

# Mid-twentieth century clothing on family photographs of the Novosel family from Markuševac

- The photograph, argues the author, is one of the basic sources for the study of clothing in the 20th century. Several photographs from the album of the Novosel family from Markuševac prompted the study of the transition from traditional to town clothing between 1940 and 1952.

Key words: family photographs, clothing, national costume, festive clothes, Markuševac

## INTRODUCTION

In this article<sup>1</sup> I shall present through photographs and narratives the clothing worn between 1940 and 1952 in the former village and present-day Zagreb district of Markuševac. While describing the disappearance of traditional clothing I shall also present the context in which the photographs were taken and the family economic survival strategies, the modernisation of Zagreb and life in the Prigorje villages, and the life stories of two Markuševac families whose members still live there. This paper was prompted by the lack of data on the phase-out of national costumes and the transition from national costumes to town clothing in the area of Zagrebačko Prigorje. The research is based on photographs from the album of the Novosel family, selected because I know the context in which they were taken and the photographed persons. The

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1 This paper was written during the course in *Textile Anthropology* at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, in the summer term of the academic year 2013/2014. I collected the enclosed photographs by using the open interview method in April and May 2013. The narrator was my grandmother, Marica Novosel, born in 1931, who has lived in the Markuševac since birth. The final part on the wearing of national costumes in Markuševac after the nineteen-fifties with the enclosed photographs of Marica's daughter Nada Novosel (1956) and her sister Barica Lidej (1934), includes their narratives about the mentioned topics.

photographs show the families of my grandfather Franjo Novosel (1927-1997) and my grandmother Marica Novosel nee Pavleković. Their families lived in Markuševac, and that calls for a few information on the area. Markuševac is a settlement situated on the southern slopes of Mount Medvednica, and belongs to Zagreb's northern urban region, i.e., to the region known as Zagrebačko Prigorje. Its area is 2,695.86 sq.m., and the population 6,302 according to the census of 2011. It enjoys good traffic connections with downtown Zagreb from which it is distant about 10 kilometres (Šuvak 2015: 9). In 1221 King Andrew II turned over the area of present-day Markuševac to the Zagreb Chapter (Šuvak 2015: 12). In 1328 King Charles confirmed to the Zagreb Diocese and Chapter the title to the land, including the village of Sveti Šimun (the old name of Markuševac). The settlement derived its name from the local church of Sv. Šimun (St. Simon); the full name of the church, according to the charter of the Zagreb Chapter, was "the church of St Simon and Judas the Apostle on the foothills" (Šuvak 2015:12-125). This information confirms the long historical continuity of the settlement. In 1334 the erudite Ivan, archdeacon of Gorica, described the villagers of Sv. Šimun as the autochthonous population which as early as 1300 paid tribute to the Medved Castle (Medvedgrad). The place kept its status after their land became the property of the Zagreb Chapter (Dobronić 2003: 72-74). Its present-day name, Markuševac, dates from as late as the 16<sup>th</sup> century when, according to a legend, the local nobleman Marko or Markuscz recruited the local population for his economic military goals. The serfs and the solders in his employ were known as "Markuševi" (belonging to Markuscz), and that is how the settlement was eventually called (Šuvak 2015: 12).

The clothing in the region of Zagrebačko Zagorje was described by museum experts Vladimir Tkalčić ("Peasant costumes in the Zagrebačka Gora region"; 1925), Nerina Eckhel ("The national costume of Prigorje"; 1984), and Katica Benc-Bošković ("National costumes in the Zagreb area" in the monograph "The ethnographic heritage of the Zagreb area"; 1988). Along with the national costume of Šestine and of some other settlements bordering on Markuševac, Tkalčić also describes other types of national costumes in Zagrebačko Prigorje. On the other hand, Nerina Eckhel concentrates exclusively on the description of the Šestine costume in order to safeguard its correct presentation on stage at folklore events. The most important source of data for this paper is the work of Katica Benc-Bošković, who describes the national costume(s) in the Zagreb area and the changes between the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the nineteen-sixties. Due note needs to be made of the fact that the Šestine-type costume is also typical of Markuševac. The costume owes its name to the village of Šestine which was the administrative centre of Zagrebačko Prigorje because of its very good traffic connections with Zagreb (Benc-Bošković 1988: 251). The costume was worn in the Zagreb area until the end of the Second World War; an exception were the settlements in Zagrebačko Prigorje where the mainly women's national costumes were worn until the nineteen-sixties. However, as men found growing job opportunities in Zagreb they stopped wearing traditional clothes at an earlier date (Benc-Bošković 1988: 242). This point will be additionally discussed below. Of outstanding help in the interpretation of photographs in their economic and social context was the publication *Forschungsfeld Familienfotografie: Beiträge der Volksskunde/Europäischen Ethnologie zu einem populären*

