

Folk Costumes in the Photographs by Julije Kempf and Atelier Wollner at the Beginning of the 20th Century

- Photographs from the first two decades of the 20th century, taken by Julije Kempf, the founder of City museum Požega and the photography atelier named Atelier Wollner in Požega, proved a useful documentary source for the studies of *traditional dress* in rural Požega area from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. A large number of their photographs is preserved in the Collection of Photographs and Negatives in City museum Požega. These photographs provide a historical overview of men's and women's *folk costumes* from the end of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century, showing the appearance, the changes and fashion influences in traditional *folk costumes* in the villages near Požega.

Key words: Kempf, Julije
City museum Požega
photographs, *folk costumes*, *Požeština*, the beginning of the 20th century
Atelier Wollner

INTRODUCTION

This text has been inspired by several years of research of *traditional dress* from the area of Požega where the photographs taken in the first half of the 20th century, as well as those kept in City museum Požega and those owned by narrators, found during field research provided the documentary sources. Besides the fact that they frequently enhanced and illustrated the stories told by the narrators encountered during field research and the preserved material collections, the photographs frequently provided the only source of information in the research of the *folk costume* in this area.

The historian Peter Burke pointed out that “photographs, as well as texts and oral history were an unavoidable form of historical evidence” (Burke 2003: 11). In history of dress, photographs or paintings gained in importance as material evidence. They enabled keeping abreast of the continuity and changes in the type of clothing worn in a specific area (ibid: 85). Primarily the photographs taken at the beginning of the 20th century documented the appearance and the changes in *traditional dress* worn in Požega area during that period. The first time I reflected on the latter remarks was in a short presentation of *folk costumes* in the photographs by Atelier Wollner (Matoković 2019: 23-26) within the exhibition One Step Ahead of the Times, by Atelier Wollner (1899 – 1934). Upon further reflection on this topic, in addition to the photographs by Atelier Wollner, I also provided presentations of *traditional dress* in the photographs and negatives by Julije Kempf taken in the first decade of the 20th century, kept in City museum Požega.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ATELIER WOLLNER AND NEGATIVES BY JULIJE KEMPF IN THE COLLECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND NEGATIVES OF CITY MUSEUM POŽEGA

Photographs made by the first professional Požega-based photography atelier named Atelier Wollner¹ together with the photographs taken by the amateur photographer Julije Kempf² are preserved among different albums, photographs and negatives. Most photographs and negatives from this large interdepartmental collection have been stored within the History Department.³ The photographs by Atelier Wollner show the citizens of Požega and the inhabitants of the nearby villages, many reputable people from the city, different local societies and associations, performances, events, etc. (Domanović 2019: 3). The woman photographer Cecilija Wollner was probably the first woman in Croatia who also took photographs that were used for picture postcards.⁴

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- 1 Atelier Wollner was the first professional and exclusively purpose-built photography atelier in Požega, built in 1899 and opened in December of the same year in Županijska Street (Maringer 2019: 27). It was founded by the young woman photographer Cecilija Wollner (1878 – 1942). In 1906 she joined forces with the photographer Julije Davidson both on the professional and on the private level and the name Atelier Wollner started from that moment adding the inscription J. & C. Davidson Požega (Ibid.: Domanović 2019: 3). The two partners and spouses moved with their children to Split in 1913, while the atelier continued operating under the same name. From 1919 to 1934 it was owned by the Šterk spouses who retained the name Atelier Wollner (Ibid.: 9).
 - 2 Julije Kempf (1864 – 1934), a Požega native, a teacher and a writer, founded the City Cultural History Museum (the existing City museum Požega) in Požega 1924 and he was also its first director and curator.
 - 3 Most photographs and negatives were stored in what at the time was a temporary History Collection, while its smaller segment is to be found in other museum departments. As agreed by the curators, photographs will be officially inventoried in an interdepartmental Collection of Photographs and Negatives. The Collection is still being processed because of the continuous influx of large donations to the History Department over many years.
 - 4 Her first picture postcard dating back to 1904 shows Velika, a place north of Požega, as a thermal bath. Some of her picture postcards were published in the monograph by Julije Kempf entitled Požega: Geographical Notes from the County and Attachments from the History of the Free and Royal City of Požega and the Požega County from 1910 (Španiček 2019: 18-19).

The Ethnology Department of City museum Požega primarily preserves portrait photographs⁵ that show the *folk costume* typical of Požega, which had been collected for years for what at the time was the Ethnography Collection. The Photograph Collection in the Department was collected non-systematically, primarily through individual donations and to a lesser extent through purchases. Out of 61 collected photographs, 17 were taken at the Atelier Wollner. They mostly comprise of group portraits of families, relatives, friends, fiancés and a smaller number of people, while portraits of individuals were very rare. The persons were most frequently photographed full-body, staring directly at their front-facing camera. The postures of those in the portraits were in accordance with the tips from the photographer and their costumes were festive. Large group portraits show peasants standing and (or) sitting in several rows one next to another. The photographs were most frequently taken in the format of a visiting card (6 x 9 cm) and cabinet card format (10 x 14 cm), as well as in elongated format (8,2 x 12,5 cm) or in some other larger format (17,6 x 23 cm). Fine photographs from the first two decades of the 20th century were glued to cardboard and frequently decorated in Secession style. Some have printed logos with the name of the atelier,⁶ while

