convention particulière pour les artistes fut ensuite ratifiée « provisoirement, sauf l'agrément de notre Auguste Maître », le 3 octobre, entre les trois ambassadeurs et les six premiers volontaires (Willemet, Barrault, Debay, Sandoz Gendre, Mulot et Luhrman). La Convention, traduite en langue Farsi et marquée des sceaux des trois ambassadeurs<sup>8</sup> (**Fig. 2**), comportait quatre conditions : la soumission aux sept articles de la Convention du 28 septembre 1788, le transport gratuit jusqu'au port de départ vers l'Inde, le montant du traitement spécifique à chacun des

---

<sup>5</sup> ANOM, COL C2 189, f° 264.

<sup>6</sup> Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (désormais BC MNHN), Ms 307 : [chateauversailles-recherche-ressources.fr/jlbweb/jlbWeb?html=nothortus&ref=211](http://chateauversailles-recherche-ressources.fr/jlbweb/jlbWeb?html=nothortus&ref=211)

<sup>7</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 307 : « État des graines fournies par M<sup>r</sup> Varin de Rouen le 24 7<sup>bre</sup> 1788 pour l'envoi de MM. Les Ambassadeurs de Tipoo Sultan », « État et fournitures faites par Beauvais marchand fleuriste pour l'envoi de MM les Ambassadeurs indiens », « État des Plantes vivaces Economiques et Médicinales du Jardin du Roi le 7 8<sup>bre</sup> 1788. »

<sup>8</sup> Une autre convention passée à Brest le 6 septembre 1788, avec trois « artistes » (Monnot, Antoine et Descrivan) est conservée aux ANOM, C2 187, f° 11 et 12. Je remercie Begum Siddique pour son aide à la lecture de ce manuscrit.



ouvriers et, enfin, une gratification pour l'achat de vêtements, outils et instruments nécessaires à leur mission.

André Thouin rédigea une longue « instruction pour diriger les jardiniers dans la culture des végétaux en nature pendant leur voyage sur mer », avec croquis et conseils pour la création de pépinières de plantes économiques à établir en Inde<sup>9</sup>. En mai 1785, il avait rédigé une instruction similaire « pour diriger le Jardinier dans les Travaux de son voyage autour du monde », parti de Brest avec l'expédition de La Pérouse<sup>10</sup>.

<u>« Artistes et ouvriers » partis de Brest pour l'Inde en 1788 avec les ambassadeurs de Tipou Saëb<sup>11</sup></u>				
NOM	Fonction	Adresse avant départ	Traitement proposé	Après 1789
<b>WILLEMET</b> , Pierre-Rémi-François de Paule  (2 avril 1762 à Nancy - 20 août 1790 à Seringapatam, Inde)	Docteur en médecine	442 rue Saint-Honoré, bâtiment des Feuillants, Paris	2400 roupies/an	
<b>BARRAULT</b> , Pierre Casimir  (25 mai 1761 à Sarrelouis - 14 février 1834 à Altforweiller, Allemagne)	Maître en chirurgie	Hôtel des armes de l'Empire, rue Dauphine vis-à-vis celle d'Anjou, Paris	2400 roupies/an	Reste peu de temps à Seringapatam, chirurgien à Pondichéry avant de d'aller à l'île Maurice où il se marie, d'où descendance.
<b>DEBAY</b> , Charles Philibert (1 <sup>er</sup> mars 1765 à Jeanménil - ap. 1810 à Port-Louis, Île Maurice)	Maître horloger	8 rue des Boucheries Saint-Honoré, Paris	1200 roupies/an	Se marie à l'île Maurice le 17 août 1802.
<b>SANDOZ GENDRE</b> , Cs Fs [Charles-	Maître horloger	Chez M <sup>r</sup> Ferdinand Berthoud,	1200 roupies/an	

<sup>9</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 307.

<sup>10</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 1928.

<sup>11</sup> Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM), COL C2 174, 187, 189, COL E 113 et COL E 318 ; Bibliothèque centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle (BC MNHN), Ms 307 ; Atkinson 2016.

François ?] (13 février 1763 à La-Chaux-de-Fonds, Suisse - ?) ]		horloger du Roy, rue du Harlay près le quai des Orfèvres, Paris		
<b>MULOT</b> , Pierre (1765 à Venables - ?)	Jardinier de Mesdames à Bellevue	Château de Bellevue	800 roupies/an	
<b>LUHRMAN</b> , Guillaume (1759 près d'Osnabrück - Wesphalie — ?)	Jardinier du roi	Chez M <sup>r</sup> Thouin, jardinier en chef du jardin du Roy au jardin du Roy, Paris	800 roupies/an	
<b>GARÇON</b> , Athanase	Ingénieur machiniste attaché au corps impérial d'artillerie	Chez M <sup>r</sup> Hérault, architecte, 2557 rue du Harlay, au Marais, Paris		
<b>DEMEUVE DE VILLEPARC</b>	Ingénieur, géographe	Boulevard du Roy, Pavillon fleuri près l'Abreuvoir, Versailles		
<b>MADEC</b> , Jean-Baptiste	Menuisier ébéniste	Chez M <sup>r</sup> de Combe, rue Joly du Vieux Augustin, hôtel de Turin, Paris		
<b>REGNIER</b> , Rémy	Fabricant de drap	Rue de l'ancienne maison de M <sup>r</sup> Miette « M <sup>tre</sup> tondeur de draps », faubourg St Marceau, Paris	720 roupies/an	
<b>REGNIER</b> , Marie née <b>PONCIN</b> , sa femme		Idem	380 roupies/an	

<b>REGNIER,</b> Guillaume, son fils		Idem	650 roupies/an	
<b>REGNIER,</b> Augustin, son fils		Idem	rien	
<b>REGNIER,</b> Ponce Victor, son fils		Idem	200 roupies/an	
<b>POMBART,</b> Nicolas (3 octobre 1757 à Reims - 22 juin 1846 à Port- Louis, Île Maurice)	Maître teinturier de la manufacture des Gobelins	Maison Julienne aux Gobelins, Paris	1500 roupies/an	À Pondichéry puis en 1807 à l'Île Maurice avec son épouse et ses trois enfants.
<b>FORTIN,</b> Jean, dit Charmant	Garçon teinturier	Chez le susdit Pombart		
<b>CLEMENT,</b> Jean	Garçon teinturier			
<b>LE DAL,</b> François	Menuisier, fondeur			
<b>MENEAUD,</b> Auguste (? à Eymet - 2 octobre 1835 à Madras, Inde)	Coutelier			Arrive à Madras en 1799. À eu trois enfants nés à Seringapatam, adoptés par son épouse en 1804 lors de leur mariage à Madras.
<b>MOUYSET,</b> Pierre-François ( ? — janvier 1811 à Port- Louis, Île Maurice)	Fondeur aux forges d'Indret			Rompt son engagement avant le départ de Brest en 1788 et part finalement en avril 1789 à bord de la <i>Royale Elisabeth</i> .  S'enfuit en 1792 à l'Île Maurice où il se marie le 2 octobre 1792 et se remarie en 1809. Aurait été assassiné.

<b>PEGOS, Giovanni</b> Francesco	Fondeur et mouleur			
XX	Fondeur			
<b>MENIER</b>	Autre ouvrier			
<b>MONNOD, Denis</b>	Opticien et mécanicien de la Marine		1200 roupies/an	Brest, Convention du 28 septembre 1788
<b>ANTOINE</b>	Verrier		1000 roupies/an	Déserteur en 1792 ?
<b>DESCRIVAN, cadet</b>	Verrier		1000 roupies/an	Déserteur en 1792 ?
<b>LEBRUN, Guillaume</b> fils	Employé à l'Académie de marine pour des canons de fusil		1200 roupies/an	
<b>LE MELLOC, Jean-François</b>	Maître armurier pour la forge des canons de fusil		1200 roupies/an	
<b>SALAFIER, Jean</b>	Forgeron			
<b>BALANDREAU, Médard</b> (22 juillet 1761 à Nevers - 5 décembre 1814 à Chandernagor, Inde)	Serrurier			Se marie en 1803 à Chandernagor
<b>MENARD</b>	Tourneur			

## MacNémara, les muscadiers et les girofliers

Les ambassadeurs quittèrent Paris pour Brest le 9 octobre 1788, où les attendait la frégate la *Thétis*, commandée par le comte de MacNémara (1743-1790)<sup>12</sup> (**Fig. 3**). Le navire fut chargé, entre autres, de caisses de porcelaines de Sèvres offertes par Louis XVI à Tipou Saëb et de caisses de graines et plantes que MacNémara menaçait de mettre à la mer si elles gênaient trop<sup>13</sup>. Trois-mille têtes de moutons et de volailles vivantes animaient également le vaisseau (Letouzey 1989, p. 168). En passant près de la ligne de l'Équateur, le jardinier Mulot écrivit : « Les arbres sont en pleine végétation, les pommiers, les cerisiers, les poiriers étaient fleuris, les plantes vivaces poussaient parce que nous étions proches de la ligne. C'était une admiration de voir cela, nos narcisses étaient en pleine fleur<sup>14</sup>... »

Arrivés sur l'île Maurice le 17 février 1789, les ambassadeurs réclamèrent tout spécialement des plants de muscadiers et de girofliers. Il était alors interdit d'en faire sortir de l'île, la France ayant obtenu, après moult difficultés, ces plantes à fort potentiel économique. MacNémara, exaspéré par l'attitude des Indiens qui refusaient de partir sans ces précieux plants, prévint les administrateurs de l'île qu'il se chargerait lui-même de l'embarquement des plants et « de les faire détruire en les arrosant d'eau bouillante ou d'eau de mer » pendant la traversée<sup>15</sup>. Mulot écrivit en arrivant à Pondichéry que les girofliers étaient tous morts en mer et que les muscadiers n'étaient pas trop bien portants<sup>16</sup>...

## Seringapatam

De Pondichéry, le voyage se poursuivit par voie terrestre vers le palais d'été de Seringapatam (aujourd'hui Srirangapatna, état du Karnataka) construit par Tipou Saëb en 1784 sur une île située sur la rivière Cauvery (**Fig. 4**).

Le médecin botaniste Pierre-Rémi Willemet mourut le 20 août 1790 : « Willemet était aimé de Tipou, il gagnait beaucoup d'argent à traiter les chefs du pays ; il avait déjà appris le maure et il travaillait avec succès à faire des collections d'Histoire Naturelle » ; à sa mort, Tipou se fit adjuger à l'encan ses livres, illustrations et manuscrits (Allorge & Ikor 2003)<sup>17</sup>. Willemet honora tout particulièrement MacNémara en nommant une plante découverte à l'île Maurice *Macnemaraea Opulina*, en « mémoire de l'illustre comte MacNémara accompagnant les ambassadeurs de Tipou » (Willemet 1796, p. 35).

Le chirurgien Pierre-Casimir Barrault resta peu de temps à Seringapatam, Tipou considérant qu'il n'avait plus besoin de ses services. Il exerça alors sa profession à Pondichéry puis à l'île Maurice, où il se maria avant de retourner en France<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup> Archives nationales, MAR C7 191 : MacNémara sera massacré à l'île Maurice le 4 novembre 1790 pendant les troubles révolutionnaires.

<sup>13</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 307 : Mulot à Thouin, 9 novembre 1788.

<sup>14</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 307 : Mulot à Thouin, 12 mars 1789.

<sup>15</sup> ANOM, COL C4 84 f° 193.

<sup>16</sup> BC MNHN, Ms 307 : Mulot à Thouin, 4 juin 1789.

<sup>17</sup> Ces documents (dont *Genera Plantarum* et *Manuel de botanique à l'usage des voyageurs*) n'ont pas encore été retrouvés à ce jour.

<sup>18</sup> Je remercie Bruno Sautelet pour les renseignements concernant son lointain parent.

Les deux jardiniers qui envoyaient régulièrement des lettres à Thouin depuis leur départ de Brest ne donnèrent plus signe de vie à partir du 4 juin 1789.

Le 4 décembre 1797, Tipou Saëb fit partir de Pondichéry deux autres ambassadeurs à l'île Maurice pour renouveler sa demande d'aide militaire à la France. Debay, interprète accompagnant les deux indiens, qui n'était autre qu'un des deux horlogers partis en 1788, nous apprend qu'il ne restait plus que quatre Français vivants à Seringapatam (Le Dal, Pombart, Ménart et lui-même), trois autres ayant quitté l'Inde car considérés par Tipou comme inutiles ; les autres ayant tous péri<sup>19</sup>. Les deux ambassadeurs repartirent de l'île Maurice le 7 mars 1798 avec 86 soldats volontaires commandés par Louis-Auguste Chappuis. Ce dernier, de retour en France, témoignera des derniers moments de Tipou Saëb lors du siège de la forteresse de Seringapatam par les Anglais, au cours duquel Tipou trouva la mort, sabre au poing, le 4 mai 1799, lors de l'assaut final. Gobert et Dubois écriront le mélodrame historique *Tippoo Saïb ou la prise de Seringapatam* en 1804 ; Étienne de Jouy s'inspirera des faits pour écrire, en 1811, la tragédie *Tippo-Saëb* ; et Henri de Bravannes écrira *Tippoo-Saib ou la Destruction de l'empire de Mysore*, en 1813. Sur la base de ces pièces de théâtre, la manufacture d'indiennes établie à Munster, dans les Vosges, et dirigée par Hartmann et Fils, créera, vers 1825, une toile de coton imprimée illustrant, dans six médaillons, les derniers moments de Tipou<sup>20</sup> (**Fig. 5**) :

- L'île de Seringapatam sur la rivière Cauvery ;
- Tipou consulte les devins ;
- Les deux fils de Tipou pris en otage par les Anglais, délivrés par Jenny ;
- Le palais décoré de guirlandes de fleurs pour recevoir les deux jeunes otages ;
- Dans son palais, Tipou chassant les Anglais voulant reprendre les deux enfants ;
- Mort de Tipou avec pour décor le tableau de Robert Kerr Porter peint en 1800, *The Storming of Seringapatam*.

### ***Tipu's Tiger***

Parmi le butin saisi par les Anglais dans le palais de Seringapatam (Buddle 1999) se trouvait un automate musical appelé *Tipu's Tiger* (Archer 2009 & Stronge 2009, p. 71). Le tigre était l'animal fétiche de Tipou, selon qui mieux valait vivre deux jours comme un tigre que 200 ans comme un mouton. Ce tigre, qui plante ses crocs dans la gorge d'un soldat anglais, illustre la haine profonde que Tipou nourrissait à l'encontre des Anglais : le soldat produit un gémissement continu tandis que sa main gauche est soulevée et abaissée au-dessus de sa bouche. Au même moment, le tigre émet un grognement. Un orgue se trouve à l'intérieur de l'automate.

Le mystère reste entier sur le fabricant de cet objet que l'on dit avoir été conçu par un Français. Or, l'un des « artistes » membre de l'expédition de 1788 était un horloger suisse protestant, Charles-François Sandoz Gendre. Né à la Chaux-de-Fonds dans le canton de Neuchâtel<sup>21</sup>, il habitait Paris en 1788, chez Ferdinand Berthoud, horloger du roi et également originaire du canton de Neuchâtel. Sandoz Gendre connaissait les Jaquet Droz, originaires, comme lui, de la Chaux-de-Fonds, créateurs de 1768 à 1774 des trois fameux automates :

---

<sup>19</sup> ANOM, COL C2 189, f° 264.

<sup>20</sup> Je remercie Xavier Petitcol pour ces informations.

<sup>21</sup> Je remercie Yvonne Sandoz, archiviste du fonds de la famille Sandoz et Marlène Rüfenacht du Musée d'Horlogerie du Locle pour leur aide.

l'Écrivain, la Musicienne et le Dessinateur<sup>22</sup>. La longue plainte douloureuse émise par le soldat pourrait-elle être aussi celle des malheureux artistes et ouvriers qui vivaient sous le joug de Tipou ? À ce propos, Debay écrivit, en 1798 : « Du fond de l'Indostan, quatre malheureux artistes opprimés par le despotisme le plus insupportable, réclament avec confiance leurs droits de citoyens français et demandent à jouir des heureux effets de la Liberté<sup>23</sup>. »

*Tipu's Tiger* aurait-il des origines suisses ? Voilà où nous mènent, par voie détournée, les recherches sur le voyage des plantes...

## Remerciements

Je remercie particulièrement Corinne Thépaut Cabasset pour m'avoir permis de réaliser cette étude, ainsi que Anne Buddle, Roland Kaehr, Jean-Marie Lafont, Philippe Lüscher, Xavier Petitcol, Marlène Rüfenacht et Yvonne Sandoz.

## Bibliographie

- Allorge, Lucile & Ikor, Olivier. 2003. *La fabuleuse odyssée des plantes*. Paris. JC Lattès.
- Archer, Mildred. 1959. *Tippoo's Tiger*. Londres. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Atkinson, David. 2016. 'Under Durress: The Tiger of Mysore and His Infidel Artisans,' *Journal of the Families in British India Society*. N°35 et 36 [en ligne].
- Bastien, Vincent. 2018. « L'ambassade indienne de Mysore, 1788 », dans *Visiteurs de Versailles – Voyageurs, princes, ambassadeurs, 1682-1789*, catalogue de l'exposition sous la dir. de Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide et Bertrand Rondot, Château de Versailles / Gallimard.
- Buddle, Anne. 1999. *The Tiger and the Thistle. Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India 1760-1800*. Edimburgh. National Gallery of Scotland.
- Easterby-Smith, Sarah. 2016. 'On Diplomacy and Botanical Gifts – France, Mysore and Mauritius in 1788,' dans *The Botany of Empire in the Long Eighteenth Century*, sous la dir. de Yota Batsaki, Sarah Burke Cahalan, Anatole Tchikine. Washington, D.C. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Lafont, Jean-Marie. 2012. *Piveron de Morlat – Mémoires sur l'Inde (1786)*, Paris, Riveneuve éditions.
- Letouzey, Yvonne. 1989. *Le jardin des Plantes à la croisée des chemins avec André Thouin, 1747-1824*. Paris. Éditions du Muséum.
- Martin, Meredith. 2014. 'Tipu Sultan's Ambassadors at Saint-Cloud: Indomania and Anglophobia in Pre-Revolutionary Paris,' dans *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture*, vol 21, n° 1.
- Stronge, Susan. 2003. *Tipu's Tigers*. Londres. V&A Publishing.
- Tantet, Victor. 1899. « L'ambassade de Tippou-Sultan à Paris en 1788 », *La Revue de Paris*, 15 janvier 1899.
- Willemet, Pierre-Rémi. 1796. *Herbarium Mauritanium*. Leipzig. Wolff.

---

<sup>22</sup> Je remercie Philippe Lüscher de nous avoir permis de les avoir vu fonctionner le 17 mai 2024 au Musée d'art et d'histoire de Neuchâtel.

<sup>23</sup> ANOM, COL C2 189, f° 264

Fig. 1

Tipoo-Saïb - Souverain dans l'Inde.  
Papier mâché, yeux de verre.  
Cabinet de Charles-Daniel de Meuron, avant 1791.  
H : 25,4 cm.

Alain Germond © Musée d'Ethnographie de Neuchâtel



Fig. 2

Convention Particulière pour des artistes,  
3 octobre 1788, en français et en farsi.  
ANOM COL C2 189 f° 255 v. et f° 256 r.

Hervé Malfuson © Archives nationales d'outre-mer,  
Aix-en-Provence

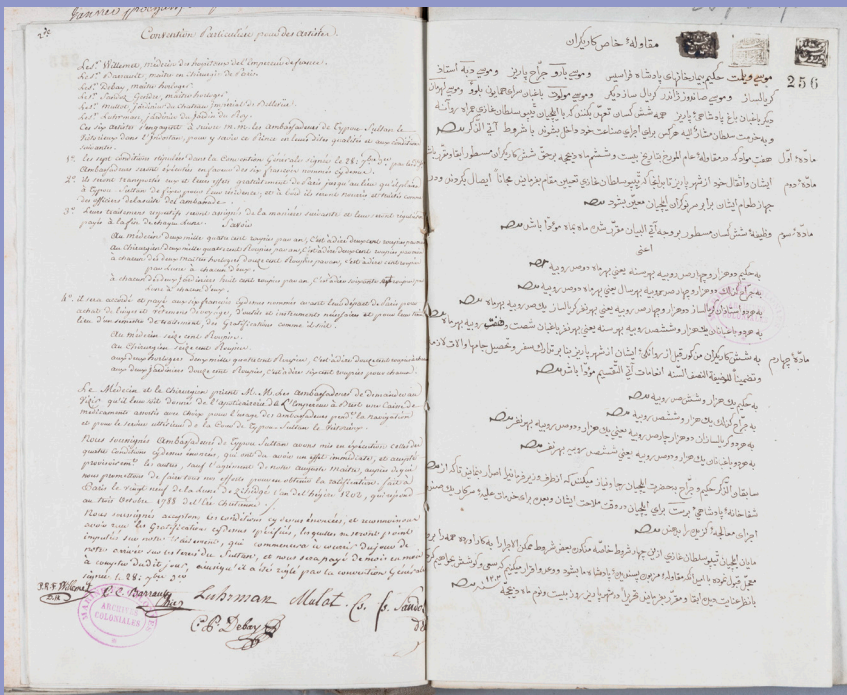


Fig. 3

Anon., comte Henri Pantaléon de Macnémara.  
Identifié par l'amiral Éric Scherer en 2022.  
Huile sur toile.  
81 cm x 63 cm.

© Coll. part.







---

Fig. 4

Palais d'été de Seringapatam, 2016.

© Gabriela Lamy



---

Fig. 5

Tipu Sultan.  
Manufacture Hartmann, Munster, vers  
1825, toile de coton imprimé au rouleau de  
cuivre.

Inv. N°995.5.1.a [détail]

© Musée de la Toile de Jouy

# From *Indiennes*\* to Industrial Printed Cotton: A focus on Swiss Traditional Dress

Laurenti, Lisa

University of Lausanne, Switzerland

## Abstract

This paper investigates how *indiennes* were processed from an exotic luxury textile into a folklore ornament for a variety of Swiss costumes, between the 17th and 20th centuries.

In the 17th century, these Indian printed cottons became a much sought-after fashion artefact in Europe. Western manufacturers, including several Swiss companies, began to produce imitations of these fabrics that were sold all over the world. Throughout the 18th century, these were quickly transformed from luxury items purchased by the privileged spheres of society, into semi-precious products. At the beginning of the 19th century, *indiennes* gradually expanded to the working classes, rural areas, and mountain regions in the form of women's clothes, handkerchiefs, or scarves. In the early 20th century, although industrially produced, they were considered an integral part of several traditional regional dresses. The aim of the present research is to portray the material culture of *indiennes* fashion, understanding the conditions and dynamics through which objects acquired significance in people's lives at a given period.

*\*Indiennes*: in French, *indiennes* or *toiles peintes*; in English *chintz* or *calicos*, is a generic term used to refer to printed cotton fabrics of Indian origin and their European imitations. During the 18th century, it included both chintzes produced in India and imported into Europe, and those ordered by European customers and sent by Indian manufacturers for the Western market, or even those of European creation (Ballateros Gourguet, 2000, 47-48). During the first half of the 19th century, the term *indiennes* mainly referred to first-quality production. In the second half of the century, however, the term became obsolete due to the industrialisation of production, in favour of the appellation 'printed cotton' (Bieri Thomson, 2018, 13-14).

## Content

1. Introduction: *indiennes* production in Switzerland
2. From exotism to folklorism
3. *Indiennes* in Swiss women wardrobes
4. Printed cotton trade in the Alpine areas
5. Conclusion: from global to local

## Introduction: *indiennes* production in Switzerland

In the 17th century, Indian printed cottons (*indiennes*) became a much sought-after fashion artefact in Europe. Western manufacturers, including several Swiss companies, began to produce imitations of these fabrics that were sold all over the world. Throughout the 18th century, these were quickly transformed from luxury items purchased by the privileged spheres of society, into semi-precious products. Meeting the demand of a wide range of customers from various geographical and socio-economic areas was made possible through the development of categories of different qualities, levels of complexities, and costs. At the beginning of the 19th century, *indiennes* gradually expanded to the working classes, rural areas, and mountain regions in the form of women's clothes, handkerchiefs, or scarves. They often had a ceremonial character during feast days or rituals linked to engagements or weddings.

