

ECHOES OF EUROPE: CULTURAL TRANSFER EUROPE-SERBIA IN THE KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA

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Aleksandra Djurić Milovanović and Ivana Pantelić

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Ivana Pantelić

Institute for Contemporary History, Belgrade

Stefan Žarić

PhD candidate, University of Novi Sad

INFLUENCES OF ANGLOMANIA AND REPRESENTATIONS OF ENGLISH STYLE IN THE FASHION OF INTERWAR SERBIA*

Abstract: Unlike the solid body of historiography mapping out political and diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and Serbia, cultural transfers between the two nations occupy minimal academic spaces, primarily those concerned with literature, music, and sport. While seemingly apparent, representations and influences of Anglomania and English style in the fashion system of Serbia were sidelined in favor of dominant Austro-Hungarian and French influences, falling under the category of general “Western” influences rather than specifically “British” or “English.” Hence, this paper aims to register and outline the particular influences of Anglomania and English style in the Serbian fashion system of the first half of the 20th century, focusing on the interwar elites of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia’s capital, Belgrade. Despite the initial timeframe, the paper will also provide an overview of the inception of Anglomania and British fashion influences in the Serbian culture of clothing, starting with the late 18th century and Dositej Obradović’s English suit as an aesthetic, sociocultural, and political catalyst of Anglomania. By doing so, the study allows for a chronological and geographical differentiation of Anglomania, which, in the 18th and 19th centuries, was integral to the urban costume of Vojvodina’s bourgeoisie and in the first half of the 20th century became exclusive to Belgrade’s emerging fashion elite and the sartorial (self)representation of the Karadjordjević royal family. Focusing on the latter and juxtaposing it with the dominant Francophilia in interwar fashion, the paper outlines Anglomania as the dominant fashionable behavior and stylistic orientation in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia’s fashion habitus. Finally, the paper proposes fashion history as a new form of cultural transfer between the United Kingdom and Serbia, moving beyond established approaches and common misconceptions.

Keywords: Anglomania, Belgrade, English style, fashion history, Kingdom of Yugoslavia

Introduction: The problem of fashion as cultural transfer between the United Kingdom and Serbia

The historiography of political and diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and its constituent countries and Serbia includes a solid body of academic writings in the framework of historical and political sciences in Serbia. However, by prioritizing certain political questions centered on Serbia’s ascension to the European Union and the visa liberalization between the UK and Serbia, cultural transfers, exchanges, and contacts between the two nations have often been sidelined in fa-

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vor of ongoing past and/or present political crises. Existing scholarship, including Veselin Kostić's *Cultural Connections between Yugoslav Countries and England prior to 1700* (*Kulturne veze između jugoslovenskih zemalja i Engleske do 1700. godine*, 1972) and *Britain and Serbia: Contacts, Connections and Relations 1700–1860* (*Britanija i Srbija: kontakti, veze i odnosi 1700–1860*, 2014), and the collection of papers *British-Serbian Relations from the 18th to the 21st Centuries* (2018) edited by Slobodan Marković offered significant contributions to interpreting diplomatic, linguistic, and literary encounters between the two nations.¹ On the other hand, pop culture and media studies approaches have mostly focused on soccer, music, radio, and cinema – the media that lends itself to indirect dissemination and consumption. Unfortunately, no aspect of historical exchange between the UK and Serbia in the field of fashion, whether in early modern, modern, or contemporary history, was considered bilaterally and culturally relevant or, for that matter, visible in the aforementioned volumes and approaches.

The scarce academic attention given to fashion as an agent and conduit of cultural transfer between the UK and Serbia can be seen in the light of historically complex political relations, which have further compounded and minimized economic and trade relations. Such relations and the visa regime of the UK towards the citizens of the Republic of Serbia prevent the democratization and dissemination of fashion while at the same impeding the mobility and potential expansion of fashion industries and design practices. Serbia's fashion exchange with the UK still largely remains an economic and class privilege of those who can afford the visa application fees or sidestep it by obtaining a European Union citizenship of one of the neighboring member states. The problem of fashion as a mode of cultural transfer between the two countries can hence be observed on a semiotic level as well. As the French semiotician Roland Barthes noted in *The Fashion System* (1967), the circulation of fashion as a cultural medium depends on the act of translation of three different structures of fashion: technological, iconic, and verbal.² Fashion

