



HERA Workshop Report Print Culture and Fashion Products

The third HERA FEM workshop, 'Print Culture and Fashion Products' was held in Stockholm from the 30 November to 1 December 2011. It was followed by the associated event, the Fourth International Symposium of the Centre for Fashion Studies, Stockholm University, 2 December 2011, which took as its theme 'Fashion in Translation'. Attended by approximately thirty-five participants, the former event was conducted with site visits at the Livrustkammaren (The Royal Armoury) Stockholm, the Nationalmuseum (Stockholm), the Nordiska museet (Stockholm) and a reception and address by guest curator Dr Patrik Steorn at the Hallwyl Museum. Nine papers were presented at this Workshop by scholars including early-career and senior researchers from Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Australia and the United States of America. The Centre for Fashion Studies Symposium was conducted at ABF House ('House of the Workers' Educational Association'), was free and open to the public, and attracted a crowd of approximately one hundred, who attended eight lectures by Swedish, British, Australian and Italian scholars.

Summary of the Workshop, 'Print Culture and Fashion Products'.

Fashion is both a material product and a feature of the imagination. The way in which it is visualized, disseminated and distributed through representations is central to its social impact and influence across time and place. This portfolio within the larger HERA FEM responds to the project brief, 'how and why did certain goods become fashionable in early modern Europe while others failed?' The workshop contributed to this central theme by addressing, through a series of closely-argued case studies, how the transmission of ideas concerning fashion in print worked in practice. In so doing, it also contributed to the central question our research team poses within the project, that is, how are ideas about innovation and creativity in fashion transmitted across linguistic, social and geographic borders? How can we narrate the story of fashionability in countries other than France and England, and what can be learned from national collections and foreign language texts that remain poorly accessed outside those countries? Scholar-speakers gathered from a wide range of disciplinary backgrounds including art history, textile history, conservation, museology, economic and design history. In coming together, working across a variety of sources from extant fashion to prints, paintings, sculpture, inventories, pattern books, even funeral trappings and funerary monuments, we experienced a genuinely inter-disciplinary dialogue across ideas and artefacts.

DAY 1 – Museum visits

Day one provided a series of site visits and handling workshops. The first of these was conducted with the gracious assistance of Curators Ann Gronhammar, Dr Lena Rangstrom and Conservator Johanna Nilsson. The curatorial staff explained the significance of the holdings of the Royal Armoury, which along with the Royal Collections in Denmark at Rosenborg Castle and those in Dresden are unparalleled for the survival of early-modern elite garments including accessories and a wide range of male garments. As Dr Rangstrom explained in her briefing to us, most old European principalities did not retain their clothing collections but in the mid 19th century the Royal Wardrobe in Sweden was transferred to a museum setting. The collection includes the every-day garments of past Kings, liveries, theatre, carousel, liturgical and diplomatic textiles and clothing. The collection ranges from a 1561 Coronation mantle to a 1995 Coming of Age dress. Recent exhibitions there have focussed on ceremonial and wedding dress, and in a timely manner, will soon feature the connection of clothing and Royal Births. Participants were able to observe and handle a range of men's fashions including some that featured exceptionally fine embroidery and trimmings, as well as knitted socks. This enabled connections to be made with several of the papers presented on Day 2, as well as links with the previous Copenhagen workshop, which explored aspects of early-modern knitting. The very high quality of French embroidery for the Royal courts was evident. We examined mainly rare seventeenth-century items, some showing Spanish influence, including suits ('costumes'), gloves, silk stockings, knee roses, shoulder roses, shoe rosettes, capes, an Italian jacket, as well as eighteenth-century suits. These items have been catalogued expertly by Lena Rangstrom in the landmark publication *Lions of Fashion. Male Fashions of the 16th, 17th, 18th Centuries (Modelejon Manligt Mode. 1500-tal 1600-tal 1700-tal)*, 2002, and we were grateful for her insights regarding cut, construction and also the routes of international commerce and shipping, documented in many cases via diaries, letters and the work of ambassadors, which brought the confections together for the Kings of Sweden. For example, one cloak in the collection is virtually identical to a Bonnard fashion plate. Later in the symposium, Dr Rangstrom argued for the development of a 'psychological' awareness of the power of past Royal fashions in the policy, patronage and collecting at the time and by the Enlightenment King Gustav III.