“most photographs made in Atelier Wollner include a background in the form of large painted canvas showing the nature or the interior and there are quite often also neutral backgrounds, as, for instance, greyish-white” (Maringer 2019: 27). Atelier gear also most frequently includes a chair, sometimes a column or a flower stand. The identity of the persons in the photographs and the circumstances behind the photographs are often unknown and the same applies to their life stories. What we do know is that they were taken in the first photography atelier in Požega named Atelier Wollner⁷ (Fig. 1)

The accompanying information in the inventory programme of the Collection largely differs, it is incomplete for most photographs and it encourages further research. Most photographs are dated either based on the notes made by the photographer or the notes of the former owners or their heirs, some photographed persons have been identified by name and surname and their place of residence, while for several photographs only estimates were made concerning the date and the location in which they were taken. The largest number of photographs taken in the photography atelier Atelier Wollner has been dated from the period between 1910 and 1918, while several photographs were dated before and after that period. The photographs were most frequently made as personal and family souvenirs and were hence frequently framed and used to decorate their owners' rooms. They currently provide a historical perspective on the festive dress worn by the rural population in Požega during a specific period. It is primarily thanks to Atelier Wollner that the beginning of the 20th century saw the appearance of portrait

5 Some photographs require conservation-restoration procedures.

6 Photograph cardboard with printed logos was the trademark of photographers and photography ateliers. Their promotional features and design provided a reflection of that period, industrialisation and technical development through which photographers strived to become recognisable by the quality of the photographs that they made (Skuljan 2009: 61).

7 Photographs whose cardboard does not include the printed name Atelier Wollner were identified based on the recognisable background and typical gears that were present also in other photographs by Atelier Wollner as those taken by the atelier in question.

photographs of the inhabitants of the villages around Požega wearing what at the time was their most festive clothing, i.e. that ethnologists and cultural anthropologists refer to as *folk costume* or *traditional dress* (Matoković 2019a: 23-24).

Photographs taken in the very villages of Požega Basin originated from the latter period. Most photographs were taken by Julije Kempf during his work on the monograph entitled “Požega: Geographical Notes from the County and Attachments from the History of the Free and Royal City of Požega and the Požega County”, printed in 1910. In his memoirs, Kempf wrote that he got a still camera from a friend with which he “quickly mastered the photography techniques in the formats 9 x 12 to 18 x 24 cm” (Kempf 1996: 170). It was with that still camera that from 1898 to 1910 he visited the hills and valleys, villages and manorial estates accompanied by friends and took hundreds of photographs (Ibid.: 170, 179). Photographs and glass plate negatives taken by Julije Kempf during that period and some taken after 1910 are preserved in the History Department within the Collection of Photographs and Negatives. They kept accessing the museum since its foundation (1924) through donation of Julije Kempf himself and over the subsequent years through donations made by his descendants.⁸ Glass plate negatives from his legacy underwent cleaning or conservation interventions⁹ in several stages and positives have been made for all of them. These are gelatin dry plate negatives mostly sized 9 x 12 cm, 12 x 16 cm, 13 x 18 cm and 18 x 24 cm.

In addition to the negatives taken for the monograph, the legacy also includes private negatives, taken in the circle of family and friends of Julije Kempf and some reportage and documentary negatives taken after 1910. The photographs intended for the Požega monograph were glued to a clean monochrome cardboard pad or one with Secession ornaments and there were often handwritten names. Around eight hundred pieces of glass plate negatives are a precious part of the Collection of Photographs and Negatives. They (and the photographs) show panoramic views of the villages around (see Fig. 2) and landscapes, cultural monuments, buildings, rural and urban streets, the squares of Požega, portraits of the citizens and of locally famous people, portraits of family and friends, social and cultural events, excursions, processions, trade fairs, historical documents and objects... Most negatives had corresponding inscriptions or records on a separate piece of paper, while a proportion of them has been identified through comparison with other photographs from the Collection and those published in Kempf's monograph. As opposed to the photography atelier named Atelier Wollner, his photographs do not have artistic and high-quality craft features, yet they provide an inexhaustible documentary source from that period.

Photographs by Atelier Wollner, as well as both photographs and negatives by Julije Kempf have been scanned¹⁰ or digitised and inventoried in M+ +, a software for the

8 Around three hundred glass plate negatives taken during his research for the monograph entitled Požega have been kept at the Museum since its foundation. Other photographs and negatives from the legacy of Julije Kempf and his family were donated to City museum Požega by his heirs in 2009. Several more pieces of glass plate negatives were subsequently found in 2013 (Šperanda 2015: 122).

9 A proportion of the negatives was rather damaged and they were hence only cleaned. Several pieces that were glued together have not been separated for fear of further damage.