*Bildmedium*, which promoted the medium of photography as an insufficiently consulted source of data in human science research. The publication included an article by the German historian Suzana Leček entitled *Die fehlende Wirklichkeit: Familienfotografie in Kroatien während der Zwischenkriegszeit* (2000: 95-109), in which the author uses family photographs as an incentive to describe rural family life in Zagrebačko Zagorje in the period between the two World Wars. She concentrated especially on the modernisation of the countryside in the Zagreb area, job demand, the influence of the church and politics on everyday life and other issues. Another particularly valuable source of information was a paper by ethnologist Dragica Šuvak, *The Prigorec cultural and performing society in Markuševac 1923-2013* (2015) written on the occasion of the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Prigorec*. The author reviews the work of the society in different periods and presents data on the history of Markuševac, the local church and chapel, specific Markuševac clothing in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the local names of clothing items; the names differ from one of the mentioned authors to another, since Markuševac was not the only object of their interest. Two articles by Melanija Belaj, *Family photograph – analysis and interpretation within the scope of Erving Goffman’s presentation theory* (2006) and *The family photograph as the creation and filing of (desirable) reality* (2008) also helped in determining the methodological framework for photograph analysis.

The political and economic context in which national costumes were abandoned and the change of fashion styles in Prigorje have been explained by resorting to the books by historians Hrvoje Matković (*History of Yugoslavia*, 2003) and Igor Duda (*In the search for well-being: the history of leisure and of the consumer society in Croatia in the nineteen-fifties and – sixties*, 2005). The chapter *Genuine or false identity – the relation of folklore and folklorism* by ethnologist Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin from the collection of papers *Symbols of identity, studies, essays, material* (1991) was used in presenting the attitude of the communist regime toward the folklore expression.

## PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE NOVOSEL FAMILY ALBUM

For Melanija Belaj the photograph in an important research instrument in visual anthropology, sociology and other associated disciplines. In anthropology it is understood as a medium which speaks about cultures the members of which it is presenting, their specific features and characteristics. The reason are the co-elements of the intimacies which it witnesses, and the special selection of motifs and the way of their presentation (Belaj 2006: 54-55). In their research anthropologists have analysed various visual media, among which an important role is played since the nineteen-sixties by the medium of photography which has served as proof of the anthropological understanding and true presentation of the studied culture. Nevertheless, family photographs are still under-researched both in Croatia and abroad (Belaj 2006: 54). Belaj interprets the medium of photography in terms of Goffman’s theory of presentation which describes how an individual presents himself in every day achieving at the same time a given social reputation. Goffman’s presentation model can be applied to any situation by presenting it in the perspective of a play and dramaturgical principles as its essential elements (Belaj 2006: 57). According to these principles the individual

presents the ideal image about himself more expressively than in everyday social situations in which he presents himself to others (Belaj 2006: 57-58). I have applied Goffman's theory in the interpretation of all the four photographs in my research. If clothing on family photographs is observed in the framework of Goffman's theory about the presentation of this ideal image before Others, we can note the need of the rural population for ideal presentation precisely through the medium of photography. In the period in which the interpreted photographs were taken, the family which could have a family album was considered to be well-off (Leček 2001: 97), so that - according to the narrator - putting on the most festive apparel, i.e. a festive national costume, when the photographs were taken, was the unwritten rule. The individual would dress in order to present herself, in photographs and at important social events recorded by a photograph because of their extraordinary importance for the rural population, in the best possible light, in a sumptuous and rich dress already displaying influences of urban fashion. Today it is also quite desirable to put on attractive and modern clothes on occasions interpreted in the text. The events include the most important annual customs, the celebration of Christmas, then the other important events in life, Confirmation and wedding, and, ultimately, photos with the closest kin.

I used the interpretative model of family films and photographs by the visual anthropologist Richard Chalfen as the methodological framework for describing family photographs. The foundation of his models are pictorial communication events or main activities implying several components, i.e., planning the photographing, the act of photographing, the ordering of the photographs before they are displayed and the presentation of the photographs. The mentioned components of the main activities in the photographs describe the participants, the content and place, the code which brings data on the values of the researched culture and their causes, and the form of the photographs, i.e., the way in which they are filed<sup>2</sup> (Belaj 2006: 58-59). I listed the components of the main activities in the analysis of every photograph because they are important for their understanding, and analysed the main activities only when their context was indispensable for subsequent understanding of photograph interpretation.