The origins of cotton printing in Switzerland date back to the end of the 17th century when the Edict of Nantes (1685) was revoked and it was illegal to wear, manufacture, or import *indiennes* in France (1686). Several Huguenots and artisans working with printed cloth in France found refuge among Protestant communities. At the end of the 17th century, they established manufactories, starting in Geneva. In Neuchâtel, at the beginning of the 18th century, several families from the area—or of Huguenot origins—supported by the Prussian regime—set up businesses for printed cloth production and trade, realising the economic potential of this market. They were soon followed by entrepreneurs from Basle, Bienne and Mulhouse, and then by others based in Aargau, Zurich, Thurgau and Glarus (Bieri Thomson 2018). As a result, the production of *indiennes* placed Switzerland at the centre of a hitherto unparalleled scale of trade. Millions of white cotton and dyeing products meters were imported from Europe, Africa, America, and Asia, and up to 95% of the production was exported—mainly to Europe, but also to the Middle East, the Far East, as well as to Africa and European colonies in America. With about 16 million metres of printed cloth produced annually, France was the world's largest manufacturer of *indiennes* around 1785. England came in second with 12,4 million metres. It is estimated that Swiss production at the time was around 8,5 million metres per year (Veyrassat 2018, 65).

In this decisive phase of the industrial revolution, *indiennes* thus contributed to placing the Swiss economy, in a durable way, in the European and world economy (Caspard 2020). During the first half of the 19th century, many Swiss and European factories were forced to close due to the political climate in Europe and the advent of production mechanisation initiated in England, which allowed a drastic reduction of the selling price on the market. The Glarus canton production was an exception. At the beginning of the 19th century, the first industrial buildings were constructed, and the export business was extended via Italian trading bases to the eastern Mediterranean. This export was then expanded throughout the Ottoman Empire and later on to Asia and Africa. Some firms survived until the end of the 20th century (Arx, Davatz and Rohr 2005).

## From exotism to folklorism

During my research into Swiss *indiennes* production and consumption, I came across several examples of printed cloth samples, accessories, garments, or documents referring to these textiles as 'typical' or part of a 'traditional costume' that personified the identity of a region. I wondered about the meaning and perception of 'typical,' 'regional,' and 'traditional' clothing over the centuries, especially as *indiennes* are considered by historians to be one of the earliest consumer items in history, as they were sold on all the continents. In addition, clothes respond to the collective and constant renewal of fashions that underline how quickly our needs evolve. Clothing not only dresses the body but also presents the wearer, and according to certain conventions, integrates him or her into a community.

Two feminine dresses with printed cotton accessories illustrate this issue very well. One is from Ticino (southern Switzerland) (**Fig. 1**) and the other, from Neuchâtel (western Switzerland) (**Fig. 2**). Both date back to the third decade of the 20th century. In this period, although industrially produced, printed cottons were considered an integral part of several Swiss traditional regional dresses. The southern Switzerland dress imitates, in a simplified way, peasant women's clothing in use in several European Alpine regions. It is characterised by wide, ankle-length skirts, tight bodices, spencers, aprons, shoulder and headkerchiefs, often made of printed cotton. Women's clothing in Neuchâtel is marked by a fitted bodice and a gathered skirt evocative of the Ancien Régime's popular shapes.

At that time, by means of historical research, the goal was to reconstitute and preserve these specificities, driven by a strongly stereotyped folkloric movement that emerged in Switzerland, as throughout Europe: the emergence of national identities (Thiesse 1999) which portrayed, through the 'traditional costume,' the symbol of an authentic rural life and met the expectations of tourists. One can witness a phenomenon of 'folklorism,' a manipulated folklore, a sort of homologising movement in opposition to local identities often rectified and deprived of their historical content. Because of how their image is interpreted and manipulated, popular costumes have all too frequently come to represent a sense of regional belonging, itself perceived as timeless, thus encouraging the spread of stereotypes (Bouvier 1999, 131-145; Lethuillier 2009).

The two dresses are characterised by one main difference: the production of *indiennes* on their territories. Any proto-industrial or industrial activity in the fields of printed cotton arose in the southern regions of Switzerland. Shortly after the middle of the 18th century, in neighbouring Lombardy (northern Italy), and more specifically in the State of Milan, about twenty factories printed small pieces of linen or hemp at the request of individual customers; however, they lacked washing-resistant colours because of too primitive systems (Bellezza Rosina and Cataldi Gallo 1993, 53-66). In opposition, Neuchâtel and its 14 factories concentrated in a limited area represented one of Europe's most important *indiennes* production centre, with an annual total of around 2 million metres in 1797 (Caspard 1979, 102-103). There, the use of printed cottons in women's traditional clothing bears witness to the flourishing textile industries that marked the region in the 18th and 19th centuries.

This led me to investigate how *indiennes* were processed from an exotic luxury textile into a folkloric accessory in Switzerland between the 17th and 20th centuries, all the while keeping in mind the global or 'glocal' context that defines them; and to understand the conditions and dynamics through which objects acquired significance in people's lives at a given period.

Some significant examples from Ticino illustrate in a relevant manner the purpose of the present research. Ticino, in southern Switzerland, was a remote but central transit area for trade routes between the north and south of Europe. Manufactured printed cloths that reached the region between the 18th and 19th centuries via a complex international trade network were integrated into consumption habits while maintaining the production of local handcrafted textiles (wool, hemp, linen). At the same time, the demand for these products made the provincial area part of the European consumption and industrialisation process (Trentmann, 2016; Vries, 2012).

In 2019, the Swiss National Museum in Zurich renovated its exhibition rooms devoted to the history of Switzerland. In the section dedicated to tourism and tradition, several of the numerous national regional costumes are now displayed with their respective accessories. The exhibition space evokes the discovery and development of tourism in the Alps, starting at the end of the 18th century—when Switzerland became a popular destination for travelers. At that time, artistic handicrafts experienced a golden age, as did the traditions that complemented the concept of Swiss cultural authenticity. This is attested to by the exhibited 'traditional costumes' worn in many places on Sundays or feast days. Among the artefacts on display is the legacy of Swiss dress scholar Julie Heierli (1859-1938). The artefacts collected and meticulously studied by the ethnologist date back to before the Swiss Costume Federation's 'renewal' and 'standardisation' of costumes in the 1930s. From 1880 onwards, Julie Heierli collected everyday life accessories with the aim of preserving the clothes kept in peasant homes, churches, and workplaces, that were, at that time, in danger of being replaced by mass-produced industrial goods and thus disappearing forever. In conjunction with the Federal Constitution of 1848, the need emerged to codify the identity of traditional regional customs at a national level. Around 1920, she published her five-volume seminal work, *Die Volkstrachtender Schweiz*, providing Switzerland with a unique instrument that is still the most comprehensive and historically well-documented work on the subject (Heierli 1922-1931).

The Swiss National Museum opened its doors in Zurich in 1898. At the same time, most cantons established historical collections and regional museums. Julie Heierli directly assisted in the creation and collection of Swiss folk costumes and accessories, and contributed to the folklore of traditional dress based solely on historical sources and material culture.

The south Swiss example currently displayed in the National Museum is an original version worn by peasants during feast days in the Verzasca valley (**Fig. 3**). The dress, which is characterised by an empire-style high waist starting below the bust and a spencer with long sleeves that do not extend above the waist and which, in the fashionable centres of the time, served to cover the neckline, is obviously of early 19th-century influence. A blue or white bodice, open at the front, accompanies a long hand-woven skirt in ecru wool or dyed in blue with narrow ruffles falling into heavy pleats. The version displayed in the Swiss National

Museum has a hand-woven long white linen cloth apron with embroidered red edges and trimmed with fringes, while one preserved in the ethnographic Museum in Verzasca has a late 18th-century to early 19th-century *indienne* with a motive inspired by nature and largely produced in several factories throughout Europe at that time (**Fig. 4**).

During the 19th century, printed cotton aprons spread further to the popular classes, as well as to European country and mountain areas. As women's clothes, aprons, handkerchiefs, or headscarves became, on the one hand, a phenomenon of a 'luxury' article for the lower classes, thus determining the cycle of fashion obsolescence, and, on the other hand, an element of social, temporal, and spatial demarcation. The study of numerous dowries confirms a change in habits in Ticino from the 18th to the 19th century (Laurenti 2024, 34-57). Furthermore, the working classes made extensive use of the second-hand market. Domestic servants, who made up an important part of the working classes, also participated in this process of change by appropriating what the masters no longer liked (Fennetaux, Junqua and Vasset 2015).

### **Indiennes in Swiss women's wardrobes**

During the 18th century, the aristocratic class in Ticino did not become enthralled with *indiennes* imported from India to Europe; rather, the bourgeoisie gradually and steadily increased their consumption in clothing and in interior design. A trend that was observed in the rest of Switzerland in parallel with the specialisation, increase, and diversification of product prices on the market and, above all, with the emergence of Swiss local manufacturers (Laurenti 2015, 317-328; Laurenti 2024, 34-57). The wealthy classes, both town and country, were essentially the ones who introduced these fabrics into their wardrobes and furnishings during the second half of the 18th century. It is crucial to remember that, at the time, the majority of the population in Ticino and many other Alpine regions, was mainly composed of rural class families, with only a few ones belonging to the upper class. Its pre-Alpine valleys, small townships, and limited means of communication did not facilitate social interactions. As a result, it was uncommon for people from various social and economic backgrounds to meet and exchange new goods. In this context, it was the merchant bourgeoisie that could afford to travel and buy printed cottons, as demonstrated in the Maggia valley (Chiesi Ermotti, 2019, 108-110). Among the locally woven and spun textiles, such as linen, hemp, and wool, more sophisticated products were brought into the provincial areas at that time, imported through migratory movements or the trafficking of merchants passing between north and south. Their possession strengthened a social status that differentiated the bourgeoisie's ladies through their trousseaux and the way they dressed; thus, it is no coincidence that, during the second half of the 18th century, merchant bourgeoisie women were portrayed wearing dresses embellished with precious fabrics (**Fig. 5**), including printed cotton aprons with a white background that revealed naturalist flower motifs in vogue in Europe at that time, or sewn inside the sleeves of their woolen spencer. Both *indiennes* gave a fashionable touch to the garments, differentiating them from an ordinary dress produced locally (**Figs 6 & 7**).

## Printed cotton trade in the Alpine areas

Through its role as a transit and point of contact between the north and south of the continent, Ticino integrated the European economic system despite lacking significant urban areas and being remote from the major trading centres of the time. Moreover, like many other centres located in the Alpine region during the modern era, the canton based its activities on the transport and shipping of goods, which contributed to defining its role as an economic intermediary between northern and southern Europe (Lorenzetti 2009, 517-526). The trade in printed cloth integrated this dynamic, and, in addition to actively participating in trade networks by favouring the export of printed textiles from Switzerland to the Italian market, it was directly linked to it through the purchase and consumption of articles locally.

Shopkeepers were constantly in contact with Swiss trading houses, manufacturers or intermediaries in order to purchase printed textiles for private customers, shopkeepers or Italian trading houses located in northern Italy (mainly Lombardy, Piedmont and Venice). According to accounts by Swiss merchants travelling to Italy and Ticino at that time, Italian customers demanded articles with 'simple designs and bright colours' that generally reproduced the Mulhouse and Rouen designs, referring to products offered by the well-known Alsatian manufacturer, Hartmann & Cie (MahN, Fonds Famille Bovet, 1854). In Alsace, at the beginning of the 19th century, Daniel Koechlin produced the dye on cotton, known as Adrianople red, or Turkey red. These articles, bearers of a new kind of aesthetics, first seduced Europeans and, later on, a large proportion of consumers worldwide. In particular, the French production centres of Mulhouse and Rouen, the Manchester region, Scotland, and Switzerland, especially Glarus, specialised in the manufacture of such goods (Jacqué 1995) (**Fig. 8**).

It turned out that one of the major manufacturers in Glarus, Batholome Jenny & Cie, opened a sales branch in Lugano between 1822 and the end of 1850 to increase and control their business between Switzerland and Italy (Comptoir Daniel Jenny & Cie). Several examples of printed cloth or iconography preserved in the ethnographic museums of Ticino bear witness to this (**Figs. 9 & 10**). Often beautifully depicted, peasant women in the paintings wear clothes and accessories reserved for feast days, including brightly coloured handkerchiefs made of printed cotton, wool, or silk, in the manner of the Glarus production, as shown by the *Vallerana* (valley woman) portrayed by Antonio Rinaldi (1816-1875) around the middle of the 19th century (**Fig. 11**). During the 18th and 19th centuries, *indiennes*—once an exotic textile reserved for the wealthy classes at the end of the 17th century—became a social indicator that distinguished the common classes. Festive days were the occasion for people to gather and socialise, as well as to show off through simple garments such as head and neck handkerchiefs or aprons. This explains the important presence of these accessories in dowries and iconography of the mid-19th century.

## **Conclusion: from global to local**

Between the 17th and 20th centuries, printed cottons were at the heart of a social and cultural custom. They bear witness to the enthusiasm for objects imported from the East, the circulation of technical skills and people, the transmission of ornamental vocabulary, and the creation of a category of luxury and semi-luxury products for consumers in the modern era. Concepts such as 'exoticism' and 'folklore' in western fashion, the conflict between local and global, and the significance of fashion and tradition are revisited through the discovery of printed cottons consumption in a particular geographic area. Regional dress can, in this sense, be seen as the product of an ever-renewing work of creation and complex intersections dependent on the cultural and economic factors of a particular region connected with the rest of the world. Styles, textiles, and sartorial forms found in small European towns and rural areas cannot be separated from fashions spread by European courts during the Old Régime and, later, by urban ones. Moreover, the 18th century saw a greater variety of clothing and a wider range of textile materials, including cotton, which revolutionised fashion not only in Europe, but worldwide (Riello 2013). Considering cotton and the fashion phenomenon it aroused in a cultural and economic context that went beyond the boundaries of a single region, we highlight the complexity of circulation, exchange, and aesthetics outside the large centres. At the same time, while avoiding assigning a typically regional character to textiles, decorations, or accessories, we detect their global and local scope, and explore the relationship between macro and micro-history, and the perceived exoticism and folklore in a given historical and cultural period. Indeed, since the 18th century, international trade, circulation, and exchange have significantly influenced society and resulted in a globalisation of culture. In response to this phenomenon, 'glocalisation' was, and still is, the tendency to adapt a global product to a local context in order to make it more attractive to a given market or society.

## **Bibliography**

### **Archive sources**

Comptoir Daniel Jenny & Cie, Ennenda, *Bartholome Jenny & Cie in Lugano*

Musée d'art et d'histoire, Neuchâtel, *Fonds Famille Bovet*, AA 3729.1

### **Literature**

Arx, Rolf von, Davatz and Jürg, Rohr. 2005. *Industriekultur im kanton Glarus. Streifzüge durch 250 Jahre Geschichte und Architektur*. Chur. Südostschweiz Buchverlag

Ballateros Gourguet, Pascale. 2000. 'Indiennes et mousselines: le charme irréductible des cotonnades (1650-1750)' in, *Le coton et la mode. 1000 ans d'aventures*. Paris. Somogy. Editions d'art, 47-48.



Bellezza Rosina, Margherita and Cataldi Gallo, Marzia. 1993. *Cotoni stampati e mezzari dalle Indie all'Europa*. Genova. Sagep Editrice.

Bieri Thomson, Helen et al. (dir.). 2018. *Indiennes: Un tissu révolutionne le monde!* Lausanne. La Bibliothèque des Arts.

Bouvier, Nicolas. 1999. 'Heurts et malheurs du costume.' *L'art populaire en Suisse*. Genève, 131-145.

Caspar, Pierre. 2020. 'Indiennes.' *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*. Online: <https://hlsdhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/013962/2020-04-01/>, consulted on 01.07.2024.

Caspar, Pierre. 1979. *La Fabrique-Neuve de Cortaillod. Entreprise et profit pendant la révolution industrielle (1752-1854)*. Paris. Publications de la Sorbonne ; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires de Fribourg.

Chiesi Ermotti, Francesca. 2019. *Le Alpi in movimento. Vicende del casato dei mercanti migranti Pedrazzini di Campo Valmaggia (XVIII s.)*. Bellinzona. Edizioni Casagrande.

Fennetaux, Ariane, Junqua Amélie and Vasset Sophie (dir.). 2015. *The Afterlife of Used Thing: Recycling in the long Eighteenth Century*. New York. Taylor & Francis.

Heierli, Julie. 1922-1931. *Die Volkstrachten der Schweiz*, 5 Vol. Erlenbach-Zürich. E. Rentsch.

Jacqué, Jacqueline (dir.). 1995. *Andrinople. Le rouge magnifique. De la teinture à l'impression, une cotonnade à la conquête du monde*. Paris, Mulhouse. Éditions de la Martinière, Musée d'Impression sur Étoffes.

Laurenti, Lisa. 2024. *Da Tessuto esotico ad accessorio folcloristico. Indiane in Ticino dal Seicento ai giorni nostri*. Bellinzona. Centro di dialettologia e di etnografia.

Laurenti, Lisa. 2015. 'Le goût pour les indiennes au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Place et fonction du textile imprimé dans les châteaux en Suisse'. *Revue suisse d'Art et d'Archéologie*, 72, 317-328.

Lethuillier, Pierre (dir.). 2009. *Les costumes régionaux. Entre mémoire et histoire*. Rennes. Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Lorenzetti, Luigi. 2009. 'Controllo del mercato, famiglie e forme imprenditoriali tra le élite mercantili sud alpine, dalla fine del Cinquecento al Settecento' in, Covacciocchi, Simonetta (dir.), *La famiglia nell'economia europea. Secc. XIII-XVIII / The Economic Role of the Family in the European Economy from 13<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Atti della 'Quarantesima settimana di studi', 6-10 aprile 2008. Firenze. University Press, 517-526.

Riello, Giorgio. 2013. *Cotton. The Fabric that Made the Modern World*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Thiesse, Anne-Marie. 1999. *La Création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII<sup>e</sup> – XX<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris. Le Seuil.

Trentmann, Frank. 2016. *Empire of Things: How we became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First*. London. Allen Lane

Veyrassat, Béatrice. 2018. 'Les marchés d'Europe et d'Outre-mer de l'indienne suisse et neuchâteloise (XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)' in, Laurenti, Lisa. 2018. *Made in Neuchâtel. Deux siècles d'indiennes*. Paris, Neuchâtel. Somogy. Editions d'art, Musée d'art et d'histoire, 65-73

Vries, Jan de. 2012. *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

---

Fig. 1

'Ticinella,' Traditional costume, Ticino, 1926.  
Archivio storico ticinese, Bellinzona, Switzerland.

© ASTi, Bellinzona



---

Fig. 2

Child traditional costume, Neuchâtel, circa 1930.  
Musée d'art et d'histoire, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.

© MahN, Neuchâtel



Fig. 3

Traditional dresses, Verzasca or Maggia Valley, Ticino, Switzerland, 19th century.  
Swiss National Museum, Zurich.

In 2019 four special stamps have been dedicated to the Swiss costumes by means of the ensembles collected at the Swiss National Museum.

© Poste Suisse



Fig. 4

Traditional dress, Verzasca Valley, Ticino,  
early 19th century.  
Museo di Val Verzasca, Sonogno, Switzerland.

© Museo di Val Verzasca

Fig. 5

Portrait of Maria Caterina Lanzoni  
Anonymus, oil on canvas, 1773.

Private collection ©Eugen Reutsch Verlag, 1930

This portrait was chosen and published in one of the major works of scholar Julie Heierli (1859-1938) as a reference for the bourgeois costume of Valmaggia.



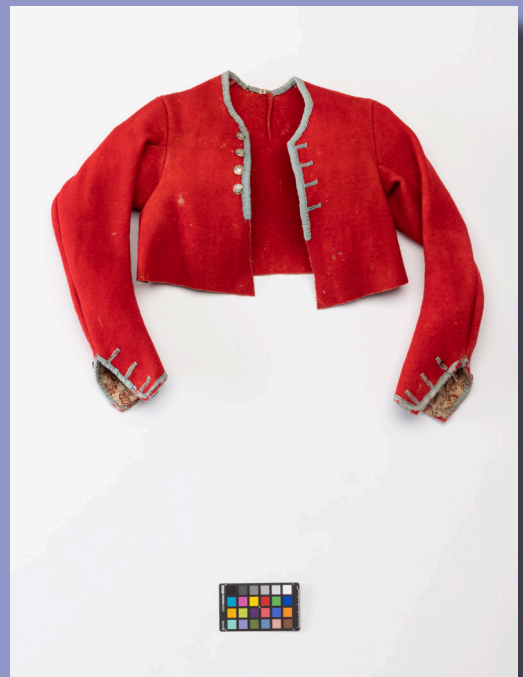


---

**Fig. 6**

Apron, printed cotton, Switzerland or France,  
second half 18th century.  
Museo di Valmaggia, Cevio, Switzerland.

© Museo di Valmaggia



---

**Fig. 7**

Spencer, Ticino, second half 18th century.  
Fabric: wool, cotton, silk (edging); Lining: printed cotton.  
Collezione Museo storico, Ufficio Patrimonio Culturale,  
Lugano, Switzerland.

© Ufficio Patrimonio Culturale



---

**Fig. 8**

Pencil and gouache on paper.  
Glarus, manufactory Blumer & Cie, Switzerland,  
1830-1840.  
GWA, BLUM AND 51.1

© Wirtschaftsarchiv, Schwanden



---

**Figs. 9 & 10**

Head or neck handkerchiefs, Switzerland or France, 1830-1850.  
Museo Onsernonese, Loco & Museo di Valmaggia, Cevio, Switzerland.

© Museo Onsernonese, Museo di Valmaggia

---

**Fig. 11**

Vallerana.  
Antonio Rinaldi, oil on canvas, mid-19th century  
Pinacoteca cantonale Giovanni Züst,  
Rancate, Switzerland.

© Pinacoteca cantonale Giovanni Züst



## **Diane von Fürstenberg, un imprimé pour la liberté**

Lor, Nicolas

Musée Mode & Dentelle, Bruxelles, Belgique

### **Résumé**

Si la forme portefeuille ainsi que le jersey constituent un trait caractéristique de Diane von Fürstenberg, l'imprimé demeure un élément crucial d'identification de cette designer, dont le grand public a peu connaissance.

À la fin des années 1960, Diane von Fürstenberg se forme à la coupe, et particulièrement au travail des imprimés, auprès de l'industriel italien Angelo Ferretti. Elle y découvre tout le processus d'impression et d'inspiration, lequel lui permet de déployer de multiples décors outre-Atlantique.

Diane von Fürstenberg est inspirée par la vie elle-même : chaque élément croisant son chemin se retrouve potentiellement imprimé, après un processus plus ou moins poussé d'abstractisation. La nature demeure la principale inspiration de la designer. C'est d'ailleurs à travers cette dernière qu'elle se distingue, par la vitalité que l'on retrouve dans ses imprimés au caractère libre et féministe, résonnant avec sa propre histoire et celle qu'elle souhaite partager avec les femmes du monde entier.

### **Contenu**

1. Introduction : Diane von Fürstenberg, figure méconnue de l'histoire du vêtement
2. Diane von Fürstenberg et l'imprimé : des origines italiennes aux studios new-yorkais
  - Diane von Fürstenberg et l'Italie : la rencontre de l'imprimé chez Angelo Ferretti
  - Diane von Fürstenberg et les États-Unis d'Amérique : le déploiement de l'imprimé
3. Diane von Fürstenberg et l'imprimé : inspirations
  - Des inspirations multiples
  - La vitalité de la nature comme source d'inspiration majeure...
  - ... aboutissant à l'affirmation de la liberté

### **Introduction : Diane von Fürstenberg, figure méconnue de l'histoire du vêtement**

En avril 2023, le Musée Mode & Dentelle de la Ville de Bruxelles inaugurait l'exposition *Diane von Fürstenberg. Woman Before Fashion*, premier événement scientifique en Europe proposant une présentation et une analyse académique du travail de Diane von Fürstenberg. Cette exposition célébrait l'anniversaire des cinquante ans de la robe

portefeuille en jersey imprimé, ainsi que les origines bruxelloises de la designer. Une édition étatsunienne du projet a ouvert le 17 octobre 2024, au Skirball Cultural Center, à Los Angeles.