Following lunch we spent a half-afternoon in the Print Room of the Nationalmuseum. Dr Martin Olin was our host and once again Dr Patrik Steorn had collaborated in the selection of items for the privilege of close viewing. Dr Olin firstly discussed the many questions that still arise regarding the function of prints for 17th and 18th-century viewers. We discussed the element of elite consumption as well as the demotic, and were shown an example of possible 17th-century management of a print portfolio for a connoisseur, bound in one stitch at the centre-top. We studied a range of prints that carried emblematic, moralising and also eroticising and comic themes, and a lively discussion ensued concerning the 'reading' of costume books, their re-issue and reprint, thus contributing to the idea of the 'circulation of fashion' in networks across Europe. We considered the role of a 'celebrity culture' emerging around aristocratic women and men and other possible functions of images of Marquises, Princesses, Duchesses, Ducs, and Abbés posing at their toilette or already dressed. Representations of shop interiors and seamstresses at work were also

studied. We also viewed a selection of early-19th century French fashion plates, that blurred the distinction between 'fashion image' and 'fashion joke', emphasising how we much set aside many of our contemporary viewpoints in order to analyse the past.

The works we examined included the following:

One uncut sheet with four images by Nicolas Bonnart, representing *La Terre, L'Air, L'Eau, Le Feu* (NMG Orn 4272:1-4)

Four fashion plates in the style of Bonnart, representing *La Terre, L'Air, L'Eau, Le Feu*, sewn together (NMG Orn 4288)

Moralising critique: *Les Mousches* [sic] exec. by P. Bertrand (NMG Orn 4241), *La Mode Triomphant en la Place du Change* (NMG Orn 4237)

Booklet, 1780s: *Coiffures Françaises et Anglaises, Habillemens Françaises et Anglaises*

A collection of 26 smaller fashion plates, 17th century. (NMG Orn 4396:1-26)

Jacob Gillberg (ex.) Jean Eric Rehn (inv.): *Plates of the Swedish Costume, 1778* (NMG Orn 1496/1913)

French Caricatures: *Mode de Paris* 226/1947; *Le Calicot en fureur* 612/1930;

Costumes Francais 598/1930; *Merveilleuses No 8*. 541/1930

Our next visit was conducted at the Nordiska museet. Close viewing and detailed information were made available concerning a range of 17th and 18th-century items and further connections with artefacts we had viewed in Copenhagen and Aarhus, particularly the demotic 'Norwich stuffs'. The Nordiska museet is notable for having collected a wide ranging of clothing from a very early date and from across Sweden, including in the 19th century. We were fortunate to view several peasant 'best' garments that indicated the spread of fashion across social and regional groups. These included a woman's bodice from Dalarna Sweden made up c1820 from silk c1770 [NM.0121325; acquisition 1914]; and a boy or young man's *veste* (short waistcoat) made c1830 from Norwich stuff (fabric) c1770 [NM.0124822; acquisition 1915]. We viewed a fine example of professional embroidery, a man's court suit collected as purported to have belonged to the (in)famous Count Axel v. Fersen (1755-1810), but probably later in date, French, c1810 [NMA.0023766; acquisition 1925]. We also viewed a woman's knitted jacket, probably Italian or Spanish, dating from the 17th century that had been collected in 1938 by a Swedish woman and gifted in 1940. Alterations had been made to the garment [probably at the museum in the 1940s, possibly to make the garment more 'complete'], raising questions of 'authenticity' and the challenges of working with extant items. Perhaps the most remarkable item we viewed was a wooden and leather powder bellows, for the powdering of hair, length 15 cm [Inv. 59,551; acquisition 1888]. The survival of this small item is a reminder of the large investment of time and money by both men and women of the upper classes in managing the fashionable appearance of their hair; from 1743 in Sweden there was a powder tax. Our group is very grateful to the curators and conservators at the Museum who gave us their time and expertise and also copies of the original acquisition reports concerning the items. A very fine dinner was then enjoyed by delegates at a down-town Swedish restaurant although it was unclear if we discussed Norwich stuffs or the red wine.

DAY 2 – workshop papers.