1 For more on British-Yugoslav relations during the interwar period, see Dragan Bakić, *Britain and Interwar Danubian Europe: Foreign Policy and Security Challenges, 1919–1936* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017); Živko Avramovski, *Britanci o Kraljevini Jugoslaviji: godišnji izveštaji britanskog poslanstva u Beogradu 1921–1938* [British on Kingdom of Yugoslavia: annual reports from British Embassy in Belgrade 1921–1938], 3. vols (Beograd: Arhiv Jugoslavije; Zagreb: Globus, 1986–1996); Dunja Hercigonja, *Velika Britanija i spoljnopolički položaj Jugoslavije 1929–1933* [Great Britain and Yugoslav Foreign Affairs] (Beograd: Institut za savremenu istoriju, 1987); Hugh Seton-Watson et al., (eds.), *R. W. Seton-Watson and the Yugoslavs: correspondence, 1906–1941*, 2. vols. (London, Zagreb: British Academy, University of Zagreb, 1976); Miladin Milošević, Miodrag Zečević (eds.), *Mesečni izveštaji jugoslovenskog poslanstva u Londonu 1930–1941. godine* [Yugoslav's Embassy in London Monthly Reports 1930–1941] (Beograd: Eksprespres 1991).

2 Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 3–7

photography, fashion magazines, or representations of fashion in literature are what Barthes sees as “image clothing” and “written clothing”.³ As such, they pertain to iconic and verbal structures of fashion which are translations of “real clothing” and the technological structure of fashion.⁴

In a globalized world, the Serbian fashion system was not deprived of exposure to either stylistic and social trends of British fashion or their verbal and visual representations, given that British fashion is one of the most prominent fashion cultures internationally. In one of the first academic contributions to the study of British fashion trends in Serbia in the 1960s, costume historian Pavle Vasić noted that the English had expressed independence and authenticity in clothing since the Middle Ages, implying that it is possible to outline the specificities of the British fashion habitus and trace its presence in other fashion cultures, including the Serbian.⁵ However, mapping out the visual codes of British fashion in Serbian fashion of the first half of the 20th century, our goal is to concurrently identify the fashion transfers from the UK to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that occurred not only within iconic or verbal structures but also within technological structure. In other words, we will observe Anglomania and the influences of British fashion that register as real (British) clothing within the system of Serbian fashion and, as such, on a fashioned Serbian body in the proposed timeframe.

Succeeding the dominance of the Ottoman culture of clothing in the 19th century and preceding the establishment of the Yugoslav textile industry and the rise of “national fashion” in the second half of the 20th century, fashion in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia experienced the most direct and tangible Western (French and British) influences. In Socialist Yugoslavia, Western (predominantly American) pop culture⁶ was filtered through the country’s proximity to Italy⁷, whereas French haute couture was modified through the appearance of the First Lady Jovanka Broz and conformed to the “socialist good taste”, which saw fashion as a political extension of the national cultural heritage, folklore, and history.⁸ In the Kingdom of Yugo-

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Pavle Vasić, *Odelo i oružje* [Costume and Armor] (Beograd: Univerzitet umetnosti, 1974), 108.

6 Radina Vučetić, *Koka-kola socijalizam: amerikanizacija jugoslovenske popularne kulture šezdesetih godina XX veka* [Coca-Cola Socialism: Americanization of Yugoslav Culture in the Sixties], (Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012).

7 Francesca Rolandi, *Con ventiquattromila baci: L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Jugoslavia 1955–1965* [Twenty-Four Thousand Kisses: Influence of Italian Popular Culture in Yugoslavia 1955–1965], (Bologna: Bologna University Press, 2015).

8 Danijela Velimirović, „Moda, ideologija i politika: odevanje Jovanke Broz” [„Fashion, Ideology and Politics: The Style of Jovanka Broz”], *Antropologija*, Vol. 1, 2006; Ivana Pantelić, *Uspon i pad prve drugarice Jugoslavije: Jovanka Broz i srpska*

slavia, on the other hand, the incorporation and appropriation of Western and, more specifically, British fashion among the royal family and the emerging urban elites of Belgrade were socio-politically, culturally, and aesthetically desirable modes of expression. While the presence of Anglomania and the influences of British fashion can be documented the best in the particular ethnohistoric context of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the entirety of Serbian fashion history, it is important to note that the inception of Anglomania in the system of Serbian fashion occurred somewhat earlier, during the early modern era and between the 18th and the 19th century. In order to demonstrate how real British clothing operated within the Serbian fashion system of the first half of the 20th century, we will briefly outline the basic premises of Anglomania as a fashion phenomenon and the initial influences of British fashion in Serbian culture of clothing prior to the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

Anglomania and English style in early modern Serbia

As the fashion curator at the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Andrew Bolton noted in the catalog of the exhibition *AngloMania: Tradition and Transgression in British Fashion*, held at the Met in 2006, Anglomania appeared in the 1740s as a political and intellectual phenomenon in continental Europe through the writings of French philosophers like Voltaire during his visits to England and Montesquieu only to, between 1760 and 1780, become a stylistic and aesthetic phenomenon that was most striking in clothing and fashion:

As it emerged in the 1740s, Anglomania was a political and intellectual phenomenon (*anglomanie* was also known as *philosophisme*), channeled through the works of Voltaire, and later Montesquieu, specifically his political treatise *The Spirit of Laws* (1748). By the 1760s, however, Anglomania had become associated with customs, manners, and fashions. In clothing it was manifested by an increasing emphasis on plainness, simplicity, practicality, and informality. The 1780s saw an even more fevered interest in England, with French men and women turning to English sports, novels, theater, gardens, and even cuisine, to define their identities and express their fashionability. In its subsequent manifestations, Anglomania has remained a stylistic phenomenon.⁹

At the same time when Anglomania was becoming one of the most prominent fashion trends in early modern Europe, Serbian writer,

javnost 1952–2013 [Rise and Fall of Jovanka Broz and the Serbian Public 1952–2013], (Beograd: Službeni glasnik 2018).

9 Andrew Bolton, *AngloMania: Tradition and Transgression in British Fashion* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 12–13.

philosopher, and the leading figure of the Serbian Enlightenment movement, Dositej Obradović, resided at its very epicenter in 1785: in London. Inseparable from his Enlightenment ideas, Obradović's philosophical and literary Anglophilia today represents the *locus communis* of any scholarship concerning diplomatic and cultural relations and literary encounters between Serbia and Britain. However, immersed in the vibrant cultural life of late 18th-century London and exposed to popular media outlets like the society magazines *The Spectator* and *The Tatler*, Obradović served as the catalyst for transferring and translating not only British sociopolitical and literary but also aesthetic and fashion ideas into the identity of the early modern Serbian society.¹⁰ In her reconstruction of Dositej Obradović's clothing based on his portrait by Arsa Teodorović from 1818 (National Museum of Serbia, Belgrade), Lada Uskoković suggests that he followed English style in his choice of apparel and accessories which he had, alongside the rest of Europe, accepted during the peak of Anglomania in the ninth decade of the 18th century.¹¹ Obradović's monochromatic and understated outfit in the portrait – a redingote and jabot (a decorative frill falling from the throat attached to a neckband) – with the breeches, beaver hat, shoes, and cane visible in the 1911/1914 monument to Dositej Obradović by Rudolf Valdec align with the general fashion trend of Anglomania as described by Bolton: plainness, simplicity, practicality, and informality.

These tendencies were the primary signifiers of the fashionability of urban costume at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century in what is nowadays Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, which, back then and until 1918, was part of the Habsburg Monarchy and later Austria-Hungary. The Westernization of fashion in Serbia in the late 18th and throughout the 19th century, although mediated through Vienna and Budapest, significantly relied on the French Empire style, both as a response and an extension of the English Regency style. In the essay *European Dress in Serbia in the Second Half of the 19th Century* (*Evropsko odevanje u Srbiji u drugoj polovini 19. veka*) (1970), Dobrila Stojanović noted that various fabrics and accessories, including pins, needles, shawls, linen, and cotton, were imported from England through Austria.¹² Many of these imports

10 Stefan Žarić, „Dendi u Beogradu,” [„A Dandy in Belgrade“], *Elementi*, 33, 2023, 58–59.

11 Lada Uskoković, „Kako se odevao Dositej Obradović – pokušaj rekonstrukcije,” [„The Attire Style of Dositej Obradović – An Attempt at Reconstruction“], *Dositejev vrt*, 2 (2014).

12 Dobrila Stojanović, „Evropsko odevanje u Srbiji u drugoj polovini XIX veka,” [„European Dress in Serbia in the Second Half of the 19th Century”] in *Oslobođenje gradova u Srbiji od Turaka 1862–1867 god.* [Liberation of cities in Serbia from Turks 1862–1867], ed. Vasa Čubrilović (Beograd: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1970).