Confirmation (Fig. 1/p. 188). The first photograph shows Marica Novosel and her mother Dora Pavleković (1909-1978) and brother Stjepan Pavleković (1929-about 1949), and their Confirmation sponsors Barica Malec (about 1923-about 2010) and Juraj Kirinić (about 1920-about 1950). The occasion was the Confirmation of Marica Pavleković and her brother Stjepan Pavleković. The photograph was probably taken in June 1940 when Marica was ten and attended the second class of the primary school in Markuševac. It was taken in one of the photographer's shops in Frankopanska Street in Zagreb, close to the cathedral where the rural population from the Zagreb area received Holy Confirmation. Photographs of other confirmands from the country were also taken in near-by photographer's shops (Leček 2001: 97).

The parents of Marica Novosel engaged in a variety of odd-jobs in order to be able

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2 All the researched photographs are kept in family albums mainly perused when talking with kin so that family members could recall specific events.

to support nine children. The mother, Dora Pavleković, was a housewife and seamstress. Her husband Mirko Pavleković (1905-1969) tilled his farm and worked in the Markuševac quarry. They also sold the products of their farm in Zagreb, in the markets on Kvaternik Square and Dolac. Their parents, born in Markuševac, where they spent all their life, also pursued the same activities. Because of scarce land the parents sent their five youngest children, but also the eldest son Stjepan who could not do demanding physical work because of his severe illness, to trade and high schools in Zagreb in order to give them a good future. On the other hand, they decided to leave the three eldest sisters at home to help their parents on the farm until they married, left home and moved to their husband's homes elsewhere in Markuševac. This is an obvious example of family economic survival strategies, which became important in Zagrebačko Prigorje in the interwar period: the careful planning of the number of household members, their future education, employment and staying at home or leaving the family home. The interwar period brought significant modernisation changes which forced the rural families in Prigorje to seek combined sources of living because they could not survive any more only by working their farms. Thus, rural families sought seasonal work, employment elsewhere etc. (Leček 2003: 336-337). They did not neglect their own farms, but the farm and the less demanding jobs were left to the less mobile members of the household; as a rule these were elderly people and women, whereas the more capable members, mostly the young and men, were in charge of heavier household chores or started to earn a living outside the household (Leček 2003: 338). The youngest son inherited the family house, while the plots around it were divided by agreement among the five younger heirs who had remained on the land for a longer time.

The women on the photograph wore the Šestine national costume, while Stjepan's and Juraj's clothes show the visible influence of urban attire. Starting from the left Barica Malec, Marica Novosel's Confirmation sponsor, wears an *opleće* (long dress), *rubača* (shirt with sleeves) and *fertun* (waist-high apron). On her head she wears a *petekrunec* ["five-crown scarf"; the 'crown' refers to the price], a silk scarf mainly worn above the linen waist-high apron on holiday but during the Confirmation ceremony the sponsors would tie it on their head (Šuvak 2015: 114), *lačice*, knitted white socks and festive women's boots, *šavroni*, worn exclusively on special occasions and considered to express the well-being of the family. She also wears *svezice*, a special ornamentation made of many-coloured haberdashery ribbons stretching in a wide arch along the whole back and, partly, on the shoulders, and a *đund*, red coral necklace (Šuvak 2015: 112-113). In her right hand Barica holds a woollen scarf, locally called *posvetašnji rubec*, worn by country women on every festive occasion. It also served as a bag of sorts, knotted at one end in order to hold coins, kerchiefs or similar objects needed outside home. Marica also wears the festive national costume with *svezice* and *đund*, and the sponsor's gifts: a doll and a *medičarski lanac*, a chain of honey-biscuits, and a smaller chain with a gingerbread heart. She also got some clothing, which she wore in the photograph: a *petekrunec*, a *vinica*,<sup>3</sup> i.e., a woollen many-coloured scarf trimmed at the corners with sewn-on lace, also worn on top of the *petekrunec* on festive occasions, *rupčeci*, small lace

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3 Name taken over from the narrator.

trimmed kerchiefs made of many-coloured wool worn on special occasions, and *šavroni*. In her hand she carries a simple factory-made handkerchief serving an exclusively aesthetic purpose. Such items were often donated by the Confirmation sponsors to their confirmands. The mother of Marica and Stjepan, Dora Pavleković, stands in the middle, also in the Šestine national costume: on her chest she has a bow arranged from the same haberdashery ribbons used for *svezice*, a loose scarf because her braids were tied on the back of her head and fixed with a rectangular, thin willow-wood board with two holes, *kenjč*, wrapped with linen and ornamented with folk embroidery; every day married women had to work two identical braids through these holes (Šuvak 2015: 115).