10 All the photographs have neither been digitised nor scanned in quality manner in high definition. That was due to the fact that the process was implemented at different points in time by different professionals, as well as through

processing of museum collections. Kempf's negatives from the last donation were particularly well digitised,¹¹ which enabled an improved accessibility and visibility during their analysis and computer processing. The photographs that have been scanned, digitised and saved in this way on a non-volatile media enable comparative research of a large quantity of material and are hence more accessible to the users and the original collections are simultaneously protected from damage and continuous handling.¹²

A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF *FOLK COSTUMES* IN THE AREA OF POŽEGA

The *folk costume* in the area of Požega was designed in Pannonian clothing style and it belongs to the type of *Paurian*¹³ *folk costume* that was worn both in lowland villages and in the villages in the foothills. Its design was influenced by historical social and political changes in this area. At the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, a surge in rural population was recorded. It was caused by migrations of settlers from Central Europe (Karaman 1997: 22-23, Petković 1997: 166) who brought along their clothing style and, in addition to accelerated development of textile industry and under the influence of civic culture, they contributed to changes in the previously worn clothing among rural population living near Požega. Men's and women's older style *folk costume* was made from flax only to be completely replaced by cotton yarn¹⁴ in the second half of the 19th century upon the development of textile industry and market supply, which soon expanded during the first half of the 20th century. During the transition from using linen fabric to cotton, "cotton was the folk fabric" (Schoeser 2009: 175). Mourning and working clothing was woven from flax and a mixture of flax and cotton yarn, while cotton yarn was intended exclusively for festive dress.¹⁵ Everyday clothing was made from homemade fabric without ornaments or worn out festive dress. Characteristic basic dress made from woven fabric widths was still widely used at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, when the *folk costume* started

the use of lesser quality equipment.

- 11 Glass plate negatives were digitised with a quality still camera in high definition. They were delivered in raw format, JPEG format generated from RAW as RGB positives and as JPEG RGB positives reduced to the scale 1:1 at 360 dpi (Report on implemented digitisation of a part of the collection of gelatin dry glass plate negatives from City museum Požega 2016).
- 12 The original material was stored in acid-free foil and boxes in museum storage by which it has been preserved from adverse microclimatic conditions.
- 13 The area around Požega historically belonged to Pauria, or civic Croatia governed by the viceroy, while several villages to the south of Orłjava were included in the Military Frontier – the border, from which names for Paurian and Military Frontier *folk costumes* originated.
- 14 Until the mid-19th century western industry cotton yarns and fabrics manufactured by weaving machines were distributed at the global level (Schoeser 2009: 156).
- 15 The peasants in the area of Požega referred to their clothing as *roba* or *ruvo*. A special light blue colour that was made using laundry bluing was typical of festive costume in the area of Požega. Consequently, being so typical, the latter colour was named Požega blue or in the local dialect *požeško plava*. Nevertheless, it cannot be seen in monochrome photographs from the beginning of the 20th century. Out of all the *folk costumes*, women's skirts, blouses and headscarves (*krila*, *oplećci* and *rupci*) used to be blued (*zaplavljivanje*), as well as men's shirts and traditional trousers (*rubine* and *gaće*).

taking over features of civic clothing and footwear and fashion accessories typical at the time (Matoković 2019b: 18).¹⁶ Basic women's *folk costume*, a short blouse, locally referred to as *oplećak* and a skirt, locally referred to as *krila*, made from homemade woven fabric remained unchanged until the mid-20th century, while other items of women's dress: aprons (*zaprega*), headscarves (*rubac*) or woven scarves (*rida*)¹⁷ were gradually replaced from the mid-19th century with ready-made manufactured scarves and aprons from cashmere, cotton and silk. An older type of women's dress, a white skirt with apron locally referred to as *bijela krila sa zapregom* and woven headscarves *rupci* were retained in use at the beginning of the 20th century in elderly women's *folk costumes* and in mourning dress until the mid-20th century.

Oplećak as woman's top blouse was made from woven fabric widths with long wide sleeves made from diverse woven fabrics,¹⁸ creasy around the neck and with round neckline. In addition to weaving, the sleeves were often decorated with different needle work.¹⁹ At the beginning of the 20th century, the ready-made or custom-made blouses from ready-made fabrics modelled on urban fashion started gradually replacing the blouse locally referred to as *oplećak*, only to be fully replaced before the Second World War (Matoković 2019b: 22). At the end of the 19th and in the first decade of the 20th century, the skirt named *krila* or *skuti*²⁰ as the bottom part of women's dress or skirt was almost ankle length. Under the influence of the new civic fashion, it was gradually shortened until the period before the Second World War. The front part of the skirt *krila* was woven from pure lower quality fabric and an apron or *zaprega* or *fertun* was worn above it. The back section of the festive skirt *krila* had fine creases *falte*, it was decorated and visible. The festive skirt *krila* of an older type of women's *folk costume* was locally named *bijela krila*²¹ and they differed by decorative techniques. On top of them, women wore an apron or *zaprega* of rectangular shape, woven from homemade wool and abounding in stripes of different colours, decorated with multicoloured fringes in the ends. Such aprons were worn only with a white skirt (*bijela krila*). At the end of the 19th century, skirts with woven dyed *zatka*²² or *šara* became fashionable and they

16 In a newspaper article from 1892, a teacher from the village named Kaptol commented, comparing the former homemade peasant costume with what at the time were luxury peasant costumes for religious feasts with boots or shoes locally referred to as *sa cugom cipele*, black trousers from manufactured wool cloth (*čoha*), a black waistcoat and a coat and a cigarette holder and a cigar in their mouth. While it was stated that all the girls wore a silk apron and a headscarf, different jewellery, brooches, necklaces, bracelets, fine shoes... (Vudy 1892: 1).