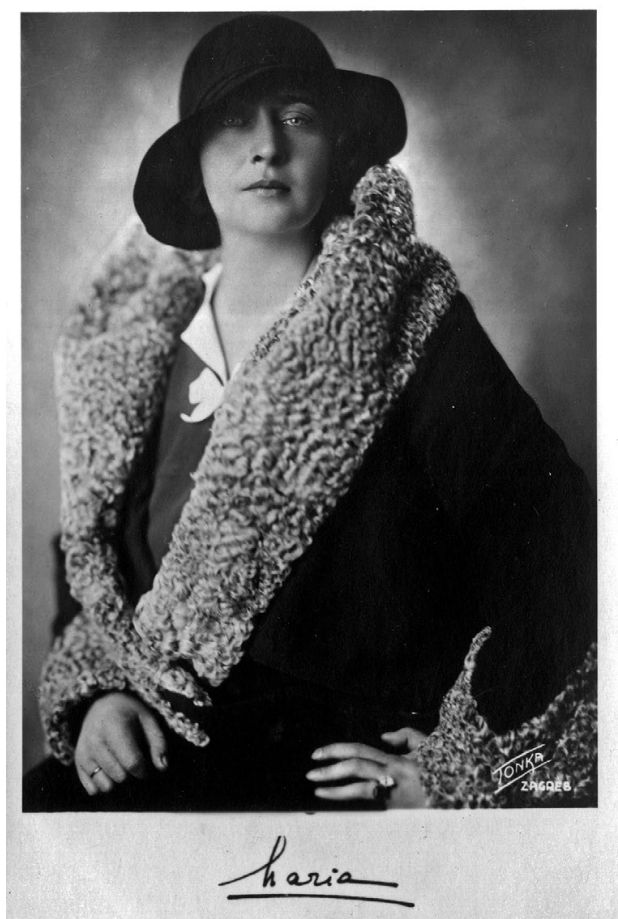


Kole Petrović dressed as a dandy.

played their part in the dissemination of British fashion in Serbia, despite their distribution through Austria. This was especially the case with men's fashion. Like other men of his rank, predominantly writers and painters returning from Western and Central Europe, Obradović had laid the foundation of fashionable masculinity as a concept integral to the early modern Serbian bourgeoisie. These men introduced a new, urban type of masculinity based on Austro-Hungarian and Western European trends both in society and its representations in the literature and visual culture of the era. Doing away with rural folk costumes and the influences of Ottoman dress, Dositej Obradović, in his English suit, (inadvertently) reformed the notion of fashionable appearance, becoming the embodiment of English style in early modern Serbia.

Anglomania among Belgrade's fashion elite and the Yugoslav royal family in the interwar period

Unlike the initial conceptualization of Anglomania in the system of Serbian fashion, which was, by the end of the 18th and in the 19th century, popularized by Dositej Obradović and the upper-class merchant



Queen Maria Karadjordjević/Karageorgevich, c. 1930.

families and artists in Vojvodina, the most prominent representatives of this stylistic orientation in the fashion of the first half of the 20th century in Serbia were the members of Belgrade's high society circles. As Bojana Popović observed in her study *Fashion in Belgrade 1918–1941* (*Moda u Beogradu 1918–1941*) (2000), members of the highest social strata of Belgrade were, like the rest of the world's elite, dressing themselves in Paris and London and, less commonly, in Vienna and Berlin.¹³ In that regard, Anglomania in Serbia was actively filtered through Francophilia, as the fashion elite of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia's capital often shopped for designs of British fashion houses in Paris and for those of French fashion houses in London. Shopping for British designs in Paris and French designs in London increased the accessibility of both in Belgrade. Seemingly insignificant, such consumer habits were seminal in transferring British fashion as real clothing in the fashion system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In such dynamics, image clothing and written clothing were not only representations of British fashion from the United Kingdom (or France)

13 Bojana Popović, *Moda u Beogradu 1918–1941* [Fashion in Belgrade 1918–1941], (Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2000), 67.

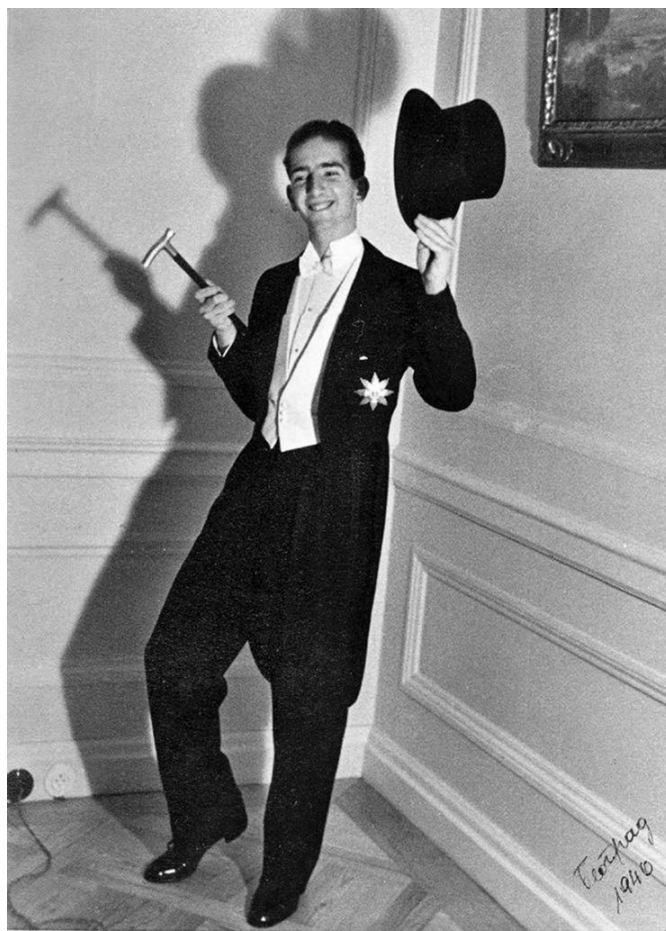
but translations of British fashion present in Belgrade and other centers of urban life in the Kingdom, e.g., Zagreb, Ljubljana, and Novi Sad, as attested by the increased presence of advertisements promoting British fashion – and English style – alongside Parisian fashions in the Serbian interwar press. Among many, one advertisement from the women's magazine *Žena i svet* (*Woman and World*) proclaims that “a classy gentleman shops for English tweed at *Soldatović & Co*,” advising readers to “modernize” their outfits with Edwardian-style collars for “a tasteful and individualistic result.”¹⁴ The media were, in that regard, an important tool in transmitting Western modernity and its visual language – including Anglomania – in Serbian society and in establishing local modern rituals.

