

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE 1ST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
CULTURE COSTUME AND DRESS
10-12 MAY BIRMINGHAM CITY UNIVERSITY



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EDITED BY ANNE BOULTWOOD AND SIAN HINDLE

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ACADEMIC

Unveiling the Narrative of the White Bridal Dress

Elizabeth Fischer, Iulia Hasdeu

Introduction: the recent controversy over the Islamic veil in Europe

The spring of 2016 saw an outburst of media coverage over the accusations made by the French minister of women's rights Laurence Rossignol against the Italian designers Dolce & Gabbana's "modest fashion" collection of couture *hijabs* and *abbayas*. The Minister declared that it was "irresponsible" in "encouraging the confinement of women's bodies" ("*la promotion de l'enfermement du corps des femmes*"). The fact that the collection had been advertised on the brand's Instagram account only rather than on its official website, as specifically directed to the Arab market, was completely overlooked. The outrage and media buzz generated in France by this "modest fashion" initiative illustrate how much of the public debate on veiling in continental Europe actually targets the intersection between norms of race/ethnicity and those of sexuality/body. The contemporary post-nine-eleven 2001 political context has been characterized by a clash of politics, specifically islamophobia in the face of the enforcement of "laïcité" - i.e. secularity or the separation of Church and State - especially in France and French-speaking areas of Europe such as in Switzerland. In this context, these norms are clearly asserting a contemporary hegemonic type for femininity and the feminine, operating by the exclusion of certain body types - including facial types and body sizes - and forms of dress (Mernissi 2001, Chollet 2012). As we shall try to illustrate, this is but one manifestation of a political context in which discourses on human rights and gender equality are used to draw up and enforce an ideally homogenous society, founded among other elements on gender and racial hierarchies, which excludes those that do not fit into or adhere to the required socio-political profile (Bilge 2010).

By the beginning of 2000, the Muslim veil was widely depicted in Europe as an "ugly and nasty" outward sign of the men's domination over women. Such was the case in the movie *Submission*, in which a transparent burqa is a central piece of the film's visual construction criticizing the treatment of women by Islam. Written by Somalian-born Dutch politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali, icon of Muslim woman's emancipation in the Netherlands, it was produced in 2004 by the controversial film director Theo Van Gogh, well known for his anti-Islam positions. In France,

the Iranian-French writer and essayist Chahdortt Djavann published *Bas les voiles* (1) (2003) and became a fierce advocate against veiling, invited to numerous television and public debates. In 2005 the French government reinforced the law of "laïcité" (secularity) with an article banning the display of "conspicuous religious signs in schools and the public space" which specifically addresses the veiled Muslim woman. Since then, many veiled French girls have been sent back home from schools on the basis of this law. Former President Sarkozy declared in a parliamentary address on June 22, 2009, that the *burqa*, which covers women from head to toe, is "a sign of subjugation, of debasement" and as such, is "not welcome on French territory". In 2010, the French National Assembly passed a law prohibiting "the dissimulation of the face in the public space" - though its application affects only a very small percentage of women, no more than about one thousand women, that is 0.1 percent of the Muslim population on French territory (Joppke 2010). Several European countries followed suit in adopting or trying to pass anti-burqa laws, among them Belgium (the first country to pass an anti-burqa law), Switzerland (2), Italy, even though the percentage of women wearing covered dress is very low and that seasonal tourists from the Gulf regions form the bulk of these in certain instances.

The European discourse that the Islamic veil's cultural meaning is that of women's implicit or explicit submission to male authority fallaciously suggests that, on the contrary, European dress universally expresses women's liberated status (Scott 2010; Abu-Lughod 2013). This universalistic assumption is belied by the fact that women still earn around 16% less than men in most European countries, to give just one example (3). In line with the critique of European universalism which tends to systematically stigmatize the Muslim veil our paper examines female veiling in Western customs. Historical and cultural arguments provide elements to reconsider the submission of women in Western society through religious dress. More par

(2) Each Canton in Switzerland can legislate independently; as yet there exists no federal legislation on the subject. In June 2016, the Canton of Ticino passed legislation prohibiting the wearing of the veil in public. The Ticino tourist industry opposed the ban on the veil, as the luxury sector depends on the rich Arab and Gulf clientele. A mere 2,1% of the tourist population is concerned by the wearing of the veil. The Swiss-German Canton of Glaris voted against the ban by popular vote on 6 May 2017. In both instances, the anti-veil laws were submitted by right-wing nationalist political parties. See <https://www.letemps.ch/suisse/2016/07/01/salafiste-nora-illi-defie-lo-i-tessinoise-antiburqa>