17 Several villages in the foothill area of Požega used the name *rida* for a woven headscarf.

18 Festive shirts *oplećci* were woven using weave patterns of the type patterned weave (with stripes) *usniv*, broad loom *krupni rocanac* and through insertion *ulaganje*. This type of weaving was also used for women's skirts *krila*, as well as on the sleeves of men's shirts and the leggings of their traditional trousers *gaće*.

19 Untangling rasplit or stitching *prošav*, cuttings out *izrežanac*, embroidery, pearls, broomstick lace – *eklja*, perforated embroidery *šlinga*... (see in Matoković 2019: 20-21).

20 An older term for a skirt *krila* was used primarily in the foothill villages, while a newer term *skuti* was used in the lowland villages and among the Serbs.

21 The most widespread were white skirts locally known as *bijela krila s krpama*, i.e. decorated with added fabric. They, as well as skirts with perforated embroidery (*šlingana krila*) were worn with silk aprons (*fertuni*) on days marking the feasts of the most important saints, such as Corpus Christi and they were also included in the bride's dress.

22 *Zatke* were woven ornaments from dyed cotton yarn named *natak* or *mavez* using the technique locally referred to as *jednoživa* or *jednožica* 35 to 50 cm in length and they differed by the technique and the method of ornament making.

remained so as long as people still wore the *folk costume*. The oldest were red and black *zatka* decorated with stripes in different colours – white, blue, black or red colour – and they were worn as a part of festive women's clothing at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. As a new type of women's *folk costume*, skirts decorated with *zatka* (*krila sa zatkom*) were worn only with aprons, locally referred to as *fertun*, which was made from ready-made industrial fabrics.

Initially, women wore woven headscarves and scarves locally named *rupci* or *ride*. *Gorgeous headscarves* made from fine cotton of patterned weave with different white embroidery were worn with white skirts (*bijela krila*) and the wool apron (*zaprega*). They were worn around the neck and as headscarves over the poculica caps worn by married women. Ready-made headscarves became fashionable very early. They were made from thin wool with floral pattern, locally referred to as *šafolke* or *tibetke*, which were worn in parallel with headscarves (*rupci*) with the older type of woman's costume, white skirt and apron (*bijela krila and zaprega*), as well as later on with the new type, Skirts decorated with *zatka* and apron (*krila sa zatkom and fertun*) made from the same type of cashmere fabric or from ready-made cotton or silk fabric. Festive headscarves made from different ready-made fabrics were worn with skirts with woven *zatka* and the corresponding type of apron (*fertun*). The most valued were large silk headscarves named *svilenke*, made from atlas silk with floral pattern. (Fig. 4)

Compared with women's *folk costume*, men's *folk costume* in the area around Požega changed less, but after 1918 it was quickly replaced with the civic clothing. The shirt²³ and trousers (*gaće*) of homemade weave were worn in all the seasons as the basic men's clothing. Other clothing items, such as the waistcoat (*frosluk*) and the hat (*kapa*) were most frequently ready-made. The chest on festive men's shirts was always decorated with different embroidery,²⁴ and decorative buttons (*puceta*), while the most festive pieces were even decorated with different colours of pearls. Just before the First World War different satin ribbons on men's shirt became fashionable. They were inserted through the cut fabric in the shape of a rhombus and there were also ornaments from serrated linen edge. *Gaće* as festive wide leg men's trousers tightened with a string at the waist, were frequently decorated in the bottom part with different patterned weaves and handmade decorative techniques.²⁵ Under the influence of urban fashion at the end of the 19th century, young men gradually replaced the traditional trousers named *gaće* with ready-made trousers made from wool brush (*čoja*), broadcloth (*štof*), velour (*samt*) and other ready-made fabrics that were available on the market at the time.

23 Men's shirt was locally also referred to as *rubina*.

24 These were primarily weaving and lace techniques like in the sleeves of women's short blouses *oplećak* (see in Matoković 2019: 29-30).

25 The weaves were similar to those in basic woman's dress: broad loom *rocanač*, inserted *ulagano* and creased *borano* weave, as well as decorative techniques such as stitching *prošava*, cut out *izrezanac*, perforated embroidery *šlinge*.

FOLK COSTUME IN THE PHOTOGRAPHS

Upon comprehensive and systematic study of *traditional costume* in the area of Požega in the last two decades,²⁶ a problem was encountered during the research of this topic for the period at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. Due to a huge window of time of around one hundred years, it was not possible to find a direct narrator for that period, as well as items of clothing.²⁷ In the 20th century, as a result of a change in fashion, especially after World War Two due to adverse economic conditions and a lack of textile, items of *folk costume* were sold and retailed and hence they also disappeared. In the absence of the latter, photographs of peasants from the area around Požega in their clothing dating back to the beginning of the 20th century proved a useful documentary source. They were taken by Julije Kempf and the photography atelier Atelier Wollner in Požega.

