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Modern Greece embraced the new Western European approach to dress and culture through the industrialisation of textiles. The new technology of the sewing machine and paper pattern were adopted with great enthusiasm to show the rest of Europe that Greece was part of Western Europe. At the same time Western Europe became enamoured with Greek *kendimata*, which were highly sought after in the western world. Greece straddled the mixed messages of a newly industrialised country forming its national European identity alongside the tradition of *kendimata* as an essential part of its national cultural heritage.

During the first half of the nineteenth century Greece was still an agricultural society; however, the formation of the Modern Greek state brought with it many significant changes to this way of life. Greece now sought to find a place in modern society and turned its focus to Western Europe and the growth of its urban lifestyle. Along with the desire for Greece to be seen as part of Western Europe came the urgent need for it to adopt important aspects of western culture, such as European dress and manners. The bourgeoisie had already been exposed to, and embraced, western dress which was increasingly worn for social occasions. But modern Greece sought the expansion of western dress to the majority of society, not just the elite. This, in turn, required the establishment of an industry to enable the level of mass production required to provide the appropriate dress for the population at large. The transition from an agricultural society to an industrialised society was a very slow process over a lengthy period of time.

Village life was the lifeblood for most of the population and with customs and values that had been maintained for generations. The craft making skills of women were very significant to maintaining village life. Sewing, weaving, dyeing, lace making and

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1 The Greek term Kendimata is the term used throughout the paper because it refers to embroidery but holds a much broader concept of handicraft work than a straight translation to English will allow.
embroidering all played a major role in maintaining the family home, and *kendimata* were recognised as part of the national cultural heritage of Greece. Alongside the need for modern Greece to embrace the new technology was also the desire to maintain and showcase this significant part of its cultural heritage to Western Europe. This balancing act was achieved by embracing new technological methods of producing *kendimata* alongside traditional handiwork methods.

**Technology and “Frankish” dress**

The modernisation of Greece was lagging behind industrialised countries such as England. The mechanisation of the textile industry was one of the most important changes in history. The mass production of textiles in England had a life changing effect on so many lives, from the fortunes that were made to the manner in which, and where, ordinary folk lived and worked (Postrel, 2015:3). Greece too now sought to provide similar opportunities for working folk within its own emerging textile industry. At the same time as industrialisation was developing in Greece, Western European clothing was slowly being imported, exposing the population at large to a variety of clothing styles previously unknown or attainable to the masses.

The adoption of western dress also meant adapting to other forms of European mannerisms and culture. The correct way to dress was equally as important as owning Western European clothing. Thus consumption of the latest European fashions ensured that Athens, the capital of Greece, was seen to be as modern as the rest of the fashionable capitals of Europe, namely Paris and London. This gradually led to the change from traditional clothing to European dress throughout Greece, although this transition was by no means uniform.

In Athens folk had started to wear fashionable European dress, *Frankish* dress as it was called, from the early part of the nineteenth century (Papantoniou, 1999: 47). But there were very significant differences in adjustment to “Frankish” clothing between the urban and country areas, from island to island as well as between different social groups.

In Attica dress remained much the same until the beginning of the twentieth century. Papantoniou claims that during this period:

> Attic dress is found in the same combination but with different ornamentation throughout almost the whole of Greece, especially in the Peloponnisos, the mainland and Evia, and in island villages whether the area was populated by Albanians or Greeks. (Papantoniou, 1999:47–52)

An unusual example of retaining traditional dress was discovered through Welters field research. She found evidence of a minute number of women in the Euboean village of Aghia Anna still wearing traditional dress on a daily basis in the 1990s (Welters, 1992:34). This is, of course, an extreme example of the pace at which the transition to acceptance of Frankish dress took place. Roupa comments that by
towards the end of the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie were fully accepting of 
western fashion. The Greek newspapers fully cognizant of British and French fashion 
trends which were emulated in Greece (Roupa, 2002:7).