(3) Commission européenne - Direction générale de la Justice (2014), *Éliminer l'écart de rémunération entre les femmes et les hommes au sein de l'Union européenne*, Luxembourg: Office des publications de l'Union européenne. See also http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/gender-pay-gap/index_fr.htm

(1) The title literally means *Veils off*.

ticularly, we wish to focus on the aesthetical and social survival of the veil in the whitebridal dress of the Western wedding ritual. Indeed, in contrast to the above shortly presented public debate and objections to the Muslim veil, there exists a real blind spot in European/Western society on the survival of the veil in social rituals and religious customs.

A religious tradition inherited from the Mediterranean

The three major monotheistic religions – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – took up a secular veiling practice, present all around the Mediterranean basin, which marked the submission of married women to their husband and the male members of the inner family circle (Briel 2006). The veil signalled the respectability of the woman as well as her status; it acted as a form of protection. In contrast, slaves and prostitutes were not allowed to wear the veil. Roman matrons wore a head covering over their hair, down to their shoulders and covering their ears. The head veil symbolized the recognition of the rights of the *pater familias* over his wife, much as in the all areas of the Mediterranean which kept up the custom of veiling woman in public, whatever the prevailing religion. The Roman vestals were also veiled to mark their condition of consecrated virgins, who were separated from the rest of the world, mystically married to Vesta, hence not available for men. The Latin verb *nubere* means “to cover, to cover the head with a veil”, hence “to get married” for a woman, who literally and figuratively “dons the veil” (4). The veil functions as a symbolic separation of the female individual and her body, cut off from her family and background. The newly wedded woman must leave her family behind to integrate that of her husband. Early Christians adopted the Roman custom of covering sacrificial objects and of veiling women during the wedding ceremony and imposing head covering in public to married women (5).

The wearing of the veil does not figure as an explicit religious prescription in the Torah or the Coran. However the New Testament does so explicitly in Saint Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians (6). Saint Paul equates the veiling of women with their ontological inferiority to men, deliberately planned by God in the apostle’s view (7). If man “is the image and glory of

God » (v. 7) he need not cover his head. On the other hand, “woman is the glory of man” (v. 7) and was created from and for man (v.9), so “for this reason a woman should have a sign of authority on her head” (v.10). Thus Christianity was the first of the three major monotheist religions to impose the veiling of woman on the basis of strictly religious reasons and theological arguments.

The long-standing tradition of head covering for women in certain parts of Europe has evolved little over time. It lives on in the rituals of marriage and mourning, in the taking of the veil for monastic vows and in nun’s daily wear, in regions where women are required to cover their heads when entering a Church or for confession and prayer. Women wearing veils and headscarves in public space, whether they are Jewish, Christians or Muslims, are still found in the Mediterranean areas and in rural Central and Eastern Europe. In all fundamentalist religious circles, women are required to cover their body and head. The stability or renewal of these customs is closely connected to religious revivals, as well as nationalistic trends which typically reinforce gender differences. In present day Christian orthodox Russia, modest fashion designers are very active and even organize catwalk shows to advertise this modest attire.

The Catholic celebration of purity

The long white wedding dress and veil embody a tradition that harks back to the custom of veiling women as a mark of their submission to the authority of men and in assigning them first and foremost to the role of begetting children. The special, often exceptional, dress specifically made for the bride on her wedding day, with its traditional long cut, heavy layered skirt and train, worn with veil, tiara and fancy shoes (usually high heels covered in delicate fabric), complete with a bouquet of flowers, hasn’t changed fundamentally since its appearance among privileged circles during the 19th century. If the veil harks back to antique traditions, the colour white marks is of a more recent origin, rooted in religious Catholic rituals of first communion and confirmation during which young girls wore long white dresses and a veil. The colour white and the veil symbolically represented the virginity of the bride upon marriage (8), linked to the dogma of Immaculate Conception, proclaiming the Virgin Mary’s purity by papal bull in 1854. The Virgin as figure of abnegation henceforth set the model of conduct for the women of the bourgeoisie, as well as aesthetic model in the wearing of the veil for the marriage ritual so fun

(8) In some monastic orders, the nuns wore wedding dresses for the taking of the veil ceremony in the 19th century.

