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KOME

OBOJCI

OBOJCI

FOR SOME

KOME

OPANCI

OPANCI

FOR OTHERS

OBUVANJE U KONAFLIMA

Konavle Shoes Through Time





MUZEJI I GALERIJE KONAVALA - ZAVIČAJNI MUZEJ KONAVALA
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Konavoka i Konavljanin balaju, sredina 20. st.

KOME OBOJCI, KOME OPANCI

OBOJCI FOR SOME, OPANCI FOR OTHERS

Opanci s obojcima dio su sustava tradicijskog obuvanja šireg geografskog područja, pa tako i Konavala. Predviđeni su da se uvijek oblače zajedno, obojci na stopala, a na njih opanci. Obojci su predstavljali čarape, nazuvke, naprstke ili samo povoje koje su namotavali i oblačili, a na koje su onda dolazili opanci kao finalna obuća.

Jezična minijatura *kome obojci, kome opanci* govori o nekoj budućoj situaciji neznana ishoda iz koje će sudionici izaći različito oštećeni jer niti jednoj strani nije predviđena cjelina. Bilo da je riječ o običnom danu, o poslu, o nekoj životnoj odluci, jednako se koristila kao što se i u širem području koristila za sukobe i suprotstavljanja.

Burna povijest ovih područja ostavljala je generacije u neizvjesnosti pred odlascima u nepoznato ili u teškim odlukama. U društvenom metežu, obilju razlika unutar jedinstvenog konavoskog prostora u posljednjih nekoliko stoljeća neki su prošli lakše, neki teže bez obzira na to što su i kad bili životni ciljevi. Neki su ostali, a neki su emigrirali. Neke su odnijeli ratovi, neki su u ratovima *prosperali*. Kako bi jezična minijatura rekla za sve te živote: *kome obojci, kome opanci*.

Između burnih političkih i teških ekonomskih perioda dolazila bi i stabilnija i prosperitetnija vremena. Tada bi društveni utjecaj iz većih i razvijenih sredina određivao način življenja na drugi način. Upravo se između ta dva stanja oblikovala kratka povijest konavoskog obuvanja.

Povijesni pregled obuvanja na našim područjima putovanje je iz skromne vlastite proizvodnje obuće prilagođene uvjetima i mogućnostima života do punih ormara obuće koju rijetko iznosimo. Osim onih za male i velike, za žene i muškarce, za po kući i onih za po vani, cipele se danas izrađuju i prodaju iz mnogih drugih

Opanci (traditional leather footwear) and *obojci* (traditional coverings for the foot) are a part of a traditional footwear system used in Konavle and its wider geographical area. They are supposed to always be worn together, *obojci* directly on the foot, and *opanci* are worn over them. *Obojci* are socks, *nazuvci*, *naprstci*, or linen wrapped around the foot (*povoj*), and *opanci* were worn over them as the outer footwear.

Well known proverb *Kome obojci, kome opanci – Obojci for some, opanci for others*, refers to some future situation with uncertain outcome from which the participants will come out suffering different degrees of damage, because neither side will fully prevail. Whether it was about an ordinary day, work, or some life decision, it was used equally as it was used in the wider area for conflicts and confrontations.

The turbulent history of these areas meant that entire generations were facing uncertainty, either having to journey to the unknown or having to make difficult decisions. In the last few centuries, during the social turmoil within the singular Konavle region, some fared better, and some fared worse, regardless of their goals. Some stayed, while others emigrated. Some were swept away by wars, and some prospered from them. Thus the proverb, which is used for all these lives: *Opanci for some, obojci for others*.

Between tumultuous political and difficult economic periods there were some stable and more prosperous times. Then the social influences from larger and more developed environments would shape the way of life in a different way. The short history of Konavle footwear was formed exactly in-between such two states.

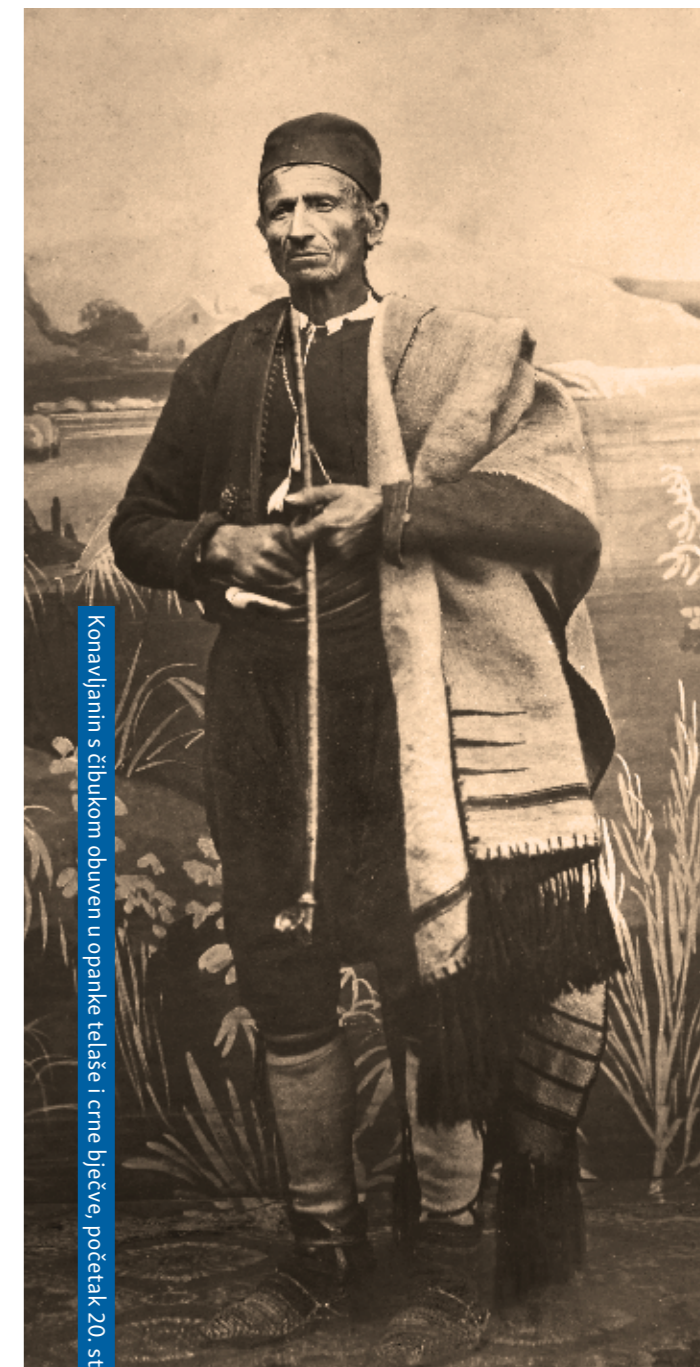
Historical overview of footwear in our regions is a journey from