The urbane man of Athens was just as interested in fashion as his female com-
panion; and, as in Britain, there was a Greek version of the dandy. Roupa notes that 
with this particular trend the adoption of European culture and fashion was anything 
but trivial. She observes that:

His presence in a society where the male culture is macho and avoids such ‘frivoli-
ties’, is a vivid demonstration of the importance attributed by an ever greater part of 
Athenian society to the well groomed look which complied with the latest fashion 
trends. (Roupa, 2002:7)

The importance of fashionable western attire for both men and women can be 
seen in many of the photos taken at the time. Charilaos Trikoupis (1832–1896) was 
appointed prime minister of Greece on more than one occasion, and was, therefore, 
a well known public figure, and can be seen in photos looking every bit the dapper 
gentleman wearing the latest fashionable European dress and top hat. Trikoupis was 
known for his attempt to establish programmes to modernise Greece along Western 
European lines and to be dressed in the latest western fashion was indicative of his 
commitment to present a modern image of Greece to his European counterparts 
(Fotopoulos, 1999:178, plate 237).

Wedding attire: East, West, or both?

The evolution of clothing being worn in Greece by the latter part of the nineteenth 
century and the early twentieth century can often be best witnessed at special occa-
sions such as weddings, where photos provide testimony to this transition, with 
both traditional and European clothes being worn by families and guests. Photos 
from historical archives show a wedding party at Mesogeia, Attica region, taken 
circa 1910 where the bride and groom are in traditional Attica dress along with 
most other people in attendance at the wedding (Fotopoulos, 1999:231, plate 327). 
Twelve years earlier we can observe another wedding photo of a bride and groom in 
the latest European clothing in 1898. The bride is dressed in a heavy white silk dress 
featuring pearls and white embroidery. The outfit is completed with a long white veil 
(Fotopoulos, 1999:237, plate 338).

In examining historical photos such as this it is always relevant, if possible, to 
note the part of Greece that those photographed came from, as well as their place 
in society. Some parts of Greece were obviously far more affluent than others, as 
were individuals. Also, those embracing an urban lifestyle in Athens were far more 
likely to welcome Frankish dress than those still entrenched in a largely agricultural 
lifestyle which required hard outdoor physical work not best suited to some styles 
of urban style dress, even if it was affordable. Dated photographs such as these 
two examples are invaluable for their sociological and historical statements. The
transition from traditional folk dress to Western European attire was anything but linear for the country as a whole.

Welters indicates that in some parts of Greece such as Euboea, peasant life was very hard and economic survival was reliant on agricultural work fitting to the rhythm of the land in response to the seasons. Tradition was important to the maintenance of peasant life, and so change did not come about quickly. Dress was but one example of slow change in such societies. Welters describes why it was that Greek-Albanians in Southern Euboea for a long period of time did not have a rich folk costume tradition like in some other more affluent parts of Greece. She says:

> These people were and still are poor. The land they dwell on is poor farming and grazing land, providing barely enough to feed its inhabitants. To have a folk costume tradition, a peasant society must have the financial means to acquire speciality fabrics and embroidery threads to make costumes. The Greek-Albanians in Southern Euboea were not able to afford these items, nor could they purchase the heavy jewellery and gilded coins which were important components of Greek folk costumes. The traditional clothing seen in their trunks were plain skirts and blouses hand-woven checked and striped fabrics. The difference between a single woman and a married woman was conveyed merely through the colour of a cotton scarf. (Walters, 1992:33)

Welters research highlights the disparity between urban and regional areas in accepting Frankish dress and importantly demonstrates the economic impact on traditional costume and dress within different regions. Her description of some traditional dress that was devoid of any signs of wealth, which nevertheless still indicated the status of a woman through the simple designation of specific colours of head scarves, confirms the economic impact of some traditional costumes. No matter how little finances a woman had, it was still essential in village life to be able to identify the status of a woman through this visual statement. The urbane life of women in Athens was completely foreign to these women. Tourists visiting some parts of Greece such as Attica in the 1970s observed women working on the land still wearing the style of simple dress described by Welters. A rapid shift for Greece to move from an agricultural society to a modern industrial society clearly did not occur at the pace some would have hoped for.