On the anthropological level, Anglomania in Serbian fashion became a hybrid fashion practice, an amalgam of a desired sociopolitical and aesthetic approximation to the West, denoting Frenchness and Englishness at the same time. Bolton remarks that France and England, asserting their national identities by reaffirming their national distinctions, defined themselves in deliberate contradistinctions of the notions of Frenchness and Englishness.¹⁵ Considering that both France and England were crucial in the establishment of haute couture when the Englishman Charles Frederick Worth opened his fashion house in Paris in 1858, Anglomania became, through the notions of Frenchness and Englishness, the referential point (or at least one of referential points) of general fashion tastes in the West. As such, the Anglomania of Belgrade's fashion elite, led by the royal family of Karadjordjević, can be understood not only (if at all) as a simulation but rather as an extension and reaffirmation of the taste of the English upper-class society and a tool which, by employing the notions of Frenchness and Englishness, at the same time constructs and deconstructs the notion of fashionable “Serbianness” in the first half of the 20th century. The most prominent Anglophile in the royal family was Prince Paul Karadjordjević, who had attended Oxford during World War I and, therefore, counted many young British politicians and civil servants among his acquaintances or friends. As historian Dragan Bakić concluded “...many observers from both countries found him more British than Serbian in outlook.”¹⁶ Prince Paul had close family connections with the British royal family. His wife, Princess Olga, and Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, were sisters. Prince Paul was friends with Prince George,

14 „Engleski štof“ [„English Fabrics“], *Žena i svet* [Woman and World], no. 1, 1938, 22.

15 A. Bolton, *AngloMania*, 12.

16 Dragan Bakić, „The Kingdom of Yugoslavia and Great Britain”, in Slobodan Marković (ed.), *British Serbian Relations From the 18th to the 21st Centuries*, (Belgrade: Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade, Zepter Book World, 2018), 226.



King Peter II wearing a tailcoat with a top hat and cane in his hands, 1940.

Duke of Kent, and King George VI: “Prince Paul was the reason why Anglo-Yugoslav relations in the latter half of the 1930s become more intimate than ever before – or since, for that matter; he was referred to us as ‘our friend’ in British diplomatic correspondence (or simply “F”)).”¹⁷

Above everything, Anglomania was a collective exercise of the Serbian elite in de-othering themselves from the imposed “Oriental” traditions and a mechanism of fashioning and reclaiming “Europeanness,” perpetually denounced to the Balkans as Europe’s internal exotic Other. As Aubrey Cannon argued, the applicability of fashion to “traditional” societies from which fashion was largely removed means that a systematic style change may only occur sporadically as it is activated by circumstances and continues only so long as the conducive conditions exist.¹⁸ As a style change in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Anglomania was the result of two conducive conditions: the country’s allyship with France and the UK in

17 Ibid, 228.

18 Aubrey Cannon, “The Cultural and Historical Contexts of Fashion,” in *Consuming Fashion: Adorning the Transnational Body*, eds. Anne Brydon and Sandra Niessen (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1998), 23.

the Great War and, to a much larger extent, the family ties between the British royal family and the reigning Yugoslav dynasty of Karadjordjević. Members of the Karadjordjević royal house had the same tastes in fashion as other European royals and aristocrats, buying their clothes from the most prestigious fashion houses and stores in Paris, London, and Belgrade and, to a far lesser extent, in Vienna and Berlin.¹⁹ The aesthetic compass of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was, both in fashion and art, directed at Paris and, from there, at London and New York.

