Catwalk: The Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style, volume 1, no. 1, pp. 65-90 (2012) Inter-Disciplinary Press
ISSN: 2045-2349

Amalia Dress: The Invention of a New Costume Tradition in the Service of Greek National Identity

Nadia Macha-Bizoumi

Abstract

The arrival in Greece of Queen Amalia in 1837 is a turning point in Greek costume history. Amalia created a romantic part-Greek, part-Viennese costume, known as the Amalia Costume. As in all societies ruled by a monarchy, it was the court that set this attire in its surroundings. Fashion often originates in the upper reaches of society and passes on to the middle class and from there to the lower social strata.[1] On the one hand, a series of 'Amalia-fied' costumes prevailed at the expense of older costume forms in nineteenth-century Greece; on the other, folkloric elements were incorporated in the Amalia style, making it a typical example of how fashion moves 'up.'[2] Until now, researchers of Greek costume have studied this type of dress from one aspect, describing it as a romantic courtier costume, the national female costume of the Greeks. An in-depth study indicates that it is a pre-constructed, or better yet, an invented, according to the historian Eric Hobsbawm, ensemble, created in a specific moment in history during which there was widespread interest within Europe in the folk culture of newly created states. In Greece, the manufacturing of a national costume originating in the royal court seems to have corresponded with the people's need for the creation of a unifying symbol. In this article, a dialectical approach to the Amalia Costume is attempted. Our method is based on analysis from a folklore point of view of the costume itself and analysis of its history/anthropology. Focus is placed on its symbolic nature, keeping under consideration that costumes, as all objects of material culture, serve as codes of message and meaning exchange and as indicators of cultural expressions and specific meanings.[3] The Amalia Costume functioned as a symbol of national identity, the making of which cannot be viewed out of the historic, economic, social and political circumstances of the nineteenth century.

Key Words

Queen Amalia, Greece, nineteenth century, national identity, invention, Amalia Costume, fashion.

*****

1. The Greek National Dress

Each year, the Greeks celebrate two national holidays – the 25th of March, the day marking the independence war (1821) that resulted in their liberation from Ottoman occupation, and the 28th of October, the date celebrated to mark Greek participation in World War II (1940) – by parading in Greek regional costumes and in their national dress.[4] This Greek national costume consists of two ensembles, one for men and one for women, and was established in the late 1830s by King Otto and Queen Amalia, respectively, immediately after their arrival in Greece in the late 1830s. Since then, the costumes have been symbolically linked with the identity of the Greek nation.[5] The male ensemble is characterized by a pleated white *foustanella*,[6] The female ensemble, known as the Amalia Costume,[7] to date, has been studied mostly by researchers of Greek regional costumes in two ways, as 1) a romantic courtier costume, identified with the Greek female national costume,[8] and 2) as a landmark in the development of Greek dress culture, through the creation of a particular costume type, whose

model served as the basis for the modification of a series of regional ensembles that included a *foustani* (dress) in the first half of the nineteenth century (Image 1).[9]

Image 1: Otto and Amalia in Athens, Chromolithography, Nafplion

The purpose of this article is to review the historical development of the Amalia Costume, the Greek national dress, by reading the 'silent biographical account'[10] of the garments it consists of, with the help of research tools provided to the costume researcher by folkloric and historical/anthropological analysis, in order to achieve the most comprehensive overview of the topic.

2. The Invention of a Standardized Greek National Costume Language

On February 3, 1830, the London Conference, by virtue of the Protocol of Independence, declared the political independence of Greece, which became a kingdom under a German ruler, Otto, second son of the King Ludwig I of Bavaria. The new king, accompanied by a Regency Council headed by Count Joseph von Armansberg, as Otto was still a minor, arrived in Nafplion,[11] the new kingdom's temporary capital, on January 25th (N.S.)/February 6th (O.S.) 1833.[12] Naturally, the modernizing policy adopted to form the new kingdom was based on Bavarian models. It was these models that shaped the identity of Greece as an independent nation-state,[13] the product of a national war of independence, under Bavarian custodianship. In fact, as the historian John Anthony Petropoulos points out, during the 1830s and 1840s, the foundations of the newly-formed Greek state were built on administrative centralism, the creation of a fiscal and tax system, etc.[14] The above practices contributed to the governance and organization of the new political entity by taking on a unified, standardized and homogenized image. That image, in turn, served as the grounding, the axis upon which the identity of the new state was built.

In the process of creating the identity of the Greek nation, the past, in the form of tradition, became the field that assigned meaning to the present. As the historian Eric

Hobsbawm observes, three criteria allow a people to 'be firmly classed as a nation.' The first is 'its historic association with a current state or one with a fairly lengthy and recent past,' the second is 'the existence of a long-established cultural elite, possessing a written national literary administrative vernacular,' and the third is 'a proven capacity for conquest.'[15] In that context, as the sociologist Konstantinos Tsoukalas maintains, 'the state is forced to construct its tradition, to standardize it, to convert it to a central symbol and to historicize it.'[16] For Hobsbawm, an

> invented tradition is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[17]

It was precisely upon this continuity with the recent, glorious past, that the invention as well as the construction of a standardized, symbolically charged costume language (Image 1) by King Otto and Queen Amalia, was based. This action was crucial since post-revolution Greece, as described by the historian Elli Skopetea, was subject to a social fluidity characterized 'by the coexistence of the mixed-origin members of the national ethnicity.'[18] The invention and creation of an ensemble, as a unifying element of the diverse human mosaic that was the newly formed Greek state, was part of a larger process, whose purpose was to strengthen and ensure the survival of that state by bringing about a transition from hyper-national to national consciousness. In Greece in particular, as Skafidas maintains, 'Greek national dress originated as the dress of certain ethnic groups within a newly independent nation-state composed of people determined to preserve its Greek heritage and the will of the ethnic groups to be part of it.'[19]

One could claim that the arrival in Greece of King Otto, dressed in a *foustanella*, and of his queen, dressed in what became known as the Amalia Costume, at the doxology of March 25, 1838,[20] on the occasion of the establishment of this day (March 25) as a national holiday,[21] functions as an expressive non-lingual tool, as 'an elaborate language of symbolic practice and communication,'[22] that strictly defines the Greek ethnicity.

This action, namely the creation of a standardized costume language,[23] symbolically tied to the establishment of a national consciousness, appears to be a common practice among European countries in the nineteenth century, as demonstrated by similar cases. A potent example of a costume scheme as a form of protest for those seeking political and cultural independence is the 'tartan philiberg,' the well-known kilt that symbolizes the costume of the Scottish Highlander.[24] Trevor-Roper observes that the

> creation of an independent Highland tradition, and the imposition of that new tradition, with its outward badges, on the whole Scottish nation, was the work of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It occurred in three stages. First, there was the cultural revolt against Ireland.... Secondly, there was the artificial creation of a new Highland tradition, presented as ancient, original and distinctive. Thirdly, there was the process by which these new traditions were offered to, and adopted by, historic Lowland Scotland: the Eastern Scotland of the Picts, the Saxons and the Normans.[25]

3. From Invention to Production

To create a national costume, the royal couple referred back to the recent historical past, to the *foustanella* worn by the 1821 Greek freedom fighters and to a series of female garments

that were representative of mainland and island Greek dress. From the evidence, it appears that Amalia wavered between two possible options in terms of the style of the costume she intended to establish as the courtier costume.[26] According to the Greek feminist and educator Sotiria Aliberty, Amalia 'deliberately didn't adopt the authentic and highly quaint costume of ancient Greek women, in a bid to avoid, as she put it herself, making such a retrospective innovation.'[27] It is implied, therefore, that the possibility of adopting ancient Greek dress as the costume of the Court of Amalia, as a creation of the golden age of classical antiquity, was initially examined. The other option – at least as demonstrated by the result – was to adopt as the costume of the Ladies of the Court a series of local costumes, originating from areas that contributed to the 1821 Greek Revolution. Queen Amalia, on the other hand, chose for herself and her Ladies-in-Waiting, a new costume, as a symbol of the identity of the newly formed state of Greece, and in so doing followed King Otto's lead (Image 2).