razloga. U današnje vrijeme, kad je čovjek manje aktivan nego prije, cipele se izrađuju za svaku pojedinu aktivnost. Svake su ponešto drugačije od drugih i da biste se nečime bavili, očekivano je imati obuću koja će to omogućiti. Razne tenisice za sve vrste sportova, razne cipele za sva godišnja doba i meteorološka stanja, brojne trendovske cipele, cipele za pojedina radna mjesta, cipele, cipele, cipele... Danas ljudi u svojim domovima imaju prosječno po trideset pari cipela. Cipele se odbacuju prije negoli se unište, a više se ni ne popravljaju. I kad treba i kad ne treba kupuju se nove, a s novima i kratkotrajna sreća našeg konzumerističkog doba. Nas je zanimalo u čemu se sastojala konavoska sreća oko obuće u prijašnjim vremenima u Konavlima. Kroz povijest obuvanja Konavala može se ujedno popratiti i identitet ljudi tog područja. Obuća je svojim vanjskim sadržajem odašiljala jasne poruke o vjerskom i etničkom podrijetlu i pripadnosti, o profesiji i spolu, baš kao i danas. Kroz povijest se nerijetko donose propisi koji definiraju način obuvanja stanovništva, što je bio vidljivi način odvajanja staleških skupina. Međutim, različita geografska predjela zadavala su svoje propozicije za obuću, a teren i poslovi koji su se obavljali bili su presudni za izbor obuće ruralnog stanovništva. Većini ruralnog i nomadskog stanovništva resursi za obuću morali su biti iz ponude vlastite proizvodnje, sve ono što nije bilo iz vlastite proizvodnje, bilo da je obrtne proizvodnje ili iz uvoza, koristio je viši stalež demonstrirajući ekonomsku moć. Konavle su do početka 15. stoljeća bile povezane s planinskim zaleđem nomadskim načinom života tadašnjih stanovnika. U zimskom periodu u Konavle bi se spustili stočari, koji su ljeta provodili u zaleđu, današnjem bosansko-hercegovačkom području. Mogli bismo reći da su Konavle tada više nego ikad društveno-ekonomski pripadale širem dinarskom arealu. Njihova tadašnja obuća zasigurno su bili neki oblik opanaka, preteča ovih koje poznajemo iz 19. stoljeća. Resurs je bio vlastiti, koristile su se koža i vuna domaćih životinja, a prilagodljivost svim vrstama terena bila je dobra. Dubrovačka Republika je stjecajem prostora Konavala zatvorila granicu prema zaleđu istovremeno pretvarajući prostor u žitnicu i tako je onemogućila kretanja preko granice. Uz poljoprivredu ljudi su se nastavili baviti stočarstvom, nešto više u brdskim predjelima. Društveno-ekonomska kretanja od tada su

simple household production of footwear adapted to the conditions and circumstances of life to wardrobes filled with footwear we only rarely wear. Today, shoes are manufactured and sold for children and adults alike, for women and for men, to be worn around the house and outdoors, and for many other reasons. In fact, in this day and age, when people are far less active than they once were, shoes are made for each individual activity. Each pair is slightly different than the other and if a person is to engage in an activity, it is expected he/she has special footwear for that purpose. Various sneakers for all kinds of sports, different shoes for different seasons and weather conditions, trendy shoes, workplace shoes, shoes, shoes, shoes... Nowadays, people have on average thirty pairs of shoes in their homes. Shoes are discarded before they are worn out, and are no longer being repaired. People buy new shoes when they need them and when they don't, and in our consumerist age, buying a new pair of shoes brings us temporary joy. What we were interested in, in turn, was the joy inhabitants of Konavle experienced in the olden days related to footwear.

The identity of the people from this area can also be traced through the history of footwear in Konavle. With its outer appearance, the footwear unequivocally signalled the religious and ethnic origin and affiliation, occupation and gender. Throughout history, regulations have often been passed mandating the way the population wears footwear, which was a visible way of separating class groups. However, different geographical regions dictated their own specifications for the footwear, and the terrain and the jobs that were performed were crucial for the choice of footwear of the rural population. For the majority of the rural and nomadic population, the resources used in making footwear had to come from their own production, and everything that was not from their own production, whether craftsman products or imported goods, were used by the upper class as the way of demonstrating their economic power. Until the beginning of the 15th century, Konavle were connected to the mountainous hinterland and the nomadic way of life of the inhabitants from that time. In the winter period, cattle herders, who spent the summers in the hinterland, now in Bosnia and Herzegovina, would come down to Konavle. We could say that Konavle then more than ever were economically and socially a part of the wider Dinaric region. Their footwear of the time certainly had to be a form of *opanci*, the forerunner of the ones we know from the 19th century. Resources used in making them were homemade, the skin and wool of domestic animals were used, while the adaptability to all types of terrain was good. When the Dubrovnik Republic acquired Konavle, it closed the border to the hinterland, simultaneously turning the area in a breadbasket, thus preventing movements across the border. In addition to the agricultural production, the people continued to practice animal husbandry, somewhat more in the mountainous areas. From then





Konavoka u Cavtatu obučena u opanke gomaše, sredina 20. st.

okrenuta Dubrovniku, a Konavle postaju rijetki dinarski prostor koji tijekom 15. i 16. stoljeća ne potpada pod Osmanlije. Unutar Dubrovačke Republike dinarske su značajke kroz nekoliko stoljeća dobile nešto drugačiji oblik i značaj nego u ostalim dinarskim područjima.

Ponuda obuće koja se nosila do danas u Konavlima govori o krugovima pripadnosti tadašnjem istočnom Mediteranu, bilo da je riječ o dinarskom ili jadranskom prostoru kroz koje se istovremeno stvara razlika radne i misne obuće. Otkrivaju se društveni statusi, ekonomske mogućnosti te istovremeno fosiliziraju standardi onih kojima su bili podčinjeni, baš kao i danas.

on, the socio-economic trends became oriented towards Dubrovnik, and Konavle was one of only a few Dinaric regions which did not come under the Ottoman rule during the 15th and the 16th centuries. Within the Dubrovnik Republic, Dinaric characteristics through several centuries acquired somewhat different form and significance than in other Dinaric areas. The selection of footwear that has been worn to this day in Konavle speaks to the circles of affiliation to the Eastern Mediterranean of that time, whether it is the Dinaric or the Adriatic area, through which the differences between the footwear for work and the footwear for Church were simultaneously created. Just as today, the footwear revealed social status, economic opportunities of its wearers and simultaneously fossilised the standards of those to whom they were subservient.



STAR KO OPANAK

OLD AS OPANAK

Opanci su najstariji poznati oblik obuće seoskog stanovništva dinarskog područja. U vremenima kućne proizvodnje obuće bili su pretežita obuća cijelog balkanskog prostora. Sastoje se od poplata od sirove kože (kasnije gume) i prepletenih oputa na gornjem dijelu u kombinaciji s platnom (telom) ili bez nje. Po širem geografskom području razlikuju se u detaljima oko načina izrade i oblika, pa su tako i Konavle imale svoje prepoznatljive oblike opanaka.