**Women’s magazines, paper patterns and the promotion of fashion**

The newly industrialised countries whether in America, Australia, Western Europe or Modern Greece, all established women’s magazines as the ideal way to promote the consumption of clothes through “fashion”, the white bridal outfit being foremost in popularity. The American periodical, the *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, was highly influential with its female readers in the United States and beyond. In 1849, *Godey’s* comments on the bridal dress were quite directive as to colour and its significance. It was said:
Custom has decided, from the earliest ages, that tint white is the most fitting hue, whatever may be the material, It is an emblem of the purity and innocence of girlhood, and the unsullied heart she now yields to the chosen one. (Fogg, 2011:12)

Statements such as this were highly influential for many young women who wished to achieve the desired look for their wedding day. If this was the way to dress for weddings in modern Europe, then this was also what was now appropriate for modern Greece.

Other American periodicals such as the Ladies’ Home Journal reported all the details of society weddings to readers who were keen to have their own wedding dress of a similar style, and were able to purchase ready-made wedding dresses or sew one themselves by purchasing one of the latest dressmaking paper patterns (Fogg, 2011:12). The advent of the humble paper pattern brought fashionable clothes within the reach of the masses. Clothes could be made at home that looked very like the ones in the latest magazines.

Ladies periodicals from America, England and France (some of which included paper patterns) all made their way to Greece or were similarly produced in content and layout locally. To that end Greece claimed its own ladies magazines such as Elegant Penelope which in 1909 had very similar description to that in the Godey’s Lady’s Book in 1849 on how the bride should be dressed completely in white, and included extensive details of all accessories to be worn from head to toe to complete the outfit for the modish Greek woman (Fotopoulos, 1999:226).

The format for reporting on bridal wear which was de rigeur was now firmly established. The modern bridal outfit was subject to seasonal change and to keep up with the latest fashion ensured the purchase of the latest ladies magazines, paper patterns to make the garments, and the ability to either sew or buy all the necessary bibs and bobs to complete the outfit.

This was in sharp contrast to the traditional folk costume where dress remained unchanged from year to year and the sameness of the visual story revealed through dress was all important. Symbolism in folk dress could include the portrayal of wealth with the wearing of coins draped across the bodice. Other jewellery could be in the form of headdress, rings and bracelets. Protection from the evil eye, fertility symbols and good luck wishes were embroidered on the dress and often carried with them an amuletic role (Paine, 2004:36). Traditional dress varied from village to village making the village identity of the bride one that was easily recognised, and reinforced the custom and culture of village life. The modern bridal outfit was devoid of all such localisation of identity and represented a connection with European society at large, it conveyed a dress statement which said: “I am a modern western woman”.

Very wealthy Greeks made personal trips to England and France to obtain the latest fashions in clothing and interior decoration for the home.

Queen Amalia, the first queen of Greece, devised a national “traditional” costume for women, but it was not her own choice of dress. Macha-Bizoumi points out that
it is well documented that Queen Amalia very much embraced Western European fashion. She says:

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 the Amalia costume. 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. (Macha-Bizoumi, 2012:72)

The desire to keep up with what was new in Western European clothing was actively cultivated by women’s journals and the provision of the readily accessible paper patterns. Even in far-flung Australia, the fashionable lady looked to Europe for the latest fashion trends. The mechanisation of sewing also had a life transforming impact for so many women. The Singer sewing machine had arrived in Australia during the 1850s (not long after it had its patent in the USA) and in the latter part of the 19th century, Butterick and Weigel’s paper patterns were also available (Barnard, 2015:60).

Along with fashion reports from Australian newspapers and magazines, many Australian women, like their Greek counterparts, eagerly awaited the English and Paris ladies journals to arrive (Barnard, 2015:50–51).