Image 2: The Court of Queen Amalia, Philibert Perraud, 1847, Athens

At the same time, the courts of Munich and Paris served as a compelling model for the royal couple, informing not only the furnishings and the decoration of the palace, but also the composition of the court and the development, to an extent, of its dress system. It is not clear who guided the queen to create a dress style inspired by Western European fashion and Greek traditional costume.[28] What we can be certain of is that right from the start both Otto and Amalia 'placed themselves, consciously, in the service of the honoured memory of the heroes of the Greek Revolution,'[29] choosing to dress both themselves and the members of their court, all of whom came from families that had fought in the revolution, in ensembles from the recent past.

Image 3: A young woman in Amalia Costume, postcard of the early twentieth century, Nafplion © Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation

When he arrived in Greece, Otto chose, as the national dress, an ensemble that included the *foustanella*, in which he appeared on official occasions. Amalia charged her Ladies-in-Waiting with wearing the traditional costumes of the areas they were originally from (Image 2). Foteini Gennaiou Kolokotroni, the daughter of the Soulian hero Fotos Tzavelas and the wife of the Peloponnesian Kolokotronis, appeared in an ensemble that was a fusion of the traditional costumes of the Souli and the Peloponnese; Kyriakoula A. Kriezi and Kondylo Miaouli dressed in costumes from the island of Hydra; and Maria Monarchidou wore the costume from Psara.[30] By order of the queen, the Ladies-in-Waiting wore an ensemble of her own invention, a romantic, folkloric outfit, which fused Western fashions with elements of recent Greek tradition. This ensemble, which was named after Queen Amalia, has since been known as the Amalia Costume (Image 3).

The first reference to the garments that make up the ensemble comes from Amalia herself. In correspondence with her father in letters dated October 12 and October 24, 1839, Amalia comments about her portrait painted by Hermann Kretzschmer, in which she appears in the Greek costume. 'I must say that my jacket is not red but crimson, and much more richly embroidered, but the painter believed it was more striking this way. My dress is much darker, but let the artist do what he thinks is best.'[31]

The Amalia Costume consisted of a long dress, the *foustani* or *kavadi*, which was sharply reminiscent of the Biedermeier style,[32] although its bodice was inspired by the Greek traditional *kavadi* (a type of a long-sleeved dress), and was left open to show a lavishly embroidered chemise front. A short, close-fitting gold-embroidered velvet jacket, the *kondogouni* or *zipouni*,[33] was worn over the *foustani*. The headwear was a red *fessi* (*fez*) with a long tassel, *papaz*, made of braided gold threads and adorned with pearls or sequins (Image 3).

Image 4: An Athenian with her daughter, wearing the *kavadi*, watercolor by Gerasimos Pitsamanos, 1817, private collection

The *foustani* or *kavadi* was made of precious raw fabrics, silk taffeta with woven floral motifs, silk moiré or costly brocade, often interwoven with gold thread, and consisted of a double skirt with ruffles or of a long skirt with rich folds at the waistline. Its style was influenced by an exceedingly romantic but at the same time simple fashion, informed by the Biedermeier style, which was popular in nineteenth-century Germany and Austria. The upper bodice of the dress was close-fitting, with a deep neckline and long sleeves, reminiscent of the short-waisted and very tight-fitting *kavadi* of the old Athenian[34] costume[35] (Image 4), an urban-type costume, modelled on Eastern costume traditions.

Image 5: Gold-embroidered *kondogouni* (*zipouni*), Athens © Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (cat. No. 551)

The Amalia Costume *kondogouni* or *zipouni,* a vest with long narrow sleeves, was made of silk velvet in black, red or deep blue, and embroidered by specialized tailors, known as *terzides*, who were both tailors and professional gold-thread embroiderers. From a technical point of view, the *terzides*' embroidery work was executed in sewn-on silk cords, as well as gold cords and silver cords (Image 5).[36] The neckline, hemline and cuffs of the Athenian Costume's jacket were often lined with fur and it was heavily adorned – especially on the

sleeves and back, with stylized flowers, an elaborate combination of symmetrical spiralling motifs and flowering branches and flower ornaments, which are stylized in geometric patterns.

Image 6: Island-type *zipouni*, from Hydra, Athens © Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (cat. No.778/2)

According to the scenographer and costume designer Ioanna Papantoniou, the cut of *Kondogouni* was influenced by the cut of *zipouni*, the Greek island-type jacket (Image 6).[37] We also come across the *zipouni* in the Athenian Costume where it is worn over the *kavadi*. In fact, from 1834 onwards, it takes the form of a short jacket, with a deep opening at the front, which hugs and squeezes the bust,[38] bringing to mind the jacket of the Amalia Costume. A *zipouni*, combined with a *kavadi*, is also part of the costume of Pyrgos Ileias (Peloponnese) (Image 7). An extremely rare example of this nineteenth-century costume is held by the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation collection in Nafplion. I believe that during that period the *zipouni* was a common garment with regional variations and an essential part of women's costumes, as it functioned as a close-fitting bodice that supported the bust. And it was upon this common costume scheme that the development of the Amalia *kondogouni* was based, which we come across in variations with or without tips at the front (Images 8a, 8b).

Image 7: *Kavadi* with *zipouni*, Pyrgos (Peloponnese), nineteenth century, Nafplion, © Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation (cat. No. 1998.06.210, 1998.06.211)

The Amalia Costume *fessi*, according to the Greek regional costume researcher Angeliki Chatzimichali,[39] was placed at the top of the head, at an angle, and held in place by a gold- or pearl-embroidered band, which was secured under the chin. Papantoniou mentions that when going to church, women would drape black lace over the *fessi*, as was the habit of Roman Catholic ladies.[40]

Image 8a: *Zipouni* from an Amalia Costume, with tips, Athens © Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (cat. No.780)

The Athen-München catalogue (1980), published by the City of Athens Museum in conjunction with the National Museum of Munich, presents and analyses what is probably the earliest version of the Amalia Costume, which is part of the National Museum's collection. The costume in question was likely made in Munich in its entirety, based on information derived from a letter by Queen Therese of Bavaria, to her son Otto.[41] According to Stabenow, the design and cut of the dress 'denote a romantic reversion to medieval models. There are also obvious references to late gothic Italian costumes.'[42]

What was Amalia's 'true' relationship with the ensemble she invented? Research up to the present day has shown that Amalia, in contrast to Otto, preferred to dress in Parisian fashion ensembles for palace balls rather than in the Amalia Costume.[43] According to Penelope Papailiopoulou, one of the queen's Ladies of the Court, the garments worn by Amalia at the palace balls 'were sewn by one of the official dressmakers from Paris.'[44] Indeed, in describing one of them, Edmond About mentions that the queen appeared 'in a tight dress with a small tail, the masterpiece of a Parisian dressmaker.'[45] In a portrait of the queen painted by Joseph Stieler (1836-1837), Amalia is pictured in a red velvet fashion dress, which leaves her shoulders exposed.[46] She also appears in European dress in a portrait made by Spyridon Chatzigiannopoulos (1820-1905).[47] A striking fact is that in 1859, in the first large-scale portraits of the royal couple painted by Viennese artist Carl Rahl (1812-1865), the king is pictured in the *foustanella* while the queen wears a Parisian fashion dress. The fact is that Amalia wears the Greek costume only on a few special occasions.