Opanci su se proizvodili u svakoj kući, a nosili su ih i muškarci, i žene, i djeca. Opanci su se izrađivali na istom kalupu i za desnu i za lijevu nogu, a u kućama su postojale razne veličine kalupa koji su služili za izradu i popravke. Kalupi su bili drveni, donekle nalikujući na stopalo, u Konavlima poznati pod nazivom *tak*. Obično su u kućama postojali muški i ženski, odnosno veći i manji kalupi. Na kalupima bi se opanke popravljalo ili ojačavalo i tako ih se održavalo dok god bi poplat izdržao habanje. Dok su se nosili opanci, svatko je bio obuven.

Do danas su se razvile razne vrste opanaka, a zajedničko im je da su kućne ili poluprofesionalne proizvodnje te da su svakodnevna obuća. Osnovno obilježje opanka, da je poplat napravljen od kože na koji se navezuje preplet od opute ili platna i kože, izgubljeno je prilikom prelaska na opanke gomaše. Tehnologija izrade potonjih bila je bliža proizvodnji cipela nego proizvodnji opanka. Međutim, za stanovnike Konavala ova se obuća i dalje nazivala opanak.

U drugoj polovici 19. i tijekom 20. stoljeća opanci su smatrani svakodnevnom, radnom obućom i izbjegavalo ih se nositi uz svečanije oblike nošnje. Nošeni su isključivo uz vunene obojke, bječve ili kao gomaši na bosu nogu za rad u polju ljeti. Opanke su krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća iz upotrebe izgurale cipele i papuče profesionalne ili industrijske proizvodnje, a većom dostupnosti takve obuće opanci su sve više predstavljali primjer stare obuće koju je *trebalo odbaciti*. Zabilježena su brojna kazivanja gdje se pod utjecajem urbanih

Opanci are the oldest known form of footwear of the rural population of the Dinaric area. In the times of home production, *opanci* were the predominant footwear of the entire Balkan region. They consist of a raw leather (later rubber) soles and interlaced straps on the upper part, in combination with the so-called *tela* (strong cotton canvas) or without it. In the wider geographical area, they differ in the details regarding the manner in which they are made and in shape, therefore Konavle also had their own recognisable form of *opanak* footwear.

They were handmade in every household, and were worn by men, women and children. *Opanci* were made using the same last for both the right and the left foot, and households had lasts of various sizes that were used for making and repairing footwear. During the age of *opanak*, no one went barefoot. The lasts were made of wood, somewhat resembling a foot, known under the name of *tak* in Konavle. Households usually had a male and a female, i.e. larger and smaller lasts. Lasts would be used to repair or reinforce *opanci* and they were maintained in this way for as long as the sole could withstand wear and tear.

To date, various types of *opanci* have been developed, and they have in common that they are homemade or semi-professionally made and that they are everyday footwear. The principal feature of *opanci*, that is the sole made from leather on which an interlacing of straps or canvas or leather is placed, was lost in the transition to *opanci gomaši*. The technology involved in making them was closer to the shoe-making than to the making of *opanci*. However, the population of Konavle continued to call this footwear *opanci*.

In the second half of the 19th century, as well as during the 20th century, *opanci* were considered everyday or footwear for work, and were avoided with more formal forms of traditional costume. They were worn exclusively with woolen *obojci*, socks or as *gomaš* type on bare feet for working in the fields in the summer.



Opanci oputaši, početak 20. st., EMZ-16594ab

sredina iskazuje sram prema starinskoj obući. Međutim, u Konavlima se tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća proizvodnja opanaka iz kućne proizvodnje prebacila u lokalnu postolarsku proizvodnju gdje su opanci doživjeli svoj posljednji oblik. Takvi, novi opanci se danas opet vraćaju u svečane oblike konavoske nošnje, koja se povremeno oblači u folklornim ili svečanim prilikama Konavljana.

At the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, shoes and slippers made by craftsman or industrially began to replace *opanci*, and with the greater availability of such footwear, *opanci* increasingly represented old footwear that should be discarded. Numerous stories were recorded in which under the influence of urban environments, there was an element of shame in wearing this old-fashioned footwear. However, in Konavle, during the second half of the 20th century, the production of *opanci* from home production transitioned to local shoemakers where *opanci* reached their final form. These, new *opanci*, are today making a return to the ceremonial forms of the Konavle traditional costume, worn on folklore or festive occasions of the people of Konavle.

Muške bječve, oko 1930.,
privatna zbirka



Lavurane bječve,
druga polovica 20. st., ZMK-99(1+2)



OBOJCI - SVE ŠTO IDE U OBUĆU

OBOJCI – everything that goes into the footwear

Obuvanje dinarskog područja uz opanke uključuje veći broj pletenih ili prtenih predmeta koji stoje između noge i opanka. Da budemo jasniji, čarape, bječve, nazuvci, naprstci pa i krpe koje su se motale, sve su to obojci koji se nose uz obuću. Do kraja tridesetih godina uz opanke su se nosile bječve i na njih čarape s grlom, tzv. *priglavci* koji su se kopčali sa strane. Za mnoge starije Konavljane te čarape su poznatije kao *nazuvci* jer su bile ukrašene, a pojam čarape poznaju kao niske bječve do poviše gležnja koje su nosili muškarci nakon prelaska u civilno odijelo. Crveno-crnih pletenih naprstaka malo se tko u Konavlima sjeća, a bili su dio ženskog obuvanja. Danas se mogu naći u pokojem domaćinstvu.

In addition to *opanci*, footwear worn by the population of the Dinaric region included a large number of knotted or spun elements that separated the foot from the *opanak*. To be more precise, socks, *bječve*, *nazuvci*, *naprstci*, even linen wrapped around the foot, were all used with the footwear as *obojci*. Until the end of the 1930s, footwear consisted of woollen *bječve* and socks (*čarape s grlom*) that were fastened with a row of hooks and eyes. Many older people from Konavle called these socks *nazuvci* because they were decorated, and they distinguished *čarape* as short ankle-length socks worn by men after changing to civilian clothes. Scarcely anyone in Konavle remembers the red and black *naprstci*, which were part of women's footwear, and could only be found in a few households.