In visual culture, including fashion illustration and representations of fashion in art, *Anglomania* as image clothing operated within the domain of “the imperialism of (visual) imagination”, together with other manias and philias of England and the West, including, but not limited to, *Japanomania*, *Egyptomania*, and *Negrophilia* as variants of *Orientalism*. Westernized (Serbian) subjects in beachwear, tennis wear, resort wear, salon and leisure fashions in the works of interwar artists, primarily fashion illustrator Milena Pavlović Barilli, who resided in London and Paris in the 1930s and even featured *Burberry’s* checkered pattern in some illustrations, were contrasted to representations of African Americans, Arabs, Japanese, and Egyptians. Even though – to paraphrase the art historian Simona Čupić – the Kingdom of Yugoslavia did not have the colonial experience of France and the British Empire (on the contrary, it was a European country colonized by a non-Western entity, the Ottoman Empire), its elites were proficient enough in utilizing visual codes of colonial narratives in fashioning themselves.²⁰ Outside of visual culture and media, *Anglomania* was present on the streets of Belgrade through the appropriation and reproduction of English style by the middle and upper classes, most conspicuously in social activities of modernity traditionally considered English, such as horse racing and tennis. The first tennis courts opened in Belgrade in 1925, in Kalemegdan and Tašmajdan parks, allowing tennis wear to enter the local fashion system as yet another element of *Anglomania*. The popularity of tennis wear is evidenced in Ivan Radović’s sketch *Tennis Players* from 1926 (Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Belgrade) and Petar Dobrović’s painting *Tennis Player* from 1929 (Gallery of Petar Dobrović, Belgrade), and it perfectly aligned with the sentiment that had made it so popular in interwar England. As Catherine Horwood argues in *Dressing like a Champion: Women’s Tennis Wear in Interwar England*, the game of tennis epitomized middle-class Englishness as it re-

19 B. Popović, *Moda u Beogradu* [Fashion in Belgrade], 141.

20 Simona Čupić, *Građanski modernizam i popularna kultura: Epizode modnog, pomodnog i modernog 1918–1941* [Bourgeois Modernism and Popular Culture – Episodes of the Fashionable, Faddish and Modern 1918–1941] (Novi Sad: Galerija Matice srpske, 2011), 36–37.

flected comfort and practicality in dress²¹ – the very attributes English style was known for in Serbia. As a manifestation of urban life and a social obligation of emerging middle classes in Belgrade, tennis inevitably required its own apparel, which, as can be seen from Radović and Dobrović's artworks, was present in the popular, visual, and material culture domains of interwar modernity in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

However, as typical characteristics of Anglomania – like simplicity and informality – soon came to be associated with modern fashion and Art Deco aesthetics in general, the English style in Serbian fashion distinguished itself from the French through menswear more than it did through womenswear. In the media, English womenswear was perceived as elegant but practical and simple. A sewing manual from *Žena i svet* titled “English Fashion for the Working Woman” offered woolen models of “understated elegance and practicality” that can be worn as long- and short-sleeved dresses or coats, suggesting that functionality rather than aestheticism was seen as the dominant trait of English style for women.²² Yet, as Popović pointed out, the English style of the “depressed thirties” that led to clothes rationing in Britain in the 1940s was still a fashionable (or fashionable enough) experience for the women of Belgrade:

What is more, the appearance of the women of Belgrade did not differ greatly in those years from that of women belonging to the same class in other countries. The whole world had been forced to accept a cult of modesty and economy due to the grave economic crisis and the thunderclouds hovering on the horizon threatening a new world war. But Belgrade still had its »beau monde« that continued to follow fashion trends even in the depressed thirties. They bought their clothes not only in Paris, London, Vienna, and Berlin but also in the elite Belgrade stores and salons, which were always ready to meet the latest fashion requirements.²³

It is no wonder then that English style anchored itself to a much larger extent in the menswear trends of interwar Serbia. The English suit was simple and functional yet stylish. It was the epitome of modern masculinity and refinement, tailored (no pun intended) to fit the needs of a modern European gentleman. Whether it was salon, sport, or leisure clothing, the Serbian man looked more like a gentleman from the advertisements in the British and American editions of *Vogue* and less “Oriental” and “Balkan,” as the West would have seen him. Despite the efforts of Parisian designers,

21 Catherine Horwood, “Dressing like a Champion: Women’s Tennis Wear in Interwar England,” in *The Englishness of English Dress*, eds. Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin and Caroline Cox (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), 45; 49.

22 „Engleska moda za zaposlenu ženu “ [„English Fashion for the Working Woman”], *Žena i svet* [*Woman and World*], no.2, 1938, 36.