So why did Amalia avoid wearing the costume that she invented and that is directly connected to her national and royal status? In a letter to her father, on December 24, 1837, Amalia mentions that the day of her birthday was especially tiring, not only because she received many visitors but because she was wearing the 'Greek costume, which wears you out because it is very heavy.'[48] A few years later in an 1845 letter to her brother Peter, she mentions

that she avoids wearing the 'Greek costume' in her official appearances, although she is aware its symbolic content, because she does not find it, 'comfortable.'[49]

Image 8b: *Zipouni* from an Amalia Costume, Athens
© Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (cat. No.545)

To which costume is Amalia referring when she mentions the general term 'Greek costume,' which is so 'heavy' and not at all 'comfortable'? This is a reasonable question, since we know that the Amalia Costume is an ensemble adapted from schemes the queen was familiar with as it had many common elements with styles of European dress, and was not that different, in terms of the dress, from the fashion gowns she liked to wear. We also know, through a comparative study of well-known portraits in which Amalia is pictured in 'Greek costume,' that in her early years on the throne, the queen was not painted exclusively in the Amalia Costume. She also appears in the above described Athenian Costume, the costume worn by the noble ladies of the Greek capital, an ensemble that was, indeed, heavy, having been developed on the basis of eastern dress traditions. This costume consisted of *salivaria*, wide long bloomers, a chemise, and a particularly long dress with a vertical opening at the front, a *kavadi*. A silk belt, or a large silk or woollen stamped scarf, folded into a triangle shape, is tied low at the waist, over the *kavadi*. It was also not uncommon for another shorter dress to be worn over the former and, depending on the season and the occasion; the ensemble was completed by a short or long overcoat, with long or short sleeves, or even sleeveless (*anteri*, *tzipouni*, *tzoubé*). Only women of the upper social class wore the *tzoubé*, an overcoat trimmed with fur and made from precious fabrics such as silk velvet.[50]

That Amalia wore the Athenian Costume is supported by other evidence. The City of Athens Museum collection includes a needlework piece, dating from around 1837, by the embroiderer Maria Briakou, in which the royal couple is portrayed from the waist up, on their wedding day.[51] The king wears the *foustanella*, and the queen is dressed in the Athenian Costume, with a *kavadi* and a *tzoubé*. According to the museum curator Marilena Kasimati, Briakou based her portrayal of Otto on a chromolithograph by Gustav Kraus; for Amalia she used a lithographic version of Stieler's portrait, from the collection known as the Gallery of Beauties (Munich, Nymphenburg Palace).[52] In addition, in a wood engraving circa 1840, based on a piece by the French painter Louis Huard, Amalia is again portrayed in the Athenian Costume, complete with a *tzoubé*.

Image 9: Queen Amalia in the Amalia Costume, regal portrait, by Nikiforos Lytras, 1893, Athens, © Filekpaideftiki Etaireia

These early depictions of the queen in Greek costumes are followed by a series of portraits of the queen clearly dressed in the Amalia Costume. Indicatively, in 1849, the German painter Friedrich Becker was commissioned in Oldenburg to paint Amalia's portrait in national dress. Some consider this piece the earliest oil painting in which the queen wears the Amalia Costume.[53] In any case, in her aforementioned correspondence of the 12th (N.S.) /24th (O.S.) October 1839, the queen excitedly describes to her father another portrait of herself in the Amalia Costume, the one painted by Hermann Kretzschmer (1811-1890), which, as she writes Otto considered 'her first successful portrait' and thus 'commissioned a copy to send to his parents.'[54] Finally, Amalia is pictured in national dress (Amalia Costume) in an emblematic portrait by the Greek painter Nikiforos Lytras in 1893 (Image 9), painted thirty years after the royal couple was expelled from Greece in 1862.[55] The portrait was commissioned by the Friends of Education Society (Filekpaideftiki Etaireia), probably in 1890, to decorate the premises of the Arsakeio School, for 'educational-historical' reasons.[56]

While we cannot overlook the fact that the visual representation of the queen in Greek national dress semiotically connects her with Greek ethnicity, the true relationship of the queen with the national costume does not appear to be close.

4. The Social and Symbolic Content of the Amalia Costume

This section focuses on a morphological analysis of the actual pieces that comprise the Amalia Costume, an analysis necessary to understand the costume scheme that is the object of this study. A morphological analysis of the garments of the Amalia Costume allows us to identify with certainty the garments upon which its creation was based and the extent to which it borrowed features from both Greek costume tradition and Western European fashion. This knowledge is also helpful in understanding the symbolic content of the costume in question, as well as the reasons behind its dissemination, evolution and persistence.

The Amalia Costume is approached – as a whole, and in respect to the individual garments it consists of – as an historical piece, imbued with multiple meanings and anthropological content.[57] As objects of material culture, clothes are agents of multiple messages, defined by their relationships with other objects and with people through the course of their history. Their material dimension charges them with a complex and complicated role,[58] as their material 'life' is transcribed with multiple realities in a process of constant evolution. As well as utilitarian objects, often emotionally-charged at that, clothes are also symbolic, as they function as codes for the exchange of numerous messages and meanings regarding the social and local identity of their user, and as indicators of cultural expressions, connected to economic behaviours, social and technical practices, and their dissemination and evolution in space and time.[59]

Approaching Amalia's Costume on the basis of the above methodological positions, one could argue that the costume in question is a pre-constructed or, better yet, an invented ensemble, created in a specific moment in history during which there was widespread interest within Europe for the folk culture of newly created states. In the newly created state of Greece, the manufacturing of a romantic national costume, originating in the royal court, seems to have corresponded with the people's need for the creation of a unifying symbol, a fact demonstrated – as will be shown below – by the prevalence of the costume scheme in question, and its widespread assimilation.

This new form of tradition, a chosen tradition, which was based on selected familiar schemes (an Athenian-style bodice, informed by Eastern traditions, and a Viennese-style dress) functioned as a mark of national identity, expressed through the standardized image of an ensemble that dominated the dress culture of Greece, at the expense of earlier dress schemes. I believe that this construction, inspired by Western European fashion and Greek traditional dress, was handled in an ingenious way, as the fusion of the two styles symbolized the transition of Greek society from its Eastern past to Western modernity.

It could be also pointed out that the persons selected to serve as Amalia's Ladies-in-Waiting, and the fact that they dressed in local costumes from island and mainland Greece, functioned in collective memory as a tribute to the powerful symbols of the 1821 Revolution and the families that contributed to it. It is very likely, however, that this practice also functioned as an attempt to symbolize the political unity of the areas that had just been liberated and now comprised the newly formed Greek state. This supposition is further supported by the 'selective' fusion of features from Peloponnesian and Soulian costumes as demonstrated by the outfit worn by Foteini Gennaiou Kolokotroni (the daughter of the Soulian hero Fotos Tzavelas and the wife of the Peloponnesian Kolokotronis). Furthermore, the uniformity achieved by adopting the Amalia Costume for the Queen's Ladies-in- Waiting functions in semiotic terms as an attempt to establish a dress style that refers directly to a particular ethnicity.

In essence, the Amalia Costume is a dress 'tradition' that was invented deliberately and instituted officially for a particular reason.[60] The new tradition drew rich material from the recent historical past, from the powerful reserves of Greek folk tradition. The incorporation of folkloric elements in the Amalia style makes it a typical example of how fashion moves 'up' from the masses and influences the upper class style.[61]

The Amalia Costume influenced Greek women, initially in the urban centres of liberated Greece (Athens, Nafplion - Peloponnese) and subsequently in rural areas. A series of Amalia-fied costumes prevailed at the expense of older costume forms in nineteenth-century Greece. As in all societies ruled by a monarchy, it was the court that set this attire in its surroundings. Fashion often originates in the upper reaches of society and passes on to the middle class and from there to the lower social strata.[62] For example, see the Amalia-fied costume of the Greek island of Samos, as it developed in later years (Image 10).[63]

Image 10: Ourania Negri, photographed in 1910 in an 'Amalia-fied' Costume of Samos, Private collection

An example of an Amalia-fied costume can be seen in a model developed in Samos in the mid-nineteenth century, with its dress with a tight-fitting bodice, with or without sleeves, or a skirt, with a *sako*, a type of jacket. It served as the official village costume of Samos and survived until the early twentieth century.[64] In contrast, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the upper class women of Samos began to adopt European fashions.[65]