Muško radno, svakodnevno obuvanje sastoji se od bječava¹ na koje se ponekad oblače čarape, a povrh njih se nose opanci. Čarape koje su se nosile do početka 20. stoljeća bile su poznate kao *priglavci*², s rasporenim gornjim dijelom s unutarnje strane. Na tom su dijelu bile malene kopčice kojima se priglavak kopča oko noge. Gornji dio priglavka bio je ukrašen raznobojnom vunom i nasjedao je na završetak opanka oputaša. Odbacivanjem opanaka oputaša nestali su i konavoski priglavci. U svečanoj verziji odijela nose se posebne lavurane bječve koje su se zadržale do danas. Lavur je pleteni bod u obliku grane koji se izvodi na vanjskoj strani dokoljenke. Takve su se bječve plele i za žensko obuvanje, no do u 20. stoljeće ostale su rezervirane samo za muškarce. Na njih su se do početka 20. stoljeća navlačile kratke čarape, priglavci s ukrašenim vrhom raznobojnom vunom. Preko bječava su se u svečanijim prilikama oblačili tezluci, bilo da su bijele boje, tkani s kopčama ili izrađeni terzijskim radom na crvenoj čohi. Napuštanjem opanaka i prelaskom na cipele od cijele ponude obojaka u nošnju su ostale samo bječve, odnosno dokoljenke. One se pletu jednostavnim bodom za svaki dan ili s pletenim ukrasom sa strane za svečanu nošnju. Nosili su ih i muškarci i žene, no za muškarce su se plele bječve i od crne vune. Tijekom 20. stoljeća bječve se pletu i od pamuka, a namijenjene su nošenju u ljetnim mjesecima.

1 - Bječva je prvobitno bila čarapa bez stopala, poznata u obliku nogavice po cijelom balkanskom prostoru. U Konavlima, kao i u cijelom dubrovačkom prostoru, zadržala se kao riječ za dokoljenicu, a uz nju je zaživio naziv čarapa, za kratke verzije ovih obojaka. Naziv *kalcete* je talijanskog, a *čarape* turskog podrijetla. Konavoski je prostor usvojio tijekom 19. stoljeća naziv čarape, a naziv *kalcete* koristio se ponegdje u Cavtatu, Vitaljini i po Konavlima tijekom talijanske okupacije. Tada su *kalcete* predstavljale crne ili bijele dokoljenice.

2 - Priglavci su se nekad nazivali i nazuvci, nazupci. Muški su nazupci u obliku čarapa, a ženski se oblače samo na prste, kao naprstci. Ova podjela ujedno je i podjela između nazuvka priobalja i planinskog dijela. Planinski prostor poznavao je nazuvke do gležnja, a jadranski predio samo naprstke.



Naprstci, oko 1900., privatna zbirka

Men's working, daily footwear consists of *bječve*, on which socks are sometimes worn, and the *opanci* are worn over them. Socks worn until the beginning of the 20th century were known as *priglavci* with their upper part split on the inside. This section had small clips which were used to fasten the *priglavci* around the leg. Upper part of the *priglavci* was decorated with multi-coloured wool and was placed at the end of *opanci oputaši*. With the rejection of *opanci oputaši*, the *priglavci* from Konavle also disappeared.

In the ceremonial version of the suit, special *lavurane bječve* were worn which remained in use to this day. *Lavur* is branch-shaped knitted stitch that is made on the outside of the knee-length stocking. Such *bječve* were also knitted for women's footwear, but until the 20th century they remained reserved only for men. Until the beginning of the 20th century, short socks, *priglavci*, with the top decorated with multi-coloured wool, were worn over them. In more formal occasions, *tezluci* were worn over the *bječve*, where *tezluci* were either white, woven with buckles or made with craftsman tailor work on a red stout peasant cloth (*čoha*). After having abandoned *opanci* in favour of wearing shoes, the only thing that remained in use from an entire offering of *obojci* were *bječve*, that is, knee-length stockings. Those worn everyday were weaved with a simple stitch or with a knitted decoration on the side when worn as part of a formal costume. They were worn by both men and women, with those for men having also been knitted from black wool. In the 20th century, *bječve* were also knitted from cotton, to be worn in the summer months.



Bječve, oko 1950., privatna zbirka



Bječve, oko 1940., privatna zbirka

OPANCI OPUTAŠI

Najstariji poznati opanci su oputaši. Rađeni su od skrojenog poplata od sirove kože koji se na prednjem dijelu spojio u tzv. kljun. Po rubu opanka probile bi se rupe kroz koje se provlačila oputa od bravlje, rjeđe svinjske kože ili crijeva. Oputa je kožnati konac, odnosno nit tanko rezane kože koja se preko tzv. vilica uvijala kako bi bila okruglog presjeka i oponašala današnji konopac. Oputom se pleo gornji dio opanka preko kalupa tako da bi se omotao predio prstiju i pete. Vrh opanka na prstima je završavao kljunom, odnosno spojenim stranama kožnog poplata. Konavoski opanak bio je plitkog poplata, zbog čega je kljun bio minimalan. Mogli bismo reći da konavoski oputaši stoga izgledaju siromašniji i jednostavniji od onih iz zaleđa čija je izrada robusnija, a kljun visok. Opanci oputaši obavezno su se nosili na obojke: čarape, nazuvke

The oldest known form of *opanak* were the so-called *oputaši*. They were made of a tailored rawhide sole, that connected into a beak-shaped front. Holes were then pierced along the *opanak* edges, through which they thread *oputa* made of sheep skin, or less often, pigskin or intestines. *Oputa* is a strap of thinly cut leather that is passed over the so-called fork and twisted in order to imitate present day rope. *Oputa* was used to knit the upper part of the *opanci* over a last, by wrapping the area of the toes and the heel. *Opanci* tips, over the toes, ended in a beak, i.e. joined sides of the leather sole. Konavle *opanak* had shallow sole, which is why the beak was minimal. One could therefore say that the *opanci oputaši* from Konavle had a more modest and simpler look than those made in the hinterland, which were made more robustly, with high beaks.



Dječji opanci oputaši, oko 1900., EMZ-21196



Ženski opanci oputaši, početak 20. st., EMZ-16596ab

i naprske, koji su bili njihov sastavni dio, a odvajali su stopalo od kožnatog poplata. Količina i vrsta pletenih dijelova ovisila bi o godišnjem dobu i okolnostima.

Žene su na bječve nosile čarape s raznobojnim pletenim rubom priglavke ili, umjesto njih, naprstke koji su rađeni od raznobojne vune.

Oputaši u Konavlima predstavljaju vrijeme koje Konavljani žele zaboraviti. Isto tako, predstavljaju pripadnost širem geografskom području, zaleđu koje su Konavljani nazivali *Vlaškom*, a iz kojeg su duži niz godina u Konavle stizale nedaće. Sustavno odbacivani opanci oputaši najduže su se zadržali na Konavoskim brdima, da bi gotovo potpuno nestali do Drugog svjetskog rata, a zamijenili su ih opanci telaši.

Opanci oputaši were worn over *obojci*: type of socks, also called *nazuvci*, *naprsci*, which were their integral part, separating the foot from the leather bottom. The amount and type of knitted parts depended on the seasons and the circumstances.

Women wore socks with multi-coloured knitted hems, *priglavci*, or instead toe covers made from multi-coloured wool over *bječve*. *Oputaši* in Konavle represent a time that people of Konavle want to forget. They also represent belonging to a wider geographical area, the hinterland that the inhabitants of Konavle called *Vlaška*, that was the source of trouble for Konavle for many years. *Opanci oputaši* have, over time, been systematically rejected and have remained the longest in the hills of Konavle, only to disappear almost completely by World War II, to be replaced by *opanci telaši*.