23 B. Popović, *Moda u Beogradu* (*Fashion in Belgrade*), 141.

London tailors reigned supreme when it came to men's stylishness, which largely resonated with the formation of a new type of masculinity in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, fashioned after the British royalty. Among the royalty, the most influential were Edward VII and Edward VIII. Both monarchs, as Nik Cohn observed in *Today There are No Gentlemen: The Changes in Englishmen's Clothes since the War* (1971), were absolute arbiters of good taste in menswear not only in England but around Europe as well, with their reflections carrying through the middle class and trickling down even into the working class.²⁴ While Belgrade had its own royal shoemakers, furriers, and jewelers, no salon for the creation of ladies' fashion garments or any men's fashion salon had been granted the royal warrant.²⁵ For that reason, the Yugoslav counterparts of Edward VII and Edward VIII – King Alexander, Prince Paul, and subsequently, King Peter II, the last king of Yugoslavia and the last reigning member of the dynasty, were no exceptions when it came to English elegance and the Edwardian look. They bought their clothes at distinguished London firms (*Davies and Son, Samuelson, Son and Linney, Benson and Cleggy, Hawes and Curtis, John Lobb, R. Thomas and Son Ltd., Henry Heath Ltd.*) or their Paris branches (*Washington Tremlet, Hilditch and Key, Mumlenkamp Brothers, Hellstern and Son, Burberrys*).²⁶ By shopping at royal tailors *Davies and Sons*, the luxury department store *Harrods*, and *Burberry's*, the brand that encapsulated quintessential Englishness, the men of the Karadjordjević family were undoubtedly aware of Anglomania as a desired and desirable fashionable behavior of a (Western) man in the first half of the 20th century.²⁷ Unlike their husbands, Anglomania of the female members of the dynasty – Queen Maria and Princess Olga – was entirely mediated by and filtered through Francophilia and leading British fashion designers, including Charles Frederick Worth, John Redfern, and Edward Molyneux, whose fashion houses were primarily based in Paris. Maria's choice of *Worth* as the oldest haute couture house in the world and *Redfern*, who had dressed her predecessor, Queen Natalie Obrenović,²⁸ suggests that the Queen fashioned herself in the conventions of the Victorian look as more historical and conservative than the trends of the 1920s. Oppositely, the princess' favorite designer was, as Popović noted, Edward Molyneux,

24 Nik Cohn, *Today there are no Gentlemen: The Changes in Englishmen's Clothes since the War* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 9.

25 B. Popović, *Moda u Beogradu* [Fashion in Belgrade], 145.

26 Ibid, 141.

27 Stefan Žarić, „Redingot za Dositeja & Burberry za kralja: Anglomanija u srpskoj modi,“ [„Redingote for Dositej and Burberry for the King“], *ELLE Serbia*, July/August 2023, 131.

28 Natalija Obrenović née Keshko was the wife of Milan I Obrenović. She was Princess of Serbia from 1875 to 1882 and, after the coronation of King Milan I, became Queen of Serbia from 1882 to 1889.

whose models and their Belgrade-made copies she wore with the greatest pleasure.²⁹ Molyneux was known for his modernist aesthetics and refined simplicity that would largely influence the work of his protégés, Christian Dior and Pierre Balmain, and was also favored by Princess Marina of Kent, Princess Olga Karadjordjević's sister. It comes as no surprise that the Yugoslav princess shared the same taste as her sister in London. Except for Princess Elizabeth Karadjordjević's style and association with many British and American fashion designers and fashion photographers during the second half of the 20th century, Olga might be the most interesting example of the Yugoslav royal family's English style during the dynasty's reign in the first half of the 20th century. Not only was she photographed by the most renowned British fashion and society photographer of the time, Cecil Beaton, for the February 1940 issue of *Tatler*, but this photograph influenced Beaton's subsequent portraits of King George's wife, Queen Elizabeth. As Hugo Vickers recalls in Beaton's biography:

Cecil was suddenly summoned from Ashcombe to photograph Princess Paul at Buckingham Palace. "It was a great thrill for me to go into the Palace for the first time", wrote Cecil. "It was one of the rare times that of late I have been deeply thrilled, and as I walked behind a scarlet liveried page down miles of dark red carpeted corridors I was walking on air." Cecil began by taking some quick photographs of the Prince Regent before he hurried off to the dentist. Then Princess Olga reappeared wearing the largest diadem he had ever seen, with diamonds "like almonds" around her neck. Even so Cecil did not find the Princess dazzling: "She looked too Royal, too Russian... One cannot but see her as a nun." He photographed Princess Olga against his backgrounds of Fragonard trees and Piranesi ruined arches, which impressed her because previously she had always been photographed against black. Two days later the telephone rang at Gerald Berners's house and a lady-in-waiting enquired if Cecil would come and photograph the Queen the following afternoon. Cecil could be grateful to Princess Olga for this sitting. She liked her photographs so much that she continued to give them out well into the 1980s. Of the Queen's invitation to Cecil, the Princess recalled: "we encouraged it."³⁰