Diane Halfin est née à Bruxelles le 31 décembre 1946 d'un père d'origine moldave (né à Kichinev, en ex-Bessarabie) et d'une mère d'origine grecque (née à Salonique), tous deux juifs. Elle incarne la liberté retrouvée par sa mère à la sortie des camps d'Auschwitz-Birkenau et Ravensbrück en Allemagne. Ce sentiment l'anime dès son adolescence, lors de son parcours scolaire à l'international, d'abord au pensionnat Cuche de Lausanne, en Suisse, entre 1959 et 1961, puis à l'internat de Stroud Court d'Eynsham, non loin d'Oxford, entre 1962 et 1964. Diane entame ensuite des études supérieures à l'université de Madrid pour un an, en 1964-1965, avant de rejoindre l'université de Genève pour un parcours d'économie, entre 1965 et 1968.

Malgré des prédispositions familiales pour la mode (son grand-père travaillait pour l'entreprise familiale de textile Maison Dorée à Bruxelles, et sa mère avait suivi des cours pour devenir modiste), ce n'est que par hasard – ou par accident –, que Diane Halfin découvre cette industrie. Elle débute tout d'abord un travail d'assistante pour l'agent de photographes Albert Koski, à Paris, à l'été 1968. Elle quitte ensuite rapidement l'agence sur invitation d'Angelo Ferretti, fabricant textile italien rencontré quelques temps plus tôt. Ce dernier lui propose de visiter ses usines de production et d'impression textile. Diane Halfin y découvre son futur textile de prédilection, le jersey, ainsi que des aspects techniques du métier parmi lesquels les méthodes de coupes avec Bruna Sequalino, et les innombrables couleurs et imprimés, aux côtés de Mimmo Ferretti, meilleur ami du prince Egon von Fürstenberg, son futur époux.

En janvier 1969, Diane découvre New York et y met en œuvre le potentiel des usines Ferretti : elle demande à son mentor, Angelo Ferretti, si elle peut y développer quelques « petites robes ». Parmi les patrons de robes travaillés par Bruna Sequalino, Diane sélectionne les plus simples et les plus confortables : des robes blouses et des robes tuniques, dans des versions courtes ou longues.

Pour ce qui est de la fameuse robe portefeuille en jersey imprimé, elle voit le jour grâce au patron T72. Publicisée dès septembre 1973, elle fait rapidement le succès de Diane, la menant au sommet en 1974 et 1978 (**Fig. 1**). La journaliste Linda Birde Franck signe un article qualifiant la designer de « *most marketable female in fashion since Coco Chanel* » (1998). Diane von Fürstenberg utilise le jersey comme point de départ de construction du vêtement sur le corps de la femme.

Elle produit un vestiaire tenant plus d'un design de mode pensé pour elle et pour les femmes que d'un esprit « mode ». À ce titre, ses robes en jersey, en particulier la *wrap dress*, sont produites de manière industrielle, en grand nombre, et permettent de répondre aux besoins de confort et de praticité des femmes travaillant et s'émancipant aux États-Unis au milieu des années 1970. Alternative au tailleur, son vestiaire constitue une base d'uniformes, non seulement de travail, mais également d'indépendance et de liberté : les maîtres-mots de la designer. Son œuvre vestimentaire est gorgée de féminisme, dont elle-même est une puissante philanthrope depuis ses débuts, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, avec Vital Voices, les DvF Awards ou encore la plateforme InCharge.



Cette courte introduction permet de mettre en avant l'idée selon laquelle la liberté et l'indépendance prônées par Diane von Fürstenberg peuvent être aisément perçues à la fois d'un point de vue matériel, par le biais du textile employé, et formel, à travers le vestiaire qu'elle développe. Le jersey de coton, de rayonne, de nylon ou de soie constitue la base du vestiaire de Diane von Fürstenberg. Les pièces produites à partir de ce dernier sont peu froissables, facilement pliables, lavables, transportables et procurent un grand confort à la porteuse. Le jersey peut donc être qualifié de textile de la liberté. D'un point de vue formel, Diane von Fürstenberg propose un vestiaire simple, pratique, versatile et « féminin », au cœur d'une période d'appropriation d'éléments masculins vus comme « empouvérant » dans le vestiaire féminin, tels le pantalon ou le tailleur pantalon (il s'agissait de s'habiller comme l'homme pour être son égal). Portefeuille, chemisier, débardeur, tee-shirt... La forme des robes convient à de nombreuses morphologies et confère une grande liberté de mouvement.

L'imprimé détient lui aussi, à côté du jersey et des typologies vestimentaires, une grande importance dans l'œuvre de Diane von Fürstenberg, mais n'a cependant jamais fait l'objet d'une analyse visuelle et symbolique en lien avec le travail de la designer. Ce court essai permet, pour la première fois, d'en proposer une lecture graduelle et polysémique à travers la question suivante : en quoi les imprimés participent de l'idée de liberté véhiculée par Diane von Fürstenberg dans le vestiaire qu'elle imagine depuis les années 1970 ?

### **Diane von Fürstenberg et l'imprimé : des origines italiennes aux studios new-yorkais**

- Diane von Fürstenberg et l'Italie : la rencontre de l'imprimé chez Angelo Ferretti

Les origines premières des imprimés de Diane von Fürstenberg se trouvent à Côme, berceau industriel de la production textile en Italie, et plus précisément au sein de l'usine d'Angelo Ferretti (**Fig. 2**). Diane von Fürstenberg y découvre certes le jersey et les techniques de coupe, mais également les processus d'impression et une myriade de motifs.

Diane von Fürstenberg commence par choisir des imprimés dans les riches carnets d'échantillons déjà existants, en sélectionnant, selon son goût, parmi pas moins de 4 000 designs produits à partir d'œuvres d'artistes venant vendre leurs illustrations aux usines (**Fig. 3**).

Elle commande également certains dessins d'imprimés à Mimmo Ferretti, fils de l'industriel Angelo Ferretti, et ami du petit frère d'Egon von Fürstenberg. Ces illustrations sont d'une plus grande ampleur et forment une sorte de paysage, souvenir des voyages africains de Mimmo Ferretti.

Diane von Fürstenberg crée également elle-même certains imprimés avec l'aide technique des usines, dont notamment les taches d'encre et le motif *twigs* (« brindilles »), devenus des décors iconiques de la marque, et sur lesquels nous reviendrons. Ses premières réussites de création d'imprimés sont le point de départ d'un processus très abouti, mis en œuvre dès les années 1970 jusqu'à nos jours, à New York.

- Diane von Fürstenberg et les États-Unis d'Amérique : le déploiement de l'imprimé

À New York, Diane von Fürstenberg développe ensuite un véritable système de création des imprimés, avec un dynamisme nouveau à partir des années 1990, au moment où la marque est relancée.

Ce système se manifeste tout d'abord par une sémantique des couleurs et des imprimés : « les couleurs sont les lettres, les imprimés sont les mots, la robe constitue la phrase, la collection fait l'histoire qui se renouvelle chaque saison. » Cette citation de Diane von Fürstenberg illustre un vocabulaire très lié au temps, et en particulier au rythme de la saisonnalité des collections.

Ensuite, l'utilisation des couleurs est cadrée par le Temple des couleurs, symbole du *flagship store* de New York, dans le quartier du Meatpacking: le noir et le blanc servent de point de départ, auxquels s'adjoignent six autres couleurs (jaune, bleu, rouge, orange, rose et vert), déclinées selon une gamme de tons personnalisés par la designer (Fig. 4).

La création et la production des imprimés sont dirigées aujourd'hui par Morgan Fuller Hill, responsable du design. Son organisation en entonnoir est alimentée par la réception d'images de la part de Diane von Fürstenberg, qu'elle ajoute à une thématique générale servant de point de départ au studio : '*Diane will send us inspiration constantly for where her mind is at. Now that she is spending so much time in Venice, we receive endless pictures of tiles, architecture, tapestries, colors, boats, everything.*' Elle regroupe ensuite dans un tableau les inspirations les plus significatives et décide quel élément pourra être transformé en un imprimé plus ou moins éloigné (processus d'abstractisation) : la photographie d'un galet envoyée par Diane von Fürstenberg peut ainsi inspirer un motif de pois. Enfin, le processus inclut une partie technique (rendu de l'imprimé) et commerciale (sera-t-il portable et correspondra-t-il à l'ADN de la marque ?) : l'*editing down*. Cette méthode permet d'écarter certains imprimés, parfois non sans douleur : '*Sometimes we are very happy to do it, but other times we find it difficult and get attached to certain prints. Prints are very emotional to people !*'

Une étape de ce système de création des imprimés mérite particulièrement d'être explorée afin de mieux cerner l'importance et la signification des imprimés chez DVF : les photographies prises par Diane von Fürstenberg. Ces dernières sont révélatrices de la manière qu'a la designer de s'inspirer de tout ce qui l'entoure. Ce processus d'inspiration sur lequel nous revenons à présent est toujours le même, depuis les années 1970.

### **Diane von Fürstenberg et l'imprimé : inspiration**

- Des inspirations multiples

Pour Diane von Fürstenberg, la vie est une source inépuisable d'inspirations. Depuis ses débuts, chaque élément qu'elle croise, allant de la cravate au vase, en passant par la boîte de cigarettes, permet d'imaginer un nouvel imprimé. Elle mentionne notamment, en 1976 :

*One of the easiest ways to change – without sacrificing the style that you wear best – is color and prints. I love prints. I look for new ideas everywhere, in a man's tie, an old oriental rug, an art deco vase, and then adapt the design idea for my fabrics.*

(von Fürstenberg 1976, p. 33)

Cette affirmation est renforcée par son partenaire commercial du début des années 1970, Richard Conrad : *'Diane would arrive in the morning with a picture of anything that looked interesting – a photo, a cigar band, a box top. Somehow, she found the damn things, they became her inspiration.'* (Diliberto 2015, p. 94)

Notons néanmoins que la source d'inspiration la plus importante reste la nature et la vie qui l'anime.

- La vitalité de la nature comme source d'inspiration majeure...

La seule véritable et « unique » source d'inspiration de Diane von Fürstenberg est la nature, en ce qu'elle signifie la vie. *'Nature, like women, is a source of life, energy, and beauty,'* déclare-t-elle en 2023 (Lor 2023, p. 105). Dès son plus jeune âge, elle connecte avec cet amour de la vie et de la nature lors de promenades avec son amie Mireille, au bois de la Cambre, en lisière de Bruxelles, qui débouche sur une immense forêt. Pendant son adolescence, alors qu'elle est en internat à Stroud Court, en Angleterre, Diane von Fürstenberg découvre l'idée du beau dans la nature à la lecture des mots de John Keats, et notamment son ouvrage *Ode à une urne grecque* (1819) et rappelle : *'The prints for my dresses would draw from nature – the motion of leaves, the ripples on the river, the ancient stones in English walls.'* (Birde Franck 1998, p. 43)

Le processus d'intégration de la nature au sein du travail de création des imprimés passe notamment et surtout par les prises de vues constantes, dès les années 1960 :

*At boarding school I started a life-long habit of keeping a journal, and I recorded everything I saw with a camera. In later years, my collection of photographs would often become the basis of many of my prints. I would photograph a fern, for example, and transform the image into an abstract polka-dot pattern.* (Birde Franck 1998, p. 43)

La mention, en 1998, d'une fougère, *fern* en anglais, se trouve reprise jusqu'à aujourd'hui, en témoignent notamment deux photographies de 2023 provenant du compte Instagram de la designeuse.

Les photographies de nature servent ainsi de base à la réalisation d'imprimés plus ou moins éloignés, qui sont pléthore dans son œuvre. L'exposition *Woman Before Fashion* au Musée Mode & Dentelle, réalisait ce rapprochement entre les photographies prises par la designeuse et des imprimés finis en deux ou trois dimensions sur les robes et ensembles (**Fig. 5**).

La nature constitue donc la source d'inspiration principale de la designeuse du fait qu'elle résonne, dans son caractère de perpétuel changement, avec l'idée de mouvement et de liberté chère à Diane von Fürstenberg : *'And, as in nature, what I find most reassuring and inspiring is that it is never still.'* (Birde Franck 1998, p. 237)

- ... aboutissant à l'affirmation de la liberté

Afin de retranscrire l'idée de liberté à travers le mouvement dans un imprimé, ce dernier doit répondre à certains critères.

En premier lieu, l'imprimé doit associer l'idée de la femme sensuelle, féminine et libre, à la représentation employée sur le décor. Par exemple, l'imprimé « léopard », réalisé par Diane von Fürstenberg dès ses débuts en Italie, résonne avec son idée de la féminité et celle d'une félinité sauvage et libre puisée dans la nature. L'idée du corps ondulant d'un félin prêt à bondir est alors octroyée à la femme habillée de cet imprimé (**Fig. 6**).

En deuxième lieu, l'imprimé doit interagir avec le corps de la femme : le mouvement de la femme accentue la vie de l'imprimé, l'imprimé souligne le mouvement de la femme : '*Let's do a leopard and a snakeskin. If the whole point of the fabric is that it feels like a second skin, why not make it a real skin?*' (Birde Franck 1998, p. 94). Par exemple, l'imprimé « brindilles » imaginé par Diane von Fürstenberg en 1974, qui représente de manière abstraite la lumière du soleil traversant les branches et le feuillage d'un arbre, permet d'illustrer le jersey ondulant sur le corps féminin. Il met en mouvement, comme à l'effet du vent, ces ramifications. De même, le mouvement des branches de l'imprimé sur le jersey vient, dans sa verticalité et son contraste blanc et vert, allonger la silhouette et rythmer les pas de celle qui le porte (**Fig. 7**).

En troisième lieu, l'imprimé doit évoquer en lui-même l'idée de mouvement, et notamment la femme active. Les imprimés « avion » et « passeport », motifs que Diane a réalisés pour son défilé *Resort 2008* présenté à Florence, parlent d'eux-mêmes. Ils évoquent le passage d'une ville à l'autre, d'un État à l'autre : voyages bien connus de la designer, qui visitait jusqu'à 13 villes en 14 jours dans les années 1970 afin de présenter ses collections dans les grands magasins étatsuniens. Un autre exemple intéressant est celui du motif « signature » noir et blanc, un motif que Diane imagine alors qu'elle est au téléphone dans son bureau avec un fournisseur en 1997. Elle griffonne sur un papier son nom et en fait un imprimé plus abstrait évoquant le mouvement. Cet imprimé symbolise l'idée d'un quotidien de femme d'affaires, un prénom répété, qui évoque le rythme effréné de ses journées (**Fig. 8**).

En dernier lieu, l'imprimé est vecteur d'un message de manifeste féministe, propre à Diane von Fürstenberg. Le premier exemple serait celui de l'imprimé « Love is Life », un motif développé en 2008 qui symbolise l'idée de beauté dans la vie, à travers l'amour que Diane lui porte. Imprimer ce message permet de diffuser une parole prônant la liberté de chacun et chacune à vivre sa vie (**Fig. 9**). Le second, « In Charge », est encore plus parlant. Il s'agit d'un motif développé dès 2018 qui entérine véritablement le lien entre l'idée d'implémentation de mouvement dans l'imprimé sur le corps de la femme, et l'engagement féministe de Diane von Fürstenberg pour la liberté.

L'imprimé détient donc une signification importante dans le travail de Diane von Fürstenberg, aux côtés des formes pensées et des matériaux employés. Ce court essai aura permis d'ouvrir le champ de la réflexion sur les liens existants entre inspiration et vocation, via l'imprimé. Chez Diane von Fürstenberg, si l'imprimé est toujours lié à la nature et à la vie, cela se justifie par l'élan vital qu'il suggère. Cet élan vital tend à devenir politique et ouvre encore d'autres questions connectées à cet autre aspect de la carrière de la designer.

## **Bibliographie**

Birde Franck, Diane. 1998. *Diane von Fürstenberg, Diane: A Signature Life*. New York. Simon & Schuster.

Diliberto, Gioia. 2015. *Diane von Fürstenberg. A life unwrapped*. New York. HarperCollins.

Lor, Nicolas. 2023. *Diane von Fürstenberg. Woman Before Fashion*. New York. Rizzoli Electa.

von Fürstenberg, Diane. 1976. *Book of Beauty. How to Become a More Attractive, Confident and Sensual Woman*. New York. Simon & Schuster.

---

Fig. 1

Diane von Fürstenberg  
choosing prints at her showroom, ca. 1977.



---

Fig. 2

The factory near Como, ca. 1975.





Fig. 3

Fabric swatch from the Ferretti factory, ca. 1970.

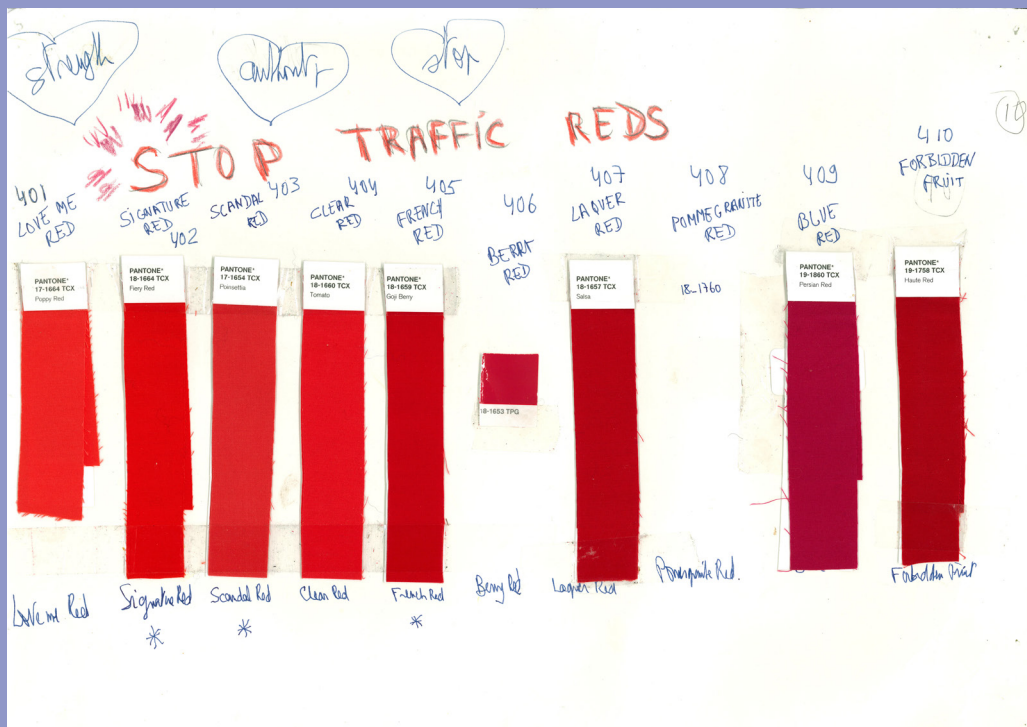


Fig. 4

'Stop Traffic Reds' colors from the Diane von Fürstenberg color bank, ca. 2000.



---

Fig. 5

Diane von Fürstenberg's pictures of nature on DVF prints, view of the 'Woman Before Fashion' exhibition in Brussels, 2023.



---

Fig. 6

Diane von Fürstenberg's leopard printed wrap dress, ca. 1974.



---

Fig. 7

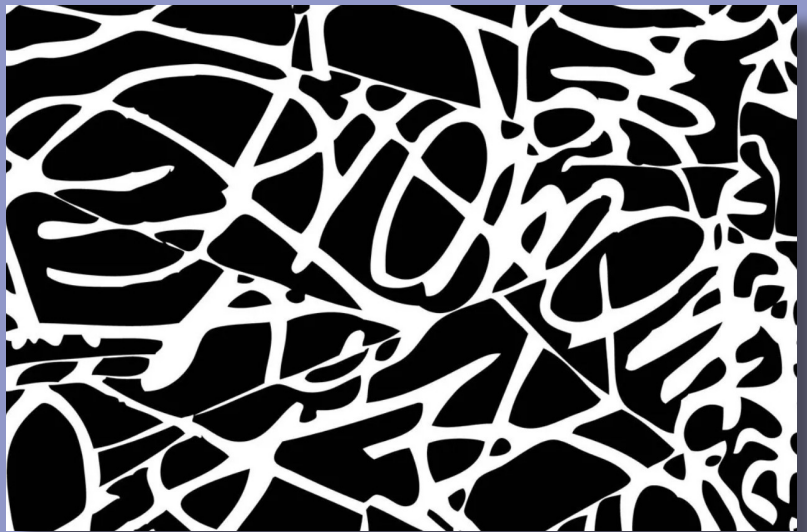
Diane von Fürstenberg's white and green 'Twigs' print.



---

Fig. 8

Diane von Fürstenberg's black and white 'Signature' print.



---

Fig. 9

'Love is Life' print on a dress, view of the 'Woman Before Fashion' exhibition in Brussels, 2023.



# **Traditional Dyeing Techniques in Moroccan Amazigh Textiles: Ancestral Knowledge and Regional Practices**

Loukid, Khalid

National Museum of Weaving and Carpets (Dar Si Said), Morocco

## **Abstract**

This paper examines the dyeing techniques in Moroccan Amazigh textiles. Amazigh women have developed ancestral and traditional methods for painting carpets and other textiles like veils. Passed down from mothers to daughters, traditional painting requires extensive knowledge of colour mixing, painting, and the correct plants to use. The colours are naturally extracted from henna (brown), indigo (blue), pomegranate peels (orange), weld (yellow), and other sources. The decoration often features geometric patterns inspired by nature and domestic animals; each motif holds a specific meaning known only to the women who interpret them. This study focuses on the use of these techniques in rural regions, particularly in the Anti-Atlas and Middle Atlas Mountains.

## **Content**

1. Traditional dyeing of wool in Moroccan carpets
2. Regional dye plants and their uses
3. Recipes and dyeing processes
4. Tadghart/adghar, a wedding veil painted with henna

## **Traditional dyeing of wool in Moroccan carpets**

Carpets dyeing in Morocco is deeply rooted in a centuries-old expertise passed down through generations. Dyeing techniques vary from one region to another, with each region having its specific methods and ancestral knowledge. These traditions contribute to creating unique and characteristic carpets that reflect the country's cultural and geographical diversity.

For instance, the Haouz region is known for its predominance of red hues, resulting from the use of madder roots in the dyeing process. This technique gives the carpets of this region a distinctive appearance and a specific colour palette. In contrast, carpets from the High Atlas utilise different materials for dyeing, including henna, pomegranate bark, and saffron. These

natural substances provide the High Atlas carpets with dominant shades of yellow and orange, creating a particular aesthetic that reflects the richness of the region and its natural resources.

This variety of dyeing techniques and choice of materials demonstrates how the production of Moroccan carpets is deeply intertwined with local culture and environment. Each carpet tells a unique story, showcasing the craftsmanship and ingenuity of Moroccan artisans.

In the late 1880s, there was a surge in the popularity of synthetic dyes due to their vibrant hues and lower costs, but their fragility and tendency to fade quickly limited their appeal. At this time, in Morocco, aniline dyes gained increasing popularity, but their incorporation into traditional carpet dyeing led to partial discolouration and deterioration of the designs' quality (Garcia 2000, 49).

According to a document from the early 20th century, locals in the Ouarzazate region nearly entirely switched from using vegetable dyes to imported mineral colours from Marrakech. Despite the presence of 500 looms, the use of aniline colours significantly degraded the quality and value of carpets produced in the region. Initial efforts focused on researching dyeing substances and documenting the vegetable dyeing method.

To preserve the nobility of these Moroccan pieces, the French protectorate established in Morocco introduced a state seal in 1919, guaranteeing their authenticity and quality; only carpets made with natural wool, or dyed using traditional methods, received it and could be exported:

*The carpet presented must be a hand-knotted carpet. It must be recognized as all-wool, both in terms of the warp and the weft as well as the knotted points. It must not show any traces of dyes other than vegetable or animal dyes (indigo, weld, daphne, henna, madder, cochineal, etc.), with mordants and reagents such as alum and iron sulfate not considered as dyes. Furthermore, it must not include any decorative motif. (Ricard 1923, 9)*

Moroccan carpets were thus handled with attentive care; this concern intensified with the publication of a reference book in 1934 untitled *Corpus of Moroccan Carpets*, which captured the meticulous control and inventory of motifs, dyeing materials, and traditional dyeing processes, highlighting the artisans' infinite creativity while preserving the structure of specific types.