In this photograph Stjepan Pavleković wears a town suit bought by parents for Confirmation exclusively because of his express wish to have his own suit. When I examined the photographs of the family and relatives taken at different Confirmation ceremonies I came across quite a few photographs in which the confirmand appears with his gift in his hand, just as Marica Novosel on the enclosed photograph. Stjepan did not ask from his sponsor for gifts, but he nevertheless got a prayer-book, a ball and some clothing items. Although two years older than his sister, because of his early diagnosed illness, rickets, which deformed his bones, he was for many years of shorter stature. He started to attend primary school at the same age as Marica, when he was nine, because he was not strong enough to attend classes on his own. After completing primary school in Markuševac with excellent marks, he enrolled in the High School in Kušlanova Street in Zagreb and graduated with a special award as an outstanding student. Unfortunately, because of his poor health Stjepan died soon after graduation. It has to be noted that his parents had planned for a longer time to enrol Stjepan in a high school in Zagreb in order to secure him a better future as he was not fit for farm work because of his rickets. Therefore, his town clothes on the enclosed photograph, not usual for confirmands from the country, could be understood, on one hand, as Stjepan's personal wish to stand out among other confirmands and, on the other hand, as his parents' support to the child getting ready for a future in town. At the time the photograph was taken Stjepan's sponsor Juraj Kirinić worked in the postal office in Jurišićeva Street, Zagreb. This is why he wears town clothes; a hat, belt, shoes and wide trousers, present in European fashion until the late nineteen-thirties under the influence of the so-called "Oxford bag" trousers (Laver 2002: 250-251). However, as the sponsor of a boy from his region, a point he certainly wanted to stress, he also wears some items belonging to traditional costume, i.e., a *rubača* (shirt) and *lajbek* (waistcoat). The transition from traditional to town attire can again be seen in the example of men establishing (or about to establish) contact with the city. The example of Stjepan reflects the boy's singular preparation for town apparel which he would soon wear as he continued his education; as for Juraj, he wore his town clothes every day at work.

Christmas (Fig. 2/p. 188). This photograph was taken on Christmas 1942. It shows the family of Juraj Novosel (1888-1957). The family is standing behind the family table. Juraj was a countryside weaver and produced sheets, tablecloth and clothing, additionally tailored by the family according to their needs and wishes. His wife Katarina (1897-1975), who ran the house at the same time, helped him. He also sold most of the

linen he produced to Jewish shops in Zagreb which marketed them further. The Novosels were from Markuševac, and before they married Juraj and Katarina lived only a couple of streets away from each other. Their parents and grandparents mainly worked on farms and spent all their life in Markuševac where they were born.

The photograph was taken in the family home of Juraj Novosel on Christmas, which is why the tablecloth is festive; it is made of linen and has a Prigorje national costume pattern with a double-strand weave, *tkanica*.<sup>4</sup> The ordinary tablecloth was used every day, and it can be seen in the photograph under the *tkanica*. The people in the photograph are, from left to right: Juraj, his younger son Franjo (1927-1997), his daughter Đurđica (1942- ), his mother Katarina (about 1868-1954), his wife Katarina and his older son Slavek (1920-1975), all with the same family name, Novosel. The photograph was taken on Christmas, when the family got together; on the occasion the older son, Slavek, visited the family with his boss and photography teacher Heda Klemša,<sup>5</sup> who also took the photograph. The holiday time was suitable for the family photograph since Slavek could not visit his family often because he was quite busy and was also engaged in the relocation to downtown Zagreb, Ilica, where Heda had her shop.