Peter McNeil and Patrik Steorn opened the morning by commenting on the effect of the handling sessions the day before. The striking effects of the details of the luxury and 'populuxe' products of fashion had been made even more striking by the close viewing. They mentioned that the desire for fashion expanded the repertoire of materials and productive skills in many European countries and encouraged innovation in products and processes, with impacts also for systems of distribution. It was striking how many different types of luxury products were then mentioned in the day's papers that followed. It was also striking how the remit of the merchant might cross from cloth and clothing, to accessories such as ribbons, laces and pins, books and prints, and also beverages such as tea in the early modern period, in towns from Denmark to Sweden.

The focus of this day was on print. What was the significance of print-culture in communicating fashionable ideas, material products and dress practices in a European context? Was print democratic or also a form of luxury or populuxe consumption? McNeil and Steorn noted that it was clearly something of both. The papers brought together enabled a little 'map' to be made of some of the connections between Stockholm, Paris and London in the fashion 'scape' of 18th-century West Europe, to use Arjun Appadurai's term. Speakers noted the immediacy and cross-cultural contact between the societies revolving around fashion goods and images. New and cheaper forms of graphic reproduction and a greatly expanded commercial press arose in eighteenth-century Western Europe. Attitudes towards fashion in print played a significant role in defining national and regional identity across Europe. The day's papers were very much about connections; transpositions, translations, and mis-translations of fashionable goods and lifestyles.

Print itself is both a materiality as well as a vehicle of representation. In our call for papers, we had particularly welcomed papers that address the following:

How did the meaning of various forms of fashion-related prints change as they were circulated in new contexts?

What is the relationship of 'fashion words' and images?

What are the mechanisms through which print - as news, trade-cards, respectful and satirical images - supported or undermined the spread of fashions, from head-piece to borders [here of course we punned on both the body and the page]?

This workshop thus had the aim of tracking certain of the transmission of ideas about fashion in print as well as in practice – and their inter-relationship for the new readers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Peter McNeil opened the morning with a paper entitled **Who could See? Fashion Prints on Display**. He set out some of the historiographical problems of using prints as 'evidence' and also the 'quarantining' of the study of print within national settings. Although there is a tendency to focus on the enormous production of English fashion caricatures, the printed fashion joke or satire appears to be a pan-European phenomenon. It was also one that generated translations into other media, particularly ceramics, but also painted and enamelled glass. McNeil showed examples including an English painted beaker in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, c1770, depicting a 'macaroni' man in a 'jockey' cap.

He noted that Ludwigsburg seemed to have specialised in the production of three-dimensional porcelain jugs as well as elaborate models that also provided information about fashion, including how it was marketed and retailed.

Then followed papers by textile scientists, conservators and historians whose precise case studies indicated the significance of print in allowing ideas to travel, sometimes over long periods of time. In **Layers of Transfer - Some Thoughts on Transfer and Interpretation in the Use of Printed Designs in 17th century Embroidery**, Cecilia Candréus reminded us how the historian must go beyond sources such as the printed pattern books of the 16th century, but also consider what she called 'a vocabulary of ornament gathered from abroad', including works on architecture and botany as well as religious and historical books that have served as models for elaborate works with needle and thread. She argued that embroidery demands particular techniques to create contrast in the design and pointed to the eclectic range of countries, origins and times that might 'build' a design. It was intriguing to hear her argue that some forms of print convey precise technical information such as couched thread. Her paper was particularly concerned with aspects of *transfer* and *interpretation* in the use of printed designs in embroidery. She did this by examining a group of late-17th century funeral flags with metal thread embroidery and relating them in turn to other materialities from coach design to church carving. She also posed the question, is a coffin about tradition or also subject to fashionable taste? She concluded by noting that 'often there is no straight line of transfer in the use of printed materials'.

Johannes Pietsch, in **The Relation Between Printed Sources and Extant Garments: Different Types of French Women's Dresses in the Louis Seize Period**, used a close reading of the fashion magazines produced during the reign of Louis XVI, in which the French fashion world saw the emergence of a variety of new types of women's dresses. He argued that the images presented there are not fanciful, as is sometime suggested, but that fashion journals of the time presented engravings of these fashions and described them with specific terminology. Frequently it was the cut of the dress itself that was new. These printed sources he then proceeded to relate to extant garments in museum collections. He noted that a level of precision regarding terminology that had been present in French scholarship of the period between the wars and in the 1950s had tended to be somewhat diluted today. His paper, then, was about the significance of understanding making and materiality, and argued for a precision of language and terms, and the complexity of the 'traffic of fashion' across Europe.