## **Regional dye plants and their uses**

Weavers use a variety of plants and local materials to achieve vibrant and durable colours. Selected elements include madder, henna, sumac, and oak bark for red and brown shades; indigo and woad for blues; weld, daphne, and pomegranate bark for yellows. These same plants are also used to obtain black, albeit iron is added and modified its hue. This colour palette is central to the traditional wool dyeing, meticulously chosen by artisans to create attractive and long-lasting hues (**Fig. 1**).

Garcia explains that in Morocco, colour was often intrinsically linked to the immediate environment. Unlike other places where colour may be used to represent something else, in Morocco, it is strongly anchored in the local flora. In regions like Ouarzazate, where vegetation is limited, traditional dyeing techniques involve a deep understanding of natural sites to ensure sustainable harvesting of dye plants. Whether gathered from the wild or cultivated, these plants are typical of the region and form a kind of bond between the artisans and their land (Garcia 2000, 51-52).

In Ouarzazate, *achfoud*, a type of thorny broom, grows spontaneously on the southern slopes of the Atlas and throughout the Siroua massif. This shrub reaches a height of 80 centimetres in the region and is likely the dyer's broom or dyer's gorse because of its simple leaves. Its flowering occurs in April and May, and the flowers are hand-picked, dried, and used for dyeing. Sometimes, locals uproot it to collect its blossoms. Preserving broom populations seems desirable, as does the creation of specific nurseries. Additionally, *taroubia*, also known as madder, grows wild in regions like Ait Zineb, Ait Tassa, and Ait Tamast. This plant belongs to the Rubiaceae family. In the region, its height never exceeds 30 to 40 centimetres. During plowing, the uprooted roots are collected by the plowmen, dried in the sun on a threshing floor, then sold at local markets for two to two and a half francs per kilogram. Ait Zineb had a few madder fields until 1920, but this cultivation was abandoned due to the predominance of aniline colours on the market. Promoting this cultivation could prove advantageous.

Other elements are part of local dyeing recipes, notably the use of henna, which is cultivated throughout the Draa Valley. Dried henna leaves are sold for six to eight francs per kilogram at regional markets. Additionally, to obtain quality dye, certain secondary products are added at the last moment, such as dried date pulp, turnips, dried figs, and rock salt. Wool yarns are generally dyed dark yellow using *tiferkay*, which is pounded apple bark. Pomegranate leaves, *tanik* forge slag (rust), and soot are used to produce black dyes. The cultivation of indigo is also important in the region. All these products necessary for dyeing are available in sufficient quantities in the Ouarzazate region to support the local carpet industry, except perhaps for *faila*, which has been abandoned for thirty years; its production could be encouraged both artistically and economically.

In Moroccan carpet art, colour is not merely used to visually represent something else. Moroccan carpets are often adorned with motifs, symbols, or abstractions, and the colour itself, directly obtained from plants, has a strong symbolic meaning (**Fig. 2**). This approach to colour values the hue in all its purity and intensity, using dye plants in their most authentic form; thus, it is described as modern. The deliberately limited choice of dye plants testifies to a commitment to quality and results of a long experience and accumulated know-how over time.

The above-mentioned vegetable dyes cannot effectively adhere to wool fibres without the use of a mordant, such as the commonly used alum. Purchased in its pure form, some dyers opt for raw alum *azarif* extracted from veins by the inhabitants of Ait Semgane (Siroua).

## Recipes and dyeing processes

The vegetable dyeing process executed by Amazigh women in rural areas reveals a subtlety: not all plants can directly impart a colour, and dyes obtained by heating the plant juice with wool tend to lack durability, leaving artisans dissatisfied. To fix dyes into wool, various adjuvants, both mineral and vegetable, are traditionally used. Mordants are essential for anchoring the dye to wool fibres. For example, with the madder plant, wool is first soaked in a bath of natural alum—aluminum salt before being dyed with the plant's roots. Indeed, the use of oranges and ashes from a specific plant in the process demonstrates a practical understanding of mineral salts and their role in fixing colours (**Fig. 3**).

Although traditional vegetable dyeing methods in Morocco, notably the use of alum as a mordant, are highlighted, this practice is questioned by environmentalists due to concerns about its potential toxicity. Finding alternatives to alum, if concerns prove justified, would place vegetable dyeing practitioners at the forefront of modern advancements in this field (Garcia 2000, 53-54).

Henna is also used to dye wool, particularly in the Tazenakht region, by macerating wool with lemon slices. Various plants are presented as capable of producing varied colours, such as maroon with sumac root, red, yellow, or pale green with tizra, plain yellow with *garou* and alum, or black with *garou* and iron-rich marsh soil.

The method used to obtain blue with indigo consists of crushing fine powder and mixing it with hot water, figs, dates, sugar, and lye for fermentation before dyeing the wool. Another technique involves macerating figs or raisins in water for 12 days before adding indigo and wood ash water for dyeing.

The dyeing wool process involves seeking out women who still possess the knowledge to apply these techniques. In the douars of Siroua, elderly Berber women have shared their recipes:

- **To dye with indigo:** Crush a handful of indigo dye with a quarter kilo of date pulp and a quarter kilo of henna, add water and boil. Soak the wool threads in the mixture and let them dry in the sun.

- **To dye red:** Mix the wool with white or raw alum, boil the water, let it cool, then wash the wool and let it dry. Soak the wool in a mixture of water and pounded madder, boil, let it cool, then wash the wool thoroughly.

- **To dye yellow:** Mix the wool with pounded white alum, pounded apple bark, and sieved *achfoud* flowers, boil, let cool, and wash with cold water.

- **To dye black:** Crush pomegranate leaves and mix them with water and other ingredients such as *tanikt* stones (forge slag), turnips, pounded dates or figs, and some henna in boil, let cool, and wash the wool.

As with all previous stages of the preparation, dyeing wool is also accompanied by specific beliefs and rituals. For instance, on the eve of dyeing the wool fibres, the weaver fumigates the wool ready to be dyed, hides it, and purifies herself as if preparing to pray. The next morning, at dawn, she returns to the dye bath exposed to the stars without looking back. Then, after saying a prayer, she starts the dyeing process (Chtatou 2020).

All these processes illustrate the knowledge and expertise of illiterate Amazigh women. Without formal education or any academic training, they have developed an artistic field by creating painted textiles, especially carpets, using various techniques. The precise amounts of each ingredient needed to obtain colours show the finesse and skills of Amazigh people in natural dyeing techniques in Morocco.

### ***Tadghart/adghar*, a wedding veil painted with henna**

*Tadghart* is an Amazigh (Berber) veil worn exclusively by brides during weddings. Woven by the brides' mothers using traditional techniques, this textile is made of wool and decorated with cotton (Viola 2007, 11). It stands as a vibrant expression of Amazigh cultural heritage in Morocco. These textiles often showcase intricate designs and symbols, such as the sun and the *khamssa* (the hand, symbol of protection) or a square *aquemlil* (**Fig. 4**), which hold deep significance within the Amazigh community. Beyond their visual appeal, these textiles serve as a means of storytelling, reflecting the Amazigh people's history, beliefs, and traditions.

These symbolic textiles are particularly noteworthy for their use of henna, a natural dye derived from the henna plant (**Fig. 5**), known for its protective and magical properties. It results in intricate patterns and motifs, often in shades of red, brown, or orange. Among the Amazigh from the Anti-Atlas region, henna's 'blessing power' elevates its use in dyeing and painting textiles, particularly in the creation of wedding coverlets and women's accessories. The Ida and Nadif sub-groups were renowned for their exquisite weavings and painted scarves, characterised by a distinctive U-shaped format and a rich palette of deep henna, red, and gold.

The use of henna is typical of this region. The process involves drying and pulverising the leaves, mixing them with water and lemon juice (or kerosene), and letting them macerate until the formation of a liquid paste. The latter is then applied with a stick or finger on the area where cotton motifs have previously been placed. Similar to the stencil technique, since cotton does not absorb henna, the decoration appears as a geometric motif on a henna background.

Alternatively, geometric motifs are directly applied to the fabric, especially along the edges. The henna is left to dry for several days, and after the dried crust is removed, the process is repeated several times until the desired colour intensity is achieved. Finally, the colour is fixed with a liquid made from the alkaline ashes of the central stem of palm leaves, mixed with water before being applied to the henna.

The Ait-Abdellah tribe, in the western Anti-Atlas, uses a distinct method to decorate their bridal veils. These rectangular veils, adorned with four large pompoms, are half-woven with motifs in darker wool compared to the rest of the fabric, which is a natural ecru colour (Viola 2007, 12). The woven section is dyed by the men using a mixture of dark dyes, creating darker areas where the wool is darker; this frequently forms peaks that might represent the surrounding mountains (**Fig. 6**). After washing and drying the veil, women perform a ritual ceremony to protect the bride by drawing a narrow band of henna along the seam separating the dyed and ecru parts. Both men and women participate in making these veils. During ceremonies, the four corners and pompoms are tied up, creating a picturesque effect as the bride moves.

In the northeast of Morocco, the Beni-Ouarain confederation of the Middle Atlas, known for their carpets, also crafts bridal veils known as *tarredat* (Viola 2007, 12). These veils are woven with exceptionally silky wool and sometimes decorated with stripes of linen or cotton. Generally square, they are adorned with fringes and dyed using a resist dyeing technique. After tying and dipping certain parts of the fabric in black dye and after drying, henna is repeatedly applied to the same areas to cover the black contours. Women use sticks to draw a network of long lines with henna, finishing with small touches applied with their fingers. They sometimes add sequins, known as *mozouna*, to reflect light and ward off the evil eye. The graphic effect of these veils forms patterns resemble the number 8 (**Fig. 7**).

## **Bibliography**

Chtatou, Mohamed. 2020. « Le tapis amazigh : identité, création, art et histoire », *Le monde amazigh*. Disponible sur : [https://www.academia.edu/43390939/Le\\_tapis\\_amazigh](https://www.academia.edu/43390939/Le_tapis_amazigh).

Garcia, Michel. 2000. « Teinture végétale traditionnelle au Maroc ». *Horizons Maghrébins - Le droit à la mémoire*, 42-1 : 48-55.

Ricard, Prosper. 1923. *Corpus des tapis marocains : Tapis de Rabat*. Vol. 1. Paris. Geuthner.

Viola, Lucien. 2007. *Tissages tribaux du Maroc*, Catalogue d'exposition.

## **Archives**

### ***Nationale Archives of Morocco***

« La recherche des anciens produits tinctoriaux ». Sans date. FPR (BA/PR09, Boite n°6 – dossier n° 820). Archives Nationales du Maroc, Rabat, Maroc, 1-2.

Ricard, Prosper et Kouadri, Mohamed. Sans date. « Procédés marocain de teinture de laine ». FPR (BA/PR09, Boite n°6 – dossier n° 711). Archives Nationales du Maroc, Rabat, Maroc, 1.



---

Fig. 1

Natural colors used in dying carpets.  
Permanent exhibition at the National Museum of Weaving and Carpets, Marrakech.

© Khalid LOUKID



---

Fig. 2

Symbolic motifs on Amazigh carpets from the Haouz of Marrakech, 20th century.

© Khalid LOUKID



---

**Fig. 3**

Traditional process of dyeing wool with natural plants.

© Khalid LOUKID



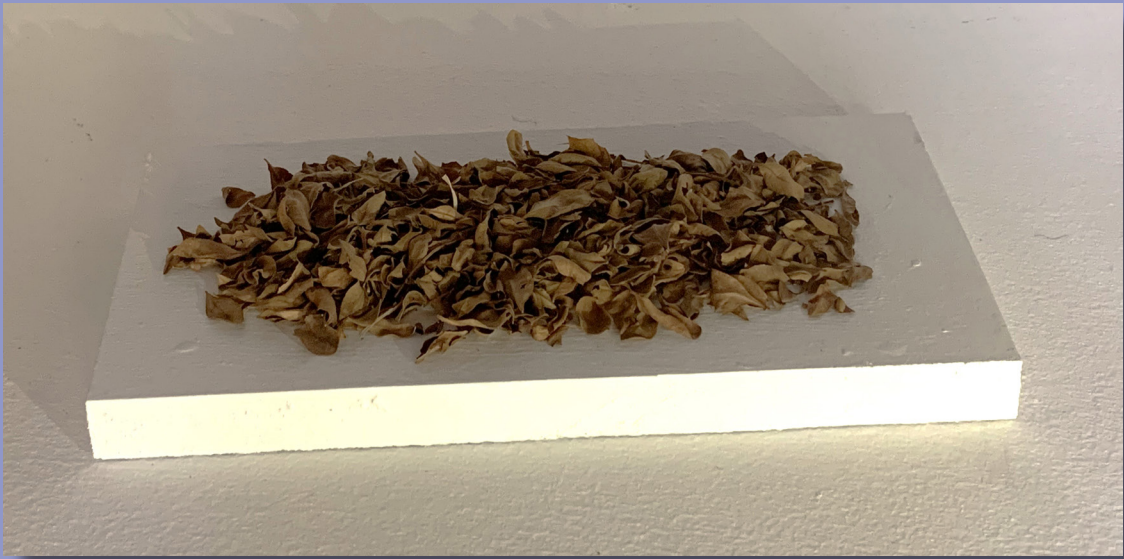
---

**Fig. 4**

Henna-painted imprint on a ceremonial veil (Adghar), Anti-Atlas (Ida ou Nadif tribe), before the 20th century.

© Lucien Viola

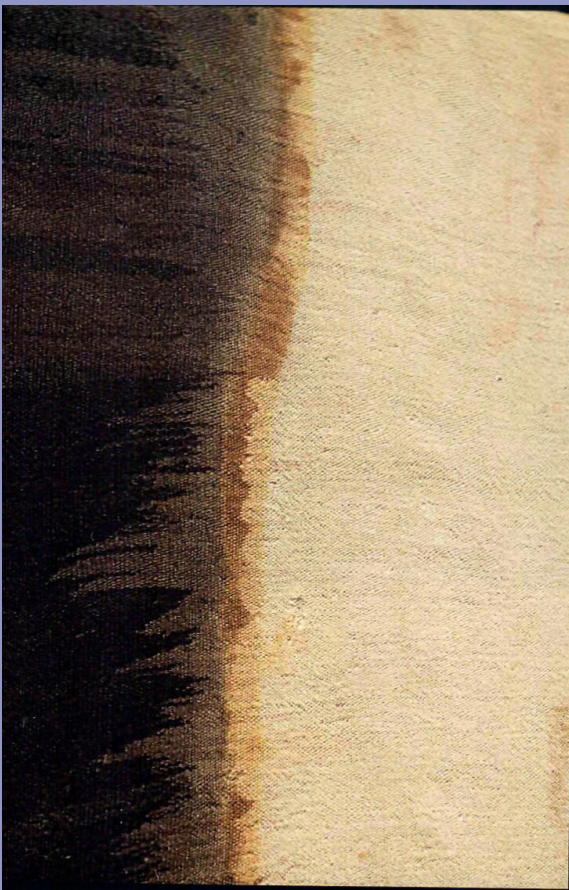




**Fig. 5**

Dyed henna plant, permanent exhibition at the National Museum of Weaving and Carpets, Marrakech.

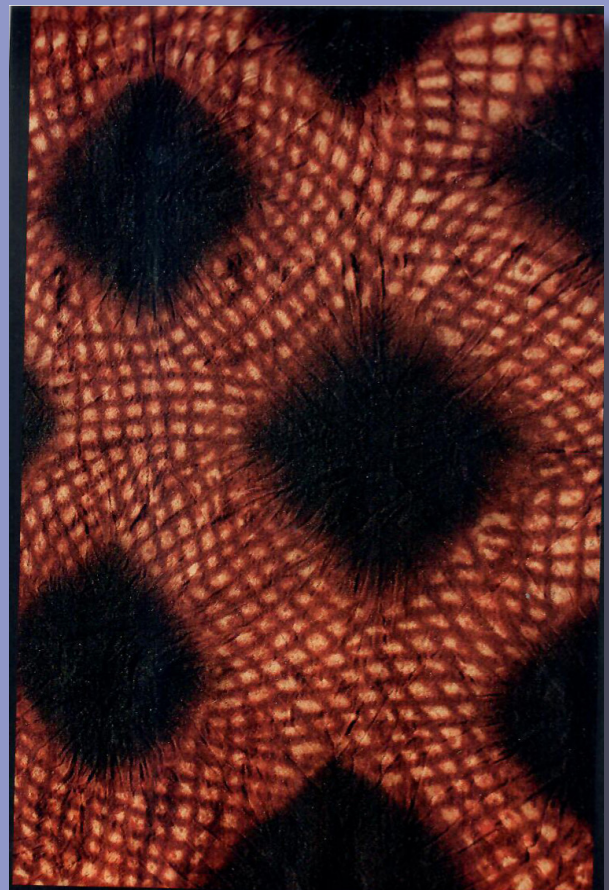
© Khalid LOUKID



**Fig. 6**

Examples of nuanced henna colors on an Amazigh veil, Ait-Abdellah tribe.

© Lucien Viola



**Fig. 7**

Tarredat veil with an eight-shaped motif, dyed in black and painted with henna, Beni-Ourain (Ahl Telt/Taida tribe).

© Lucien Viola

## **Serigrafía a contramano**

Martinez, Constanza

Buenos Aires, Argentina

### **Abstract**

El trabajo en consideración consiste en un recorrido por producciones de estampados que van desde la década del 60 hasta la actualidad. Se hará foco en el uso de la técnica serigráfica y sus particularidades en el diseño textil argentino, así como sus vínculos con el arte. A partir de diferentes casos se analizará cómo el pop se reubica en la práctica de estampado por metro y prenda. En el sentido que Warhol confiere a la práctica serigráfica, la de poder individualizar la imagen a partir del error. Así es como el fuera de registro, los rapports discontinuos, las diferentes intensidades de golpes de schablon fueron gestos acuñados por la serigrafía textil donde la reproducción mecánica y el valor en la cantidad se abandona en pos de una imagen única. Se presentarán ejemplos de archivos del Museo Nacional de la Historia del Traje, Museo Textil Terrassa, Fundación IDA, y archivos privados.

### **Contents**

1. Introducción
2. Margarita y Vicente Marotta
3. Vicente Gallego y Simonetta Borghini
4. Rosa Skific
5. Gabriela Candiotti - CANDIOTTI
6. Guillermina Lynch
7. Verónica Ryan - PUNTO
8. Nico de Caro
9. Teleteca

### **Introducción**

La serigrafía textil es una técnica manual que aunque se basa en procesos artesanales también posee lo necesario para alcanzar volúmenes industriales.

Una de las grandes virtudes de esta antigua práctica es la capacidad de reproducción de la imagen sumando la posibilidad de resolverlo de manera simple y con mínimos recursos. Por estas características esta técnica es elegida por artistas y diseñadores independientes. Uno de sus referentes es sin duda Andy Warhol, quien ahondando en el matiz pictórico de la técnica experimento con el binomio unicidad-multiplicidad para modificar los resultados en la

calidad del estampado y así generar múltiples variantes de una misma imagen. Y, con cada nuevo golpe de shablon, lograr finalmente una estampa única. Lo que podríamos llegar a pensar como un encumbramiento del error serigráfico.

Junto a la Prof Rosa Skific hacia el 2000 decidimos relevar metodologías de diseño serigráfico. Nos propusimos reinterpretar los materiales y procedimientos involucrados en el oficio y centrarnos en técnicas como el tie-dye, el frottage, el arashi en pos de sistematizar procedimientos y de volver a absorberlos en clave serigráfica.

La serigrafía textil experimental se desarrolló alrededor de la década del 60 en la intimidad de las casas de artistas y arquitectos. Estas estamperías improvisadas crearon piezas textiles únicas vinculadas con la escena del arte y la arquitectura de un modo independiente y sin atisbo de organicidad. Estos artistas, contemporáneos a íconos del diseño como el grupo Arte Concreto-Invención, al Instituto Torcuato Di Tella crearon un fenómeno que aún no ha sido estudiado en profundidad, por lo que podemos decir que aun no se ha dimensionado ni su trascendencia ni su transferencia a otras disciplinas de la escena del arte, y el diseño argentino.

Esta formación informal estuvo vinculada a las escuelas de bellas artes, dado que la carrera de diseño textil en Argentina se fundó en 1989, y también estuvo desvinculada del incipiente circuito de la moda.

A continuación me detendré en diferentes casos de diseñadores argentinos que trabajan de manera personal con la técnica serigrafía en el periodo 1970 - 2020. Veremos cómo reeditan la cultura pop y se reubican en la práctica de estampado por metro, por pieza y por prenda.

Trabajaremos con textiles y documentos de la Fundación IDA, con el corpus de Teleteca y con archivos privados de distintos diseñadores: Margarita y Vicente Marotta, Vicente Gallego y Simonetta Borghini, Rosa Skific, Gabriela Candiotti, Guillermina Lynch, Verónica Ryan, Nicolás de Caro.

### **Margarita (Buenos Aires 1935) y Vicente Marotta (Buenos Aires 1929-1998)**

#### **(Fig. 1)**

Esta dupla fue muy potente y su estilo compositivo aún tiene eco en las producciones actuales. En los años 60 Margarita era una de las diseñadoras de Visconti, una prestigiosa firma argentina de equipamiento, en la que el trato con el cliente era personalizado. Margarita diseñaba los muebles y ambos los textiles por metro y los tapices estampados. La mecánica consistía en presentar las propuestas al cliente para luego producirlas. En pleno auge del tapiz la pareja se destacó por la imagen gráfica con la textura de la serigrafía artesanal obteniendo el premio CIDI al diseño.

Margarita en 1963 acompañó a Vicente a París, porque él había obtenido una beca de la embajada de Francia. En ese viaje Margarita aprende el estampado a la lionesa en los talleres estatales de Vallée de la Chevreuse en Claireau, en las afueras de la ciudad. El espacio del taller es sumamente prolijo y forma parte integral de la casa, lo que imprime un modo de abordaje de la serigrafía muy particular. En una gran biblioteca están alineados cientos de schablon con cada diseño que Vicente dibujaba directamente sobre el nylon del bastidor a mano, porque no utilizaban el procedimiento fotográfico actual. Cuando

estampaba una tela Margarita no usaba el registro con guías en la mesa, -hay que aprender a mirar a través del nylon- solía decir en sus clases hasta entrado el nuevo siglo. Sus diseños iban marcando el ritmo a distancia de schablon: un registro aproximado que permitía trabajar los efectos de color a partir de superposiciones de una misma imagen. Otro de los sellos distintivos de su modo de estampar era el uso del tintero partido en el que cada producto tiene tonalidades diferentes. Todo era, y es aun hoy, un proceso artesanal. En el que los bastidores son de madera de excelente calidad y cada color es preparado para el cliente con especial esmero. Todos estos pequeños detalles unidos al universo visual de los años 60 y 70 logran una impronta personal absolutamente única.

**Vicente Gallego** (Córdoba, Argentina 1943) y **Simonetta Borghini** (Buenos Aires 1950)

**(Fig. 2)**

Vicente y Simonetta se casan en 1976 y comienzan a estampar juntos textiles para equipamiento, moda y escenografía en pos de generar una nueva imagen desde la serigrafía textil. Simonetta es historiadora del arte y trabajaba en el Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes cuando decidió comenzar a trabajar en este nuevo emprendimiento junto a su marido. Vicente ya se dedicaba al textil, fundamentalmente al teñido por amarras y producía para diferentes diseñadores de indumentaria del momento. Simonetta a partir de sus conocimientos en arte propone adaptar un repertorio de imágenes patrimoniales al lenguaje serigráfico. Su primera colección fue una reedición de tejidos persas y coptos. Su objetivo era introducir en las casas tejidos históricos de diferentes épocas y autores desde el Renacimiento, el *Arts and Crafts*, William Morris, Voysey, el Modernismo y el *Art Nouveau* renovados desde el lenguaje contemporáneo de la serigrafía. Una vez que elegían el textil a rediseñar Simonetta comenzaba a dibujar los motivos que luego adaptaría a las particularidades de la stampa y el rapport. Las películas las realizaba pintando a mano con un líquido llamado opacol sobre un papel de calco que luego se utilizaba para transferir a la matriz por medio del fotograbado. Como complemento a estas imágenes y para generar planos de color realizaron stencils, encintados y también acudían a la pintura directa sobre la tela, y los teñidos después de haberlos estampado, incluso llegaron a enterrar las telas para darle un carácter arqueológico una textura al color y a mezclar las bases textiles con todo tipo de materiales ajenos al textil como el talco, tierra, harina, es decir, todo lo que tenían a mano.