Interestingly, Katarina (Juraj's wife) and Katarina (Juraj's mother) wear the Šestine costume, whereas Slavek and Juraj have a town suit. Franjo's attire is a visible combination of town and country dress. Children's dress, worn by Đurđica, also deserves attention. I shall first describe traditional clothing on the two Katarinas, and then turn to Slavek, Juraj, Franjo and Đurđica, and list the reasons underlying the two different clothing styles in the same family. Starting from the left, Juraj's mother Katarina wears a *reklec*, a knitted white woollen coat. On her head she has a *rubec*, head scarf, and a simple kerchief round her neck. Juraj's wife Katarina wears an *opleće*,<sup>6</sup> short linen or cotton shirt, consisting of a front part which is longer than the back part since the latter was covered with a *rubuča*, a skirt made of the same material and, on top, a short *kiklišče*, *bodice* (Benc Bošković 1988: 254). She also wears a factory-made waist-high apron and on head had an *engleški* (*rubec*), "English scarf", with floral patterns (Benc Bošković 1988: 258).

Slavek, at the far right, wears a typical town suit, i.e., a simple white shirt and trousers. The reason is simple: since he was learning the photographer's trade and moved to the city, he had to adapt to the new environment and renounce what was held to be "boorish" or traditional i.e. the national costume. The enclosed photograph, just as the previous one, also reflects the financial survival strategy of rural families. To wit, Juraj and Katarina decided that the elder son would become a town photographer, while the younger one would stay on the farm and help his parents. Juraj Novosel wears a *rubuča*, a home-spun linen shirt with no ornamentation on the chest, such as worn at the time by older men, mainly at home while busy with household and farm chores.

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4 Term used by the narrator.

5 Since the narrator was not sure about the exact name of the photographer, the name was found on the back of the photograph.

6 All the names for clothing items in italics used hereinafter were taken from the narrator; cases where they do not match professional references are noted separately.

Boys and young men wore shirts with sewn-on appliques (patches),<sup>7</sup> seen in Franjo's clothing; older men mainly wore patches with white thread sleeve and collar trimming. The suit he wears on top of the shirt was bought in Zagreb: it is a standard town suit consisting of trousers and a jacket, which grew shorter until the nineteen-twenties (Laver 2002: 250). Franjo, left of Juraj, wears the Šestine national costume, i.e., a *rubača*, home-spun linen almost knee-length shirt and, on top, a *lajbek*, reaching to the waist (Tkalčić 1925: 16). His attire is a combination of two clothing styles because along the national costume he also wears town trousers, purchased exclusively because of the festive occasion and in order to present the family in the best possible light. It may be concluded that Juraj and Slavek Novosel were the family members in everyday contact with urban population and therefore wore town clothing as part of their everyday attire, while the other members of the family still favoured the traditional costume. Another point to be highlighted are Juraj's town clothes worn in his own rural home, a reflection of the possible need to present himself before his son's eventual boss – and the family knew that she would visit them for Christmas – as a modern man open to urban customs. When the photograph was taken Đurđica was less than a year old, and she wears a simple long tunic and a factory-made waist-high apron. Since small country children mainly wore very simple, homespun linen clothing, I believe that the reason why Đurđica wore a factory-made piece of clothing was the same which made Franjo wear purchased trousers, that is, the wish of the family to show off in the best light before the town photographer.

Chance photograph (Fig. 3/p. 189). The photograph was probably taken in 1947, and it shows Marica Novosel and Katarina Pavleković (1932). The photographer is Marica's future husband, Slavek Novosel who had started to work as an apprentice to a photographer in Zagreb and had his own camera. When he visited his aunt, who lived close to Marica's and Katarina's family home, Slavek bargained with the local girls that he would photograph them for a given price. Hearing the offer, Katarina Pavleković went to see her best friend Marica and called her to be photographed – and the girls changed from working clothes into festive, holiday costume.

In the photograph the girls wear the festive summer festive national costume of Markuševac. The space in the background in a improvised landscape, and Slavek decided to take their photograph there. They were the *opleće* and the *rubača*, with no *fertun*, which slowly disappeared at the time and was replaced by factory-made waist-high aprons made of lighter material. Instead of the *fertun* they wear a special apron, the so-called *šulc na prsa*<sup>8</sup> [literally “apron on the breast”; from German Schürze, apron], a pinafore-like apron covering the front part of the body. The material from which such aprons were made was bought in Jewish shops on Ban Jelačić Square, and was used at home for making various types of such aprons. Especially after the Second World War, according to Šuvak, the people of Markuševac combined different clothing styles, and young women, because of frequent contacts with the urban environment, began to wear such aprons with a front part which would be passed over the head and

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7 *Našiveno*, sewn-on vividly coloured prevalently red ornamentation on the collar and chest of man's *rubača*.