Both the United States and Australia had developed textile industries before Modern Greece, but the impact of the home sewing machine, the paper dressmaking pattern and women’s magazines on all these “newly industrialised countries” brought the world of high fashion to their shores and changed forever affordable access to a large percentage of the population.

In the late nineteenth century, England was well established as a world empire with a strong industrial market and a sufficient middle class of women with the means to purchase the latest styles of clothing. The textile industry had found its mark in the modern world. As Mulvey and Richards point out:

In England the economy was prospering, enjoying the double advantage of an established world Empire, and an industrial market which continued to diversify. There was a full quota of middle class buyers and, as they became more prosperous, women were targeted for sales. (Mulvey & Richards, 1998:11)

Paris, however, continued to be the epicentre of fashion, the only place to go in Europe for European royalty and the aristocracy. Those wealthy enough in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century would be dressed by Charles Worth from his Paris salon where he specialised in “lush clothes in velvets, rich with embroidery” (Mulvey & Richards, 1998:16). To be dressed by Worth signified just how wealthy you were.
Industry, the merchant class and the arrival of fashion in Greece

Greek merchants, with their skill in trade and the exchanging of ideas, formed the basis of promoting Greece’s emerging textile industry. Greece in return held a particular interest for philhellenes in both Britain and France and the focus on Greece by these countries during this time was considerable. Thus the promotion of fashion in textile and clothing design was mutually advantageous between countries during this period of industrial development. An expanded merchant class was all that was needed for Modern Greece to promote the emerging production and consumption of textiles and clothes. Yiakoumaki-Moraiti indicates how skilled Greek travelling merchants were in promoting the new textile fashion industry. She comments that:

The new politico-economic adjustments that occurred in the middle of the 19th century brought into being classes of Greek merchants who travelled and set themselves up in business in cities of Russia, Romania and Egypt and in Constantinople and Smyrna. Men from the islands, especially such as Ionian Islands and Mytilene which had commercial dealings with other countries, travelled abroad and copied the urban dress of Europe, the European vogue. (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti, 1999:472)

Let us not underestimate the role of these men from the islands who were exposed through travel to what was new and exciting abroad in bringing home news and samples of the latest fashion from foreign shores. For the urbane women in modern Greece, the more modern one appeared to be, the better. This extended to all aspects of one’s life and was actively encouraged as part of the portrayal of a modern European society. Yiakoumaki-Moraiti’s comments on the particular islands that especially benefited from the commercial dealings of travelling merchants highlights well how much diversity there would be in the availability and the ready acceptance of western culture and dress.

Yiakoumaki-Moraiti further explains that in Athens especially, the new urban classes sought to keep up with the latest fashions in clothes and manners in Europe. She identifies a number of publications on advising how to conduct oneself appropriately in the new era and indicates that they were extremely popular. Titles such as The Hostess Guide, The Guide to Good Behaviour, and How May I please in Order to Be Loved by Baroness de Staf, were all highly sought after. The titles themselves indicate the emphasis these publications would place on a changing culture of social behaviour in the modern world (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti, 1999:474).

Small family business and Greek entrepreneurs

As in other established industrialised countries, many small family businesses were set up to serve the new fashion industry. Small business flourished with specialists producing particular accessories for fashionable dress and the fashionable home. A glance at the dress of the fashionable man or woman from the mid-nineteenth
century onwards indicated an extensive range of accessories for Frankish dress which included gloves, belts, hats, stockings, umbrellas and walking sticks as well as particular styles of jewellery. All were needed to complete the outfit and were produced locally in Greece to provide the complete fashion look. And of course, a number of these accessories would be more or less popular according to the changing season and clothing style, making the possibility of a thriving small manufacturing business for many families. As was the case in other newly industrialised countries, other small business developed in the form of commercial haberdashery stores established to sell these items.

Underpinning all of this support for Frankish dress was the need to have as wide a skill base as possible to create the modern European Greek dress. Papantoniou informs us that this came about in the form of newly established schools where both men and women were trained in the complete process of the art of tailoring and dressmaking (Papantoniou, 1999:50).