Another example of an Amalia-fied costume survives in the collection of the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation in Nafplion. It is a most interesting version of an everyday outfit (early twentieth century), whose creation was based on the modification of a local costume by its owner, using the Amalia Costume, which was still very popular at the time, as a model. As Ioanna Papantoniou explains,

> The costume belonged to Maria Metaxa, who came from Leonidio in Kynouria (Peloponnese). When Metaxa came to Nafplion as a bride, she wore her local costume, which consisted of the dress of her home town, known as *vrachani*. Upon arriving in Nafplion, she converted this dress to an 'Amalia-fied' skirt, combining it with a white *plastron* and a felt *kondogouni*, decorated with shop-bought tassels. As her official costume, however, Metaxa wore the authentic Amalia Costume, which was basically the urban costume of the Peloponnese, which she had made in Nafplion.[66]

The Amalia Costume also influenced the women of the bourgeoisie throughout the Balkans. This can be seen in the common elements in town costumes worn in Serbia and Greece in the nineteenth century.[67] A cursory comparison between the Serbian and Greek town costume ensembles from the first half of the nineteenth century, which were still worn in some towns as late as the early twentieth century, brings out similarities in the cut of the garments the materials used, the adornments and the manner of dressing.[68]

The Serbian costume is characterized by the *fistan* (the counterpart of the *foustani* or *kavadi* in the Greek version of the Amalia costume), a long dress of striped silk, mostly of brocade, with a short waist to underline the bust. Its upper bodice was close-fitting, with a heart-shaped opening at the front and sleeves of 'normal length or even longer than the arm, with a fan-like ending and a slit on the inner side.'[69] The skirt of the dress was gathered in rich folds. The *fistan* was embroidered with gold threads or braids round the neck and on the edge of the sleeves and the skirt. Over the *fistan*, in the place of the Greek *kondogouni*, we have the Serbian *libade*, a tightly fitting bodice open at the bust, with golden embroidery (*terzides*' embroidery work) on the front parts, on the back and on the sleeves. The only difference between the two jackets is that the embroidery on the Greek *kondogouni* 'was executed in a much richer ornamentation than on the Serbian *libade.*'[70] Finally, the Serbian headwear was the same *fessi* as in the Greek version, of red felt, decorated with a tassel, made of a braid of silk, either with gold or with silver threads.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Amalia Costume was also established in Cyprus, where it survived until the first decades of the twentieth century in the form of a sleeveless dress with a one-piece, close-fitting bodice with a deep, rounded opening at the bust, and a long skirt with rich folds at the waistline. This dress was combined with the *sarka*, a type of short velvet or felt jacket with a deep opening at the bust and long sleeves, which commonly flared at the bottom. The *sarka* is the equivalent of the *kondogouni* in the Amalia Costume, made by tailors in Nicosia, with rich decoration of sewn-on gold cords. The outfit is completed by a local version of the *fessi*, a red cap, usually topped by a fixed tassel of black silk, and a second, dangling one.[71]

The costume in question, initially worn by urban women across island and mainland Greece,[72] 'served in Cyprus, which was under Turkish occupation until 1878, as the official costume of urban ladies.'[73] It was not long, however, before it was adopted by the island's rural areas. According to the folklorist Efrossini Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, the Amalia influenced costume began to die out by the late nineteenth century 'in the urban centers [of Cyprus], where European dress was steadily gaining ground, especially after the beginning of British rule.' Still, the costume had spread throughout Cyprus and 'was preserved in rural areas even as late as the first decades' of the twentieth century, 'when it was used as a festive or bridal outfit.'[74]

Important factors in the dissemination, prevalence and survival of the Amalia Costume in countries other than Greece – in this particular case in Cyprus and Serbia – were: a) the ideological tendencies of that period, as well as b) the close ties developed between the Cypriots and Serbs, and the Greeks.[75] With regards to the Serbs, Antonijevic observes,

> For centuries Greeks and Serbs have been closely interrelated from the historic, demographic, economic, cultural and artistic point of view. The historical events that took place at the beginning of the 19th century, marked with the Serbian and Greek uprisings against the Turkish domination over the Balkans, are of particular importance for the subject we are dealing with in this paper. The emergence of new, independent states and the abolition of Turkish feudalism, have brought about great political and economic changes in these countries. The links existing between Serbs and Greeks have been stronger....[76]

Aside from historical, economic, political and ideological factors, yet another important factor in the dissemination and reception of the Amalia Costume in various areas within and outside of Greece was the fact that the dress system of those areas included, even before the advent of the costume in question, a garment, known as *foustani*. During a stage of transition,

from one scheme to another, this garment was presumably adapted and incorporated into the imported costume (the Amalia Costume), either as a dress (with or without sleeves) with a bodice, accompanied by a jacket, or as a skirt with a sleeved jacket. In Cyprus, for example, in inventories of family property that include entries of garments with their local names, there are references to a *foustani* that predates its counterpart in the Amalia Costume. A complete Amalia Costume is listed in a Cypriot dowry contract from 1852.[77] This conclusion is further supported by the existence of the aforementioned modified Amalia Costume from Leonidio, held by the Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation.

***Image 11*:** Amalia Costume from Amaliapoli, nineteenth century, Athens © National History Museum (cat. No. 3183)

The Amalia Costume, however, did not function merely as a national costume that stood for a standardized image of the dress culture and visible symbol of a newly formed state. As well as its symbolic and national dimensions, it took on a purely regional character, since it was adopted as the local costume of the seaside town of Amaliapoli (Prefecture of Magnesia), which was built in 1831 under Queen Amalia's supervision and expense. Amaliapoli was mostly settled by refugees from the wider region of Macedonia, who named their town after the queen and used the ensemble she created as their official costume. A rare nineteenth-century example of this costume (Image 11), with a long, pleated dress of dark green silk moiré fabric and a tight bodice, survives in the collection of the National Historical Museum.[78]

5. The Amalia Costume Today

In our days, the Amalia Costume, in contrast to the *foustanella*, no longer functions as the visible symbol of the Greek nation. In the minds of modern Greeks, the *foustanella* is the garment that remains directly linked to the Greek revolution and the identity of the Greek

nation, as it forms – in its later developed short version – part of the uniform of the Presidential Guard.

Image 12: Little girls dressed in *vlachoules*, postcard of the early twentieth century, Nafplion © Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation

The Amalia Costume seems to have lost much of its symbolic content. Because the costume functioned as a symbol of national identity, it was extensively used, altered, and abused. As Papantoniou claims, the costume in question

> as a national costume was abused by many well-meaning mothers, across the country, when they copied it to dress their little girls in it on the 25th of March, the Greek national holiday. And this because, for quite a long time, our local costumes were not held in high esteem, especially by those who had just 'dropped' them, as they used to say.[79]

However, even to this day, on national holidays, Greek students, with their teachers' encouragement, parade in Amalia Costumes, dressed in non-historically accurate copies, with dresses made of synthetic lining and poorly-sewn *kondogounia*, adorned with shop-bought tassels. In essence, the Amalia Costume is used as a costume with a dress, commonly in light blue, combined with a red or blue *kondogouni*. In children's minds, this costume is linked to Greek tradition but also to Carnival, as both the Amalia Costume and the *foustanella* are used as fancy dress outfits.[80]

There was a time in the early twentieth century during which on national holidays, children all over Greece were dressed in a costume known as *vlachoules* (Image 12), instead of the Amalia Costume.[81] The *vlachoules* was a costume based on an adaptation of the bridal costume of Attica, which had inspired the creation of the dress of the Court of King George I of Greece (1863-1913), the second king of the new Greek state. It generally consisted of a long chemise and a tailored jacket (*tzakos*), followed by one or two short sleeveless overcoats in white known as *griza*, and a lavishly embroidered apron, while the head was covered by a long scarf, known as *bolia*.