(4) « Nubile » and « nuptials » derive from the latin *nubere*.

(5) The *velatio* which occurred during the wedding ceremony at times also included the husband. It was done by holding a width of cloth over the heads of husband and wife at a given moment during the marriage rite. It has survived in various wedding traditions. However, only the bride is veiled during the entire ceremony.

(6) St Paul, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chapter 11

(7) *Ibid.* v. 3 “But I want you to know that Christ is the head of every man, and a husband the head of his wife, and God the head of Christ.”

damental to 19th century society (Zazzo 1999). It also set an unattainable benchmark of purity for every woman and mother, creating a permanent double bind for the female sex.

Each spring, heralding the summer wedding season, the main fashion magazines dedicate special issues to bridal wear and celebrations. Several revealing elements emerge from the analysis of these publications. A quick survey of some 200 pages in recent marriage catalogues shows the following distribution:

- 187 pictures of women (alone) wearing the traditional long wedding dress, 2 in mini-skirts and 2 in pant suits; the colour of all the outfits is white;
- 9 pictures of bride-grooms (alone);
- 11 pictures of wedding groups or friends;
- 16 pictures of couples;
- 1 single picture of a gay couple.

The sociologist Erving Goffman's concept of "gender display" was used to analyse this cluster of images. Women in wedding dress are hyper-ritualized as sweet, childish, innocent, obedient, genuine, alienated as in almost 70% of feminine characters in advertisements (Goffman 1976). In the photographs of brides on their own, they stand hesitantly, their gaze is seductive or downcast; in the pictures of couples all the brides are less tall than the bridegrooms who protectively clasp them to their chest. The all over picture does not deviate from the traditional gender hierarchy of a heterosexual society dominated by white men.

The majority of wedding dresses advertised by the magazines and websites dedicated to wedding preparations fall into the traditional category of a dress that does not follow fashion in its main structure and that is worn with a veil. Today's wedding dress recycles the cut of 19th century female dress, with bustle and train or even crinoline bell-like shapes; the corsage recalls the corset, for example with lacing at the back reminiscent of the physical restrictions imposed on the female body. The conservative unfashionable wedding outfit extolled at length by magazines is a long-standing tradition, attested in historic as well as contemporary aristocratic and high-class circles. The specific whale-boned bodice (called *corps* in the 18th century) worn by French queens on their wedding day for centuries was much more constraining than the normal bodice. The Queen was expected to wear it thereafter on all state occasions, signalling her status as model for all women and mothers in France and mother of the French crown-

prince. As was customary, before Marie Antoinette stepped into France in order to marry Louis-Auguste, future King Louis XVI, she was stripped naked of her native Austrian clothing. Only after she clothed herself in entirely French attire could she enter her new homeland (Weber 2007). The fact that aristocratic brides-to-be had to and still must adopt the dress of their husband's family and country, and never the contrary, emphasizes the bride's submission to male authority, further testifying that women's wedding attire embodies gender and sexuality issues and that the veil marks a separation. Bridal attire symbolizes genealogy as well as family and political alliances, along with the celebration of prestige and official pomp. By wearing a stately outfit that is outside the boundaries of fashion, the brides of the ruling classes assert the continuity of their lineage and that of the family they are entering. The wedding veil and dress signify that this continuity is entirely dependent on the bride's capacity to give birth to healthy children, accentuating the importance of the purity and fertility of her body in the ritual.

Veil, belt, garter, flower garland, bouquet are accessories that signify the closing and opening of the bride's body, her passage from virginity to fertility and reproductive sexuality. Each accessory encloses the woman's body and, during the marriage rite, is opened, undone or shared and given away in the case of the bouquet. The bride's wedding attire, symbolically enacting the opening of her body, celebrates and manifests her ability to fulfil her reproductive task (Zazzo 1999) while the colour white symbolizes her purity and virginity.