At the turn of the 20th century, photographs documented significant changes in fashion (Simončić 2013: 428). Similarly, one can track changes and multiple layers in the *folk costume* in the area of Požega in the photographs from the first two decades of the 20th century. Clothing increasingly includes civic elements that are adapted to “rural fashion” (Toldi 2009: 15). Rather than the woven homemade blouse *oplećak*, women wore urban design blouses made from ready-made fabrics (Ibid.) or the homemade men’s shirt *rubina* was combined with a civic man’s suit. *The new fashion* includes *folk costumes* with inserted lace, ribbons – *pantljike*, different colours of pearls – *đerđane* and ornamental buttons – *pućeta*. Cotton and silk aprons *fertuni* were decorated with creases, frills and sewn in ribbons. Footwear included high top shoes with a heel or low-top patent leather shoes. Wealthy younger men used to show off their wealth by wearing a pocket watch on a chain (Fig. 5), and to show off (*kicošiti*) they also wore bow ties tied around the neck on the shirt (*rubina*).

The selected photographs from the Collection of Photographs and Negatives show primarily festive men’s and women’s costumes of newer type²⁸ from the end of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century. Gradual changes in clothing items worn by rural population, primarily among young population, are particularly evident in group portraits of larger groups of people, irrespective of whether they were taken in a photography atelier or those taken as documentary reportage “on the spot”, in a procession, at a trade fair, in the street...

26 Field research was conducted within a multi-annual research project (2001 - 2015) of *traditional costume* of the population from the area of Western Slavonia, managed by Vesna Kolić Klikić from Nova Gradiška City Museum. All the collected materials were at the time processed and comprehensively presented in two monographs (Kolić Klikić, Vesna 2007 and Kolić Klikić, Vesna 2015).

27 However, there is some previous ethnographic research (included in the project) that saw the participation of narrators born in the 19th century, as well as scarce previous ethnological references (Lechner 1977: 301-308) concerning that period, but it was limited to individual villages around Požega. Moreover, one needs to take into account also the information provided by female narrators born immediately after the First World War, as most of them were acquainted with the costumes worn by the generation of their mothers and grandmothers.

28 The newer *folk costume* type includes the basic clothing items of both men’s and women’s *folk costumes* completed with ready made fabrics.

To provide an illustrative example²⁹ of these changes, it is important to mention one of the photographs taken in Atelier Wollner in 1907³⁰ (Fig. 6). The latter photograph reminds of a genre - a scene in an inn and it is not known on what occasion it was taken and who the people in it are. They are wearing the *folk costume* typical of the area of Požega. Out of four people is wearing everyday civic clothing, one name has been written down on the back of the photograph cardboard – the one of the Požega citizen, Jakob Fabijan,³¹ an innkeeper and soda water factory owner, standing in the middle of the last row. His connection with the group of peasants in the portrait wearing the festive *folk costume* and the occasion in which the photograph was taken remain unknown to date. I suppose that the evocation of the inn scene genre may be linked with Jakob Fabijan's occupation, but it is also possible that it was taken on the occasion of marking a celebration. A group of different people arranged in several rows in front of a table with beer mugs shows both young and elderly men and women. Men (with the exception of two of them) are wearing typical festive costume: a shirt, traditional trousers *gaće*, waistcoat, hat and also the version in which the traditional trousers *gaće* were replaced by civic trousers. Concerning women and young girls wearing *traditional costume*, elderly women retained homemade white headscarves *rupci* as a part of their headdress, while girls and young women combined headscarves and aprons made from different ready-made fabrics with the basic *folk costume*. Such photographs of larger groups of people make it possible to identify differences in the presentation of *traditional costume*. The age of the people shown is here apparent, as the clothing worn by younger women and men is more richly decorated and comprises of several layers where “new fashion accessories” have been added, while older generations are wearing simpler clothing and more frequently retain older type of *folk costume* items.³²

During the previously mentioned research of women's and men's clothing in the area around Požega, both photographs and negatives from the beginning of the 20th century were used both as illustration and to complement and explain field research. In one field research in 2008, a rare men's clothing item was accidentally found, which dates back to the clothing worn in the 19th century. It is a high collar raincoat with fake sleeves from white cloth.³³ It was mentioned in the previous references³⁴ but without a comprehensive description. Upon further research, the latter clothing item was confirmed only by three narrators.³⁵ Upon analysis of digitised Kempf's negatives on a panoramic photograph

29 In the further overview of photographs, only a small number of them has been selected, as it is impossible to present them all.

30 The photograph is frequently used as an illustration of *folk costume* typical of Požega in monographs and exhibition catalogues addressing the issue of clothing.

31 Based on another photograph (inv. no. E 973), an elderly woman in civic clothing was identified (in the last row to the left) as Jakob Fabijan's wife.

32 The persons in the photograph were arranged in several rows both standing (central part) and sitting and the entire figure is not visible for everyone and hence neither is the clothing combination that they wore.

33 The raincoat is the only such item donated to the Ethnographic Department of City museum Požega.

34 Julije Kempf mentioned the raincoat in his monograph in 1910 as one of the products of the local tailors (Kempf 1910: 453), while Zdenka Lechner in handmade fabric items from the area of Požega still provides a brief indication of its appearance and function (Lechner 1977: 308).