A lo largo del tiempo fueron creando un sistema a partir de su colección de schablonos donde luego de hacerse de un acervo considerable van a ir sumando a sus textiles escenas entre los diseños históricos y los contemporáneos inspirados en motivos que formaban parte de su cotidiano: las frutas y verduras del mercado del barrio, los pisos de los zaguanes de las viejas casas del barrio de San Telmo donde funcionaba su casa taller, los carteles y graffitis urbanos, el periódico del día, estableciendo en sus textiles un diálogo entre imágenes históricas y contemporáneas, culturas lejanas en tiempo y espacio que comparten composiciones y rapports cada vez más inciertos de esta manera fueron del textil por metro a la pieza única. Comenzaron a desarrollar una serie de tapices estampados que se sumaron a sus ya reconocidos textiles para el hogar.

El “defecto como efecto” como dice Vicente “el error en lo industrial es un defecto en lo artesanal que se puede convertir en un efecto” desde esta premisa es como crearon una estética única.

Uno de los trabajos más importantes fue el proyecto para la película *Restauración* que obtuvo el Oscar a mejor escenografía, ahí se estamparon motivos ornamentales sobre telas como el *lamé* que simulaban brocados y terciopelos del Renacimiento.

Sus textiles forman parte de diferentes colecciones de museos como el Museo Textil de Terrassa en Barcelona, Buenos Aires Museo, Museo de Arte Popular José Hernández, y Fundación IDA Investigación Diseño Argentino

### **Rosa Skific (Buenos Aires 1940)**

#### **(Fig. 3)**

Rosa Skific artista plástica que se interesa por el diseño textil en los años 80 y comienza a trabajar en esta disciplina en paralelo a su obra. Skific aborda el diseño textil, desde la investigación de su historia convirtiéndose en una de las pioneras y referentes ineludibles en la materia. En 1989 la Universidad de Buenos Aires crea la carrera de diseño textil y es nombrada titular de la cátedra fundadora. Su modo de comprender el diseño textil marcó a muchas generaciones de diseñadores de Argentina.

Hacia el 2000 decidimos trabajar juntas en un proyecto que bautizamos Serigrafía a Contramano, de ahí el nombre de este artículo, la idea era construir una metodología nueva para generar diseños textiles a partir de la serigrafía y de esta manera extender los límites del oficio serigráfico al punto de trabajar sin dibujo y sin schablon. La premisa era la de reinterpretar los materiales y procedimientos involucrados y a partir de fusionar la serigrafía a técnicas como el tie-dye, el frottage, el shibori en pos de sistematizar sus procedimientos y volver a editarlos en clave serigráfica.

Skific solía decir en sus clases “la mancha guía”, “el error serigráfico se puede convertir en un acierto de diseño”. Estas premisas siguen vigentes en sus instalaciones y obras que se caracterizan por ser piezas muy densas y orgánicas en cuanto a la superposición de estampas al punto que los diseños se desdibujan y adquieren formas nuevas en cada obra, también trabajó interviniendo textiles icónicos como el camuflaje, toiles de jouty, casimires que luego interviene de manera pictórica con sus serigrafías.

### **Gabriela Candiotti – CANDIOTTI (Bs As 1964)**

#### **(Fig. 4)**

La diseñadora de indumentaria y textil Gabriela Candiotti se dedica desde hace más de 30 años al diseño de prendas tejidas y estampadas para mujer que comercializa en su propia marca en Buenos Aires Tienda CANDIOTTI. Trabaja con un gran archivo de schablonos que fue construyendo durante décadas, los diseños en CANDIOTTI no pasan de moda y se adaptan a cada colección y a cada nueva tendencia. A diferencia de los artistas y diseñadores aquí mencionados Candiotti interviene la prenda ya confeccionada, y hace series limitadas donde cada prenda es única, todo esto requiere de un expertise particular.

Esta particularidad de expandirse que tiene el tejido de punto ya sea de llama, lana o seda requiere que la preparación de las bases a estampar se fundan con otros productos auxiliares para darle la textura ideal que permita que la prenda se adapte a los movimientos del cuerpo y que no se quiebre la estampa ni se altere el tacto de la fibra original. Sus matrices suelen ser bastante grandes para que puedan ser aplicadas en cada una de las prendas, porque estas varían en talles y formas, de ese modo se intervienen pantalones, faldas, vestidos de varios largos, sacos, sweaters y según la morfología de la prenda se obturan diferentes partes del diseño. Cada prenda va y viene a la mesa varias veces ya que se estampan frente, dorso y laterales para dar un efecto envolvente a la estampa. A sus estampados llenos de color se suman efectos como engomados y metalizados que brindan efectos de brillo y textura únicos.

### **Guillermina Lynch (Bs As 1968)**

#### **(Fig. 5)**

Guillermina Lynch es una artista y diseñadora que desde el 2013 comienza a trabajar sobre terciopelo. Hasta el día de hoy investiga y explora en profundidad uno de los textiles de lujo que nos acompañan desde el Renacimiento. En cada pieza Lynch trabaja como un pintor impresionista con influencias del movimiento japonista decimonónico. Lynch dibuja cada uno de los motivos a estampar sobre hojas de calcar que luego utiliza como película a la hora de transferir los motivos a la matriz. Su mesa de trabajo es pequeña, la tela se va estampando en capas, Lynch va rodeando la mesa moviendo la pieza a medida que va estampando una y otra vez el pez carpa, las hojas de nenúfar, las ramas de cerezo, hojas, y orquídeas creando en cada una de sus piezas un paisaje diferente una suerte de estanque sumamente poético que se descubre a cada hora del día y en cada estación del año estos paisajes son reconocibles y distintos a la vez. Los schablonen que se van deteriorando por sectores y algunas veces pueden poseer pequeñas roturas pero estos motivos no invalidan su uso. Trabaja con espátulas de todo tipo y tamaño que crea ella misma según la intensidad y tipo de efecto que quiera darle al textil. La superposición y el uso de todo tipo de bases como metalizados, relieve decoloración y corrosión que se funden una con otra son una de las características de sus conmovedoras piezas.

### **Verónica Ryan (Bs As 1970)**

#### **(Fig. 6)**

Ryan es artista y en paralelo a su obra desarrolla PUNTO: un emprendimiento de textiles artesanales para equipamiento con base comercial en Berlín. Ryan diseña cada uno de los tejidos en telar junto a expertas tejedoras, hilanderas y pequeños productores laneros vinculando diferentes regiones de la Argentina. Los tejidos diseñados por la artista, para su marca, son intervenidos por ella en diferentes pasos del proceso productivo, algunas veces con una técnica que fusiona la serigrafía con el ikat, una suerte de “ikat serigráfico” en el que Ryan estampa las urdimbres previas a ser tejidas, otras, en cambio, estampa sobre los tejidos para teñirlos y volverlos a estampar en varios pasos sucesivos con tintes naturales y anilinas. Es así como le da forma a tapices en técnica de baeton, alfombras, accesorios como bufandas, chales, fusionando la serigrafía a la artesanía en telar. En cambio en sus

obras que también surgen del contacto con la tierra, en este caso, sus piezas combinan la serigrafía con antiguos tintes y mordientes tradicionales de origen vegetal y animal, combinando las antiguas recetas rurales con la clásica pintura al óleo. Además una vez terminadas las piezas las entierra por tiempo indeterminado y para luego desenterradas y restauradas con técnicas propias de la museología y la arqueología tradicional.

**Nicolás de Caro** (Bs As 1989)

**(Fig. 7)**

Nicolas de Caro es un artista visual joven nacido en 1989 y dentro de este análisis por diferentes casos se convierte en la excepción de lo que venimos desarrollando en este texto en el sentido que él va a utilizar la pintura como reproducciones de una misma tirada serigráfica. Sus obras son un homenaje a la serigrafía bien entendida, en el sentido que él busca obtener desde la pintura efectos similares a los que brinda la reproducción de una imagen por medio de un dispositivo como el schablon. Como si fuera unos de esos juegos lógicos, De Caro nos agudiza la mirada con sus "pinturas serigráficas", nos invita a participar de juegos visuales como los de develar diferencias entre dos imágenes que a simple vista se nos presentan como idénticas. Sus pinturas son sumamente graficas ya que en sus obras solo utiliza dos colores el blanco y el negro, a lo que muy rara vez se le suma el rojo. Los motivos más frecuentes suelen ser las flores. De Caro, de manera, obsesiva reproduce con pincel lo que podría realizar con un golpe de schablon. Contrario a Warhol, de Caro busca la similitud en la reproducción manual borrando el gesto busca "pintar serigraficamente".

**Teleteca**

**(Fig. 8)**

Teleteca es un proyecto curatorial que busca acercar el patrimonio textil de museos a universidades de diseño y al público en general por medio de un dispositivo virtual. Comencé a desarrollar Teleteca gracias a la Beca Activar Patrimonio de Nación hacia el 2019. En la versión inaugural de este proyecto trabajamos junto al equipo del Museo Nacional de la Historia del Traje de Buenos Aires. La propuesta de Teleteca es la de generar una biblioteca virtual de patrones textiles libres de derechos provenientes de piezas patrimoniales de diferentes museos dedicados al textil, la indumentaria, y las artes decorativas.

Teleteca en el 2023 se materializó en una exposición dentro del marco de la Bienal Sur en el Museo Nacional de la Historia del Traje donde se expusieron piezas de la Universidad de Buenos Aires UBA, la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, la Universidad Nacional de Valparaíso de Chile y de veintisiete artistas, diseñadores, arquitectos, artesanos.

En 2024 este proyecto creció y a la primera edición se sumaron veinticinco nuevas piezas del Museo Histórico de Chile. Teleteca promueve la autonomía e invita a que el público pueda apropiarse de los patrones del estampado y adquiera la potestad de estampar tus propias telas tal el sueño de Morris. Desde aquí se pueden descargar los motivos patrimoniales en [El Traje Virtual: Muestras del Museo del TrajeEl Traje Virtualhttps://eltrajevvirtual.cultura.gob.ar](https://eltrajevvirtual.cultura.gob.ar).





---

Fig. 1

Gentileza Fundación IDA.



---

Fig. 2

Gentileza Fundación IDA



---

Fig. 3

Gentileza Rosa Skific



---

Fig. 4

Gentileza Gabriela Candiotti



---

Fig. 4 b.

Gentileza Gabriela Candiotti



---

Fig. 5

Gentileza Guillermina Lynch



---

Fig. 6

Gentileza Veronica Ryan



Fig. 7

Gentileza Nicolas de Caro



Fig. 8

Gentileza Museo del Traje

## **XEROXED Edition 001- Against Boredom: Delirious Is Beautiful**

Mascia, Martina Alia

PhD in Fashion and Design practices at IUAV University of Venice, Italy

### **Abstract**

*XEROXED: wearable pages, readable garments* is a publishing platform that investigates the interplay between body, garment, and written publication through the reconfiguration of paper material into wearable garments.

For its *Edition 001- Against boredom: delirious is beautiful*, *XEROXED* collaborated with the Primo Moroni Archive in Milan, a non-institutional archive hosting one of the largest collections of Italian leftist underground materials, spanning from the late 1970s to present day.

This first edition was created with the intention of starting a process that would spread and transform Primo Moroni's material. It has been the generating root of new editorial contents that revisit the archive. Through the conceptual and material analysis of *XEROXED's Edition 001*, this study demonstrates how publishing through clothing allowed the Primo Moroni archival material to be reactivated, reaching a broader and more diverse audience, making it public via a form of embodied communication.

### **Content**

1. Introduction: XEROXED, a garment publishing platform
2. Defining an archival artistic research method
3. *XEROXED Edition 001*: spread and mutation of the Primo Moroni Archive
4. Historical context of the Primo Moroni Archive
5. The garment as a wearable publication

### **Introduction: XEROXED, a garment publishing platform**

The garment publishing platform *XEROXED: wearable pages, readable garments* originates from the urgency of putting back into circulation archive material that has been positioned in the margins, that is, outside of, or in opposition to the dominant capitalist modes of media cultural production. *XEROXED* seeks to accomplish this goal by the creation of wearable publications, namely book-like garments functioning as vehicles for the distribution and circulation of information. The material (re)published by *XEROXED* particularly includes flyers, fanzines, booklets, posters, and publications from the Italian leftist countercultural scene. Contents date back from the later half of the 1960s to the early 2000s, with most of the production occurring during the 1970s and 1980s, a time of significant activity within the Italian counterculture (**Fig. 1**).

Documents (re)published through the *XEROXED* wearable publications are selected according to their relevance in contemporary political discourses, with a focus on how they could possibly evoke reflection on themes such as cyberfeminism, cyberpunk, working-class struggle, squatting, and

body agency (Leary 1994). Through the juxtaposition, mixing, and reconfiguration of this archive material, new inputs are created on the *XEROXED* garments. These outfits become potential tools that can stimulate and encourage conversations, reflections, and debates among people who come across them in public spaces.

With *XEROXED*, wearing content makes it immediately public and circulates through the wearer's body. Indeed, the latter is not only consuming the published material but also contribute to its dissemination and interpretation (**Fig. 2**). The experimentation into the conceptual and material relationship between the garment and the publication, text and textile, paper and fabric, becomes pivotal.

For its *Edition 001 Against Boredom: Delirious is beautiful*, *XEROXED* collaborated with the Primo Moroni Archive located in Milan, a non-institutional archive that hosts one of the largest collections of Italian leftist underground materials, spanning from the late 1970s to the present day. It constitutes an incredibly fertile environment where the coexistence of countercultural archival materials and contemporary publications continuously generates new inputs, conversations, debates, and reflections.

Through the conceptual and material analysis of *XEROXED Edition 001*, this article highlights how publishing through clothing allows the Primo Moroni archival material to be reactivated, reaching a broader and more diverse audience, making it public via a form of embodied communication.

The following paragraphs will present the characteristics of the archival artistic research method employed for this study, the archival material selection process at the Primo Moroni Archive, and how it was employed within *Edition 001*.

Lastly, the article will focus on *XEROXED*'s positioning at the intersection of fashion and publishing, and highlight the differences between book publishing and garment publishing in terms of circulation, emphasising how the introduction of the body in the latter affects how the content is experienced, read, and disseminated.

## **Defining an archival artistic research method**

In *XEROXED*, the research process not only encompasses designing the wearable publication but also involves consulting, selecting, and organising archival materials that will be printed on the garment. It is crucial to highlight that my approach to archival research is based on an artistic research methodology, which differs from traditional historical or academic research methods. Acknowledging this distinction is essential to illustrate *XEROXED*'s archival research methods.

In artistic research, the archive is particularly intended as a creative space (Pad.ma 2010) that is used for purposes other than historical or academic. Therefore, its use, and the selection criteria for the materials widely differ from traditional archival research.

To highlight these core differences in the use of archives between artistic and academic research, I would like to highlight a quote by Thomas Crombez extracted from the book *Archivoltage* (Crombez & Dockx 2021):

*The artist has a more singular perspective on an archive than an academic researcher, who has to conform to all kinds of rules. Artistic research is literally the opposite. It becomes*

*interesting when it does not conform. Otherwise, it turns into academic art, which is the worst scenario. [...] If you take away the wilderness of artistic practice, you kill creativity.*

As pointed out by Crombez, the singular perspective is an important aspect of archival artistic research. The discipline's methodological openness (Serig 2012) allows artists to develop their own methodology, and no form of validation comes into action, if not the confrontation with their ecology of interest. By contrast, archival academic research comes with a set of rules and scientific criteria that need to be followed for the research to be validated and accepted by the academic sphere.

In archival artistic research, the singular perspective and the methodological pluralism trigger different uses of the archive, which is not treated as a 'fortress of knowledge' (Pad.ma 2010) but rather as a space where an 'active recollection' (Ricoeur 2004) of the past events is put into action. The 'active recollection' refers to a different kind of memory, a present memory, which enables the individual to reshape the events based on their current interpretation of the archived materials. In artistic research, it means that the archival material is not merely used for history writing but is often reread, reelaborated, and reworked, as if to 'disturb the archive' (Pad.ma 2010).

Focusing on the archival research method used in *XEROXED*, serendipity played a major role in the selection process, as the Primo Moroni Archive is lacking a cataloguing system. When digging in the archive, I often found myself opening unlabelled boxes and folders and browsing through piles and piles of ephemeral material. This is to emphasise that a bibliographically driven type of research would not have been effective (**Fig. 3**).

However, despite this serendipitous approach, I was able to follow some selection criteria to guide these research sessions in the archive, primarily based on the material characteristics of the publications and highly influenced by the strong interest in printing techniques I nurtured for the past few years.

The main criteria used to navigate from one object to another in order to build a coherent selection of publications connected by material features rather than content similarities, are listed below.

- **Printing technique:** I usually look for particular printing techniques while selecting archival materials. I am mainly interested in mimeographed, eliographed, silkscreened, and Xerox material because of the tactile and material characteristics those techniques confer on the paper. They are oftentimes tactile, grainy, and inky, and most of them are made by employing analogue tools.
- **Binding:** The binding of the publications is also an aspect I consider while selecting archival materials. In particular, I often search for homemade, rough binding techniques, such as staples, three-hole punches, book rings, binder clips, and rubber bands.
- **Flaws and printing errors:** Flaws, printing errors, and ink stains are common when looking through self-published materials. That is a feature of self-published paper content that particularly fascinates me since it allows you to virtually connect with the making process of the printed objects. Also, those traces highlight that those materials are not mass-produced with professional equipment but are often homemade and, therefore, involve human errors.
- **Analogue layout:** I often search for material realised by using analogue tools or where the printer is used in an unconventional manner. An example of this can be found in Xerox art and scanner art, where layouts are created by manually sliding, shaking, flipping, and moving visual and textual contents on the scanner plate.

Finding content similarities was part of a second phase, where I proceeded to group the material into different categories: manifestos, flyers, zines, and publications. After sorting them, I mapped them all out and tried to find common themes between them. The nodes of this extensive mapping were then selected based on their potential relevancy with contemporary political discourse. Finally, some of these nodes were further developed to create a *XEROXED* wearable publication (**Fig. 4**).

Before delving deeper into the use of the Primo Moroni archival material in *XEROXED Edition 001*, it is important to briefly discuss its history and evolution.

### **Historical context of the Primo Moroni Archive**

The Primo Moroni Archive was created to preserve the history and materials of a long period of squatting, self-organisation, and politics that started in Milan in the 70s and that is continuing today. In 1976, a group of people squatted in two buildings located in the Ticinese quarter, in via Conchetta 18 and 19 and in via Torricelli. The one in Conchetta 18 and 19 was named 'Cox 18' and hosts the archive today.

The squatting of these places has not been a smooth process: since '76, the occupants have been repeatedly threatened and moved away. The squatted areas were inhabited by activists, youth cultures, immigrants, and families, and functioned as gathering spots where people could discuss politics, support minorities, and have fun. Besides the political and cultural events hosted there, something very important happened on 8 February 1992: the highly politicised Calusca City Lights library, founded in 1971 and already located in the Ticinese quarter, moved into the Cox 18 building.

It was owned by Primo Moroni, one of the most influential figures of the Italian underground scene. He was the glue between politics, squatters, youth cultures, and books. The library was one of the few places in Milan that, besides selling highly politicised books, hosted fanzines, self-published 'grey material', and independent magazines that people would bring there to be distributed. Concerts, debates, workshops, and study sessions began to flourish at Cox 18 as soon as the library moved there. To this day, the location remains a significant monument for everyone who feels a part of the Milanese countercultural scene.

Primo Moroni died in 1998. After his death, people associated with the Cox 18 decided to create the Primo Moroni Archive to honour his figure, protect his collection, and preserve the printed history of the Italian countercultural movement. The Archive officially opened in 2002 and holds 15,000 books, pamphlets, and official and informal editions; 1,500 periodical titles; 150 works, documents, and articles by Primo Moroni himself; as well as 69 boxes of grey material. The library still exists within its walls and functions as a distribution point for contemporary underground press (**Fig. 5**).

The people that gravitate around the archive share similar attitudes, political ideas, and lifestyles. The community grows its own paper garden, making everything possible to not make it wither in dust and lapse. In this sense, the archive is active, dynamic, and proliferating: new publications coming from the Cox 18 community, but also from other similar realities, are constantly published and hosted in the space.



It is important to highlight that the archive has never accessed any form of external financing, as it is not ideologically or financially tied to any public or private institution. Its existence relies on the voluntary and supportive contributions of those who take care of it, alternating, according to the moments and needs, free work and self-financing initiatives. This organisation has a significant impact on its management but denotes a type of commitment that goes beyond money, motivated by passion, love, and a personal drive toward openly radical ideologies.

*XEROXED Edition 001 - Against Boredom: Delirious is beautiful* was born out of the urgency of enhancing and reactivating the Primo Moroni archival materials, but also to give value to the immaterial work keeping the archive alive and proliferating. *XEROXED*'s statement is that it is their collective responsibility to protect such spaces, as they store precious bits of Italian culture.

Because of this, the *XEROXED Edition 001* also served as a tool for raising money to support the archive's ongoing expansion and counterculture dissemination. The money raised from the distribution of this edition was used to cover the production costs of materials, and the remaining funds have been entirely donated to the Primo Moroni Archive.

### ***XEROXED Edition 001: spread and mutation of the Primo Moroni Archive***

The archival materials used for the creation of the *XEROXED Edition 001* were selected with the attentive help of Primo Moroni Archive volunteers and have constituted a baseline to launch an open call with the idea that everyone could reinterpret, rework, and 'active[ly] recollect' (Ricoeur, 2014) the materials shared online under the overarching theme: *Against Boredom: Delirious is beautiful*.

By choosing this title, *XEROXED* attempted to reflect the contents of the selected publications, which cover a time span that goes from 1971 to 1977: an incredibly fertile period for Italian counterculture. The publications comprehended titles such as *Puzz*, *Cannibale*, and *Oask*, which addressed important political issues through many different media (**Fig. 6**). Comics, illustrations, poetry, and creative writing exploded onto the mimeographed pages in a colourful and playful manner. The idea that divergent strategies of thought, like irony, dementia, and cheekiness, can be at once tools of destructive creation and tools of transformative power to generate new ways of being together as well as a new culture constituted the common thread uniting these publications.

With the same cheekiness, in *XEROXED Edition 001*, the archive is not approached as a fortress of memory but as a creative space and a pool for reflection. For *XEROXED*, the real potential of the archive unfolds when it is used as a reservoir where to cultivate new thoughts and perspectives and to question and debate history.

In this new understanding of the archive, the material is used as a starting point for the development of fresh, modern viewpoints on it, rather than being left intact and untouched. With *XEROXED*, the archive was used as a catalyst for the development of new universes of meaning in order to eradicate the slightest layer of dust. The contributions triggered by the open call reread the archive through diverse languages, approaches, and media. The contents span from poetry, free translation, sound design, illustration, and comics, providing new interpretations and insights into the archival material (**Fig. 7**).

These contributions were printed on a garment, functioning as a platform to foster connections among like-minded individuals. By weaving together contributions on the printed fabric, new narratives emerged, turning it into a collective, wearable layout (**Fig. 8**).

The used materials played with transparency: the content was layered and interacted with the light, almost transparent fabric. The wearer/reader was invited to engage with the published objects, to touch and read in the folds of the fabric, in the seams, by turning, stretching, and compressing the textile as the text moved on the body.

### **The garment as a wearable publication**

The reason why *XEROXED* chose the wearable publication as its primary publishing medium was that its used and material properties allowed the published content to reach a wider and more diverse audience.

Compared to a book, a wearable publication introduces two important elements: the body and the fabric. These elements create a significant difference in how the object is read, used, and shared and how the published content circulates. It is an interactive form of reading and engagement and, therefore, requires the body to allow the content fully express its publishing potential. By involving the body in the communication process, it becomes a form of embodied communication.

While a book is typically read in private or within a specific community of readers, wearable publications are mostly meant to be worn and shown in public spaces. This creates a shared experience of the content, where the garment becomes a conversation starter, a way to connect and engage with the others. By wearing a wearable publication, the wearer is not only consuming the published content but also contributing to its dissemination and interpretation. A wearable publication is therefore a form of social practice (Shukaitis & Figiel 2019), a shared experience, as it thrives on the constant engagement and co-production of meaning between the wearer and the readers.