Image 13: Fashion drawing, by Jean Dessès, inspired by the Amalia Costume, Athens, Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (Lykeion ton Hellinidon).

In the mid-1950s and even more so in the 1960s Greek popular art was a source of inspiration for Greek fashion. This led to the rise of the traditional fashion movement, around which developed a group of designers who set out to impress upon their creations the dialogue between the contemporary and the traditional. This 'new fashion was presented as a suggested means of re-creating the aesthetic codes of an idealized past and went down very well with the public, as it was a symbolic way of voicing the urban middle class nostalgia for the past.'[82] It was presumably in that context that the fashion designer Jean Dessès created his series of four fashion drawings of outfits inspired by the Amalia Costume, intended for Queen Frederica, Princesses Sophia and Eirini (members of the Greek royal family) and the Ladies-in-Waiting (Image 13).[83] Those drawings are now held by the Museum of the History of the Greek Costume (Lykeion ton Hellinidon). Papantoniou points out that

> There were, at times, attempts directed at the dress of the Amalia Costume, but no one could take it further. Because it won't go any further. I'd like to make a bridal Amalia, all in white. There was an attempt in Nafplion, by a local tailor. A good attempt. But there was no embroidery, no ermine on the jacket, which is what I'd like to see. But you cannot take that costume any further. It cannot evolve dynamically. You need to be extremely liberated. The Japanese have a different aesthetic. They have many layers of clothes and that leads to a number of things. The Greek [costumes] are also a bit quaint. Which is why every attempt that was made in the past has failed. Those who tried were dressmakers rather than designers. Although Evangelidis does stand out; he started from local costumes and took them a step further. And, perhaps, in my opinion at least, he is greater than Dessès, who is linked to 'drapé.'[84]

Indeed, in spite of the concerted efforts, the 'movement' inspired by tradition did not lead to the further recognition and development of Greek fashion. In the 1970s, Greek fashion designers' desperate determination to go back to their roots was translated into what one might

call a folkloristic approach, 'which finally concentrated for a long period on the printed kerchief and the incorporation of authentic components of traditional costumes into caftan-like dresses.'[85] The whole endeavour was short-lived, because, according to the Greek designer Tseklenis, 'you don't take tradition to make folklore, to exploit it and to sell it commercially just as it is, but to develop it in accordance with life.'[86] Or, more to the point, as Veblen put it, 'innovation cannot just be more beautiful or, perhaps more commonly, less degrading, than what it seeks to replace.'[87]

6. Conclusion

The Amalia Costume is a turning point in Greek costume history, as it demonstrates notable endurance and leads to the creation of a specific costume type, known as the Amalia Costume. Amalia created a romantic part-Greek, part-Viennese costume, a morphological type that functioned as a processed language of 'symbolic practice and communication,'[88] through which the Queen could approach, what for her, were the strangely dressed people of Greece. The creation of romantic national dress was widespread during that time in the states of Europe and reflects in visual terms the ideological trends of the nineteenth century, under the influence of which the symbolically and ideologically charged Greek national dress was born.

Notes

[1] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899) and Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', *International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-155.

[2] Gilles Lipovetsky makes an argument about fashion moving 'up' as well as 'down.' Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002). Consider too the work of Ted Polhemus regarding: fashion 'bubbling' up. 'What to Wear in the Global Village?' in *Global Fashion, Local Tradition – On the Globalization of Fashion*, ed. Jan Brand and José Teunissen, (Utrecht: Terra, 2005), 83.

[3] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process,' in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64-94.

[4] The label 'national costume' implies, according to Linda Welters, 'that special clothing was worn to affiliate the wearer with a particular nation.' See Linda Welters, 'Ethnicity in Greek Dress,' in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 54, as well as Joanne B. Eicher and Barbara Sumberg, 'World Fashion, Ethnic, and National Dress,' in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, ed. Joanne B. Eicher (Oxford: Berg, 1995), 295-306.

[5] Welters, 54.

[6] Konstantina Bada, 'Η παράδοση στη διαδικασία της ιστορικής διαπραγμάτευσης της εθνικής και τοπικής ταυτότητας. Η περίπτωση της φουστανέλας' ['Tradition in the Process of Historical Negotiation of National and Local Identity: The Case of the Foustanella'], Ethnologika 4 (1995): 127-150. More recently, it has been studied by Michael Skafidas, who offers a new interpretation by bringing the *foustanella* into the postmodern era. Michael Skafidas, 'Fabricating Greekness: From Fustanella to the Glossy Page,' in *The Fabric of Cultures. Fashion, Identity, and Globalization*, ed. Eugenia Paulicelli and Hazel Clark (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 145-163. [Author's translations from Greek, throughout.]

[7] Ioanna Papantoniou, *Greek Regional Costumes* (Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 1996), 131.

[8] Ioanna Papantoniou, '...And We Donned Frankish Attire,' in the *Athenian Fashions at the Turn of the 19th Century*, ed. Dionyssis Fotopoulos (Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1999), 48.
[9] Ioanna Papantoniou, *Η Ελληνική Ενδυμασία από την αρχαιότητα ως τις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα* [*The Greek Costume from Antiquity to the early 20th Century*] (Athens: Emporiki Bank of Greece, 2000), 391.
[10] Konstantina Bada, 'Πανεπιστημιακά Μουσεία και συλλογές του λαϊκού πολιτισμού: Το παράδειγμα του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων' ['University Museums and Folk Culture Collections: The Example of the University of Ioannina'], E*thnografika* 12-13 (2003): 147-149, and Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things,'64-94.
[11] In 1834, Athens became the new capital of the newly formed Greek state.
[12] N.S. (New Style) refers to the Julian calendar and O.S. (Old Style) to the Gregorian.
[13] According to Gellner, 'two people belong to the same nation if, and only if, they share the same culture, where culture, in turn, means a system of ideas, symbols, associations and modes of behavior and communication. Two people belong to the same nation if, and only if, they recognize each other as members of the same nation.' See Ernest Gellner, *Έθνη και Εθνικισμός* [*Nations and Nationalism*], trans. Dora Lafazani (Athens: Alexandria Publications, 1992), 23.
[14] John Anthony Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece* 1833 -1843 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 158-192.
[15] Eric Hobsbawm, *National and Nationalism since 1780*: P*rogramme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 37-38.
[16] Konstantinos Tsoukalas, 'Παράδοση και εκσυγχρονισμός: μερικά γενικότερα ερωτήματα' ['Tradition and Modernization: Some General Questions"] in *Ελληνισμός, Ελληνικότητα: ιδεολογικοί και βιωματικοί άξονες της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας* [*Hellenism, Greekness: Ideological and Experiential Axes of Modern Greek Society*], ed. Dimitris G. Tsaoussis (Athens, Estia: 1983), 42-43.
[17] See Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1.
[18] Elli Skopetea, *Το 'Πρότυπο Βασίλειο' και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στη Ελλάδα* (1830-1880) [*The 'Model Kingdom' and the Grand Idea. Perspectives on the national problem in Greece (1830-1880)],* (Athens: Polytypo, 1988), 43.
[19] Skafidas, 'Fabricating Greekness,' 147.
[20] This particular occasion, when Amalia appears in national dress, was described by Amalia herself in a letter sent to her father on the 10th of April 1838. See Vana Bouse and Michael Bouse (μεταγραφή, εισαγωγή, μετάφραση, σημειώσεις) [transcription, introduction, translation, notes], *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον πατέρα της*, 1836-1853 [*Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her Father,* 1836-1853, vol. A] (Athens: Estia, 2011), 122.
[21] The 25th of March 1838, the 17th anniversary of the beginning of the Greek Revolution and the holiday of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, was the first occasion of a dual religious and national celebration. The 25th of March was instituted as a National Holiday in 1838, a few months after Otto's decision to remove his Bavarian associates from his ministerial council.
[22] Hobsbawm, 'Introduction,' 6.
[23] In the early twentieth century, India provided an excellent example of standardized costume language, through the use of the garment known as *Khadi* or *Khaddar* as a visual symbol of the Indian freedom from the yoke of colonialism, as 'a powerful visual tool in the creation of an imagined national community which for the first time incorporated the non-literate majority.' Mahatma Gandhi played an active role in elevating the *Khadi* to the status of a national cloth.

See Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[24] Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 15-41. See also, Naomi E. A. Tarrant, 'Why Don't the English Have a Folk Dress?' *Ethnografika* 4-5 (1983-1985): 7-10 and Robert Doyle, C. M., 'Masculine Dress. The Englishman's Suit versus The Scotsman's Kilt,' in *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*), ed. Ioanna Papantoniou (Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010), 87-93.

[25] Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition,' 16-17.

[26] Sotiria Aliberty, *Αμαλία, η Βασίλισσα της Ελλάδος* [*Amalia, the Queen of Greece*] (Athens: N. Tarousopoulou Publishing, 1896).

[27] Ibid., 32.

[28] It is more than likely that we will soon have an answer to this question, and to other similar ones, as a doctoral thesis on the Amalia type costume has been underway in the last two years at the University of Ioannina, in Greece, by Katerina Charpidou.

[29] Reinhold Baumstark, 'Όθωνας και Αμαλία: Η μοναρχική παρουσία' ['Otto and Amalia: The Monarchic Presence'] in *Athens – Munich: Art and Culture in the New Greece*, ed. Marilena Kasimati (Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000), 514.

[30] Olga Fakatseli, 'Οι κυρίες της Αυλής' ['The Ladies of the Court'], in *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, ed. Marilena Kasimati (Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000), 540-541.

[31] See Bouse, *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters*, 192.

[32] 'Biedermeier,' last modified 19 July 2012, viewed 19 June 2012, http://www.rupertcaven dish.co.uk/Biedermeier/WhatisBiedermeier/whatisbiedermeier.htm.

[33] Ioanna Papantoniou, 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη της γυναικείας ελληνικής παραδοσιακής φορεσιάς ['A First Attempt at an Introduction to Greek Traditional Costume (Women's)'], *Ethnografika* 1 (1978): 30.

[34] Konstantina Bada, *Η αθηναϊκή γυναικεία φορεσιά κατά την περίοδο 1687-1834: Ενδυματολογική Μελέτη* [*The Athenian Women's Costume during 1687-1834: A Study of Dress Culture*], (PhD diss., Ioannina University, 1983). During the third decade of the nineteenth century, the Athenian Costume, which influenced the development of the Amalia Costume, was characterized by a short waisted dress, the *kavadi*, with rich folds from the waistline down, a tight bodice and long, wide sleeves. It has a vertical slit at the front and fastens below the bust, with buttons of silver or gold-platted wire. The wide sleeves have slits on the sides, to reveal the adornment of the chemise sleeves See, Bada, *The Athenian Women's Costume*, 55.

[35] Angeliki Chatzimihali, *Η ελληνική λαϊκή φορεσιά*, τόμ. δεύτερος [*The Greek Folk Costume*, vol. I], (Athens: Benaki Museum – Melissa, 1983), 40.

[36] The *terzides* came mostly from the alpine areas of Greece – Macedonia, Epirus, Aitoloakarnania, etc. They traveled all over the country taking on gold-embroidery work on local costumes, carrying with them, naturally, not just the tools of their trade, but also the techniques and aesthetic principles that characterized their art. This explains the uniformity of style in garments adorned with the embroidery of the *terzides*, not just in Greece but across the Balkans, since Greek *terzides* also supplied the Balkans with their work. On the embroidery art of the *terzides*, see Angeliki Chatzimichali, 'Ραπτάδες–χρυσοράπτες και καποτάδες' ['Tailors-Gold-thread Embroiderers and *Kapotades*'], in the *Memory of Manolis Triantafyllidis* (Athens, 1960), 445-475, and Popi Zora, *Embroideries and Jewellery of Greek National Costume* (Athens: Museum of Greek Folk Art, 1981).

[37] Papantoniou, *The Greek Costume*, 271.

[38] Bada, *The Athenian Women's Costume*, 46.
[39] Angeliki Chatzimichali, *Ελληνικαί Εθνικαί Ενδυμασίαι* [*Greek National Costumes*] (Athens: Benaki Museum, 1948), table 2.
[40] Papantoniou, *Η Ελληνική Ενδυμασία* [*The Greek Costume*], 48.
[41] Cornelia Stabenow, 'Ελληνική εθνική ενδυμασία της βασίλισσας' ['The Queen's Greek National Costume'], in *Athens-München*, ed. Georg Himmelheber (Munich: Museum of the City of Athens – Bavarian National Museum, 1980), 53.
[42] Ibid., 53.
[43] Penelope Papailiopoulou, 'Η Αμαλία ως αντιβασίλισσα' ['Amalia as Queen Regent'], *Efimeris ton Kirion* [Ladies' Newspaper] 739, 2 March 1903, 3.
[44] Papailiopoulou, 'Amalia as Queen,' 3.
[45] Edmond About, *Η Ελλάδα του Όθωνος. Η σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* 1854 [*Otto's Greece. Modern Greece* 1854], trans. A. Spiliou (Athens: Tolidi Publishing, n.d.), 243.
[46] The portrait belongs to the Wittelsbach family collection, in Munich (Index No. Bla 286). See in *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, ed. Marilena Kasimati (Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000), 517, image 226.
[47] The portrait belongs to the City of Athens Museum collection (index No. 681). See in *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, 533, image 241.
[48] Bouse, *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters,* vol. A,106.
[49] Ulrike von Hase-Schmundt, 'Μια προσωπογραφία της Αμαλίας, βασίλισσας της Ελλάδος, με εθνική ενδυμασία (1849)' ['A Portrait of Amalia, Queen of Greece, in National Dress'] in *The Queen Amalia* 1818-1875, trans. Stelios Lydakis (Athens: Museum of the City of Athens, 2007), 267.
[50] Chatzimichali, *The Greek Folk Costume*, 38-42.
[51] See Marilena Kasimati, ed., *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece,* 521, image 230.
[52] Ibid, 521-522.
[53] See Ulrike Von Hase-Schmundt, 'Μια προσωπογραφία της Αμαλίας'['A Portrait of Amalia'], 266.
[54] Bouse, *Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters,* vol. A,192.
[55] For Nikiforos Lytras' portrait, see Nina Athanasoglou, *Nikiforos Lytras*, (PhD diss., University of Athens, 1979), and Marilena Kasimati, ed., *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece,*519.
[56] See Kasimati, ed., *Athens – Munich*, 521.
[57] An important contribution to the social signification of objects and, by extension, clothes, is A. Appadurai's methodological approach, which identifies 'the social life of things.' See Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). In the same vein is the 'cultural biography of things,' a method proposed by I. Kopytoff, which focuses on their cultural meanings, as it approaches them as cultural constructs and as agents of cultural significance. See Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography,' 66- 68.
[58] On approaching objects as complex but flexible beings, see G. W. Stocking, ed., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).
[59] On the language of clothing and its meanings, see indicatively Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*, Oxford: Berg, 1992, Ruth Rubinstein, *Dress Codes. Meanings and Messages in American Culture* (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995), and Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in*

Colonial and Federal America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). On the same topic in Greek bibliography see Gregory Gizelis, *Η ρητορική του ενδύματος* [*The Rhetoric of Clothing*] (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1974), Konstantina Bada, 'Η "γλώσσα" του ρούχου και της ατομικής εμφάνισης στην παραδοσιακή κοινωνία'['The "Language" of Clothing and Personal Appearance in Traditional Society'], *Dodoni* 21 (1992): 181-199; Marina Vrelli-Zahou, 'Το ερωτικό, κοινωνικό και αισθητικό υπόβαθρο του ενδύματος' ['The Erotic, Social and Aesthetic Background of clothing'], in her book *Η ενδυμασία στη Ζάκυνθο μετά την Ένωση (1864-1910). Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορικότητας και της κοινωνιολογίας του ενδύματος* [*Attire in Zakynthos after the Union (1864-1910). A Contribution in the Study of the Historicity and Sociology of Clothing*] (Athens: Angeliki Chatzimichali Foundation, 2003) 53-91, as well as Nadia Macha-Bizoumi, *Τα πτυχωτά "φουστάνια" της Χίου* (16ος αι. – αρχές 20ού). *Πολυτυπία και παραλλαγές. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορικότητας των ενδυματολογικών συστημάτων του Αιγαίου* [*The Pleated "Foustania" of Chios (16th – early 20th cent). Multiple Forms and Variations. A Contribution in the Study of the Historicity of the Dress Systems of the Aegean*], (PhD diss., Democritus University of Thrace, 2011), 11-12.