In her **Printed Patternbooks for Early-Modern Bobbin Made Borders and Edgings**, Lena Dahrén emphasised that a large number of pattern books were printed in Europe in the period 1523-1700; 400 editions of 156 different titles were published. The patterns were meant to be used – and so they were – which means that it is rare to find a complete pattern book; they might have been heavily used in prosperous households, she suggested. Most of them miss a couple of pages, being torn out and used as model or master. The element of gender was important to this paper; that is fashion as a female practice or site of agency. She noted the significance of the unknown 'RM' who was a female master in 1561; 'My dear female apprentices whom I have educated here in Zurich in the past twelve years' was included in the printed frontispiece shown to us. Dr Dahren proceeded to analyse a

wide range of European portraits from numerous West-European countries that indicated the currency and fashionability of particular forms of bobbin lace amongst the elites of the 16th century.

Following lunch there followed two papers that reflected on the transformation of fashion across borders. Barbara Lasic, in **Imagined ethnographies: Jean-Baptiste Le Prince's Russeries and the consumption of Russia in early 18th-century France**, examined how the prolific output of the French artist Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734-1781) transcended the boundaries of mere artistic practice. Her paper contextualised and problematised the construction of his *Russeries*, and examined how their diffusion and circulation impacted and was inflected by the country's perceived national and cultural identity. She argued that his images of Russia and Russian dress were 'not just hybrid fantasies' but reflected Enlightenment concerns to engage with and classify foreign cultures and foreign lands. The playful eroticism of Le Prince's iconography sat somewhere between rococo fantasy and proto-ethnographic representation. The circulation of such imagery crossed media; a writing table in Lisbon by Martin Carlin reproduces a Le Prince image in a mounted Sèvres plaque, while another of his scenes was made in porcelain by the Derby manufactory. Thus the argument of McNeil and Steorn regarding the circulation of fashionable imagery across forms, materials and genres was underscored.

Images of Fashion: Migrating Motifs and Productive Instabilities of Print Culture in 18th century Sweden, enabled Patrik Steorn to argue that as the regularly-illustrated fashion press was not introduced in Sweden until the 1810s, early fashion images - plates and caricatures - from the late 18th century have therefore often been overlooked. Images were active parts of the French and English fashion cultures already in the 1700s, and they were promptly imported into a Swedish context and sometimes published in Swedish papers. He made the significant point that in the Swedish daily press of the 1770s the only images depicted are of fashion, no other topic. The bylines are frequently in French, also significant as this underscores a visual joke. His paper explored how an expanded understanding of fashion supported the transnational migration of fashion-related motifs into Swedish print culture in the 18th century, and how the instabilities of printed matter allowed motifs to travel beyond the printed paper to ceramics, fans, and other objects that participated in sociability and fashionable display. Importantly he noted that we must not overlook hierarchies; a fan is not an oil painting; the material support of an image and what it means is central to any reading. Particularly intriguing was his explanation of how images of hairstyles derived directly from French engraved sources were transposed in the Swedish press; they were reinterpreted within wood-block media and further given new meanings through new text and context. Using Daniel Roche's notion of the 'clothing revolution' of eighteenth-century life, he considered the role of taste versus hierarchies and how prints as objects were active and disseminated. It seems that images of fashion were desired, open and mobile. His reading of visual satires of fashion underlined the complexity of reading such images: 'is it satirical comment appearing as an artform? Is it an internal joke? Ideological critique? Local copy?'. 'The movement of images was very immediate', he concluded.

Arlene Leis, in **Contexts Refashioned: The Paper Collections of Sarah Sophia Banks**, provided a detailed reading of the paper collections of Sarah Sophia Banks (1744-1818). Banks was a prominent collector of printed and engraved ephemera. Her rich and varied repository contains over 19,000 commercial articles, such as newspaper clippings, trade cards, visitor cards, fashion plates, admission tickets, play bills, broad sheets, invitations, portraits, depictions of public ceremonies and caricatures all of which were systematised and pasted onto large folios or into albums. Her paper collections are now housed in the British Museum and British Library. The significance of Leis' analysis was to focus on how the cultural products in Sarah Sophia's assemblage took on new meanings in the context of her collection more generally. Using ideas concerning women's agency in the eighteenth century, she argued for a new reading of women's consumption of printed pocket books and almanacs, which were widely available, investing fashion with particular meanings for their consumers. Her paper built on Steorn's argument in his words that print collections are 'always open and additive' to their owners; they have a particular dynamic.