Wearable publications have the potential to create a sense of community and identity among wearers and readers, who recognise each other by reading visual codes made of printed symbols, values, and ideas.

To dress, and to publish, is therefore not an individual practice: a wearable publication can serve as a mean of identification and recognition among people, creating a sense of belonging and shared values.

### **Bibliography**

Cox 18, Archivio Primo Moroni, Calusca City Lights. 2010. *Storia di un'Autogestione*. Milano. Colibrì.

Cox 18, Calusca City Lights, Archivio Primo Moroni. 2019. *Geografie della rivolta*. Primo Moroni, il libraio del movimento. Milano. Dinamo press.

Crombez, T., Dockx, N., (curated by). 2021. *Archivoltage*. Antwerp, Belgium. Track Report.

Leary, T. 1994. *Caos e Cibercultura*. Milano. Urra.

Pad.ma. 2010. *Ten Theses on the Archive*. Retrieved from: <https://pad.ma/documents/OH>

Ricoeur, Paul. 2004. *Memory, History, Forgetting*, translated by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.

Serig, Dan. 2012. *Doing Artistic Research*. Teaching Artist Journal, 10 (2), pp.121-129. Retrieved from: [https://www.academia.edu/4280651/Doing\\_Artistic\\_Research](https://www.academia.edu/4280651/Doing_Artistic_Research)

Shukaitis, Stephen and Figiel, Joanna. 2019. 'Publishing to Find Comrades: Constructions of Temporality and Solidarity in Autonomous Print Cultures', *Lateral* (8) 2.

For more about the Primo Moroni Archive : <https://www.inventati.org/apm/index.php>

For more about XEROXED : <https://xeroxed.net/> and <https://www.instagram.com/xero.xed/>

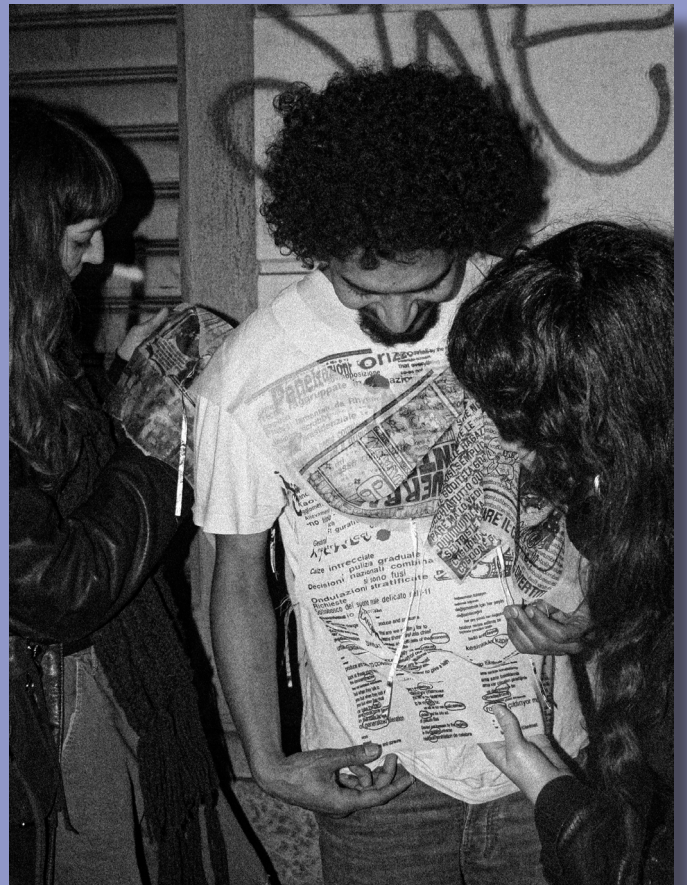


Fig. 1

Some materials from the XEROXED underground press archive.

Fig. 2

XEROXED Edition 001, sublimation print on discarded polyester. Contribution in the picture 'XEROXED Archives featuring cross-cultural translation: An Anti-Ode to Another Oppression,' by Irmak Suzan Ertas, 2024.





---

Fig. 3

Primo Moroni Archive consultation rooms,  
Milan, February 2023.



---

Fig. 4

Primo Moroni Archive consultation rooms,  
Milan, February 2023.



---

Fig. 5

Calusca library at Primo Moroni Archive,  
Milan, May 2023.



Fig. 6

XEROXED Edition 001, underground paper archival material extracted from the Primo Moroni's Collection.



Fig. 7

Selected contributions for XEROXED Edition 001 Open Call 'Against boredom: delirious is beautiful.'



Fig. 8

XEROXED Edition 001, Sublimation print on discarded polyester, 2024.

## **Folded Prints: A Common Orthodox-Islamic Heritage in the Ethnographic Museum's Costume Collections**

Mikulic, Tatjana

Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, Serbia

### **Abstract**

The Ethnographic Museum's collection of traditional costumes from the Balkans holds both Muslim and Orthodox garments since members of these two religions coexisted in the same territory for centuries. A common thing for both populations was that the scarf constituted one of the basics of women's costume. Till the last decades of the 19th century, these scarves were exclusively ornamented with handmade embroidered decorations, and dyed with natural colours. At the end of the 19th century, women started covering their heads with printed scarves. This change can be explained by a few factors: the ending of handmade production in front of a rising market; and the strong influence of urban costumes and fashion trends. Scarves made of printed fabric, imported from Turkey for the global market, started to be purchased in town stores. The way of wearing them also changed: the practise of enveloping it around the head in different ways was replaced by folding the scarf in a triangle shape called *na pero*.

### **Content**

1. Meaning of the headgear
2. Conquering and discovering the Balkans
3. Dressing the head in the traditional society
4. Introducing prints
5. Historical changes in the 20th century
6. After World War II
7. Scarf in modern time

### **Meaning of the headgear**

The headgear held a special place among all the components of the traditional Serbian women's costume. As it was placed on the head, it was the most impressive and the most striking element of dress, vividly visible and recognisable. Interpreted as a channel of visual communication, it delivered information about the social, economic, religious, or aged status of its holder. Headgear was one important element of costume for both men and women. It was literally used as a protection from bad weather conditions as well as symbolically, from evil powers and demons. Collecting national costumes for more than 120 years, the textile

collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade comprises a broad spectrum of caps and other types of headdresses, overall around 400 items. Most of them were collected/bought during a field work, between 1901 and 1912. (Niskanovic 1999, 5).

## Conquering and discovering the Balkans

In the past, the Serbian territory was under different cultural influences. The Ottomans conquered the Balkan Peninsula in the 14th century, which became the most western province of their large Empire.<sup>1</sup> The Islamic population settled with the invasions; since then, both Orthodox and Muslim communities have been living together. Under Ottoman rules, the Balkans remained unknown to the rest of Europe. It was not until the beginning of the 19th century, when the Empire's strength and power started to decline, that the region attracted the interest of western countries.

The following words best describe the perception of the West towards the Balkans: '[...] no man's land, not at all European, but not Asian either,' 'the transition of the West into the great Orient of Asia' (Neumann 1993, 17); in other words, undiscovered and mysterious yet inviting and tempting. Scientists and artists from all over Europe started travelling to exotic Balkan countries—Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Dalmatia, Transilvania—to discover orientalisation.<sup>2</sup> All of them, along with domestic scientists, teachers, priests, and artists, left valuable notes about the Serbian national dress. Sketches by Carol Popp de Szathmari are stored in the illustrative collection of the Ethnographic Museum. These *Crocs from the Belgrade market* stand as a precious testimony of life back then, featuring all the variety of costumes and different types of headdresses. *Women's meeting at the market* is a display of traditional costumes, from both the city and the countryside. Every essential components of the costume have been documented by the artist: long shirt, *jelek* vest, woven apron, skirt, belt, and *opanci* (traditional shoes). Of course, their heads are adorned with various headdresses (**Fig. 1**).

## Dressing the head in the traditional society

In 19th-century traditional Balkan society, the headgear represented the most important part of the women's costume: all women, young or elder, could never be seen publicly without a scarf or some other headgear. Numerous travellers recorded evidence of ancient types of caps from the first half of the 19th century. These were complex headgears composed of multiple elements. The Russian travel writer and diplomat Alexander Hilferding once said that it was '...not easy to describe a woman's headdress, which consists of four parts'

---

<sup>1</sup> Northern parts of the Balkans were under the rule of another Empire, Austro-Hungarian, and as the military border was established, all these influences also left traces and shaped the traditional costume.

<sup>2</sup> One of the first visitors to the Balkan was Prussian officer Oto Ferdinand Dubislav von Pirch who left significant information about life in Serbia in thirties of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Felix Philipp Emanuel Kanitz published and epoch-making work on Serbia on more than 700 pages, in 1869. Aforementioned Carol Szathmari, 'skilled photographer from Bucharest' to cite the Emperor Napoleon III, was awarded a medal by Queen Victoria for his work. Théodore Valério, famous for his drawings, acuarels, albums of scetchings, exhibited at the World Exhibition (L'Exposition universelle) in Paris in 1855.



(Hilferding 1974, 84). To mention some of the usual headdress 'supports': wooden structure in the form of horn, cylindrical forms of fabric around which the hair was wrapped, and *trvelj* (wool braid filled with sponge or cloth) used to achieve lushness and volume of hairstyle. Women also decorated the head with filigree decorations, silver chains, coloured glass, and strings of coins, horsehair, flowers, tassels, and peacock feathers (Zega 1926, 68). A scarf was draped over everything.

Both Serbian and Muslim women covered their heads as required by traditional rules. Perhaps the best example of the common life of these two confessions lies in the Pešter Plateau (Sjeničko-pešterska visoravan), located in southwestern Serbia. This region is geographically remote, situated on a plateau with very poor transport connections, a harsh climate, and poor weather conditions with long, cold winters from early autumn till late spring. As a result, many archaic elements were maintained here for longer, while new influences spread more slowly than in other regions (Bjeladinović 2011, 186). Mutual influences were powerful in different aspects of everyday life and sometimes deeply intertwined. A towel, part of the museum's collection (Inv. No. 3707), can be interpreted as evidence of these claims: according to the museum's documentation, it was woven by a Serbian woman and decorated by a Muslim woman, before being worn as a bride's cap till 1912 (**Fig. 2**).

Both Serbian and Muslim women shared similar fashion habits and could wear one or two braids, wrapped around the head with a felt cap *fes* on top of their heads. British archaeologist Evans was exactly referring to such depictions when he wrote, in 1875, that he saw young girls 'braiding their hair around the *fes à la belle Serbe...*' (Evans 1972, 135).

A scarf was placed over the top of the head, gently falling down the back. Serbian scarves and towels were handmade products of hemp or linen cotton, ornamented and dyed with natural colours. A photo of one of the typical traditional Serbian headdresses shows its richness of embroidery and decoration with different materials: beads, pearls, buttons, coins, feathers, and mirrors. These details could be picturesquely described using the words of French writer, graphic artist, and reporter for the illustrated magazine *Le Monde Illustré*, Charles Yriarte, who reported having seen '*...women with headscarves draped like stars...*,' referring here to the beauty and splendour of the traditional Serbian headdress. These monumental headgears, mostly made for brides and worn to represent a specific status, are a true masterpiece of folk art. Like other types of complex headgears that were wrapped around the head in different ways, they were abandoned in between the centuries (**Fig. 3**).

The usual type of towel worn by Muslim women was a long one, made of cotton with woven white stripes. It was worn over the head with *feredža* by brides at their wedding, and women in general when going outside the house. Women tied it under the chin with the endings falling freely, swept back. For public appearance, they were usually completely covered.

Items worn by wealthier Muslim women were decorated with embroidery. This one was made in the second half of the 19th century. With a surface of delicate thin silk called *bez*, it is embroidered with silk and golden thread. Ornaments are small flowers intertwined in a form of vines. Both endings are with golden fringes. The Arabic inscription 'BISMILLAH' is embroidered.

## Introducing prints

Until the last decades of the 19th century, scarves were exclusively ornamented with handmade embroidered decorations and dyed with natural colours. At the end of the century, certain social changes took place, such as the rapidly growing industrialisation, the opening of textile factories, the growth of the chemical industry, as well as new fashion trends, influenced by urban costumes. Eventually, complexed headgears transformed into simple square scarves.

However, the main purpose of the scarf remained the same, and women continued to wear headgear in accordance with unwritten traditional rules. The headgear was no more strictly a household product. Printed fabric scarves were bought in local town stores, and materials for producing them were imported from Turkey, a global market centre at that time.

At the beginning of the 20th century, one specific type of scarf stood out, the *šamija*: a type of thin cotton scarf, squared in form, unhemmed, and decorated with printed floral ornaments. Usual ornaments were small flower vines called *vođica*, along all sides, with flower branches in every corner.

*Šamija* was very popular and worn by women of both faiths. The ornaments worn by Serbian women presented certain variations of colour and size. *Šamija* was mostly made in strong yellow, light, or olive green colour, commonly known as *zejtinli* (the olive oil colour). Flower ornaments were always very colourful, mostly red, blue, and green. The Ethnographic Museum's collections hold scarves made in burgundy colour with larger floral ornaments and fringes at the endings (Inv. No. 17144), as well as some of yellow surface from the vicinity of Belgrade decorated with lace (Inv. No. 26800) (**Fig. 4**).

Examples from the museum's collections, which primarily come from southeastern parts of Serbia, exhibit other variations. The colour of the surface is white while the printed floral decorations called '*black branches*' (Inv. No. 38061) is black. Furthermore, it is decorated with yellow lace and black beads along all edges. The same pattern, but with a change in the colour of the beads, can be observed on the scarf from the vicinity of Knjazevac in southeastern Serbia (Inv. No. 12973). Along all sides it is decorated with white lace, green beads, *manistri*, and yellow thread. All these types of scarves were very popular during the first two decades of the 20th century, as parts of the traditional folk costume. Older women continued to wear it until death, while in the following decades, younger women changed their outfit under the powerful influenceness of urban fashion.

There are several examples of silk scarves in the museum's collections. One part of the Prizren city costume is a thin, transparent scarf of beige colour, with ends decorated with lace, *kerica-oje* (Inv. No. 49458). The second is from western Serbia. Of the same colour, it is composed of lavish decoration in the form of friezes in all corners and in the middle. The ornament is floral, garlands of green and pink flowers. Edges are decorated with ribbons and tassels of black and green silk.

The usual way of wearing a headscarf also changed through time. The practice of enveloping it around the head in different ways was being replaced by folding the scarf in a triangle shape called *na pero* that hung freely. Both Muslim women and girls wore the same type of scarf, folded it diagonally, *na pero*. They crossed it behind the neck and tied it up on

top of their heads. Older women wore a larger scarf with ends crossed under the chin and tied from the side against the cheeks. Serbian women used to fold the scarf *na pero*, crossing it under the chin, and tying it in the back of the head. The triangle-shaped part was hanging down the back (**Fig. 5**).

Every curator would say that museum documentation is an inexhaustible source of information about the object. However, sometimes, a lack of data can also be useful. We know that this scarf is from Novi Pazar, Southwest Serbia. Women wore it folded in a triangle, wrapped all around the head, with the ends on top of the head. Braids under the headscarf were decorated with yellow Turkish coins called *aspra*. What we do *not know* is whether this garment is Serbian or Muslim. As previously said, coexisting in such difficult conditions resulted in the headscarf being a part of a shared heritage. (Inv. No. 26460) (**Fig. 6**).

### Historical changes in the 20th century

In addition to the influence of urban and Western fashions, Serbia underwent certain social and historical changes that strongly impacted clothing. The Balkan wars of 1912-1913 further weakened the Turkish Empire. Following these conflicts, Turkey surrendered its territories in the Balkans. The southern territories, where mixed populations had been living together for centuries, became part of the Kingdom of Serbia.

These political changes affected both communities. Immediately after the liberation, Serbian people began to reject the traditional Serbian way of dressing and to gradually accept urban influences. At that time, Serbian women completely abandoned older types of headgear in favour of urban European fashion trends. These political changes further traditionalised Muslim people. Muslim women preserved archaic forms of clothing, retaining local traditional characteristics from the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Meanwhile, the increased acceptance and use of urban Turkish-oriental elements was noticeable (Bjeladinovic-Jergic 2011, 345-372, 377). Both populations still wear *šamija* with flower decoration and *kerica*, narrow lace at the ends.

### After World War II

While there was no change among Serbian women, Muslim women continued to wear *karaklem šamija* (Inv. No. 6772) for everyday use: a simple white scarf with tiny black prints worn by older women that was bought for the museum in 1966. Over this headscarf, they put a larger scarf, *namabez*, on holidays. It partially replaced the *zar* and *peča*, which were banned by the communist authorities after the Second World War (Menković 2013, 13-45). The scarf was bought in Istanbul, an important trading centre. *Šamataljka* (Inv. No. 23147) was a scarf for special occasions. It is decorated with large printed ornaments of red, yellow, and blue, grouped in nine fields with a zigzag line along the garment's edges. This kind of scarf was worn by both older and younger women over *taslak šamija*. They folded it *na pero*, put it on the head, and let the three ends fall freely down the back. The museum documentation on this item states that it was made by Ćamil Plunčević in 1978, who was a *šamdžija*, a craftsman from Novi Pazar. Just like the importance of the scarf in clothing, the

existence of this special craft in the last decades of the 20th century can also be considered valuable in maintaining and surviving the tradition (**Fig. 7**).

### Scarf in modern time

The region that makes up the southernmost portion of Serbia is known as Gora. Located on the slopes of the Šara Mountain, this remote area has been inhabited for generations by people mostly engaged in cattle breeding. According to data, people of Gora were of both Orthodox and Muslim religions, until the mid- 20th century, when they all declared themselves Muslims. They represent a community with very strong traditional ties. Every 6<sup>th</sup> of May, people from all over the world gather in Gora to celebrate wedding festivities that took place in the previous period. Special wedding dresses are crafted for these occasions.

One of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade's biggest recent acquisition is a '90 bride's headgear purchased from Zarifa Alija and her husband, Arif Alija, in 2021, along with 88 other items that were part of their wedding costume. All items were made by the bride and her mother-in-law, together with other women from their village, who were paid for the work. The general name for a bride's costume is *ruho*. They produce it in their village, buy the material in Dragaš, Gora's main centre, which is originally purchased in Turkey. Every year, a 'new model of wedding clothes' comes into existence.

The scarf is made of synthetic yellow muslin, with large printed floral ornaments (Inv. No. 52042). Along all the edges, it is woven with silver thread called *tel*, and decorated with silver pearls and Turkish coins, *aspra*. The bride wears it folded *na pero* (**Fig. 8**).

Rather than a conclusion, the previous example is a testimony to the strength and respect for tradition. We saw, on one hand, that society progress and the rise of fashion at the beginning of the 20th century resulted in the complete disappearance of a traditional item, and in general, of a complete costume, while, on the other hand, some traditional garments have survived—despite fashion trends and technological progress.

### Bibliography

Bjeladinović-Jergić, Jasna. 2011. „Komparativno određenje narodne nošnje srpskog i muslimanskog stanovništva unutar Sjeničko-peštarske visoravni i u odnosu na susedne i druge oblasti“. U *Narodne nošnje u XIX i XX veku, Srbija i susedne zemlje*, ur. Mirjana Menković, 345-372. Beograd. Etnografski muzej u Beogradu.

Bjeladinović-Jergić, Jasna. 2011. „Muslimanska narodna nošnja u Pribojском kraju“. U *Narodne nošnje u XIX i XX veku, Srbija i susedne zemlje*, ur. Mirjana Menković, 373-381. Beograd. Etnografski muzej u Beogradu.

Bjeladinović, Jasna. 2011. „Srpska narodna nošnja u Sjeničko-peštarskoj visoravni“. U *Narodne nošnje u XIX i XX veku, Srbija i susedne zemlje*, ur. Mirjana Menković, 184-229. Beograd. Etnografski muzej u Beogradu.

Evans, Artur. 1973. *Pješke kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu tokom ustanka, avgusta i septembra 1875*. Sarajevo. Svjetlost.

Hilferding, Alexander/Aleksandar Giljferding. 1972. *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji*. Sarajevo. IP „Veselin Masleša“.

Menković, Mirjana. 2013. *The Culture of Covering the Woman in the Balkans in the Collections of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade*. Belgrade. Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade.

Neumann, Victor. 1993. *The Temptation of Homo Europaeus*. New York. Boulder. Columbia University Press. East European Monographs.

Niskanović, Vilma. 1999. *Od curske kape do bošče*. Beograd. Etnografski muzej u Beogradu.

Zega, Nikola. 1926. 'Izobičajene mladine kape u Srbiji.' U *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu*, ur. Borivoje Drobnjaković, 68-75. Beograd. Etnografski muzej u Beogradu.



Fig. 1

'Crosses from the Belgrade market,' 1849-1885.  
Carol Popp de Szathmari, Illustration 15454.

Illustrative Fund of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade



Fig. 2

Embroided towel, 'scarf,' from Sjenica, southwestern Serbia, first half of 20th century.  
Tatjana Mikulic, inv. No. 3707.

Collection of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade



Fig. 3

Woman headdress from Stari Vlah, Serbia,  
beginning of 19th century.

Ivana Masnilkovic-Antic, Inv. No 23724.

Collection of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade

Fig. 4

Some examples of *šamija* scarves  
with different colour on the sur-  
face and different type  
of ornaments.

Top to bottom: scarves with Inv.  
No. 50948, 4050, 38061, 26799,  
49458, 17144.

Ivana Masnilkovic-Antic.

Collections of the Ethnographic  
museum in Belgrade





**Fig. 5**

Peasant women with headscarves, Krupanj, around 1950. On the photo are Milojka Perić, Dobrila Popović and Vujka.

Unknown, Inv. No. 17546.

Fund of digital archive of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade

**Fig. 6**

Way of wrapping a scarf.  
The item is from Raška, southwest Serbia, beginning of 20th century.

Ivana Masnilkovic-Antić.,  
Inv. No. 26460.

Fund of digital archive of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade







---

**Fig. 7**

Muslim woman costume, Sjenica,  
southwest Serbia, second half of 20th century.

Zoran Rodić, photo from the fieldwork,  
Inv. No. 41582/29.

Fund of digital archive of the Ethnographic museum in  
Belgrade

---

**Fig. 8**

Scarf, *mafez*, from Gora, end of 20th century.

Tatjana Mikulic, Inv. No. 52042.

Collection of the Ethnographic museum in Belgrade



## The Costume as a Three-Dimensional Painting

Nicolai, Dorothea

### (Fig. 1)

The opening of *Il re pastore*, an opera seria in two acts composed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, took place at the Zurich Opera on June 4, 2011, directed by Grischka Asagaroff and conducted by William Christie. The opera was first performed in Salzburg on April 23, 1775, at the archbishop's residence, in honour of Archbishop Colloredo and Duke Maximilian Franz, a member of the imperial family.

The libretto, written by Pietro Metastasio, evokes pastoral scenes—fashionable at that time—representing two couples of lovers, Aminta and Elisa, and Agenore and Tamiri, as well as King Alexander of Macedonia. The action takes place in the year 334 BC in Phoenicia. The character of Aminta is looking forward to her upcoming marriage to Elisa, a young shepherdess. However, after freeing the Phoenician city of Sidon from the tyrant Strato, Alexander, King of Macedonia, wants to put Aminta, its true heir, on the throne, and orders him to marry Tamiri, Strato's daughter. Agenore, an aristocrat from Sidon in love with Tamiri, reveals that Aminta is none other than a shepherd, who knows nothing of his origins. While the lovers Agenore and Tamiri are ready to obey the king's order out of duty, Aminta finally refuses to marry Tamiri, declaring that he would rather renounce the throne. Alexander, touched by the intensity of Aminta's love for Elisa and by his renunciation of power, ends up changing his mind and proclaims the legitimacy of Aminta and Elisa's love.

Within the scope of the *Il re pastore* production, the Zurich Opera's costume workshop used beautiful designs of rococo-style costumes created by Italian designer Luigi Perego as a basis to experiment with a new production technique. The pastoral theme is represented on the costumes themselves, using reproductions of paintings by François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard. As for the women's costumes, the technique is intriguing: the attire represented in the painting is both printed on the fabric of the skirt and serves as a model for the costume itself. Thus, the costume can be seen in three dimensions when worn by the singer, and in two dimensions as printed on the skirt. The reproduced paintings on men's costumes appear on their waistcoats and *justaucorps*.