8 Term taken from the narrator.



had at least one pocket (Šuvak 2015:115). On their head they wear scarves, and on their feet socks, knitted at home from purchased cotton. On their feet they wear *opanci* (*openjki* in the local dialect), soft peasant footwear [made with a broad sole covering the foot with the upper part covering the toes], produced by local footwear makers, *openjčari*, until the nineteen-fifties when they quickly phased-out of use. The narrator wore *openjki* more often in summer, on festive occasions, whereas in winter and rainy periods she combined *šavroni* and *opanci* depending on the weather.

The enclosed photograph is a good example of the growing intimacy on country photographs, initially discerned in the late nineteen-thirties. Earlier photographs were mainly formal, with no trace of personal feelings; the new period brought photographs that were not due exclusively to secular and religious influences but also the result of individual wishes and, hence, of greater individuality (Leček 2001: 103). It has to be noted that in most cases photographs taken in earlier periods represented the ceremony of Confirmation and weddings, events considered to be, because of church and urban influences, the most important moments in country life (Leček 2001: 96). In the enclosed photograph the two best friends wanted to have a common memento, and ordered a photograph paying it out of their own pocket, and that still represented a luxury. This gives us a new insight into the financial standing of the rural population in the Zagreb area. The opportunity to choose a partner in the photograph, financed jointly by Marica and Katarina with money earned by selling surplus farming products in the market, show their good financial standing, although the girls had not even come of age at the time when the photograph was taken. The greater opportunity to get a photograph, as shown in this “chance” photograph, bears witness to the momentum of modernisation in Zagreb. Furthermore, the photograph also shows the changes of the women’s festive national costume. Owing to modernisation, the rural population slowly took up new materials and clothing items and combined them with older apparel. This can be seen in the use of *fertun*, which slowly disappeared from everyday use, and in the socks, no longer exclusively white but many-coloured in line with the wishes of the wearer.

Engagement (Fig. 4/p. 189). The fourth photograph shows Marica Novosel and Franjo Novosel two weeks before their wedding in January 1952. They stand in front of the parish house of the church of SS. Simeon and Judas Thaddaeus in Markuševac. The photograph was taken during the wedding of one of Franjo’s friends at which Franjo was a guest. After the wedding and the family photograph of the newlyweds and their marriage witnesses and relatives, Franjo quickly pulled his fiancée in front of the photographer for a quick, long and nice reminder.

Marica wears the winter national costume; *opleće*, *rubača*, *fertun* and *rubec*, and a *campa*, a woollen cloak with long tassels, worn in winter and in bad weather. This is a clothing item which became part of country fashion in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the traditional cloth coat, *surina*, began to disappear from everyday use (Šuvak 2015: 113). Many-coloured woollen scarves were used every day in winter, while white scarves were worn only of festive occasions. The narrator also had a red *campa* which she wore every day, and used the white one only on special occasions.

She also wears a festive, satin *šulc*, and on her feet *čarape na bubice*,<sup>9</sup> white cotton socks knitted with a relief or reticular patterns (also known as *lačice*). According to the narrator, they were also worn only on special occasions, and tied with red woollen or silk ribbons (Eckhel 1984: 26). On her feet she wears *šavroni*.

In the photograph Franjo Novosel wears the men's national costume of Šestine: a *rubača* and *gaće*, trousers, made of the same material, a *lajbek*, a *rubec*, festive woollen scarf tied round the neck, a *lačnjak*, leather belt ornamented on the back with many-coloured leather with, often, the monogram IHS, typical only of the Šestine men's costume (Tkalčić 1925: 16). Furthermore, he wears *čizme*, boots, made of black leather. Along with women's boots, *šavroni*, they were made in the Markuševac area by especially appreciated shoemakers, *šostari*, who were active until the nineteen-fifties. In winter, and sometimes in summer as well, men's boots were worn so that the trouser legs, *gačelnice*, were folded and placed in the boots so that they were always a few centimetres over the boot rims. The reason was mainly practical – avoiding mud on the trousers. On his head he wears a *škrlak*, but not the small round hat with a small brim and especially ornate ribbon, typical of the Šestine costume, but a hat of a different appearance because Franjo was a wedding guest and wanted to make his mark among the other guests. The photograph shows a broad and long brim, and he wears it in a special way – another sign of the innovative spirit in the apparel of the rural population.