Muški opanci telaši, početak 20. st.,
EMZ-16590ab

OPANCI TELAŠI

Među stanovnicima Konavala ovi su opanci omiljeni. Princip izrade isti je kao kod oputaša, samo je na gornjem dijelu opanka grubo platno. Vezivanje je zamijenjeno kopčama, a ako kopči nema, riječ je o pepicama, koje su bile uglavnom ženski izbor. Svoj su vrhunac doživjele nešto kasnije u 20. stoljeću, nakon uporabe guma i postolarskih poplata. Načinom izrade pepice su ustvari cipele ili papuče, a ne opanci. No, podjela cipela navedena u ovom katalogu predstavlja uvriježenu podjelu cipela u narodu, pa tako pepice svrstavamo među ženske opanke telaše ili gomaše. Krajem 19. stoljeća u Konavlima je postojala veća razlika u izboru opanaka. Na Konavoskim brdima i padinama Gornje bande Konavljani su češće nosili oputaše. Za razliku od njih, stanovnici

This type of *opanci* are very popular among the inhabitants of Konavle. The principle of production is the same as that of *opanci oputaši*, but with rough canvas on the upper part of the *opanci*. Laces were replaced with buckles, and if there are no buckles, these shoes were called *pepice*, which were mostly women's choice. They reached their peak a little later in the 20th century, after the rubber and shoemaker's soles came into use. By the way they are made, *pepice* are actually shoes or slippers, not *opanci*. However, the division of footwear given in this catalogue represents the traditional division of the types of footwear traditional among the people, and therefore we classify *pepice* as women's *opanci telaši* or *opanci gomaši*.

Donje bande gotovo su cijelu godinu nosili telaše. Telaši su bili pogodniji ljeti i na njih se moglo nositi pamučne bječve, dok je za oputaše uvijek trebalo imati bogatije obojke, debele vunene bječve i priglavke.

U nas doma je čaća radio opanke. Prvo bi skrojio pa pokišo, a onda se radila oputa od braveće kože. Na po centimetra bi se izrezivala sve naokolo i onda bi se nađela na vilice i namotala na njih. On bi probojcem probio rupe na potplatima i iglom bi zatego prema taku, ovisno koliki ti trebaju opanci. Onda bi se to prisušilo pa bi se prišivala na to tela. Radili su se na istom taku, a po kaišima se znalo koji je lijevi, koji desni. (M. D., 1937.)

Kad bi se opanci telaši počeli raspadati ili kad bi se raskvasili na kiši, popravljali bi se tako da se ispriječaju oputom. Stavili bi se na tak i pojačali bi se oputom naokolo, a bili bi onda boji nego što su bili kad su novi bili. (A. Ž., 1923.) Takve opanke nazivalo se oprečonice. Moro si oprečonice ostavjat đe ih kučki nijesu mogli doirit, jerbo si osto bos ako su ih našli. (B. L., 1950.)



Dječji opanci telaši, početak 20.st.,
EMZ-21894

Dječji opanci telaši, početak 20.st., EMZ-21196f



At the end of the 19th century there was greater variety of *opanci* in Konavle. *Opanci oputaši* were more frequently worn in the hills of Konavle and on the slopes of *Gornja Banda*. In contrast to them, the inhabitants of *Donja Banda* wore *opanci telaši* almost all year round. *Opanci telaši* were more practical in the summer, and they could be worn with cotton *bječve*, whereas *opanci oputaši* required more substantial *obojci*, thick wool *bječve* and *priglavci*.

In our house, our father used to make opanci. He would first measure and cut them, then he would wet them, and then oputa would be made from sheep leather. It would be cut by half a centimetre all the way around and it would be placed onto a fork and twisted around it. He would then use a bodkin to make holes in the soles, and would use the needle to tighten them towards the last, depending on the desired size of the opanci. Then this would be left to dry, after which canvas would be sawn on it. Both left and right were produced on the same last, and one could differ the left one from the right one by the straps. (M.D., 1937)

When the opanci telaši would start to fall apart or when they got sodden in the rain, they would be repaired by strapping them with oputa. They would be placed on the last and reinforced all around with the oputa, and then they would become better that they were when new. (A.Ž., 1923)

Such opanci were called oprečonice. You had to leave these oprečonice where the dogs could not get to them, because you would be left barefoot if they got to them. (B.L., 1950)



Opanci gomaši, sredina 20. st.,
privatna zbirka

OPANCI GOMAŠI

NOVI TELAŠI

Pojavom automobilskih guma stvorila se nova sirovina za izradu obuće. Od starih, odbačenih guma kućni majstori ili šušteri, odnosno lokalni postolari izrezivali bi đon, probijali u njemu rupe i privezivali konopcima telu. Koža za poplat više se nije toliko koristila jer se guma pokazala praktičnom za seoske poslove, a nije se ni raspadala na kiši. Opanci gomaši izrađivani su i s kožnim dijelovima po rubovima u crnoj, smeđoj i crvenoj boji, kojima su donekle bili i ukrašeni. Jednostavna obuća, koja se sastojala od gume na poplatu i tele u gornjem dijelu, tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća razvila se u dekorativnu obuću koja je često korištena u folklorne i suvenirne svrhe.

the new opanci telaši

A new raw material for the manufacture of footwear appeared with the advent of car tires. The so-called šušteri or cobblers, would cut the sole from old, discarded tires, punch holes in it and tie the *tela* to it with ropes. Leather stopped being the prevalent material for soles, because rubber proved to be practical for farm work, and it did not disintegrate in the rain. *Opanci gomaši* (rubber-soled footwear) were also made with black and red leather parts along the edges, furnishing them with a decoration of sorts. This simple footwear, which consisted of rubber on the sole and *tela* in the upper part, was developed into decorative footwear in the second half of the 20th century and was often used for folklore and souvenir purposes.

Opanci gomaši, sredina 20. st.,
privatna zbirka



Sve odbačene gume od raznih prijevoznih sredstava bile bi vrijedna sirovina za izradu obuće. Vrijednost sirovine za obuću vidimo kroz brojna kazivanja starijih ljudi iz Konavala čiji su životi dijelom bili vezani za održivo gospodarenje svim i svačim. Kožni telaši i oputaši bili su rađeni od kože domaćih životinja, ali i od svih uginulih velikih životinja. Nakon pojave guma isto je vrijedilo i za novi resurs. Odbačena guma postala je dragocjena i brzo iskorištena sirovina za brojno stanovništvo Konavala.

All discarded tires from various means of transport would become valuable resource for making footwear. We can see the value of the raw materials for footwear from the numerous testimonies of older people from Konavle whose lives were partly tied to sustainable management of anything and everything. Leather *opanci telaši* and *opanci oputaši* were made using leather obtained from domestic animals but also from dead large animals. After the advent of tires, the same was true for the new resource. Discarded tire became a valuable and quickly used raw material for a large number of the Konavle inhabitants.