[60] See Hobsbawm, 'Introduction,' 1.

[61] Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion.*

[62] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* Simmel, 'Fashion.'

[63] Nadia Macha-Bizoumi, 'Η γυναικεία σαμιακή φορεσιά. Ο μονόλογος της νεωτερικότητας στην αμφίεση μιας νησιωτικής κοινότητας (τέλη 19ου αιώνα – αρχές 20ού)' ['The Women's Costume of Samos. The Monologue of Modernity in the Attire of an Island Community (late 19th – early 20th century)'], *Samiakes Meletes* 7 (2005-2006): 609-682.

[64] Ibid., 628.

[65] Ibid., 630-632.

[66] Papantoniou Ioanna, interview with the author in Athens, on June 2012.

[67] Dragoslav Antonijevic, 'Common Elements in the Town Costume worn in Serbia and Greece in the 19th Century,' *Balkan Studies* 24 (1983): 343-353.

[68] Ibid., 345.

[69] Ibid., 343-344.

[70] Ibid., 344.

[71] Efrossini Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, 'Η Κυπριακή ενδυμασία στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα' ['Cypriot Costumes in the Late 19th Century'], in *Οι Κυπριακές Φορεσιές του Εθνικού Ιστορικού Μουσείου* [*Cypriot Costumes of the National Historical Museum*] (Athens: National Historical Museum – Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1999), 82-83.

[72] See the example of the Amalia-fied costume in Symi (Dodecanese). Athena Tarsouli, *Δωδεκάνησα* [*Dodecanese*], vol. C (Athens: I.M. Ckaziki Publishing, 1950), 284.

[73] Ibid, 56.

[74] Ibid, 57.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Antonijevic, 'Common Elements', 345.

[77] Efrossini Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, *Η αστική ενδυμασία της Κύπρου κατά τον 18ο και τον 19ο αιώνα* [*The urban costumes of Cyprus during the 18th and 19th centuries]* (Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1996), 107.

[78] Olga Fakatseli, 'Amalia Costume,' in *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, ed. Marilena Kasimati (Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000), 527-534, photograph 240.

[79] Papantoniou, *The Greek Costume*, 274.

[80] Skafidas, 'Fabricating Greekness,' 150.

[81] Papantoniou, *The Greek Costume*, 261.
[82] Nadia Macha-Bizoumi, 'The Shepherd, the Sarakatsan Woman and the Shepherd's Cape in Greek Fashion. Greek Local Costume on the Catwalk (1960-1970),' in *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*), ed. Ioanna Papantoniou (Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010), 99.
[83] 'Greek Royal Family,' last modified 20 July 2012, viewed 20 July 2012, http://www.greekroyalfamily.gr/royal-family.html.
[84] Papantoniou Ioanna, interview with the author in Athens, on June 2012.
[85] Ioanna Papantoniou, ed., *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*) (Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010), 25.
[86] Yiannis Tseklenis, 'Ελληνική "βιομηχανία" μόδας' ['The Greek Fashion "Industry"'], *Endymatologika* 1 (2000): 14.
[87] Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 174.
[88] Hobsbawm, 'Introduction,' 14.

Bibliography

About, Edmond. *Η Ελλάδα του Όθωνος. Η σύγχρονη Ελλάδα* 1854 [*Otto's Greece. Modern Greece* 1854]. Translated by A. Spiliou. Athens: Tolidi Publishing, n.d.

Aliberty, Sotiria. *Αμαλία, η Βασίλισσα της Ελλάδος* [*Amalia, the Queen of Greece*]. Athens, Tarousopoulou Publishing, 1896.

Antonijevic, Dragoslav. 'Common Elements in the Town Costume Worn in Serbia and Greece in the 19th Century.' *Balkan Studies* 24 (1983): 343-353.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Athanasoglou, Nina. *Nikiforos Lytras.* PhD diss., University of Athens, 1979.

Bada, Konstantina. *Η αθηναϊκή γυναικεία φορεσιά κατά την περίοδο 1687-1834. Ενδυματολογική Μελέτη* [*The Athenian Women's Costume during 1687-1834. A Study of Dress Culture*]. PhD diss., Ioannina University, 1983.

———. 'Η "γλώσσα" του ρούχου και της ατομικής εμφάνισης στην παραδοσιακή κοινωνία' ['The "Language" of Clothing and Personal Appearance in Traditional Society']. *Dodoni*, 21 (1992): 181-199.

———. 'Η παράδοση στη διαδικασία της ιστορικής διαπραγμάτευσης της εθνικής και τοπικής ταυτότητας. Η περίπτωση της φουστανέλας' ['Tradition in the Process of Historical Negotiation of National and Local Identity: The Case of the Foustanella']. *Ethnologia* 4 (1995): 127-150.

———. 'Πανεπιστημιακά Μουσεία και συλλογές του λαϊκού πολιτισμού: Το παράδειγμα του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων' ['University Museums and Folk Culture Collections: The Example of the University of Ioannina']. *Ethnografika* 12-13 (2003): 147-149.

Barnes, Ruth, and Joanne B. Eicher. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*. Oxford: Berg, 1992.

Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Baumstark, Reinhold. Όθωνας και Αμαλία: Η μοναρχική παρουσία' ['Otto and Amalia: The Monarchic Presence']. In *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, edited by Marilena Kasimati, 514-516. Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000.

Bouse, Vana and Michael Bouse. μεταγραφή, εισαγωγή, μετάφραση, σημειώσεις [transcription, introduction, translation, notes]. *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον πατέρα της*, 1836-1853, τόμ. Α΄ [*Queen Amalia's Unpublished Letters to her Father,* 1836-1853, vol. A]. Athens: Estia, 2011.

Chatzimichali Angeliki, *Ελληνικαί Εθνικαί Ενδυμασίαι* [*Greek National Costumes*]. Athens: Benaki Museum, 1948, table 2.

———. 'Ραπτάδες–χρυσοράπτες και καποτάδες' ['Tailors-Gold-Thread Embroiderers and *Kapotades*']. In the *Memory of Manolis Triantafyllidis*. Athens, 1960, 445-475.

———. *Η ελληνική λαϊκή φορεσιά*, τόμ. δεύτερος [*The Greek Folk Costume*, vol. I]. Athens: Benaki Museum – Melissa, 1983.

Christodoulou, Despina. 'Ελληνορράπται και Biedermeier: Η φουστανέλα του Όθωνα και η στολή της Αμαλίας' ['Greek Tailors and Biedermeier: Otto's Fustanella and Amalia's Costume']. *Archaiologia* 84 (2002): 34.

Doyle, Robert. 'Masculine Dress: The Englishman's Suit versus The Scotsman's Kilt.' In *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*), edited by Ioanna Papantoniou, 87-93. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010.

Eicher, Joanne B. and Barbara Sumberg. 'World Fashion, Ethnic, and National Dress.' In *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*, edited by Joanne B. Eicher, 295-306. Oxford: Berg, 1995.

Fakatseli, Olga. 'Οι κυρίες της Αυλής' ['The Ladies of the Court']. In *Athens – Munich. Art and Culture in the New Greece*, edited by Marilena Kasimati, 537-538, 540-548. Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000.