On the one hand, the photograph shows the prevailing trend at the end of the nineteen-thirties: the arrival of town photographers to the country from Zagreb at the call of the clients, but also on their own to seek clients. Thanks to them, the photographing of wedding feasts became a usual phenomenon as opposed to the period before the First World War when the taking of photographs of rural families in the area was quite rare (Leček 2001: 99-100). On the other hand, changes may be noted in traditional festive costumes. To wit, Marica wears clothing of recent origin, i.e., a *campa* and a *šulc*, whereas Franjo wants to make his mark among friends and guests with a different hat. Both belong to the country population which did not attend secondary education in the city or, in 1952, earned a living there on an exclusive and everyday basis. In 1952 both worked on their farm and as day labourers, and Marica went to the city only to sell farming produce. Only in the mid-nineteen-sixties Franjo began to attend a lathe operator evening school and at the same time started to work in Zagreb. After that he also wore town clothes every day. However, at the time the photographs were taken they were still part of the rural society which, amidst the political and economic changes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, still substantially fostered “old-time” and “traditional” values in the context of life and work, including apparel. In spite of the already mentioned limited contact with the city, the photographs nevertheless shows the slow breakthrough of town attire.

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9 Term taken from the narrator.

## CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been to determine, by using the photographs of the Novosel family of Markuševac, the changes and the phase-out of traditional costumes in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. The photographs were used to describe festive dress and the gradual introduction of new clothing items from contemporary fashion, and the combination of both. In the last part of this text I shall conclude the thematic units covered by this research, starting from the financial survival strategy theme, the modernisation of Zagreb and its impact on Prigorje villages, and the medium of photography. I shall also refer to differences in the consideration of national costumes in references, and conclude by reviewing the disappearance of traditional costumes from everyday use.

The analysis of textile objects has also presented the family survival strategies, i.e., the parents' decisions regarding future employment and the children's future on the farm or in the city depending on the family resources. Slavek Novosel is the best case in point. By going to the city and learning the photographer's trade, and living in the city, he considered himself to be more successful than his brother who remained on the farm. Such examples, noted Leček, can show the vertical social ascent of those members of the family who started to earn their living early in the city, owing to its modernisation, and thereby renounced "backward" things, including the traditional costumes of their region (Leček 2001: 108). I have also presented the indigence of the Prigorje villages, in which a family that could afford a photoalbum was considered to be well-off (Leček 2001: 97). Judging by the number of family photographs from my grandfather's and grandmother's youth that I was able to find, I could easily conclude that Marica's family was poorer than Franjo's, and that matches the financial condition of the family. The few photographs showing Marica highlight the most important events in the rural community in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; however they do not show several generations of the family and all its members as the most important element in the life of an individual, but mainly Confirmation ceremonies and weddings of family members. Under the influence of religious but also secular pressures the rural community considered such events worthy of photographing (Leček 2001: 96-107); the same applies to photographs of family members in military uniforms in the family albums. In most cases, and the narrator confirms that, they endeavoured to mark events like the Confirmation more than all others; only later photographs began to record funerals, several family generations or specific members of the family, e.g., small children.

Most of the clothing items are easily identified and classified according to the features mentioned by Tkalčić, Eckhel and Henc Bošković. However, in their writings I have not come across the *posvetašnji rubec*, worn by Barica Malec on the Confirmation photograph. The object could be compared with an older variant of a woman's bag. Country women wore it only on special occasions, in most cases to Sunday mass or on other church feasts, i.e., on the saint's day. The *rubec* was made of special material befitting the occasion and was mainly used for carrying money and kerchiefs. It served alike a practical and an aesthetic purpose, meant to keep objects which every country woman took along to festive occasions, and displayed by its material and ornamentation the

financial standing of the family. In Markuševac *korpe* (panniers), *košare* (baskets) and *cekari* (shopping bags) were used to keep objects used for work and other purposes, and wearing them was not desirable at church and other festivities. They were bought at village fairs or in Zagreb market-places. According to Bušić, the use of women's bags and handbags in lowland and central Croatia gained momentum only after the breakthrough of modern town fashion in the country in the early decades of the twentieth century (Bušić 2010: 17), while earlier women kept smaller objects in aprons or kerchiefs held in their hand (Bušić 2010: 22). As a rule, there were no traditional handbags in Zagrebačko Prigorje but Bušić does not exclude the possible discovery of interesting variants of objects serving as handbags – such as *posvetašnji rubec* – in the area (Bušić 2010: 26).