Opanci gomaši, proizvodnja Nika Kuliša, oko 2000.,
privatna zbirka

KAD SE OPANAK POPAPUČI

WHEN OPANCI TURN INTO SLIPPERS

Za razliku od opanaka, nošenje plitkih cipela koje su postolari izrađivali od mekane, obojene kože tipično je za cijelo jadransko područje. Do početka 20. stoljeća i lijeva i desna bile su jednake, a u jadranskoj zoni nazivali su ih postole. U Konavlima su to bile papuče ili kondure, a bile su od kaiser kože crvene boje, odakle im i naziv kajzerice. Kajzerice koje danas poznajemo zaobljenog su gornjeg dijela i sličnije su takozvanim baletankama, dok su oni

In contrast to the *opanak*, wearing flat shoes made by shoemakers from soft, coloured leather was typical for the whole Adriatic region. Shoes were identical for the right or the left foot, and they were known as *postole* in wider region. In Konavle this type of footwear was known as slippers: *papuče* or *kondure*, and they were made of red Kaiser leather, hence their name *kajzerice*. *Kajzerice* we know today have a rounded upper part and are



Crvene papuče, kajzerice, oko 1900., EMZ-26032

stariji primjerci iz ranijeg 19. stoljeća imali nešto dublji izrez po sredini gornjeg dijela isturen prema nozi, nešto poput pisanog slova *m*.

Kajzerice su služile kao finija obuća za svečanije prilike. Na svim studijskim fotografijama iz 19. stoljeća može se vidjeti kako su Konavljani obučeni u kajzerice. Kao postolarski proizvod za tadašnju konavosku zajednicu bile su demonstracija mogućnosti kupovine robe u gotovu novcu. Još krajem 19. stoljeća P. B. Bijelić donosi da mladoženja *dariva sve žene u kući, a pokloni koje donosi sastoje se od crvenih papuča, slatkoga, šećera, kafe i sapluna*. Tako su sve žene Konavala stjecale svoje papuče, nosile ih u svečanim prilikama i dijelile s najbližima ako oni nisu imali svoje. Početkom 20. stoljeća desna i lijeva cipela počele su se raditi odvojeno, a dječji su primjerci imali i remen za kopčanje. Crvene papuče danas su obuća koju koriste folklorna društva za prezentacije nošnje Konavala za vrijeme svojih plesova i smatraju se *pravom konavoskom*

more similar to the so-called ballet flats, while older examples from the early 19th century had a slight deeper cut in the middle of the upper part protruding toward the leg, somewhat resembling the italic letter *m*.

They were used as finer shoes for more formal occasions. In all 19th-century studio photographs, inhabitants of Konavle wore *kajzerice*. As a shoemaker's product for the community of Konavle at the time, they demonstrated individual cash purchasing power. In late 19th century, P. B. Bijelić reports that the groom usually presents gifts to all the women in the household, which consist of red slippers, sweets, sugar, coffee and soap.

This is how women from Konavle got their slippers, wore them on festive occasions, and shared them with those closest to them if they didn't have their own. In the early 20th century, shoes started to be made on separate lasts for the right and left foot, while children's shoes also had a buckle strap.



Crvene papuče, kajzerice, prva četvrtina 20. st., EMZ-16619ab



Konavka u papučama, oko 1900.



Crvene papuče, kajzerice, prva četvrtina 20. st., EMZ-26032

obućom. Baš kao i kod mnogih drugih oblika oblačenja i obuvanja, one demonstriraju pripadnost jadranskom etnikumu i ovim izborom Konavljani potvrđuju svoju vezanost za Dubrovnik i jadransku zonu. Međutim, one su u životu Konavljana razvile posebnu vrijednost. Osim što ih se koristilo za svečanosti i što su bile dio vjeridbenog darivanja, one su imale i vrijednost unutar kuće. Naime, u združnim obiteljima gdje je živio veliki broj ljudi crvene bi papuče po kući oblačile djevojke koje bi bile u mjesečnom ciklusu. Na ovaj bi način ukućani bili upozoreni na stanje djevojaka. (A. Ž.) Tako bi u nekim kućanstvima ove djevojke bile pošteđene težeg rada, a iz drugih kazivanja doznajemo da se te djevojke tada izbjegavalo. Kako god, do danas su preživjele u obliku folklorne obuće konavoske nošnje, kao crvena cipela suvremenog kalupa bez vezivanja dubokog i okruglog oboda.

Today red slippers are the footwear used by folklore groups for the presentation of Konavle traditional costumes during their dances and they are considered true Konavle footwear. Just like many other forms of clothing and footwear, they demonstrate their affiliation to the Adriatic ethnic heritage and with this choice the people of Konavle affirm their attachment to Dubrovnik and the Adriatic region. However, they have developed a special value in the lives of the people from Konavle. In addition to being used for festivities and being a part of engagement gifts, they also had a value within the home. In cooperative families, where large number of people would live together, girls having their periods would wear red slippers at home so as to notify other people on their condition. (A.Ž.). In this way, in some households these girls would be exempt from having to do any more demanding work, and other testimonies claims that others would keep their distance to these girls during this time. Whatever the case may be, they survived to this day in the form of the folklore footwear of the Konavle traditional costumes, as a red shoe with modern lasts without lacing and with deep and round rim.

PAPUČE NA TAK I GONDOLETE

SLIPPERS WITH HEELS AND GONDOLETE

Tijekom 20. stoljeća sve je više raznovrsnih mogućnosti nabavke obuće. U kućnoj izradi nastaju opanci za rad, a ostala obuća nabavlja se kod postolara i u trgovinama. Postolari, koji su do tada proizvodili obuću za seosko stanovništvo, zaslužni su za prilagodbu tradicijske obuće tadašnjim trendovima. Između Prvog i Drugog svjetskog rata utjecaj grada se sve više očituje u odijevanju sela te su se pojedini trendovi u odijevanju pratili istovremeno. Nošenje potpetica na cipelama početkom 20. stoljeća zahvatilo je cijeli svijet. Ženama je cipela s manjom ili većom petom postala obavezna obuća, a taj trend se polako prelijevao i na seoske sredine. Postolari potpećuju dotadašnje ženske cipele, odnosno

The 20th century ushered in more and more diverse options for purchasing footwear. Work *opanci* continued to be made at home, while other footwear was purchased from shoemakers and stores. Shoemakers, who until then produced footwear for the rural population, were responsible for adapting traditional footwear to the trends of the time. Between World War I and II, the urban influence became increasingly evident in rural clothing, and certain clothing trends became fashionable at the same time. Wearing shoes with heels took over the entire world at the beginning of the 20th century. For women, shoes with heels of various heights became mandatory footwear, and this trend slowly spilled over into rural areas as well. Shoemakers added



Crvene papuče na tak, gondolete, prva polovica 20 st., EMZ-16164



papuče i tako nastaje prva seoska obuća s potpeticama. Crvene papuče na tak novina su koju s oduševljenjem prihvaćaju sve žene Konavala. Međutim, nisu ih sve mogle sebi priuštiti. Pred Drugi svjetski rat cipele na potpeticu bile su jako popularne, a djevojkama toga vremena uglavnom nedostižne.