Alongside the growth of newly skilled men and women came the addition of the domestic sewing machine and that, with the new dressmaker paper patterns, provided all that was necessary for modern Greece to present a nation of Frankish dressers, a clear signifier that it was part of the Western world.

The sewing machine comes to Greece

Sewing machines were advertised in the Greek press as early as 1874, twenty-four years later than Australia and the USA and by around 1900 they were being used in the Greek villages in the rural areas. Sewing machines provided a roaring trade around the villages for merchants who both sold, maintained and repaired them in the villages (Papantoniou, 1999:49).

Queen Olga, the reigning second Queen of Greece during the late 19th century, ensured that the sewing machine was widely distributed to poor young women in Greece as a means for them to make ends meet. It became common for some women to refer to the sewing machine as “the Olga” (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti, 1999:481). There was a clear message being sent to the general population regarding the importance of participating in the process of “modernising Greece”. The humble sewing machine played a very significant role in this process, for as Roupa suggests: Nationalism was fully identified with internationalism, since the aim was the progress of the country (Roupa, 2002:9).

With Frankish dress being actively encouraged as appropriate wear for the new nation, the sewing machine was crucial to this advancement. Clothing in the new style could be produced quickly just as easily in one of the small villages as in larger sewing factories in Athens. The sewing machine brought agricultural Greece into industrialised Greece.

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2 For an overview of the necessary fashionable accessories at the time see Yarwood (1978) The Illustrated Encyclopedia of World Costume, and Fogg (2013) Fashion the Whole Story (especially chapter 3).
Advertisements in the printed postcard for sewing machines such as the Singer and Notman sewing machines are unmistakably nationalistic in their message. One postcard for a Singer advertisement features a woman in traditional dress sitting at a Singer treadle sewing machine stitching the Greek flag. A young boy dressed in fustanella, (presumably the son) stands by the side of the sewing machine, dutifully holding the drapes of the flag as it unfolds on the floor as the mother continues to stitch. This presents a highly nationalistic image of the old incorporating the new, with both mother and son embracing the modernising of Greece through the use of the sewing machine (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti, 1999:480, plate 753).

The Notman advertisement presents a woman crowning the sewing machine as if it is a victor in games. The woman is like a female Hermes bringing a message and crowning the machine as if it has won the games in the ancient world. The sewing machine is presented as a winner for Greece. What greater incentive to own a sewing machine than to help the nation modernise! (Yiakoumaki-Moraiti, 1999:481, plate 754)

This move to industrial use of the sewing machine and the adoption of Frankish dress, of course, did not mean the end of the significance or role that traditional dress continued to play especially for ceremonial occasions. Greek National day is still supported today in a celebratory manner which includes the donning of the folk costume created by the first queen of Greece. The Amalia dress, as it is commonly called, can be seen on many Greek young girls in any number of countries being worn on this special day. Greek young boys are also seen in a version of traditional costume.

The sewing machine, women’s magazines and the dressmaker pattern

By the mid-nineteenth century, Athens had published a family magazine called *Efterpi* which introduced readers to the latest Parisian fashion garments (Roupa, 2002:5). This was to become the trend with other journals to follow. These journals provided a way to instil a desire within the population to have the latest Frankish dress that was being worn in other parts of Europe. With ready access to fashions from Paris, the perceived cultural capital of the Western world, and the latest in fabric designs and the paper dress pattern, there opened up a world of change.

Although the very earliest tailor’s patterns first appeared in a book published in 1580 featuring the work of Juan de Alcega, it was in 1776 that Diderot’s *L'Encyclopédie Diderot et D'Alembert: Arts de l’habillement* produced manuals with full-sized patterns and pattern drafts written for charitable ladies sewing for the poor (Emery, 1999:236). These paper patterns assumingly would have been of an uncomplicated design to be constructed from sturdy cloth given that they would have been made by hand for the poor. The mass of paper patterns produced with the introduction of industrialisation changed forever the availability and complexity of making clothes. Clothing patterns for the whole family were affordable to many members of society. The range
of sizes and styles also meant that the paper patterns could be shared among groups of people both in villages and urban areas throughout the modern world.