35 The narrators are connected by origin with the place in which the raincoat was found and everyone remembers it

of a trade fair in Požega in 1906, the same type of raincoat was identified worn by a man. The latter photograph confirmed the statements claiming that men used to wear such raincoats also when visiting trade fairs.³⁶ In this case, different sources painted a full picture of the appearance and the use of this specific clothing item.

Thanks to the photographs showing *folk costumes* it is possible to confirm and (or) detect the way in which specific items of the *folk costume* were worn, i.e. how they were combined with other clothing and even determine the date when they were worn. City museum Požega keeps older versions of several blouses (*oplećak*) that have a cut on the chest decorated with lace patterned with one or two holes. It was determined through field research that these slits were intended for insertion through the ends of the headscarf worn draped over the shoulders. This way of wearing the blouse locally referred to as *oplećak* came in form of a tiny detail from two positives made from Kempf's negatives from the period preceding 1910.

Among interesting examples, it is important to point out a rarely preserved apron, locally named *fertun* from ready-made cotton weave (Fig. 7) and the photograph (Fig. 8) that shows this type of apron. Upon the subsequent processing of objects, it was determined that they accessed the Museum from the same source.³⁷ According to inventory records,³⁸ the red cotton apron made from ready-made crêpe weave with woven vertically arranged red flowers and yellow stripes was owned by the woman whose portrait features in the previously mentioned photograph. The monochrome photograph shows a portrait of a mother and a daughter. The woman is wearing a custom-made blouse from ready-made material with a bib over which a silk scarf with fringes has been tied. On her skirt, locally named *krila* (which is not visible), a cotton apron has been tied of identical pattern, only in opposite colours³⁹ to those in the preserved apron. On her head, to show that the woman is married, she is wearing a headscarf locally referred

as the clothing item worn by the oldest men in the village between the two wars. As far as one of them remembers, they wore it also during their visits to trade fairs.

36 As opposed to the previous research conducted by Zdenka Lechner who mentioned the raincoat exclusively as a work clothing item worn in pastures with cattle grazing (Lechner 1977: 308), our narrators placed it in both contexts, worn in pastures, as well as while visiting trade fairs.

37 The photograph was initially included in secondary documentation of the Photo Archive of the Ethnographic Collection, while the apron was inventoried as an object in the Ethnographic Collection in 1987. Both objects accessed the Museum from the same source, from the granddaughter of the woman whose portrait features in the photograph.

38 In M++ inventory management software used by City museum Požega, the apron was inventoried under the inventory number E 967 within the Folk Costume Collection. The information was collected from the Inventory Management Book of the Ethnographic Collection VII in which it had been entered based on the narration of the last owner of the object, the name and the surname of the original owner of the apron (her own grandmother) who used to wear it as a part of her festive costume. The same name was recorded for the woman in the portrait photograph inventoried under the number 13506 in the Collection of Photographs and Negatives.

39 Because of the monochrome photograph, the colours are not clear, yet the flower motifs are probably lighter yellow, while the stripes are most probably red.

to as *podveza* and a cap named *poculica*.⁴⁰ According to records,⁴¹ on the back of the cardboard mount of the photograph it is stated that the photograph was taken in 1916. Probably the owner had two aprons with identical motifs, only in different colours.⁴² Based on the photograph, the clothing combination in which the preserved apron was worn can be assumed and the approximate period in which it was fashionable and that was the second decade of the 20th century.⁴³ Irrespective of the fact that in oral narratives upon field research it was stressed that headscarf and apron were worn with the *folk costume* of the same type of ready-made materials,⁴⁴ this photograph shows that in the same clothing combination, there may have been also two different fabrics. In this case, we are talking about a headscarf from silk fabric and an apron from cotton fabric.

Photographs by Atelier Wollner and Julije Kempf from the beginning of the 20th century showed that, while wearing their festive clothing, single girls braided their hair and used to make a multiple braid named *perčín*. Generations of narrators born after the First World War do not remember everywhere in the same way the braids (*perčín*) worn by single girls that were no longer worn after 1920. They remember it in several villages in the foothills in the area of Požega as elderly women used to braid their hair when they were performing in local folklore ensembles. These were often braids (*perčini*) from someone else's hair or hemp fibre (*kudjelja*) that was only attached to the head. Others remember them from the stories told by the elders or from family photographs from the beginning of the 20th century. There are currently not many people who are able to braid it properly. The collective memory includes only one version of combing the front part of the hair: with "thick beams" *coklini*⁴⁵ and braids *kintoši*.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, from the photographs it is evident that there were different types of combing of the front part of the hair among single girls, from traditional "thick beams" *coklini* and "horns" (*rogovi*),⁴⁷ from smoothly combed hair parting to hair combed high above the forehead inspired by civic hairstyles. (Fig. 9 and 10) There were also different combinations of *perčín* braid visible above the back of the head with smaller braids on the sides of the head: *kintoši* and *roce*.⁴⁸ Photographs by Atelier Wollner and Julije Kempf

40 Woman's cap named *pocul(i)ca* or *poculjica*, most frequently tied with yarn dyed in various colours, it belongs to an older tradition of covering women's hair. It was also worn with a blouse *oplećak* and a white decorated skirt, locally referred to as *bijela krila sa zapregom*, as well as with (as shown in the photograph) a simple skirt with an apron *krila s fertunom* and a blouse from ready-made fabrics. On *pocul(i)ca* cap, above the forehead, a headscarf was tied arranged into a ribbon from thin woolen or silk fabric named *podveza*.