Nama su djevojkama iz kuće davali stare muške crevje da nosimo, a moglo se kupit gondolete. Nije im vajalo tako, mi smo patile radi tega... Sve su imale ženske crevje, samo mi u muškima... (M. D., 1938.)

Nosila sam dundove crevje dva broja veće, a to nije bila potreba... Nijesu mi čeli kupit... (A. Ž., 1923.)

Crvene gondolette uskoro zamjenjuju crne gondolette, bilo iz poluprofesionalne bilo iz industrijske proizvodnje, što otvara vrata svim drugim finijim ženskim cipelama u svečano konavosko odijelo.

Iza Drugog svjetskog rata na svečanu nošnju žene oblače i bijele kožne ili lakirane cipele na tak. Cipelama se tvrdoglava konavoska sredina ipak donekle usklađuje s trendovima toga vremena u svijetu, istovremeno održavajući ostatak nošnje na obliku iz prve polovice 20. stoljeća.



heels to previous women's shoes, that is, *papuče*, which is how the first rural shoes with heels were created. Red high-heeled slippers were a novelty enthusiastically adopted by all the women of Konavle. However, not everyone could afford them. Before the World War II, high-heeled shoes were very popular, but mostly unattainable for girls of that time.

We girls were given old male shoes to wear, while our families could afford gondolette. They didn't like it this way, we suffered because of it... all other girls had women's shoes only we had to walk around in male shoes.... (M.D., 1938)

I wore my uncle shoes, two sizes too big, and this was not necessary... they just did not want to buy shoes for me... (A.Ž., 1923)

Red slippers with heels were soon replaced by black *gondolette* (court shoes with higher heels), which opened the door to all other finer women's shoes worn with formal attire of Konavle. After the World War II, the women also wore white leather or lacquered high-heeled. With the shoes, the stubborn Konavle milieu, somewhat harmonised with the trends of that time in the world, while simultaneously the rest of the costume kept its form from the first half of the 20th century.

'KO SE PRVI DIGNE, NJEGOVE SU CREVJE, ŠTIVALETE, COKULE

first one to gets up, gets them

Crevje su postolarski proizvod, rađene za stanovništvo grada i okolica gradova prema trendovima koji su bili zadani mogućnostima vremena. Izrađivali su ih obrtnici koji su često naseljavali dubrovačku okolicu otvarajući obrte. Pretpostavljamo da je njihova ponuda bila ujednačena po širem geografskom području, a pretežito se svodila na izradu cipela: papuča i dubljih cipela. Sadržaj jednog računa za postolara Langa iz Cavtata 1897. godine govori nam o brojnosti proizvoda koji su se kupovali za imućnije obitelji. Za muškarce i žene iz kuće Lang je izradio sedam pari *stivaleta* odnosno gležnjača, a za jednu žensku osobu papuče.

Cokule, odnosno cipele ovoga tipa nalazimo u konavoskoj nošnji vrlo rano i to kod imućnijih obitelji. Na fotografijama iz 19. stoljeća česte su na djeci, ženama i muškarcima. U Konavlima nemamo sačuvane primjerke, no brojne su fotografije koje potvrđuju njihovo korištenje.

Crevje are a shoemaker's product, made for townspeople according to trends that were fashionable at the time. They were made by craftsmen who often settled and opened workshops in the Dubrovnik area. We assume that their offer was uniform over a wider geographic area, and it mostly consisted of the manufacture of shoes: so called slippers and deeper shoes. The content of an invoice issued by shoemaker Lang from Cavtat from 1897, tells us about the number of products that were bought for wealthier families. Lang made seven pairs of *stivaleta*, that is, ankle boots for men and women from the household, and a pair of women's slippers.

Cokule, i.e. shoes of this type are found very early in the Konavle costume, and we find them in wealthier families. In photographs from the 19th century they are common for children, women and men. We have no preserved specimens in Konavle, but there are numerous photographs that confirm their use.



Ženske cokule, oko 1950., privatna zbirka



Ženske cokule, oko 1950.,
privatna zbirka

Gotovo su se svi Konavljani početkom 20. stoljeća opskrbili barem jednim parom cipela ili cokula. Njihov silazak u civilno odijelo bio je znatno raniji nego kod ženske nošnje. Konavljani su od sredine 20. stoljeća često nosili civilna odijela u svečanim prilikama, poput vjenčanja, dok su radili u poljima u konavoskoj svakidašnjoj nošnji. Cipele su pak obavezno nosili uz odijela, a vrlo često i uz konavosku nošnju. Muška cipela smatrana je dijelom nošnje puno prije nego je ženska standardna cipela ušla u žensku nošnju. Početkom 20. stoljeća cipele su se mogle kupiti i u trgovaca manufakturne robe, čemu svjedoče računi gdje se, uz raznu metražu i odijela, može naići i na crevje. Na području Konavala jedina poznata trgovina obuće Bata nalazila se na Grudi i djelovala je do Drugog svjetskog rata. Nakon nacionalizacije nastavila je s radom kao Borovo.

Imali smo samo jedne crevje u kući, a nas trojica. I kada bi bila zabava, prvo bi išo Luko, najstariji brat, on bi se izbalio, i došo doma. Onda bi pošo Ivo, srednji brat i dok bi se on izbalio i vratio, zabava bi završila. Ja nikad ne bi ni došo na red. I vazda sam kuko i plako da bi na zabavu, ali sam bio najmlađi, a samo jedne crevje. (P. K., 1935.)

Brojna su slična kazivanja koja svjedoče o nemogućnosti nabave cipela za sve ukućane i u novije vrijeme. Među njima su i oni koji se sjećaju kako su ih 50-ih godina vodili u Borovo da kupe cipele za prvi dan škole: *Grube i uz to velike dva broja da izguraju za nekoliko sljedećih godina...* (A. R., 1949.) ili kad su se kupovale za bal pa *ćaća ne da nego one sa debelim đonom koje će duje durat, a ja bi one tanke talijanske...* (Ibid.)

At the beginning of the 20th century, almost all inhabitants of Konavle obtained at least one pair of shoes or *cokule*. Their adoption into a civilian attire was a lot earlier than in women's costumes. From the middle of the 20th century, the people of Konavle frequently wore civilian suits in formal occasions, such as weddings, while they wore Konavle everyday costume while working in the fields. Shoes were always worn with the suits, but also with Konavle costume. Male shoe was considered to be a part of the costume long before the women's shoe became a part of the women's costume.