The more things change, the more they stay the same

The bride's wedding dress is a custom-made or specially bought garment. The search for the right outfit is a time consuming occupation. Most often, it is a dress to be worn only once. It must single out the bride as the most beautiful woman of the day and show her to her best advantage (Maillochon 2016). In contrast, the bridegroom's formal wedding suit is not a special outfit but just one of his good suits or best suit. In the case of State and princely weddings, the bridegroom wears military uniform in full regalia, underlining the distinct role allotted to each gender in Western society. The outfits of Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt for their 2014 wedding provide a telling example of the gendered dichotomy embedded in wedding clothing. Jolie's custom-made veil was embroidered with drawings made by the couples 6 children, explicitly linking her to notions of fertility and motherhood. Pitt wore a suit he had already worn and even had to borrow a tie on the spot from his eldest son for the formal photo session.

The magazines and websites dedicated to the wedding ceremony emphasize the preparation of the woman's body months ahead, prescribing diets and exercise routines in order to lose weight, as well as regular sessions of massaging, skin care, tanning, manicure, pedicure, hairdressing and more. The main part of the pre-wedding schedule is spent on shaping the bride-to-be's body. Nothing of the kind, or very little save a good haircut and shave the day before the ceremony, is expected of men (Maillochon 2016).

Very little thought and advice, if none at all, is provided on the meaning of a lifelong engagement and no time is scheduled for the couple to reflect together on their impending union and on how to lay the groundwork for the ups and downs of married life. (Maillochon 2016) Once again, the main emphasis of the intense pre-wedding preparations is set on the bride, reducing her to a body. This shows that her body is at stake in the social ritual of marriage: it must prove its pliancy in the face of physical transformation such as will be endured with pregnancy and birth during female married life (Verdier 1979).

However common contemporary '*de-mariage*' ("un-marriage") social practices (Théry 1993) such as partnership, cohabitation, and divorce have become, and deeply challenge the modern norm of marital union, the interest in and wearing of the traditional white wedding outfit hasn't abated (9). Artists such as Robert Gober, Gotscho, Zoe Buckman (10), iconic movie characters like Beatrix Kido (11) have repeatedly challenged the traditional heterosexual gendered model of marriage. In the 1960's, show business figures challenged the tradition, like Catherine Deneuve who wore a short sleeved little black dress for her wedding to photographer David Bailey in 1965. Nevertheless, from *haute-couture* designers to *fast fashion*, from the major European museums to popular open-spaces exhibitions and wedding fairs, from royalty and pop stars to the middle and lower classes, the white veiled wedding outfit reigns supreme, resulting in highly gendered practices and representations. To sum up, even though social customs change, the wedding dress stays the same: a royal-like scenography transforms the bride into a one-day princess, whose body extolls traditional norms of femininity, a fairy tale recreation as the stage for social achievement and class aspiration, a ritualized symbol of the fertile female body to be conquered and possessed by man.

Conclusion: woman's body is a battleground

During the last fifteen years in Europe, especially in the French speaking areas, a political crusade has been conducted against so-called 'religious signs' in public spaces. This crusade specifically targets the "Islamic veil" disregarding its various forms (*hijab*, *abbaya*, *chador*, *burqa*), colours, national, regional and personal style, oblivious to the diversity contexts and meanings in its wearing (urban vs rural, public vs private, private vs secular,...). The debate also evades other types of religious signs and male facial covering (hats or facial hair), and conveniently omits Christian veiling practices, or the wigs worn by Orthodox Jewish women in order to hide their natural hair. Therefore, it abusively uses the argument of gender equality to point out the Islamic veil as symbol of the masculine domination over women.

The term "crusade" is expressly used here as an appropriate way of framing the conflicting discourses and doublespeak surrounding the concept of secularity prevalent in Western democracies, as the few following examples demonstrate. While conducting the war in Afghanistan in order, among other motives, to liberate women "White men save Brown women from Brown men" in Spivak's words (1993), the G.W. Bush administration established close ties with the Methodist and Baptist lobbies promoting anti-abortion laws, in fact denying women control over their own body, whereas NGO's working to implement contraception programs to empower women, suffered severe cut backs. The 2004 papal letter to the bishops (12) stigmatised the feminists as adversaries of men and recalled that as John Paul II had written, "it will redound to the credit of society to make it possible for a mother – without inhibiting her freedom, without psychological or practical discrimination and without penalizing her as compared with other women – to devote herself to taking care of her children and educating them in accordance with their needs, which vary with age" (13), asserting that women's primary task is that of bearing and rearing children. None of these Christian attacks on gender equality, more specifically on women's rights, were criticized by leading politicians who did not hesitate to censure in the same breath Islamic discourses of similar nature (Coene and Longman, 2010).