In order to finally sum up all the data I have collected on the reasons influencing the disappearance of traditional costumes in the Zagreb area I shall use the narrative of Marica Novosel and the data I have collected on social and political changes during the Second World War and the communist regime.

National costumes in Zagrebačko Prigorje were made from home-grown hemp and occasionally of flax (Eckhel 11984: 8) until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when the purchasing power of the local population began to rise owing to the momentum of modernisation in Zagreb. After that, hemp began to be combined with factory-made cotton (Šuvak 2015: 109) because cloth made from hemp was very rough and unpleasant for everyday use. At the time Jewish shops in Zagreb had the monopoly for selling cotton and other materials; one could buy them for cash or on credit, or even on loan, and the people from the surrounding villages bought there all the cotton they used to make clothing. However, with the beginning of World War Two, the persecutions of Jews started in Croatia just as everywhere else, and their shops were closed. During the war a substantial number of remaining costumes disappeared because of unfavourable living circumstances and because the countryside suffered from disease and poor hygiene conditions, which is why costumes had to be washed more than usually. Since soap was a very scarce commodity during the war, other chemical agents were used and many traditional costumes were destroyed after being washed two or three times.

After the war, the communist regime put a stop to foreign trade and cotton for making costumes was no longer available. The first Yugoslav five-year plan of economic development was focused on increasing industrial output to that Yugoslavia would not have import any raw materials from abroad (Matković 2003: 294-295). In the same period the free market was abolished and the overall economy was placed under rigorous government control. Instead of the free market, rationing of necessities was introduced. Consumers were given coupons entitling them to the purchase of strictly fixed quantities of food, clothing and footwear (Matković 2003: 286). According to the narrator, cotton could also be bought only with coupons; however, the quantity was low and people could only get enough to make ordinary clothing, let alone national costumes.

The disappearance of traditional costumes was also promoted by the communist ideology which favoured transition from traditional to town clothes under the slogan of unity of town and country communities and, finally, unity of different rural

communities of the former state, each of which fostered its own traditional costumes. Rural traditions were considered to be inappropriate and backward, and were generally referred to in negative terms (Rihtman-Auguštin 1991: 83). That is why the population began to shrink from all traditional or old-time things, which were moreover attributed expressly nationalistic characteristics (Šuvak 2015: 111).

It has to be noted that the appearance of the consumer society in Croatia – in the historians' opinion in the nineteen-fifties – also began to displace national costumes in everyday use at an ever increasing rate. As far as family photographs are concerned, after the 1952 wedding photographs there is only one more photograph of Franjo and Marica Novosel (Fig. 5/p. 190). Both are shown in the foreground. The photograph was taken during their honeymoon in Belgrade, where Slavek worked for some time and where he took their photograph with his wife and son. Unlike their engagement photograph, both wear town clothes especially because of their visit to a big city. In the nineteen-fifties they began to buy and wear town clothes more and more frequently. After this photograph there is a gap of a dozen years during which time they do not appear in family photographs for financial and other reasons. Therefore, the family photographs of the other members of the family, and their narratives, bear witness to the disappearance of national costumes from everyday use other than on special occasions in the nineteen-fifties. In that period national costumes were as a rule worn in Markuševac by elderly women going to church or attending fêtes; they were also worn at the express wish of communicants and confirmands, or at family meetings or weddings: this was also confirmed, on the basis of her own experience, by Marica's sister Barica Lidej. At her wedding in 1958 she wore the national costume (Fig. 6/p. 190) although all the other guests from Markuševac already wore town clothing. The next photograph of Marica and Franjo with their daughter Nada dates from as late as 1964 when Nada received Communion (Fig. 7/p. 191). It needs to be noted that at the time under consideration town clothing was worn every day. Croatian fashion began to adapt to international fashion trends of the nineteen-sixties, when the habits and behaviour typical of all young consumer societies began to prevail in Croatian society. The best case in point is the Italian town of Trieste, visited on a massive scale by Croats buying the "most modern" clothing (Duda 2005: 60-69). The appearance of the consumer society was associated with the urbanisation and industrialisation of underdeveloped areas, and the growing working class and its awareness of national identity and the values and life of the so-called middle class with the subsequent moderation of class differences (Duda 2005: 41-42). Clothing also contributed to breaking down the gap between the different social classes, i.e., between the urban and the rural population. The mentioned authors also regard these processes as determining factors in the ousting of national costumes from everyday use and the acceptance of modern apparel as an inevitable part of modern life.

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