The textile industry developed alongside the mass production of paper patterns, the advertising of fashion, and the means to obtain access to these ideas through fashion magazines. With so much support available to the seamstress, tailors and home dressmakers, the sewing machine completed the reality of bringing fashionable dress to modern Greece.

The significance of these changes has been an ongoing one for the industrialised world. In the United States two of the pattern companies formed in the later part of the nineteenth century, Butterick and McCalls, still operate today and still provide the same opportunity for all to access the latest fashions. These patterns are also widely available in Australia. Greece also continues to make use of a variety of European paper pattern companies such as Burda.

**Kendimata and industrialisation**

Industrialisation further changed the production of domestic craft in very significant ways for Greek women. In the villages, it had long been the practice to share ideas for embroidery designs. The oral tradition of the “show and tell” method, where women would discuss with each other how to make a particular embroidery pattern and demonstrate the stitch, was the time honoured method used for centuries. This approach also ensured that many specific embroidery designs remained as identifiable to particular villages or regions, as there was no need to go beyond the skills and shared knowledge of the women in the village. Embroidery work such as that exhibited on the folk costume of Attica is one such example. The heavily embroidered design on the skirt base of the sleeveless shift of the Attika folk costume is very readily identified as the regional style.

The mass production of paper patterns exposed women in the numerous small villages to new patterns and designs, not only for dress but all aspects of domestic life where textiles were featured. Ideas for décor and the latest fashions in style were all presented in the women’s magazines to ensure they were widely available and individual paper patterns made available for purchase. Roupa notes the comments of a French traveller in Greece during 1857–58 who noticed the shift in focus of work that craftspeople were undertaking. There was much more emphasis on those working in the French fashion approach than those working in the traditional style. (Roupa, 2002:6).

Papantoniou describes how these influences changed the way women made and decorated clothing and textiles for the home:

Embroidery motifs were being copied from patterns imported from the west. Roses, forget-me-nots and edelweiss pre-dominated. Stitches were restricted to the raised and cross-stitch and occasionally chain stitch made with ‘degrade’ thread. A new embroidery technique was ‘cut’ embroidery applied to household linen and also to
clothing in association with entre-deux, machine-made linking lace work on linen, veiling, fine calico, percale (a fine cotton cloth) and cotton muslin... Bobbin lace was increasingly favoured for handmade lace as well as lace ‘frivolite’, replacing bibila (lace-edging) made with a needle, literally ‘in the air’. Of particular interest is that Papantoniou also notes that crochet was a new technique which came to Greece during this period. (Papantoniou, 1999:50)

Crochet, which originates from the French word for hook, became very popular as a craft during the nineteenth century. It was a highly transportable craft which only required a crochet hook and some yarn to work with to create numerous items by looping the yarn into various patterns (Gillow & Sentence, 2006:47). The rapid spread of the exchange of new ideas demonstrates that alongside mechanised ways of creating work which would have previously been made by hand, craft work still had a significant role to play.

Crochet was very readily adopted by many Greek women, and it is now often seen as part of Greek heritage. It is quite common today to see in tourist advertising a woman representing a yaya (grandmother) sitting with her women friends outside in a village setting, all crocheting some object, yet according to Ruthie Marks of the Crochet Guild of America, crochet, as we now know it was developed in both France and England during the sixteenth century (Marks, 1997). Crochet had become popular in Australia and the United States in the first part of the nineteenth century with Irish migrants bringing their technique of crochet with them. According to Isaacs, cotton thread used for crochet was widely available in Australia from the 1840s (Isaacs, 1997:110).