In order to reproduce the paintings on the costumes' fabrics, the workshop experimented with a new technique: inkjet printing on the basis of digital files generated by computer programming. Unlike traditional techniques such as manual reproduction (which takes a long time) or screen printing (which is more expensive), this new procedure enables to copying quickly and at reasonable prices—even in limited quantities.

All concerned museums were contacted by the Opera to obtain the paintings' copyrights and scanned files in a minimum resolution of 300 dpi. These files served as a basis for the graphic work of Gerrit Holz, who was hired by the opera for this particular task. It was then necessary to find suitable textile printing experts. The fabric company Jakob Schlaepfer in St. Gall, known for its enthusiasm and creativity and supported by Head of Production Martin Leuthold, was chosen to carry out the project.

The company experimented with various fabrics in an attempt to find the best 'canvas imitation' that would provide a *trompe-l'oeil* illusion of the paintings, and ended up with various results from each fabric. The best result was obtained on a 100% polyester fabric with a matte surface and a linen structure similar to the linen canvas used for the paintings: KARINE 105147 in the 301 ecru colour. However, the fabric was too soft and not strong enough to sew a *justaucorps* or a skirt out of it without losing the shape in the movements of pleats and drapes. The solution was to conceal two layers of KARINE to obtain an optimal result. **(Fig. 2)**

Costume cutter Jennifer Ambos from the ladies' workshop calculated the necessary metrage for the volume of the skirt: 1,40 metres in height and 3,40 metres in length. As the original picture frames are much smaller, the graphic designer's first task was to add the desired measurements to the file. He extended the canvas on two sides, respecting the design of the edges, and closed with an invisible 360-degree seam. The concealed second layer of fabric remained in the original ecru colour. **(Fig. 3)**

The men's costume printings were more complex because all the seams had to be planned in advance. After consulting two cutters, Gerrit Debbert and Ulf Fietsch, the graphic designer applied the singer's made-to-measure patterns directly into the file of the chosen paintings, also taking the seam allowances into account. Again, all pieces of the pattern were concealed in a double layer, and in places where the fabric could be seen on both sides. Like the *justaucorps* panels, the same motif was printed twice. Both motifs were concealed from each other to be seen from both sides, outside and inside of the panel. Thus, the painting formed 360 degrees all around the body, continuously. **(Figs. 4 & 5)**

For the capes, yet another system had to be invented. Because of the circular pattern—more volume at the hem than at the top—the angles of the painting had to be modified to maintain the vertical lines. Also, the printing of the motif had to be done on both sides so that the forest pattern could be seen in all the movements of the body.

To conclude, the computer inkjet technique requires much more preparation than traditional techniques and implies anticipating all the stages of creation since the beginning of the design, without knowing the final result in advance. At the end of our first try, everyone was satisfied: the costume designer and the workshops staff, the singers, and the audience... After the performances at the opera, some of the costumes were exhibited with their original paintings in the participating museums! **(Fig. 6)**

## Bibliography

Opera programme

KÜSTER M. R. (Red.), WUNDERLICH W., SENIGL J., GESSNER S., FRANZ A., // *Re Pastore*, Opernhaus Zürich, 4.Juli 2011 (Premiere).



---

Fig. 1

Malin Hartelius in the role of Elisa.

Photo: Markus Reichenbach.

Jean Honoré Fragonard, 'La Bergère,' 1750.  
© Milwaukee Art Museum Collection.



---

Fig. 2

Zurich Opera, Ladies' Workshop, sewing table with models, files for printing skirts and fabric for Tamiri's costume (2nd costume).

© Dorothea Nicolai



Fig. 3

Costume for Ronaldo Villazon in the role of Alexandre.

Photo: Dorothea Nicolai

François Boucher, 'Paysage au moulin,' 1743.  
©The Bowes Museum County Durham

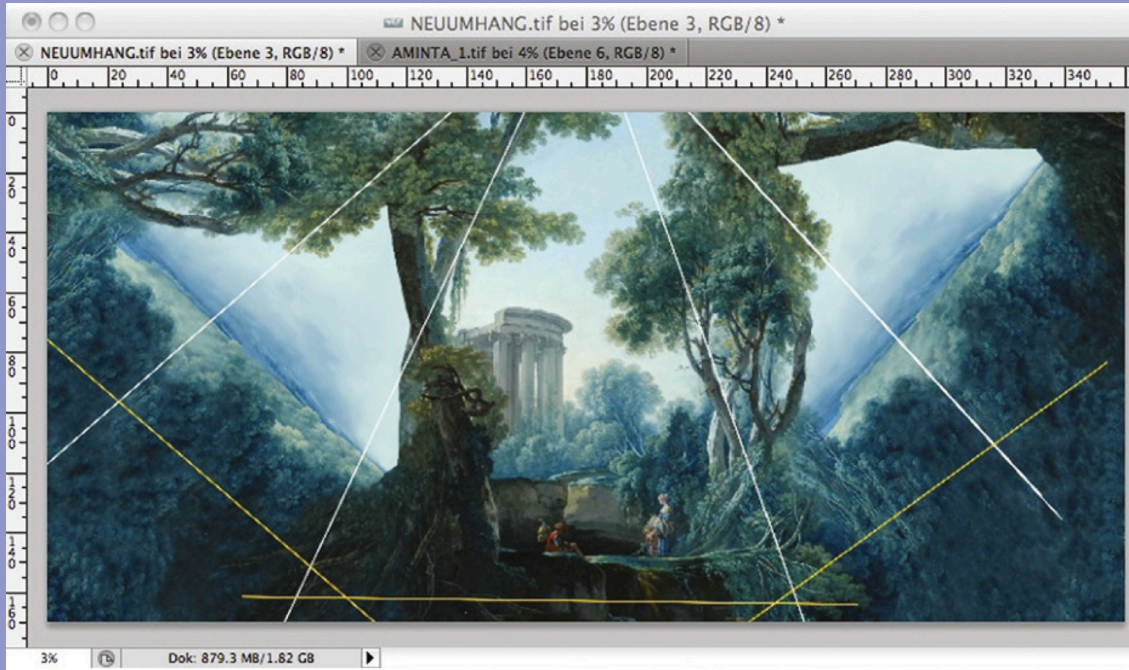


Fig. 4

Details and general appearance of Alexandre's costume for the tenor Ronaldo Villazon.



Based on the work of Boucher, 'La targette d'amour,' 1758, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 2715



---

**Fig. 5**

Digital file for the cape of Ronaldo Villazon in the role of Alexandre.

Digital file: Gerrit Holz

François Boucher, 'Paysage au moulin,' 1743.

©The Bowes Museum County, Durham

---

**Fig. 6**

Ronaldo Villazon as Alexandre.

Photo: Markus Reichenbach



## **Le chef de pièce, une marque indispensable à la connaissance des indiennes françaises**

Petitcol, Xavier

Paris, France

### **Résumé**

Lorsqu'en 1759 le pouvoir royal en France autorise enfin la production des toiles imprimées après 73 ans de prohibition, il fait obligation d'imprimer une marque aux deux extrémités de chaque pièce, aujourd'hui appelée « chef de pièce ». Cette multitude de nouvelles manufactures d'impression sur le territoire pratiquant plus ou moins les mêmes décors, seul le chef de pièce d'une toile permettait son attribution à une manufacture précise.

Cette marque était souvent accompagnée d'autres marques porteuses de significations précises : tampon individuel des imprimeurs ayant travaillé sur la toile, numéro invariable de dessin dans l'entreprise permettant d'envisager une chronologie, etc. Aujourd'hui, il reste encore difficile d'en décrypter certaines.

Le présent article prend pour exemple la manufacture Oberkampf à Jouy-en-Josas, qui a pratiqué 8 modèles de chefs de pièce à des dates précises, et le choix, par le château de Versailles, d'une toile de cette manufacture pour une restitution dans un état de 1784.

Un répertoire des 150 chefs de pièce connus à ce jour, avec les toiles ainsi marquées, a été réalisé par deux collectionneurs historiens de l'art (Xavier Petitcol et Michel Perrier) ; la publication étant aujourd'hui très compromise, cet ouvrage paraît néanmoins indispensable à l'étude des indiennes françaises.

### **Contenu**

1. Introduction
2. Le chef de pièce
3. Les marques annexes
4. L'exemple de Versailles
5. Nécessité d'un répertoire des chefs de pièce

### **Introduction**

Dans les dernières décennies du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, après la levée officielle de la prohibition des indiennes en 1759 – n'ayant d'ailleurs jamais été appliquée à la lettre –, la France s'est couverte de manufactures pour imprimer des toiles destinées aux vêtements et à l'ameublement. Précédemment, cette activité était pratiquée plus ou moins officiellement, notamment dans des ateliers tenus par des arméniens à Marseille, puis à Orange, dans le

Comtat-Venaissin, à la manufacture du Suisse Rodolphe Weter. L'entreprise créée en 1760 par Christophe Philippe Oberkampf, à Jouy-en-Josas, entre Paris et Versailles, a été l'une des toutes premières. Elle fût très vite suivie par la création de plusieurs manufactures à Nantes, toujours par des Suisses. À l'Ouest du royaume, en Normandie, des ateliers autour de Rouen et de Bolbec avaient eux aussi précédé cette levée de la prohibition, passant de la simple teinture à l'impression de motifs. À l'Est, des manufactures alsaciennes avaient bénéficié de la proximité de Mulhouse, qui avaient démarré l'impression dès le milieu du siècle ; la ville était alors une république rattachée à la Suisse et non au royaume de France. Aussi peut-on parler d'une véritable explosion de ces créations d'entreprises ; dans le milieu des années 1780, la production française était la première en Europe avec une bonne centaine de manufactures d'impression de toiles.

Celles-ci ont tout d'abord pratiqué l'impression à la planche de bois, sur laquelle le décor était sculpté en relief. Les toiles étaient mordancées selon la méthode indienne, d'où l'appellation d'*indiennes* pour ces produits, générant les termes d'*indiennage* et d'*indienneurs*<sup>1</sup>. Les décors, généralement polychromes, reprenaient ou s'inspiraient des végétations imaginaires des modèles indiens, ou déclinaient la grammaire ornementale de l'Occident, avec des fleurs et des rinceaux. À des degrés divers de qualité, de complexité et de précision, toutes les manufactures ont pratiqué à peu près les mêmes décors. Alors, comment attribuer telle étoffe à telle manufacture ? C'est là sans doute la préoccupation de tout historien de l'art dans ce domaine. Seule l'existence d'une marque sur une étoffe peut permettre l'attribution à une manufacture précise d'une étoffe ou d'une autre, en tout point identique à celle qui est marquée.

## Le chef de pièce

Cette marque de fabrique était en fait obligatoire depuis les lettres patentes du 8 octobre 1759 autorisant cette activité précédemment interdite :

*[...] ordonne que les Toiles de lin, de chanvre et de coton, peintes ou imprimées dans le Royaume seront revêtues d'une nouvelle marque pour faire connaître leur fabrication [...]*

Cette marque avait aussi, bien entendu, une finalité fiscale. Elle devait être elle-même imprimée, comme le décor, aux deux extrémités de chaque pièce de la toile, qui mesurait environ une vingtaine d'aunes, d'où la locution *chef de pièce* donnée à cette marque, qu'elle soit placée en début ou en fin, soit en « chef » ou en « queue » de la pièce. Les textes réglementaires spécifiaient que la marque devait être apposée sur le côté du décor et se détacher sur « trois doigts » de toile blanche non imprimée. Elle devait comporter le nom et la localisation de l'*indienneur* – on dirait aujourd'hui la « raison sociale » –, en précisant, pour le consommateur, la qualité de l'impression, « bon teint », presque toujours.

Cette marque se présente habituellement sous la forme d'un cartouche plus ou moins orné, de format rectangulaire oblong, de l'ordre de 40 cm de large sur 4 cm de haut ; la marque est souvent inscrite sur deux lignes. La matrice de cette marque était en bois ; à ce jour, aucun de ces tampons n'aurait été conservé pour aucune manufacture. Dans les entreprises d'une

---

<sup>1</sup> Le mot *indiane* figure déjà dans des inventaires après décès en 1580 dans la communauté arménienne de Marseille.



certain importance, il y avait nécessairement plusieurs tampons d'un même chef de pièce pour un usage concomitant : sans doute un par table d'impression. Compte tenu des usures de cette matrice en bois et des accidents toujours possibles, Labouchère (1866, p. 129)<sup>2</sup> écrit qu'à Jouy, en 1802, « un graveur spécial suffisait à peine à graver les estampilles dont il fallait marquer chaque pièce de ces toiles pour les reconnaître quand elles étaient terminées ». Ainsi est-il possible de rencontrer aujourd'hui le même modèle de chef de pièce sur deux toiles, avec de minimes différences, car issu de matrices distinctes sculptées entièrement à la main (**Fig. 1**).

La manipulation de nombreuses toiles avec chef de pièce m'a fourni des exemples pour lesquels cette réglementation n'avait pas été strictement appliquée. Aussi y avait-il des contrôles de l'administration ; un nouvel arrêt est encore promulgué le 24 mars 1786, soit 27 ans (une génération) après les lettres patentes de 1759.

### Les marques annexes

Sans être strictement obligatoire, le chef de pièce à proprement parler est souvent accompagné, surtout dans les grandes manufactures, de diverses autres marques apposées éventuellement par des personnes différentes, à des stades plus ou moins avancés de la fabrication du produit.

Rappelons que la toile elle-même, vierge de tout décor, avait pu recevoir précédemment une marque de l'atelier de son tissage, dans nos régions ou aux Indes ; on décèle d'ailleurs plusieurs fois le mot « guinée », désignant une qualité de toile des Indes. Ces marques à l'encre grasse se trouvaient alors très atténuées suite aux multiples lavages préliminaires, indispensables à une bonne impression. Aujourd'hui de couleur gris pâle, elles sont parfois difficiles à décrypter (**Fig. 2**).

Les marques annexes au chef de pièce, imprimées dans les diverses couleurs du décor, peuvent être des patronymes, des initiales, des chiffres, des lettres seules, des numéros. À ce jour, il n'est pas toujours possible d'identifier chacune d'entre elles, mais il est certain que toutes portent une signification. L'ensemble constitue la carte d'identité de la toile, analogue au code-barres et QR codes actuels. Cela permettait aux professionnels, dans l'entreprise ou dans le magasin de vente, d'avoir accès à un certain nombre d'informations sans dérouler la toile.

Si un nombre composé de deux chiffres est précédé des lettres *Au*, il s'agit de la longueur de la pièce de toile exprimée en aunes (une aune valait 1,18 m). Si un chiffre est précédé des lettres *C*, *N°* ou de l'abréviation *Com*, il peut s'agir du numéro de la commande. Sur des chefs de pièce de Nantes ou de Beautiran, par exemple, on peut même trouver le nom en clair du commissionnaire, car comme dans toute industrie, la toile n'était pas vendue au détail au client par la manufacture qui l'avait imprimée (**Fig. 3**).

Parmi les marques annexes au chef de pièce, on peut trouver des patronymes, mais le plus souvent, des initiales en lettres capitales inscrites dans un cartouche rectangulaire, ces deux éléments imprimés dans les différentes couleurs du décor. Il s'agit des marques des ouvriers

---

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Labouchère était l'arrière-petit-fils d'Oberkampf.

imprimeurs ayant travaillé sur la toile, chacun apposant son cachet personnel dans la couleur imprimée à l'issue de cette phase de son travail. On connaît des exemples où le même imprimeur a répété sa marque plusieurs fois, dans chacune des couleurs qu'il avait imprimées. Quel champ de recherches permettrait d'identifier ces initiales et de croiser ces patronymes avec des sources écrites, archives d'entreprises, registres de catholicité ou d'état civil ? Ainsi pourrions-nous envisager de démêler l'origine et le déplacement du personnel des indiennes (Fig. 4).

Le numéro de dessin constitue une autre marque majeure annexe au chef de pièce. Ce numéro à plusieurs chiffres est souvent précédé de la lettre *D*. En effet, chaque fois qu'une manufacture édite un modèle, elle lui affecte un numéro suivant un ordre chronologique. Par conséquent, le numéro de dessin peut permettre d'envisager une datation pour la création des modèles. Précisons tout d'abord que les manufactures ayant pratiqué plusieurs techniques d'impression, à la planche de bois, à la plaque et au cylindre de cuivre, ont nécessairement dû pratiquer des numérotations distinctes pour chaque technique : procédé indispensable, ne serait-ce que pour le stockage des matrices.

Pour des décors figurés au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, comme à Jouy et à Nantes, le numéro de dessin pouvait être exceptionnellement suivi du titre donné à la toile par la fabrique, comme ce fut le cas dans certaines d'entre elles, à Jouy et à Nantes.

### L'exemple de Versailles

Ce repère chronologique, donné le plus souvent par le seul numéro de dessin, est parfois indispensable. Ainsi, en 2023, le château de Versailles a décidé de restituer dans l'état de 1784, certaines pièces du deuxième étage des cabinets intérieurs de la reine Marie-Antoinette. Dans les archives présentée par Hélène Delalex, conservatrice responsable de ce chantier, on note que pour la petite salle à manger, une perse avec ses trois bordures coordonnées avait été commandée à la manufacture Oberkampf voisine, à Jouy-en-Josas. Sur ces documents, le modèle précis, choisi peut-être par la reine elle-même, semblait être désigné par un numéro à cinq chiffres qui, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, n'a pu être retrouvé ; il a donc fallu envisager un équivalent. Pour cette restitution, ce choix ne devait pas être uniquement visuel ; en aucun cas le modèle retenu n'aurait dû avoir été créé à Jouy postérieurement au chantier de Versailles de 1784. Il a été choisi un dessin, traditionnellement désigné *Grand ananas*, titre probablement postérieur à sa création car les perses polychromes imprimées à la planche de bois ne pouvaient être identifiées, à l'origine, que par leur numéro de dessin.

Un bel exemplaire de cette toile est conservé au musée de la Toile de Jouy à Jouy-en-Josas<sup>3</sup> (Gril-Mariotte 2015, p. 148, ill. 158). Il porte un chef de pièce bien complet, bien que plusieurs marques annexes se trouvent au verso de la toile et non à côté du chef de pièce lui-même. Ainsi les tampons individuels des ouvriers imprimeurs, parmi lesquels on peut distinguer un tampon **MB** et un autre **MCR**, chacun dans une nuance de rouge, mais surtout la marque D 6700, le numéro de dessin. Si l'empreinte partielle de ce dessin *Ananas* n'a pas été retrouvée dans les registres conservés au musée des Arts décoratifs de Paris, la

---

<sup>3</sup> MTJ, inv. 2014.4.1

comparaison du numéro 6700 avec d'autres numéros voisins datés permet de le situer vers l'année 1777 (**Fig. 5**).

Le numéro de dessin reste invariable, contrairement au chef de pièce pouvant changer de modèle comme, de nos jours, la raison sociale d'une entreprise. Pour la manufacture de Jouy, les huit modèles différents successifs du chef de pièce ont été définitivement établis par Michel Perrier dans les actes du colloque tenu à Jouy pour le bicentenaire de la mort d'Oberkampf (Perrier 2015). Le chef de pièce sur la toile du *Grand ananas* du musée de Jouy est du type 3 : MANUFACTURE. ROYALE [ ] DE. S. D.M. OBERKAMPF./ A. JOUY. PRES. VERSAIL. [ ] LES. BON. TEINT. Ainsi Oberkampf indiquait l'existence de son associé par ses seules initiales : « S. D. M. », pour Sarrazin de Maraise. Cette marque a été en usage de juin 1783 (le titre de Manufacture Royale a été prononcé le 19 juin) à la fin de 1789 (Oberkampf se sépare de son associé). C'est donc le chef de pièce en usage en 1784, au moment de la commande de Versailles pour la reine, s'il avait été question de ce modèle-là (**Fig. 6**).

Mais grâce au numéro de dessin 6700 qui date la création de ce dessin vers 1777, on sait que ce modèle est encore imprimé en 1784, soit sept ans plus tard, car il reste toujours demandé. Si on retrouvait l'un des tout premiers tirages de ce *Grand ananas* avec son chef de pièce, celui-ci serait du type 2 : MANUFACTVRE. DE. S. D. M. OBERKAMPF ET. / COMPAGNIE. A JOVY EN IOSAS. BON. TEINT., utilisé de 1762 (année de son association avec Sarrazin de Maraise) à juin 1783 (obtention du titre de Manufacture Royale).

### **Nécessité d'un répertoire des chefs de pièce**

Comme indiqué en introduction, toutes les provinces de France ont vu croître une profusion de manufactures d'indiennes pour satisfaire la consommation d'un produit devenu très à la mode ; les archives écrites nous en apportent la preuve. Un bon nombre de ces entreprises ont dû avoir une existence éphémère de quelques années seulement, mais ont toutefois dû marquer leurs toiles d'un chef de pièce. Aussi la création d'un répertoire des chefs de pièce connus s'avère-t-elle nécessaire. Je l'ai réalisé avec un ami, le docteur Michel Perrier ; la publication bilingue, français-anglais, de ce travail, est à ce jour interrompue aux Éditions Faton dans l'attente d'un financement complémentaire (**Fig. 7**).

Plus de 150 chefs de pièce différents sont reproduits sur des fiches avec la toile sur laquelle il figure. Ces marques proviennent de manufactures diverses implantées dans une cinquantaine de localités en France. Ainsi, un chef de pièce incomplet, non identifiable seul, découvert par exemple sur la doublure d'un jupon, pourrait-il être identifié par comparaison avec le même chef de pièce complet dans le répertoire. Bien d'autres chefs de pièce ont dû exister et peuvent apparaître au hasard d'une découverte, comme la plupart de ceux qui y figurent déjà. Des chercheurs ont établi qu'il avait existé une Manufacture Royale à Brive, et d'autres à Bayonne ; des chefs de pièce au nom de ces localités permettraient d'attester la provenance de telles étoffes à ces villes (**Fig. 8**).

Comme les estampilles sur les meubles et les sièges, comme les poinçons sur l'argenterie, le chef de pièce était, en France, une marque réglementaire, codifiée et obligatoire sur les

tissus imprimés. L'historien des arts décoratifs pourrait-il étudier le mobilier et l'argenterie en ignorant les estampilles et les poinçons ?

### **Bibliographie**

Gril-Mariotte, Aziza. 2015. *Les toiles de Jouy - Histoire d'un art décoratif, 1760-1821*. Rennes. Presses universitaires de Rennes.

Labouchère, Alfred. 1866. *Oberkampf*. Paris. Éditions Hachette.

Perrier, Michel. 2015. « Les toiles imprimées à Jouy et leurs chefs de pièce », dans *Oberkampf et la toile imprimée, XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Colloque scientifique et historique, Jouy-en-Josas.



Fig. 1

Chef de pièce de la Manufacture de Poutarlès et Compagnie, à Bourgoin, en Dauphiné, inscrit dans un cartouche rectangulaire oblong.



Fig. 2

Chef de pièce de Petitpierre et Compagnie à Nantes  
 - à gauche du cartouche, sur un espace volontairement laissé vierge, on devine une marque très effacée à l'envers ; il faut lire GUINÉE, il s'agit de la qualité de la toile qui a été tissée et ainsi marquée aux Indes ;  
 - à droite, D33 est le numéro du dessin ; F probablement l'initiale de l'ouvrier imprimeur.



Fig. 3

Chef de pièce de la Manufacture de A & J. Japuis à Claye  
 les informations techniques sont très claires puisque disposées en tableau  
 - il doit s'agir d'une commande N°11265  
 - le numéro de dessin est 867  
 - la pièce mesure 34 aunes de long  
 - par ailleurs, on sait que l'ouvrier L. Pairadon a imprimé au moins deux couleurs.



Fig. 4

Sur ce chef de pièce partiel de la manufacture Oberkampf, à Jouy-en-Josas, à motif cachemire, 3 ouvriers imprimeurs ont apposé leur marque à leur patronyme en entier, conservées très lisibles : Diard, Vagenseil et Perier (Fils ?) ; par contre, on ignore la signification des différents chiffres : 21 ? 84 ? 43 ? J5L ?



Fig. 5

Indienne dit du 'Grand ananas' d'après un document du MTJ à Jouy-en-Josas  
 - au recto, chef de pièce de la manufacture Oberkampf du type 3 (1783-1789) ;  
 - au verso (ce qui est une anomalie), les marques annexes : le numéro de dessin D6700 et au moins 6 marques abrégées des ouvriers imprimeurs dans différentes couleurs.