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Translated by Dora Lafazani. Athens: Alexandria Publications, 1992.

Gizelis, Gregory. *Η ρητορική του ενδύματος* [*The Rhetoric of Clothing*]. Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 1974.

Hase-Schmundt, Ulrike von. 'Μια προσωπογραφία της Αμαλίας, βασίλισσας της Ελλάδος, με εθνική ενδυμασία (1849)'['A Portrait of Amalia, Queen of Greece, in National Dress (1849)']. In *The Queen Amalia* 1818-1875, 257-268. Translated by Stelios Lydakis. Athens: Museum of the City of Athens, 2007.

Hobsbawm, Eric. *National and Nationalism since 1780*: *Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

———. 'Introduction' to *The Invention of Tradition*, by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, 1-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kasimati, Marilena, ed. *Athens – Munich*. Athens: National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, 2000.

Kopytoff, Igor. 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commodization as Process.' In *The Social Life of Things*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 64-94. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Lipovetsky, Gilles. *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*. Translated by Catherine Porter. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Lurie, Alison. *The Language of Clothes*. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Macha-Bizoumi, Nadia. 'Η γυναικεία σαμιακή φορεσιά. Ο μονόλογος της νεωτερικότητας στην αμφίεση μιας νησιωτικής κοινότητας (τέλη 19ου αιώνα – αρχές 20ού)' ['The Women's Costume of Samos. The Monologue of Modernity in the Attire of an Island Community (late 19th – early 20th century)']. *Samiakes Meletes* 7 (2005-2006): 609-682.

———. 'The Shepherd, the Sarakatsan Woman and the Shepherd's Cape in Greek Fashion: Greek Local Costume on the Catwalk (1960-1970).' In *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*), edited by Ioanna Papantoniou, 99-107. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010.

———.Τα *πτυχωτά 'φουστάνια' της Χίου (16ος αι. – αρχές 20ού). Πολυτυπία και παραλλαγές. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορικότητας των ενδυματολογικών συστημάτων του Αιγαίου*. [*The Pleated 'Foustania' of Chios (16th - early 20th cent). Multiple Forms and Variations: A Contribution in the Study of the Historicity of the Dress Systems of the Aegean*]. PhD diss., Democritus University of Thrace, 2011.

Papailiopoulou, Penelope. 'Η Αμαλία ως αντιβασίλισσα' ['Amalia as Queen Regent']. *Efimeris ton Kirion* [Ladies' Newspaper] 739, 2 March 1903, 2-4.

Papantoniou, Ioanna. 'Συμβολή στη μελέτη της γυναικείας ελληνικής παραδοσιακής φορεσιάς' ['A First Attempt at an Introduction to Greek Traditional Costume (Women's)']. E*thnografika* 1 (1978): 5-92.

———. *Greek Regional Costumes*. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 1996.

———. '...And We Donned Frankish Attire.' In the *Athenian Fashions at the Turn of the 19th Century*, edited by Dionyssis Fotopoulos, 47-52. Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1999.

———. *Η Ελληνική Ενδυμασία από την αρχαιότητα ως τις αρχές του 20ού αιώνα* [*The Greek Costume from Antiquity to the Early 20th Century*]. Athens: Emboriki Bank of Greece, 2000.

———. ed. *Endyesthai* (*To Dress*), 15-27. Nafplion: Peloponnesian Folklore Foundation, 2010.

Petropoulos, John Anthony. *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece 1833-1843*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Polhemus, Ted. 'What to Wear in the Global Village?' In *Global Fashion, Local Tradition – On the Globalization of Fashion*, edited by Jan Brand and José Teunissen, 83-95. Utrecht: Terra, 2005.

Rizopoulou-Igoumenidou, Efrossini. *Η αστική ενδυμασία της Κύπρου κατά τον 18ο και τον 19ο αιώνα* [*The Urban Costumes of Cyprus during the 18th and 19th Century]*. Λευκωσία: Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Τραπέζης Κύπρου [Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation], 1996.

———. 'Η Κυπριακή ενδυμασία στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα' ['Cypriot Costumes in the Late 19th century']. In the *Οι Κυπριακές Φορεσιές του Εθνικού Ιστορικού Μουσείου* [*Cypriot Costumes of the National Historical Museum],* 50-79. Athens: National Historical Museum – Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, 1999.

Rubinstein, Ruth. *Dress Codes: Meanings and Messages in American Culture.* Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1995.

Simmel, Georg. 'Fashion.' *International Quarterly* 10 (1904): 130-155.

Skafidas, Michael. 'Fabricating Greekness: From Fustanella to the Glossy Page.' In *The Fabric of Cultures: Fashion, Identity, and Globalization*, edited by Eugenia Paulicelli and Hazel Clark, 145-163. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.

Skopetea, Elli. *Το 'Πρότυπο Βασίλειο' και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα. Όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στη Ελλάδα* (1830-1880) [*The 'Model Kingdom' and the Grand Idea. Perspectives on the National Problem in Greece* (1830-1880)]. Athens: Polytypo, 1988.

Stabenow, Cornelia. 'Ελληνική εθνική ενδυμασία της βασίλισσας' ['The Queen's Greek National Costume']. In *Athens-München*, edited by Georg Himmelheber, 52-57. Munich: Museum of the City of Athens – Bavarian National Museum, 1980.

Stocking, G. W., ed. *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

Tarlo, Emma. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Tarrant, Naomi E. A. 'Why Don't the English have a Folk Dress?' *Ethnografika* 4-5 (1983-1985): 7-10.

Tarsouli, Athena. *Δωδεκάνησα* [*Dodecanese*], vol. C, 284. Athens: I.M. Ckaziki Publishing, 1950.

Trevor-Roper, Hugh. 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland.' In *The Invention of Tradition*, edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, 15-41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tseklenis, Yiannis. 'Ελληνική 'βιομηχανία' μόδας' ['The Greek Fashion "Industry"']. *Endymatologika* 1 (2000): 11-16.

Tsoukalas, Konstantinos. 'Παράδοση και εκσυγχρονισμός: μερικά γενικότερα ερωτήματα' ['Tradition and Modernization: Some General Questions']. In *Ελληνισμός, Ελληνικότητα: ιδεολογικοί και βιωματικοί άξονες της νεοελληνικής κοινωνίας* [*Hellenism, Greekness: Ideological and Experiential Axes of Modern Greek Society*], edited by Dimitris G. Tsaoussis. Athens, Estia: 1983.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899.

Vrelli-Zahou, Marina. 'Το ερωτικό, κοινωνικό και αισθητικό υπόβαθρο του ενδύματος' ['The Erotic, Social and Aesthetic Background of Clothing']. In *Η ενδυμασία στη Ζάκυνθο μετά την Ένωση (1864-1910). Συμβολή στη μελέτη της ιστορικότητας και της κοινωνιολογίας του ενδύματος* [*Attire in Zakynthos after the Union (1864-1910). A Contribution in the Study of the Historicity and Sociology of Clothing*]. Athens: Angeliki Chatzimichali Foundation, 2003.

Welters, Linda. 'Ethnicity in Greek Dress.' In *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time*, edited by Joanne B. Eicher, 53-77. Oxford: Berg, 1995.

Zora, Popi. *Embroideries and Jewellery of Greek National Costume*. Athens: Museum of Greek Folk Art, 1981.

Interview

Papantoniou, Ioanna (2012), interview with the author, Athens, Greece, June.

Nadia Macha-Bizoumi, PhD, read History and Archaeology at Ioannina University and was awarded a doctorate in Folklore Studies at the Department of History and Ethnology, Democritus University of Thrace, Greece (2011). In 2006 she completed a course in Museum Science at the Hellenic American Educational Foundation. She has taken part in research projects related to the recording, documenting and digitizing of museum-type costume collections and acted as a costume consultant/contributor for many exhibitions in Greece. She is a member of the Board of the Hellenic Costume Society, and a member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and of the Greek Folklore Society.