In *Landscape, Nation and Ideology: The Role of the Garden in Cecil Beaton's Art*, Ian Jeffrey argues that Beaton's fondness of English gardening and garden settings in his photography, including the one Olga was photographed in, was a test of cultural authenticity and cosmopolitanism.³¹ The garden,

29 B. Popović, *Moda u Beogradu* [Fashion in Belgrade], 141.

30 Hugo Vickers, *Cecil Beaton: A Biography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 224–225.

31 Ian Jeffrey, "Landscape, Nation and Ideology: The Role of the Garden in Cecil Beaton's Art," in *Cecil Beaton*, ed. David Mellor (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1986), 84.

as the author sees it, was not just a vision of England, but its locality.³² Positioning Olga as a foreign subject in the locality of an English garden composed of French and Italian Rococo references in what most likely could have been a dress designed by Norman Hartnell (who served as the official royal dressmaker) can be observed as an attempt to both (re)nationalize and internationalize Beaton's sitter. In a photographic simulation of an English garden, wearing an English dress, Olga's "Russian looks" became cosmopolitan yet English at the same time, giving impetus to the new royal iconography of English style. Much more than the English suits of Dositej Obradović in the 18th and King Alexander and Prince Paul in the 20th century, Olga's photo-portrait reaffirms English style and Anglomania of the Serbian elite not only as ethnic and gendered but also political sartorial behavior. In such dynamics, English clothes on Serbian bodies transgress politically, geographically, culturally, and economically imposed boundaries, hybridizing and destabilizing one's national identity and the presumed iconography that comes with it. As Simona Čupić noted while discussing fashion and Western modernity in the visual culture of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the segment of fashion that defines it as a category of modernity lies in its potential to destabilize and creatively sidestep the imposed framework of tradition, enabling the subject to abandon the old and chose a new identity.³³ Čupić also notes that in bourgeois modernism, clothing was predominantly an external manifestation which underlined mimicry rather than true acceptance of new values that came with new clothes.³⁴ However, when it comes to the privileges exclusive to members of the Karadjordjević family, we cannot reduce their Anglomania (even when it was Francophilia-mediated) to mimicry, which could have been the case with the members of Belgrade's middle and upper classes. The difference is that the Yugoslav royals, simply due to their ties with the British royals, were or rather *had* to be concerned with the social norms and sartorial etiquettes of Englishness in creating its iconography and not just with the iconography itself as a product of fashion circulation. Their Anglomania can be observed in terms of the fashion historian Aileen Ribeiro's remarks in her study *On Englishness in Dress*, as "sartorial clichés of (white) Englishness" inevitably including "heritage clothing" like *Burberry* coats and Savile Row suits, but certainly not as mimicry.³⁵

32 I. Jeffrey, "Landscape, Nation and Ideology", 88.

33 S. Čupić, *Građanski modernizam i popularna kultura* [Bourgeois Modernism and Popular Culture], 90.

34 Ibid, 87.

35 Aileen Ribeiro, "On Englishness in Dress," in *The Englishness of English Dress*, eds. Christopher Breward, Becky Conekin and Caroline Cox (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), 24–25.



Caddies at the Belgrade Golf Club, 6 June 1937.

This leads us to the conclusion that Anglomania was, more than any other stylistic tendency and fashionable behavior in the fashion system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the question of class privilege. With the dissolution of the monarchy and the establishment of communism, Anglomania ceased to exist as the new country, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, seemingly favored class unity over excessive sartorial individualism ascribed to Western capitalist societies. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, Anglomania reemerged sporadically as a form of countercultural anti-fashion inspired by British rock and punk music but never again as the establishment-favored style. As an impulse and a reflex in the fashion and society of the interwar elites and royals in Serbia, Anglomania was a conscious mechanism of representation, allowing the expansion of the sartorial borders of one's historical location and, more importantly, one's identity. Its paradox, however, lies in the fact that imposed "Otherness" of Balkan Serbia within – and outside of – the Eurocentric cultural matrix of the first half of the 20th century could never be fully substituted with desired Englishness as Serbia and Britain, as Vesna Goldsworthy put it, stand at opposing ends of the hierarchical diagonal on the symbolic map of European privileges.³⁶ When Englishness in dress as a locality of England was removed from its primary milieu and applied to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and, more specifically, Serbia and its capital in the interwar period, the result was a complex but nonetheless tangi-

36 Vesna Goldsworthy, *Inventing Ruritania: The Imperialism of the Imagination* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 9.

ble cultural transfer, which not only opened a new chapter in the history of fashion in Serbia but also calls for a study on “Serbianness” in dressing.

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