One of the main consequences of this double language is that

(9) A majority of independent small scale fashion designers make a good part of their turnover thanks to the traditional wedding dress market – survey conducted in Geneva in 2017 by the authors.

(10) Robert Gober, *The Heart Is Not a Metaphor*, installation 2014-2015; Gotscho, *Wedding – No way out*, 1992, Zoe Buckman, *Let Her Rave*, 2017.

(11) Main character played by Uma Thurman in *Kill Bill* directed by Quentin Tarantino, 2001.

(12) Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Collaboration of Men and Women in the Church and in the World.

http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/10/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20040731_collaboration_en.html

(13) Encyclical Letter *Laborem exercens* (September 14, 1981), 19: AAS 73 (1981), 627. Both the Catholic Church and the religious lobbies close to the G.W. Bush administration equally contested gay rights and gay marriage in parallel to their anti-feminist discourses, thus reinforcing the heterosexual gendered hierarchy.

the concept of “sexual democracy” as defined by Fassin (2010), i.e. gender equality and freedom of sexualities as core democratic principles in Western states, becomes a means of promoting the idea of a “sexual clash of cultures” (Fernando

2013). In other words gender equality is used as a convenient reason to stigmatise and exclude: « If sexual democracy is about sexual freedom and equality between sexes, its application to the exclusion of “others”, that is, its racialisation can eventually transform these lofty ideals into a practice that hinders sexual liberty by racializing sexual discrimination. » (Fassin 2010:523) This “othering the Other” takes the form of the «boundary patrolling» currently redefining Western citizenship, as stated by Bilge (2010:198): « our era is witness to a new political movement in which liberal discourses on human rights, more specifically women’s and homosexuals’ rights, are used to reassert the *Kultur* and to draw up a political profile of the individual who is qualified (or not) to be part of it. »

In this light, the mainstream public discourse about the Islamic veil in Europe is the expression of the reconfiguration of the contemporary hegemonic national (Euro-Atlantic) gender-class-race system within the neo-colonial context. Since “unveiled” icons like Ayaan Hirsi Ali or Chahdortt Djavann are both muses and allegoric representations of these new politics, the “veiled” feminine figures are made to stand as metonymic figures for anything perceived as Muslim or Islamic, whether minarets or terrorists. The veil is even figuratively used to symbolize anything Muslim as a threat to Western values, as is abundantly clear in recent Swiss media and right-wing nationalist political campaign posters (Parini 2012). This abusive over-use of the Muslim veil, shown only in its black form, is grounded in a purely biased and gendered interpretation of its use all the while reinforcing this partial interpretation.

Our on-going research intends to “dis-cover” the daily, ritual, social and ceremonial diversity of practices of the Islamic veil, to look at it as *dress* instead of symbol, while rethinking the white bridal veil as sign (instead of dress) of a patriarchal system in which the submission of women is taken as a given whether for theological or socio-cultural reasons. By considering parallels and common features shared by the *white* and *non-white* veil, we support the critical analysis sketched below. Instead of pointing out who might be the worse oppressor, constructing a hierarchy between “them” and “us” playing into the hand of “the otherness of the Other”, it is surely more productive and consistent to recognize that women’s bodies are invariably at stake in civilizational anxieties (Rey 2005:205). “Woman’s body is a battleground” to paraphrase

Barbara Kruger’s poster *Untitled (Your body is a battleground)*, produced for the 1989 Women’s March on Washington in support of reproductive freedom. That year was marked by numerous demonstrations protesting a new wave of anti-abortion laws chipping away at the 1973 Roe v. Wade Supreme Court decision. The work is a close-up of a woman’s face, disembodied, split in positive and negative exposures. It marks a stark divide, which can be interpreted as the double bind women come up against in our “sexual democracy”. By uncovering the blind spot on the narratives symbolized by the white bridal veil in Western society, we aim to show that Fassin’s concept of “sexual democracy” is not only about immigration laws and policy practices, selecting the qualified people for the gender equality, but also about the esthetic (post/neo)-colonial supremacy of the *white* veil on the *colored (dark)* one.

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