41 In the back of the cardboard mount of the photograph, one can sometimes identify handwritten information of the photographer, the number of the photograph, the year and the number of copies of the photograph made by the photography atelier.

42 Wealthier women and single girls owned several festive aprons made from ready-made materials.

43 In several privately owned photographs taken during the period of the First World War, ready-made aprons of similar cotton weave were identified with identical motif arrangement, combined with vertical flowers and straight lines or only wavy and straight lines.

44 That was also confirmed by the photographs.

45 *Coklin* is semi-circular combed hair into one or two semi-circles on each side on the forehead.

46 *Kintoši* or *vitice* as they are called in some villages, are braids made from four, five or six packs of hair.

47 Horns (*rogovi*) are two semi-circular "thick beams" *coklins* raised in the form of horns on each side.

48 *Roce* is the common term used to refer to the braids made from horse's hair braided in the form of a grid that

were also used upon reconstruction⁴⁹ of single girls' hairstyles from the beginning of the 20th century for the purpose of research and exhibition both about single girls' and married women's headdresses in the area of Požega in 2011.

According to the photographs, *perčin* braids were decorated with natural flowers and greenery or with artificial flowers made from silk or wax. Moreover, they were decorated with different hairpins and other purchased ornaments inspired by civic fashion, which cannot always be clearly identified in the photographs. In addition, in specific photographs one can also identify, as an interesting detail, the jewelry worn both by single and married women, as well as men, as a part of their festive dress.⁵⁰ (see Fig. 1, 4, 9 and 10) It was thanks to these photographs that necklaces made from different colours of pearls were reconstructed⁵¹ which could not be found in field research, but they were shown in several preserved photographs dating back to the beginning of the 20th century.

"As a guarantee of high authenticity, photographs have been considered a common form of representation in the Croatian ethnology in analysis of traditional culture for a long time. Hence, photographs bear a double label of a scientific tool and ultimate goal: they are sometimes an integral part of research" (Belaj 2006: 54). They can be used as historical documents or sources to confirm or complement another source of information. Photographs can be used as a pictorial confirmation of oral testimony and in the absence of that, we are left with a valuable and sometimes the only source of information about *traditional clothing* during a specific period. It is frequently used as an illustration that documents the topic of *folk costumes* in exhibitions, catalogues and books, while in museum collection it functions as an independent representative museum object (Matoković 2019a: 26). Upon its accession to the museum, a photograph does not necessarily need to lose in importance in terms of family lore and the memories linked with it. "The story that it tells can also add to its value as an original document." (Ibid.). One of the rare such stories that was recorded is linked with the occasion in which the photograph was taken (inv. no. 13850) in 1917 in the Atelier Wollner.⁵² (Fig. 11) The photograph shows a young man and a young woman wearing their festive *folk costume* that comprises primarily of ready-made fabrics and items of civic clothing. Among them, a young boy is standing on the chair in the atelier. He is wearing a shirt, traditional trousers and waistcoat (*rubinu*, *gaće* and *frosluk*) with a pocket watch on a chain. Family lore and oral family history of its former owner includes a story of its

women were attached on the forehead under the headscarf. Girls used the same technique to make such braids from their hair with *perčin*. In the village of Biškupci such girls' braid is also referred to as *roca*.

49 A reconstruction of hair styles from the photographs was made by the local hairdresser and several women from Culture and Arts Society Šijaci from Biškupci.

50 Boys, young men and youngsters used to wear knitted woolen armbands with pearls (*derdani*) on their arms with their festive clothing.

51 The necklaces were reconstructed for the needs of culture and arts societies, as well as to complete the Headdress and Jewellery Collection of City museum Požega.

52 I first saw this photograph as a student during my research of wedding customs and at the time it was privately owned. After that, my second time was when I got it for use within the research project of *folk costumes* of Western Slavonia. In the meantime it had been purchased by City museum Požega.

origin. Among her festive headdress, on her head the girl in the photograph is wearing a white wax wreath which in the first decades of the 20th century was a common integral part of the bride's dress. Nevertheless, in this photograph, according to family lore, the young couple in the photograph are fiancés,⁵³ rather than bride and groom. At the time the white wreath was also used to denote that a girl was engaged and she wore it with her most festive costume until she got married.⁵⁴ While going to Požega for photographing for the souvenir photograph, the fiancés also “took with them the girl's young cousin who persistently asked to come with them. He was the father of the former owner of the photograph. Hence, a souvenir photograph of the fiancés resulted in the memory of both the boy and the family of that event” (Matoković 2019a: 26). The photographs taken in the photography atelier normally show people wearing their most festive clothing combination intended to present them in the best possible light. Glass plate negatives by Julije Kempf are also portraits of people, yet these are frequently people caught in a village street, in front of the church, in the yard or they show a specific event, a festive celebration or similar. (Fig. 12) Irrespective of the fact that their posing for the photographer is obvious, their clothing shows that they were caught in a specific moment of everyday life or celebration. (Fig. 13) The everyday clothing also shows multiple layers of the basic costume as it was enhanced with ready-made items, headscarves and aprons made from cheaper cotton fabrics and broadcloth, as well as a breakthrough of civic clothing items, women's blouses and men's trousers. (Fig. 14)