Again we see the rapid transfer of ideas for dress and the home through magazines of the day and paper patterns to ensure that skills using both the machine and handcraft skills such as crochet, could be easily absorbed into Greek culture. But for Greece, France was still the main country to which it turned for ideas on what was modern and fashionable. This is readily apparent when we see how French words were absorbed into the Greek language to describe various aspects of kendimata. The Sevres, DMC thread and so forth are French words commonly used today to describe such items as a table runner and embroidery thread.

On the face of it, this may not seem to be so very significant. However, the influence of western Europe (especially France), had already begun to make inroads to the essential connection between the role of kendimata and the dowry in Greece.

The production of skilled kendimata had always been connected with the dowry. The young bride to be was expected to have a “showing” of her hand embroidery where people in the village would come to admire her making and decorative skills which would in part demonstrate her abilities as a good wife and competent home manager. The change in style of clothing and the accessories needed, saw some very traditional skills such as bebilla, a type of delicate edging often featured on small mats, table runners and clothing garments, being replaced by bobbin lace, a much faster way of producing edging for many textiles. Although there are still
women today who can produce *bebilla*, this highly skilled work is somewhat of a rarity these days.

Items for the dowry in the newly industrialised modern Greece may well have featured some items for the home produced by hand in the traditional manner along with those made on a sewing machine.

**A modern Greece with “modern embroidery designs”:**
**Britain and America, in turn, embrace traditional kendimata designs**

As Greece embraced the culture and fashion of Europe, parts of Europe, especially Britain, became enamoured with what was considered traditional Greek design in *kendimata*. This was due in part to the interest in handcraft generated by The Arts and Crafts Movement (1880–1910). Proponents of this movement such as William Morris incorporated design elements from Greece in some of his domestic textiles (Menz, 2002).

The Arts and Crafts movement in Britain also made its mark in the United States. The popular *American Ladies Home Journal* in September 1895 featured an article by Helen Mar Adams where she explored the use of Greek embroidery designs where she emphasised how such classic designs as the Greek meander, which she refers to as the “Greek fret” was ideal for use as a border on table covers or scarves. The design was considered to be easy to execute in embroidery and clearly very fashionable at the time (Adams, 1895:9).

Greek embroidery was of continuing interest over the next few years, and due to the significant number of Greek refugees from Thessaly fleeing the Turkish war against Greece in 1897, a large number of these women found themselves able to produce quality handcraft through the Royal School of Embroideries in Athens. Lady Egerton, the wife of the British Minister, was based in Athens and established the embroidery industry. As part of this new industry, she also set up a store in Athens to sell the goods to tourists. Miller reports, in 1905, of just how successful Lady Egerton’s enterprise had become:

> One day a lady bought a belt made at the school, which she thought was the dernier cri; she was surprised to learn that the design had been copied from one of the objects unearthed by Mr Evans at prehistoric Knossos. The school has a shop in Athens for the sale of its art work, and during the tourist season its business is very brisk; it also has an agent in Cairo, and Liberty has undertaken the sale of its products in London. (William, 1905:272)

Clearly, the enterprising Lady Egerton had ensured that the exposure to Greek embroidery featuring “traditional designs” was widespread, reaching a number of countries, thus ensuring ongoing work for the numbers of young women attending the Royal School of Embroidery. Anna Bowman Dodd wrote a detailed article

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for *The Century Magazine* in 1906 where she included a number of photographs of household cushions featuring traditional designs from the Byzantine period as well as designs from specific parts of Greece such as a cushion featuring a design from the Island of Naxos. What is interesting is Dodd’s perceptions of the skill of the young women trained to produce the embroidered work. She comments:

> Here was a whole roomful of children and young growing girls whose skill and ease in their work was no less astonishing than were those of the more mature young women, whose own embroideries had a sharpness of edge that was remarkable. Other factors than those of practice and habit were to be looked for to account for such accuracy and lightness of touch. These embroideries exhibited an instinct and a colour sense which only the Far East appears to have preserved as a heritage from antiquity. (Dodd, 1906:123)

The innate heritage that Dodd refers to is the heritage that had been reinvigorated by Lady Egerton with her undertaking of the study of embroidery techniques and designs suitable for a market of European consumers many of whom would have been greatly influenced by the philhellenes of the period.