The day concluded with two PhD Presentations. Maria Halle, in 'The Different Ways of Being Patriotic: Consumers and Producers of Market Goods in Denmark-Norway, 1769-1814' outlined her research into *The Society of Social Virtue*, which was founded in Copenhagen in the 1780s. Its debate surrounding luxury and consumption was connected to perceptions of market-oriented work in the late-eighteenth century. There followed a joint presentation by Camilla Luise Dahl and Piia Lempiäinen. Their 'Shops and Shopkeepers: Probate Inventories of Traders and Shop Owners in Dano-Norwegian Towns c. 1536-1700' set out the role of probate inventories in reconstructing what people owned, wore and sold. By bringing the day back to the luxury debate, we connected with some of the themes surrounding the 'spread of fashion' discussed on Day one.

FASHION IN TRANSLATION

The Fourth Symposium of the Centre for Fashion Studies

This Symposium extended the range of the HERA activities by considering the notion of fashion in translation across time and space. Convened by Professor Peter McNeil and Dr Louise Wallenberg, it set the following agenda:

What are the effects today of 'fashion's' presumed universalism, even more marked with global associations and 'pretensions', and its cultural-contingent forms, for study in this area? As well as a fundamental linguistic aspect, there are also the matters of production, consumption and promotion, always in flux and subject to cultural 'translation' and (mis)understandings. This is not simply a contemporary issue, but has a long set of histories that are partially understood and tending to be quarantined within disciplinary frameworks and priorities.

Professor Evelyn Welch was the Keynote opening speaker and was therefore able to introduce the HERA FEM themes we are exploring to a wider audience. *In Furs, feathers and fans: holding things in early modern hands*, Professor Welch cautioned against reading the accessories of the past through current eyes. Her paper crossed numerous significant areas of research, from gift giving to inheritance laws and women's agency. She noted that

her notion of 'translation' was not simply about the trans-national or global, but also concerned the two and three dimensional. Her wide-ranging paper which crossed the 16th and 17th centuries considered fashion items as a part of a network of 'galanteries' in which a 17th- century book seller or a mercer might sell prints or fans. Her paper was widely remarked upon and has been blogged about at very intelligently at <http://www.wornthrough.com/2011/12/29/conference-report-fashion-in-translation/>

Dr Patrizia Calefato, whose paper **Fashion as Cultural Translation** came towards the end of the day, noted the 'tensions, meanings and complexities' in exploring fashion. She described its 'stereotypes and mythologies' that work within 'social classes and tensions'. She spoke of fashion 'vision as a projection'. Fashion, to Calefato, 'celebrates aesthetics of volumes and forms'. 'Clothes and bodily coverings touch the body and create the appearances'. She then went on to consider the relationship of late twentieth century fashion to the media. She spoke of historical moments such as 1968, the 1980s (with MTV and cable TV), and 2011 (with the web). These she linked to the street, the square and the web. 'Unpredictable fusions' resulted that were singular. There followed an interesting dialogue between conference participants as to when a 'fashion system' first emerged. All agreed that by the Renaissance there was at least a 'discourse' on fashion.

Calefato's focus on the media was timely, as print, too, was a media that transformed the potential of fashionable dress.

The workshop marked the conclusion of Dr Steorn's salaried work within the HERA FEM, for which we now thank him, myself particularly. As well as conducting research that will be disseminated via essays and chapters, in his tenure he has been working on the 'fashionable goods' glossary and compiling a list of objects from the Swedish museum collections related to this, submitting some 150 entries (data + image), mainly related to fashion print, to the collective data collection. He also wrote several "Object in focus" essays that were published on the HERA FEM web-site. He participated in all FEM workshops and the joint workshops for all funded projects within the HERA organization in Vienna, Dublin and Zagreb. He played the major role in the co-ordination of the Stockholm Workshop. As Dr Steorn was the first researcher to start his work within the project, he was able to engage in the researcher-related functions of the FEM website. I appreciate very much his engagement with the practical and intellectual agenda of the Portfolio 'Print Culture and Fashion Products'.

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10.01.2011