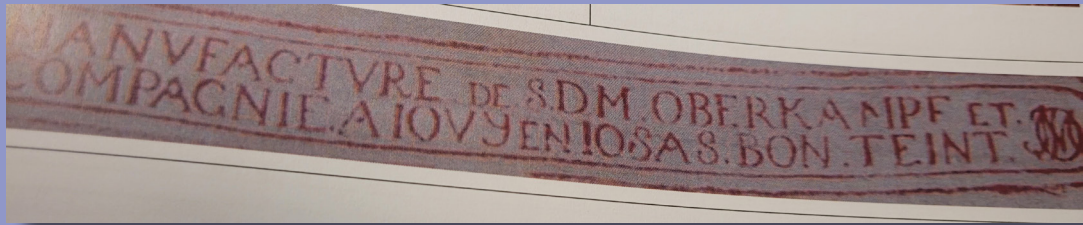


Fig. 6

Chef de pièce de la manufacture Oberkampf du type 2 (1762-1783) qui a dû se trouver sur les premiers tirages du Grand ananas, dessin 6700 vers 1777.

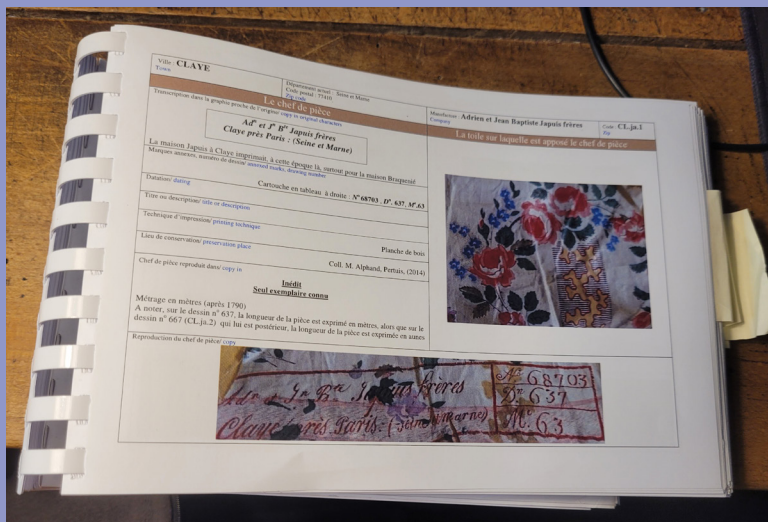


Fig. 7

Maquette d'une page du *Répertoire des chefs de pièce* réalisé par Xavier Petitcol et Michel Perrier, en attente d'être publié.

Fig. 8

Dessin à l'aquarelle de Jean-Pierre Marladot sur les chefs de pièce de l'ancienne collection Xavier Petitcol à Saint-Pandelon ; ceux qui restaient après l'acquisition du Musée National Suisse, château de Prangins, sont tous aujourd'hui dans les collections du Musée de la Toile de Jouy, à Jouy-en-Josas.



# **The Use of Printing Techniques in the Preparation of Theatrical Costumes in the 18th Century: the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra de Paris' Book Pattern Samples and King Stanisław August Poniatowski's Theatrical Wardrobe Inventory**

Wodraska-Ogidel, Katarzyna

The Theatre Museum, Teatr Wielki – Opera Narodowa, Warsaw, Poland

## **Abstract**

Theatre is an illusion, and so are the means that are used to create this illusion on stage. Various painting techniques, block printing, or the use of stencils was, and still is, the easiest and the cheapest way to decorate even the most unusual costume. Sketches carved in wood or stencils enable creating single decorations or entire patterns. Since antiquity, block printing has been imitating more expensive and labour-intensive forms of costume decoration: embroidery and different forms of *appliqué*. These types of techniques became very popular in the 18th-century theatre. Examples of their usage can be found in costume designs or in paintings, but also in pattern samples from the second half of the 18th century, notably in the collection of the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Some of these patterns are also mentioned in King Stanisław August Poniatowski's theatrical wardrobe inventory.

## **Content**

1. Types of techniques imitating various decorations on theatrical costumes
2. Theatre popularity in the 18th century
3. Pattern samples from the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra in Paris
4. Costume designs with patterns from the sampler book
5. The inventory of the King Stanisław August Poniatowski's theatrical wardrobe
6. The use of printing techniques in the decoration of costumes at the Grand Theatre, in Warsaw, in 19th and 20th century
7. The costume decoration Department at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw

## **Types of techniques imitating various decorations on theatrical costumes**

Theatre is an illusion of the world, and so are the means that are used to create this illusion on stage. They depend on technical capabilities, the stage size, and the budget available to the performance creators. This applies to both decorations and costume designs. Gorgeous, eye-catching outfits can be made with simple tricks. Various painting techniques, block printing, or the use of stencils was, and still is, the easiest, the fastest, and the cheapest way to decorate and to



create even the most unusual costume; especially when a larger number of identical outfits need to be prepared. Sketches carved in wood or stencils enable creating single decorations or entire patterns. The design only depends on the creator's imagination. This makes it possible to prepare unique decorations linked to a specific theatre production, consistent with the stage design.

Since antiquity, block printing has been imitating more expensive and labour-intensive forms of costume decorations, such as embroidery and different forms of *appliqué*. These types of decorations were used by lower classes in the 18th and 19th centuries, but were also popular in theatre. Throughout the 20th century, screen printing was commonly used both in the textile industry and in theatre. Unfortunately, digital printing is becoming more and more common nowadays, displacing traditional theatrical craftsmanship.

### Theatre popularity in the 18th century

These types of techniques, imitating various decorations on theatrical costumes, became very popular in the 18th century. It was a time when public theatre was becoming increasingly popular throughout Europe. Actors and singers often performed in different cities and travelled with theatre companies. It was notably the case for Italian theatre companies, who specialised in *commedia dell'arte* and *opera buffa* in the 18th and 19th centuries. Italian artists appeared in Paris, London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, and on their way to Russia, often stopped to perform in Warsaw. They disseminated new working techniques while travelling, including those related to theatrical costume and decoration designs.

Such companies, as private enterprises, depended on ticket revenues and had to focus on creating the greatest possible effect on their audience and, on the other hand, save on expenses.

This reflection on theatrical production is illustrated in an advice published in an anonymous pamphlet from Venice, in 1720, untitled *Il teatro alla moda*. This satire, written by Benedetto Marcello, as later research has shown, humorously points out the most important aspects of working in an 18th-century theatre (Szweykowska 1981, 138).

*To the impresarios.*

*Today's impresario does not need to have the slightest idea about theatre matters [...]. He will engage such constructors, kapellmeisters, tailors, [...] etc. as his friends advise him and will try to save as much as possible on them. [...] With the painters of decorations, tailors [...] etc. he should agree to pay for the entire job and should not care at all how they serve him, counting only on primadonnas, intermezzos, bears, lightning, earthquakes, etc. (Szweykowska 1981, 186-187)*

The necessary savings also applied to costumes. Designers and tailors tried their best to express the characters' features and attract the eye, using painted, and later stamped and printed patterns. The earliest surviving costume designs linked to pattern books of printed decorations are associated with the *Théâtre Italien*, which has been active in Paris since the 17th century.

## Pattern samples from the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra

A few years ago I had the opportunity to see an exhibition, *Un air d'Italie | L'Opéra de Paris de Louis XI à la Révolution*, organised by the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra at the Palais Garnier.<sup>1</sup> Among the scenographic designs and costume sketches by eminent painters such as Antoine Watteau or François Boucher, presented at the exhibition, a simple pattern book of costume decoration elements caught my eye. These pattern samples from the second half of the 18th century are part of the collection of the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (inventory number Rés-1081). They constitute fragments of fabric with borders or small decorative elements made using block prints or stencils. These samples consist of two or three mostly contrasting colours overlaid on each other on fine linen. The decoration or the border could be directly applied to the costume or stamped on another fabric and then, after cutting, sewn onto its surface.

These are mainly imitations of bird feathers, armour, fish scales patterns, shells, leaves, masks, snakes, and antique floral or geometric patterns. Creating this type of simple decoration was related to the increasing popularity of 18th-century theatrical productions and the formation of large theatres. Therefore, there was an emerging necessity to prepare more costumes, cheaper and faster. Decorations sewn onto the basic costume could also be changed as needed for other productions. Those dresses or suits were colourful and attractive, but often of poor quality. For that reason, such costumes have not survived, and examples of their existence and usage can only be found in costume designs or in paintings depicting actors or dancers from that time (**Fig. 1**).

## Costume designs with patterns from the sampler book

Similarities between various samples and costume elements designed by Jean-Baptiste Martin and his successor, Louis-René Boquet, are highlighted in the exhibition catalogue (Vinciguerra et al. 2019, 175-180). The sampler book's patterns designed by Martin include, for instance, bird feathers border on an Indian woman's costume created for Jean-Philippe Rameau's *opéra-ballet Les Indes Galantes*<sup>2</sup>; costume designs for the *ballet héroïque, Aline, reine de Golconde*, with music by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny to a *libretto* by Michel-Jean Sedaine<sup>3</sup>; or the extraordinarily rich costume of an Incan ruler with a feather skirt and feather-trimmed coat.<sup>4</sup> Such feathers often appeared in the costumes of inhabitants of distant lands, like Africa and America. One of the earliest examples is an African or American skirt from the final scene of the *Ballet de Flore* by Henri de Gissey from 1669.<sup>5</sup> However, we do not know whether real feathers or printed imitations, similar to the one in the template, were used by costume designers for the *Ballet de Flore*.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Un air d'Italie | L'Opéra de Paris de Louis XIV à la Révolution*, Palais Garnier, Paris, 28 May–1 September 2019.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, Indian woman in *Collection de figures théâtrales*, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (16).

<sup>3</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Africain: Dans Aline Reine de Golconde* from *Gallerie des Modes et Costumes Français*, Paris: Esnauts et Rapilly, 1779, The Elizabeth Day McCormick Collection, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Accession Number 44.1426.

<sup>4</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Incas* in *Collection de figures théâtrales*, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (10).

<sup>5</sup> Henri de Gissey, *Costume of the African or American from the final scene of the Ballet de Flore*, Musée du Louvre, 1607 DR/ Recto.

Fish scales pattern constituted another popular decorative motif from the pattern book. Such decoration appeared on maritime-themed costumes or as armour ornamentation. In Martin's designs, this particular pattern can be found on draperies from the Thetis<sup>6</sup> and Neptune<sup>7</sup> costume projects. Shells, coral fragments, and leaves, also used on these dresses, were probably made similarly. The armour imitation, on the other hand, appears on an ancient warrior costume designed by Louis-René Boquet.<sup>8</sup> One of the most popular decorations of this type was leopard print, which was in fashion at that time. Those prints can usually be found on costume's drapes of ancient, mythological, or exotic figures: for example, on the costume of *Driade* by Martin<sup>9</sup>, and *Silvie*<sup>10</sup> by Bouquet, or on Barbara Campanini's dress, on her portrait painted by Antoine Pesne<sup>11</sup>.

(Figs. 2 to 6)

### The inventory of the King Stanisław August Poniatowski's theatrical wardrobe

Some of these patterns can be compared with the Warsaw theatre archives from the reign of King Stanisław August Poniatowski (1764-1795). Bouquet's designs, resulting from a cooperation with Jean-Georges Noverre, were well known in Poland. Firstly, Noverre's manuscripts of *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets* illustrated by Boquet, with a dedication to the Polish King, were kept in the royal library<sup>12</sup>; secondly, artists who collaborated with Noverre often performed in Warsaw. But the most interesting document is the *Inventory of his Majesty's theatrical wardrobe according to the 1797 lustration*, stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw<sup>13</sup>. These costumes were mainly used on stage at the National Theatre in Warsaw, which was created by King Stanisław August Poniatowski, a great theatre enthusiast, in 1765. The inventory was made after the third partition of Poland and was prepared and signed by the King's butler and favourite, Franciszek Ryx, who had also been, for some time, a theatre entrepreneur. He was helped by a theatre tailor called Linck. Both of them had a good knowledge of textile types, sewing techniques, and tailoring, and, above all, having been associated with the National Theatre for many years, were familiar with these costumes.

This 99-pages-long physical inventory was made on the basis of an early, unpreserved inventory and organised according to where and how the costumes were stored: in chests or wardrobes. Costumes from the Royal Theatre wardrobe came from Polish, Italian, French, and German theatre companies. They were created in the Warsaw theatre workshop or purchased from other

---

<sup>6</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Thetis* in *Collection de figures théâtrales*, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (33).

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Neptune* in *Collection de figures théâtrales*, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (41).

<sup>8</sup> Louis-René Boquet, *Costume design for an unidentified performance*, BnFrance, département Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, D216 I-82.

<sup>9</sup> Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Neptune* in *Collection de figures théâtrales*, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (28).

<sup>10</sup> Louis-René Boquet, *Costume design for Silvie*, 1766, BnFrance, département Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, D216 I-30.

<sup>11</sup> Antoine Pesne, *La Barberina*, 1745, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin.

<sup>12</sup> Jean-Georges Noverre's *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets* have survived and are now preserved in the Drawing Room of the University Library in Warsaw.

<sup>13</sup> *Inwentarz garderoby JKMci teatralnej wg lustracji z 1797 roku*, AGAD, Archiwum ks. Józefa Poniatowskiego i Marii Teresy z Poniatowskich Tyszkiewiczowej, 1/346/0/-/0278.

The text of the inventory is presented on the basis of the typescript by Stanisława Mrozińska "Kostiumy w teatrze stanisławowskim", Warsaw: Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 1979.

theatre companies. The King occasionally purchased used costumes, but many of them ended up in his collection as contracts required the donation of worn costumes following guest performances.

The inventory provides a lot of information: the appearance of the costume, its colours and decorations, the textile type, and its state of preservation. In some cases, the general character of the outfit is also given, mostly Spanish, Greek, or exotic: Oriental, American, or African; exceptionally, it refers to a specific character of a play: a knight, a priest, or a witch; in some cases the title of the performance is also included, for example, *Axur, re d'Ormus*, an opera by Antonio Salieri, staged in Warsaw in 1793. Among the descriptions of the costumes' decorations, statements such as 'garnished' (Polish: *garnirowane*) and, less frequently, 'painted' are also mentioned.

Unfortunately, the compiler of the inventory did not specify the printing techniques, and rather used the general expression 'painted,' only differentiating the 'harlequin painted,' which mainly refers to costumes from *Comedia dell'arte* performances. However, there is little information about the so-called 'falsified decorations' (Polish: *falsze*), potentially a good reference to the printed decorations. Among the patterns that also appear in the sampler book from Paris, the author of the inventory noted leopard spots on elements of the Roman costumes, and fish scales pattern on the armour imitation: 'twenty Roman dresses, linen, yellow, with gold-painted mottling' (page 51, no. 26) and 'three knight's dresses painted in silver fish scales pattern *karpiołuska* to resemble armour' (no. 27); or the chain mail pattern: '14 knight's dresses, linen, ordinaries, that is, collets and trousers, painted in iron armour, old' (page 59, no. 12).

The inventory also includes women's and men's outfits, which can be linked to Boquet's costume designs for the Fury characters in *Médée et Jason*, and to the *Psyché et l'Amour* ballet by Noverre, which were both in the Warsaw Royal Library's collection at the time. These encompass around fifty various black, red, and yellow dresses with buffs in flame red, drapery of the same colour, and decorations with snakes and flames in various places, described as 'imagining Hell.' In addition to this, nine women's headdresses with serpents for the Furies of Hell are also listed, single snakes made of putty and cloth, and four masks with turkey throats and horns for men (page 76, no. 2–5, 14, 20; page 77, no. 1–8, 14, 16–22).

Comparing the Paris pattern book and Boquet's costume designs from that time with descriptions from the Warsaw inventory, one can assume that some of the decorations, such as snakes, flames, devil masks, or small geometric decorations, for example, those appearing on the costume of Medea<sup>14</sup>, were probably made using block printing or stencils. The Fury costumes may have come from the Hoftheater in Stuttgart, left by the Gaetano Vestris, who was responsible for the Warsaw *première*, or prepared later for the performance by Leopold Frühmann, as the ballet was staged twice in Warsaw in 1767<sup>15</sup> and in 1777<sup>16</sup>. But the large number of multi-part costumes may indicate that the pattern was replicated locally. Therefore, we can assume that the technique used for the Paris pattern book's samples was also known in Warsaw in the 18th century. Active theatre life required simple and efficient solutions, and frequent visits of foreign artists allowed them to quickly adapt new ideas.

---

<sup>14</sup> Louis-René Boquet, *Habits de Costume pour l'Exécution des Ballets de Mr. Noverre dessinés par Mr. Boquet dessinateur des manus plaisirs du Roi de France*. T. VII, card 5, the Drawing Room of the University Library in Warsaw.

<sup>15</sup> 1767 choreography by Gaetano Vestris based on J.-G. Noverre, in *Operalnia Saska*.

<sup>16</sup> 1777 choreography by Leopold Frühmann based on J.-G. Noverre and G. Vestris, in *Radziwill Palace Theatre*.

(Figs 7 & 8)

### **The use of printing techniques in the decoration of the Grand Theatre costumes, in the 19th and 20th centuries**

The Grand Theatre survived the turbulent time of the last partition of Poland and the Napoleonic wars. The new building opened in 1833, and still exists today. The Warsaw Government Theatre became a Russian state institution. The new location had more space for theatre workshops and a huge costume wardrobe. Unfortunately, we have no information about the use of block printing in 19<sup>th</sup>-century costume decoration there. The majority of the surviving costumes from the late 19th century belonged to popular actors who could afford the best craftsmen and rich decorations. In the 1920s and 1930s, during the economic crisis, Warsaw theatres were subsidised by the city board, and painted decoration on costumes was most frequently used. It was cheaper, simpler, and did not require the work of specialists.

The years following World War II were primarily marked by the popularisation of the screen printing technique. For many years, since its reopening in 1965, it was the supreme technique applied in the workshops of the Grand Theatre. Until then, the theatre studio primarily used stencils. Costumes from the ballet performance *Red Coat* by Luigi Nono, staged in 1962—which are now part of the Theatre Museum's collection—constitute one of the most interesting examples from this period. They were decorated with texts made with stencils, and the same pattern in magnification was on the props and set pieces. Those costumes were designed by Andrzej Kreutz Majewski, one of the most important Polish set designers of the second half of the 20th century and also long-time chief set designer at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw. He was the one who introduced the screen printing technique to the Grand Theatre. As a designer, he attached great importance to each costume, as unique piece. Fabrics and elaborated costume decorations were prepared within the theatre studio. They were true works of art. Nowadays, fewer and fewer projects of this kind are being created; it is common to buy ordinary, ready-made costumes, and prints are usually outsourced to external large companies. Simple printing techniques used in the 18th century to prepare large quantities of theatrical costumes at a lower cost have now become something exclusive in the age of digital printing. The work of theatrical craftsmen is expensive; projects implemented by traditional methods are completed more slowly. They are not perfect, but are representative of the work of enthusiasts. Happily, there are still young people eager to learn the secrets of traditional methods.

(Fig. 9)

### **The costume decoration Department at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw**

There are currently two ladies working in the costume decoration Department at the Grand Theatre in Warsaw. One is an artisan with many years of experience; the other has recently started training. They are both mainly involved in decorating and ageing the costumes but also preparing patterns for printing in an external printing company. The most common forms of decoration used in the workshop now are painting, for example with swelling paints, printing, and powder coating. Some of the largest and the most interesting projects recently completed by the studio include *Casanova in Warsaw* (2015) with costume designs by Gianni Quaranta, *Pupa* (2015) and *Pinokio*

(2024) with costume designs by Katarzyna Rott, and *Dracula* (2022) with costume designs by Charles Cusick Smith and Phil R. Daniels. (**Figs. 10 to 13**)

## **Bibliography**

Mrozińska. 1979. *Kostiumy w teatrze stanisławowskim*. Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Szweykowska, Anna. 1981. *Wenecki teatr modny*. Krakow. PWM.

Vinciguerra, Jean-Michel, Bouffard, Mickaël and Schirm, Christian. 2019. *Un air d'Italie | L'Opéra de Paris de Louis XIV à la Révolution*. BnF/RMN-Grand Palais.



Fig. 1

The Pattern samples book from the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra at the exhibition 'Un air d'Italie | L'Opéra de Paris de Louis XI à la Révolution.'

Photo by the author.

Fig. 2

Jean-Baptiste Martin's design with the bird feathers border in the costume of an Indian woman for opéra-ballet *Les Indes Galantes*.

BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (16).



Fig. 3

Henri de Gissey, 'Costume of the African or American' from the final scene of the *Ballet de Flore*.

Musée du Louvre, 1607 DR/ Recto.





Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 4**

The fish scales pattern, shells, coral fragments and leaves on Jean Baptiste Martin's costume design for Thetis.

Collection de figures théâtrales, BnF, département Arts du spectacle, FOL-ICO COS-3 (33).



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

**Fig. 5**

Louis-René Boquet. 'The armour imitation in the ancient warrior costume design.'

BnFrance, département Bibliothèque-musée de l'opéra, D216 I-82

**Fig. 6**

Antoine Pesne, 'La Barberina,' 1745.

Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin





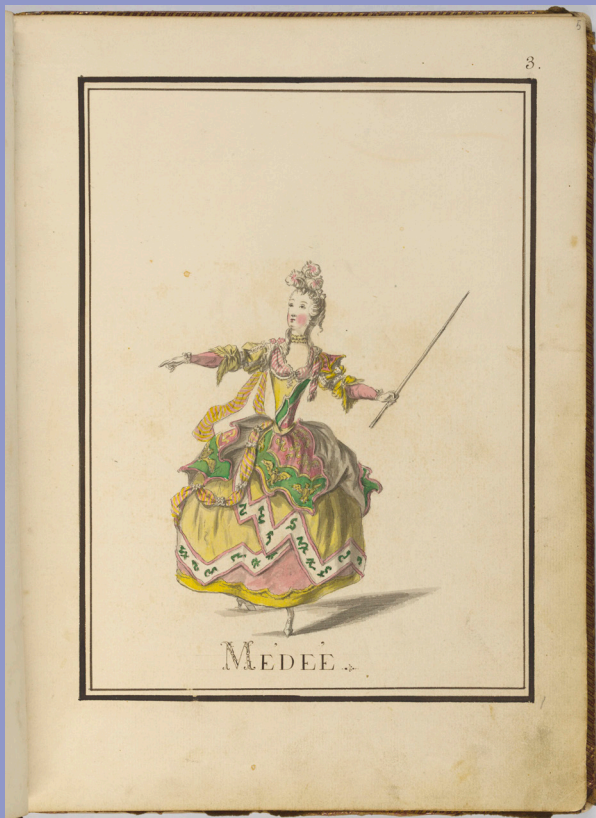


Fig. 7

Boquet's costume design for Médée, from *Médée et Jason*, Louis-René Boquet. *Habits de Costume pour l'Exécution des Ballets de Mr. Noverre, dessinés par Mr. Boquet, dessinateur des manus plaisirs du Roi de France.*

T. VII, card 5, the Drawing Room of the University Library in Warsaw



Fig. 8

Boquet's costume design for Demon, from *Psyché et l'Amour*, Louis-René Boquet. *Habits de Costume pour l'Exécution des Ballets de Mr. Noverre dessinés par Mr. Boquet dessinateur des manus plaisirs du Roi de France.*

T. VII, card 53, the Drawing Room of the University Library in Warsaw



Fig. 9

Costumes from *The Red Coat* 1962, designed by Andrzej Kreutz Majewski,  
Photos by the author.

© The Theatre Museum / Great Theatre – National Opera in Warsaw



Fig. 10

Imitations of embroideries, *Casanova in Warsaw* (2015).

© Ewa Krasucka / Great Theatre – National Opera in Warsaw



---

Fig. 11

Painted and printed patterns on costumes, *Pupa* (2015).

© Ewa Krasucka / Great Theatre – National Opera in Warsaw

---

Fig. 12

Painted and printed patterns on costumes, *Pinokio* (2024).

© Ewa Krasucka / Great Theatre – National Opera in Warsaw



---

Fig. 13

The Costume Decoration Department.

© Ewa Krasucka / Great Theatre – National Opera in Warsaw