In addition, Kempf also documented specific events such as food blessing at Easter in front of the church, as well as processions and trade fairs. In accordance with what at the time was the trend of the so-called instant photograph, he focused on immediate moment and movement, providing a reportage photograph of a specific event and the reality (comp. Skuljan 2003: 40). In that diverse large group of people, the social and material status of individuals is more clearly grasped, as well as social stratification of rural population. One such example is the photograph of the church procession in Skenderovci in 1911. (Fig. 15) In the central plan, behind the baldachin⁵⁵ under which the priest is carrying the Blessed Sacrament, there are women and single girls walking. In the positive made from the negatives, among a large number of women shown, one can identify women dressed in accordance with the Secessionist fashion, single girls with folded white scarves from tulle worn around the neck or white aprons decorated with bands and flounces introduced Secessionist features into their *folk costume*, a short woman in modest and simple *folk costume* of newer type from the area of the neigh-

53 One needs to be attentive while reaching conclusions based on such photographs of young girls' headdresses with white wax wreaths concerning whether she is a bride or only engaged, especially if one is not informed about the context in which the photograph was taken.

54 In ethnological research before the end of the 20th century it was known that a white wax wreath was a part of the bride's costume. When I as a student saw the photograph during my research on wedding customs, I assumed that the girl with the wreath was the bride. Nevertheless, it was at that point that for the first time I was informed by the owner of the photograph and my grandmother that the white wreath was also worn by the girls who were only engaged. Their claims were subsequently confirmed years later by several narrators, while I was working as a curator of City museum Požega.

55 Baldachin and the Blessed Sacrament is the central and the most important place in the procession and it is carried by four young men in festive costumes of civic design.

bouring Nova Gradiška with a chequered woven headscarf and a white shirt⁵⁶ with a woollen apron, or a young woman with a decorated white *bajoder* or *tinogled*⁵⁷ on her head... During the analysis one needs to consider the context in which the photographs were taken, which is not always simple because it is frequently impossible to determine the identity of the persons in the photographs (Burke 2003: 20).

CONCLUSION

Photographs of rural population from the area around Požega wearing their traditional *folk costumes*, taken at the beginning of the 20th century by Julije Kempf and the photography atelier Atelier Wollner proved an important documentary source in the reconstruction and research of *folk costume*. The processing and analysis of the photographs of *folk costumes* from the beginning of the 20th century complement each other and expand the actual knowledge acquired from other sources, such as preserved items of *folk costumes*, oral narrative, ethnographic records, newspaper texts and manuscripts. Their quality digitisation enables identification of a large number of important details in terms of studying traditional *folk costume*.

Photographs document a specific time period and the changes that traditional peasant *folk costume* in Požega underwent at the time, showing their multiple layers. They simultaneously show features of “older” traditional costume and the “newer” under the influence of new settlers and the civic culture. Irrespective of the fact that they are frequently used as illustration in field research, exhibition catalogues and monographs about traditional costume, they can provide a valuable source of new information and insights about traditional costume of rural population in Požega in the beginning of the 20th century. As such, they can be used in the reconstruction of *folk costume* items, hair styles and jewellery and, in the absence of other sources, they are used as credible and authentic documents for the research of traditional costume, ornaments and jewellery. Photographs as historical sources can confirm the rare written sources from that period. They also proved an important addition to and confirmation of field research and oral narrative, although they can sometimes also provide previously unknown information that requires further research. There is a saying about photographs that they “speak more than a thousand words”, but if the context and the story of their origin are unknown, we cannot gain a comprehensive insight into the information that they provide.

The photographs taken by Julije Kempf and Atelier Wollner in Požega provide a historical portrait of both men’s and women’s *folk costumes* from the end of the 19th and the first two decades of the 20th century where one can follow the changes and the influences of urban fashion on traditional costumes in the villages around Požega.

56 Based on this clothing combination, it can be assumed that the woman originated from Cernik parish where white skirt (*bijeli skuti*) and the blouse (*oplećak*) were worn of the type of *folk costume* worn in Požega, *Paurian folk costume*.

57 A large square ready made scarf made from white tulle, worn on festive occasions. It was worn diagonally folded both with the older and the newer type of *folk costume*. Girls wore them slung over their shoulders and tied on their back at the waist, while young married women wore them during the first year of marriage over *poculica* on their head with the ends hanging down in front on the chest or behind on the back.

Photographs here play the role of documentation that bears testimony of the culture and, as a testimony of a specific period, they show people, their appearance and clothing, hairstyles, ornaments and jewellery. Photographs taken in the beginning of the 20th century represent an important document of that period and provide an important source of information for historians and ethnologists (Šimunić 2018: 59), both in the current and in the future research.

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