Dodd further comments on the depth of research undertaken by Lady Egerton to assist the young embroiderers in the production of work which was highly saleable for an international market. She says for the fullness of the exercise Lady Egerton “undertook a systemic study of classic designs, of lost and forgotten stitches, of antique lace, and of the modern art of lace-making. She went to Constantinople to study Byzantine models; she became a humble model of the school of lace-workers in Venice; made tours of the Greek islands to learn what secrets in designs and in colours had been transmitted, by long inherited skill, among the Greek women” (Dodd, 1906:123).

It is clear that Lady Egerton was an astute business woman who had tapped into the current psyche of the fashionable movement of the times. Her involvement in creating embroidery designs based on Byzantine elements provided craft work of a high standard, executed by well-trained young women. Whether the young women creating the domestic embroideries for a Western European population, were familiar with these design elements is somewhat doubtful. To the Western Europeans, it represented all that was to be embraced as part of Greek heritage. This was evident in the coverage of news at the time.

The *New York Times* in 1906 featured a report to the State Department from Consul General Horton at Athens. The content of the report focused on the work of Lady Egerton and her influence in reviving lacemaking and embroidery using patterns from ancient times. The report, in particular, focuses on why the designs are of particular importance to those who have a particular interest in antiquity. The importance of the influence of past cultures was of particular interest. It was reported that:

> From these humble embroideries, representing a needlework tradition preserved by generations of peasant women, many ancient designs have been restored. One border
preserves what is unmistakably the Byzantine double eagle. Others are reproductions of mural decorations in ancient Mycenaean and Cretan palaces, and a further amazing discovery is that designs still being worked by Thessalian peasants are duplicates of decorations found on vases recovered from ruins of Pompeii. (New York Times, June 4th, 1906:9)

Articles such as those in the New York Times plus the exposure of Greek embroideries for sale across Western Europe had a significant impact on Modern Greece. The changing dress fashions of the time in Europe also had a strong focus on ancient Greek dress. These important elements of Greek design being so fashionable in Europe led to Modern Greece embracing industrialisation while at the same time rediscovering the value of the past. Roupa sums this up nicely with the following comment:

[T]he appreciation foreign reformers demonstrated towards Greek civilization made the movement familiar, flattering, appealing, and thus, easy to follow. At the same time it motivated Greeks to question their own stagnant contemporary culture to search for and form their own identity. Although Greeks primarily singled out the Ancient Greek civilization and its dress, the foreign reform movement restored the value of the Byzantine and Folk cultures. Greeks re-evaluated that part of their cultural heritage they had marginalised, accepting even the common features it shared with Eastern culture. (Roupa, 2002:16)

The Greek intelligentsia were fully aware of these movements in both Britain and France to embrace this fashion of ancient Greek dress and Greece promoted this well locally, indicating that Greece was now leading the way with some of the fashion trends for the rest of Europe. The roots of a struggle for national identity through the expression of cultural heritage can be found during this period and fully came to flower later on in the “back to roots” movement during the 1920s and 1930s when there was a strong folk revival in all the crafts.

The industrialisation of Greece did not see the end of kendimata as a significant part of Greek national heritage as might be expected but did bring with it inevitable change to aspects of craft. It also saw a modern Greece fully able to incorporate its role of kendimata as an essential part of Greek heritage into the fashion of the day.

The struggle of a new nation can be seen to be played out in the need on the one hand to be accepted by the rest of Western Europe as a modern European country, but on the other hand, preserving the desire to maintain its Greek heritage. Kendimata was a craft which had been intimately entwined with the Greek way of life from Byzantine times to agricultural Greece, where kendimata had played such a central role to the dowry and village way of life. The new modern Greece was successfully able to straddle industrialisation and the technology this brought for modern dress, along with being able to promote kendimata as a significant aspect of the cultural heritage of the nation.
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