In the early 20th century, shoes could also be purchased from merchants of manufactured goods, as we can see from various invoices which show, in addition to different textiles and suits, the purchase of footwear as well. In the Konavle region, the only well-known Bata shoe store was located in Gruda and it operated until World War II. After nationalisation, it continued its operations as Borovo.

We only had one pair of shoes in the house. And when there was a party, Luko, as the eldest brother, would go first, and after he tired of dancing, he would return home. Then Ivo, the middle brother, would go and by the time he tired of dancing and returned, the party would be over. And it was never my turn. And I always complained and cried that I wanted to go to the party, but I was the youngest, and we only had one pair of shoes. (P. K., 1935)

There are numerous similar stories that testify to the impossibility of purchasing shoes for all household members, even in recent times. Among them are those who remember being taken to the Borovo store in the 1950s to buy shoes for the first day of school: *Rough and two sizes too big to last for the next few years...* (A.R., 1949) or when they were bought for the formal occasion and *the father does only allows me to buy the thick-sole ones, so that they last longer, and I would like those thin Italian ones...* (Ibid.)



Muške cipele iz proizvodnje Nika Kuliša, oko 1980.,
privatna zbirka



Kalupi za cipele, oko 1940.,
privatna zbirka

POSTOLARI I ŠUSTERI SHOEMAKERS AND COBBLERS

Postolari su obrtnici koji proizvode i popravljaju cipele u većim sredinama. Imaju svoje registrirane obrte, račune i memorandume. Za razliku od njih, seoski šusteri se javljaju kao seoski majstori koji rade opanke i pepice te popravljaju cipele. Svoj postolarski zanat obavljali su uz ostale kućne poslove. Kod njih se nije moglo kupiti crevje po posljednjoj modi, koja je polako probijala i u Konavle. Međutim, oni su opskrbljivali stanovnike Konavala radnom i svakodnevnom obućom. U svakom konavoskom selu sredinom 20. stoljeća bio je šušter, odnosno meštar opančar.

Shoemakers are craftsmen who manufacture and repair shoes in larger settlements. They had their own registered trades, accounts and memoranda. In contrast, village cobblers were local craftsmen who made *opanci* and *pepice*, and who repaired shoes. They performed their shoemaking craft in addition to all other household chores. You couldn't buy shoes according to latest fashion from them, which was slowly making its way to Konavle as well. However, they supplied the inhabitants of Konavle with work and everyday footwear. In the mid-20th century, every village in Konavle had a cobbler, that is, a master *opanci*-maker.



Inventar postolarske radionice Antun Pali, Gruda, ZMK-788



Oglasna tabla postolarske radionice Ivan Kralj, Dunave, sredina 20. st., privatna zbirka

U nas u Višnjićima bio je šuster Četule Vlahušić, koji je radio opanke i pepice. Sjećam se radionice, i singerice, puno šila, igala, kaiša, voska kroz koji je igla. Kad nije kopo, vazda je bio u radionici. (L. K., 1952.)

U Jutom je bio dundo Rako, dobar šuster. Pravio je opanke: za mlado i staro, nanule sa potpeticom za lijepa, papuče i gondulete, a za pođonat crevje da i ne govorim... (K. D., 1944.)

U Čilipima je bio Vlado Pasarić u Bakića kući, a šuster Kordić u precrkvi, na Grudi Jelinović i šuster Pali, u Pridvorju Gluvo Dimnić, u Jutom Rako, u Mrcinama Niko Kuljiš, na Pločicama je bio Bećir i Šuco Sabljić, na Radovčićima šuster Bokarica, u Cavtatu Niko Šimunović, šuster Kralj u Dunavama, a u Višnjićima Vlahušić... (L. K., 1952.)

In our village of Višnjići, there was a cobbler by the name of Četule Vlahušić, who made opanci and pepice. I remember the workshop, and the Singer machine, a lot of awls, needles, belts, wax through which the needle went. When he was not in the field, he was always in the workshop. (L. K., 1952)

In Juta there was uncle Rako, a good cobbler. He made opanci: for the young and the old, shoes with heels for special occasions, papuče and gondulete, not to even mention his ability to resole crevje... (K. D., 1944)

In Čilipi there was Vlado Pasarić in the Bakić house, and cobbler Kordić in Precrkva, then Jelinović and cobbler Pali at Gruda, in Pridvorje Gluvo Dimnić, in Juta Rako, in Mrcine Niko Kuljiš, in Pločice there were Bećir and Šuco Sabljić, in Radovčići šuster Bokarica, in Cavtat Niko Šimunović, cobbler Kralj in Dunave, and Vlahušić in Višnjići... (L. K., 1952)

Popis poznatih konavoskih šustera:

Martin Glamuzina (1850. – 1932.) opančar na Grudi; doselio iz Igala Ivan Villa Skadar (1902., Albanija – ?) Pavlje Brdo, postolar na Grudi Antun Palli (1900., Skadar – 1944., ubijen na Korčuli), Lovorno, od 1929. na Grudi

Antun Jelinović (1890. – 1925.), postolar na Grudi
 Frano Seregli (Sereći) (1889., Skadar – ?) postolar na Grudi
 Antun Đuraš (1905. – ?) postolar na Mrcinama
 Mato Asanović (1854. – 1913.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Miho Bećir (1884. – 1965.) postolar i fotograf u Pločicama
 Mato Brautović (1898. – ?) postolar u Močićima
 Jako Guljelmović (1811. – 1845.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Antun Hlavač (1830. – ?) postolar u Cavtatu
 Antun s. Lazara Jakova (1884., Skadar – 1910.) postolar na Grudi
 Nikola s. Lazara Jakova (1881., Skadar – ?) postolar na Grudi
 Rado Kocelj (1843. – 1894.) postolar (crevljar) u Cavtatu
 Mato Martinac (1870. – ?), postolar na Grudi pa u Čilipima
 Mato Martinac (1908. – 1945., ubijen u Čilipima) postolar u Čilipima
 Đuro Mostahinić (1866. – 1944.), postolar i ribar u Cavtatu
 Josip Shestani (1930., Skadar – ?) postolar na Grudi
 Marko Sudar (1890., Blata, Mostar – 1909.) postolar u Komajima
 Luigi Polovineo (1838., Herceg Novi – 1890.) postolar na Obodu
 Stjepan Račić (1839. – 1905.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Tomo Radulović (1806., Kalađurđevići, Hercegovina – 1848.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Ivan Raičević, nadimak Pilaš (1812., Smirna – 1861.) postolar u Cavtatu, Grudi i Radovčićima
 Vicko Skurić (1800. – 1862.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Ivan Skurić (1838. – 1862.) postolar (crevljar) u Cavtatu
 Mato Škrbina (1877., Šolta – 1910.) postolar u Komajima
 Vicko Šoldić (1881. – 1940.), postolar u Cavtatu
 Antun Tepšić (1817. – ?) postolar u Cavtatu
 Ivan Lang (1853., Firstenfeld – 1931.) postolar u Cavtatu
 Pero Selak (1887. – ?) postolar u Cavtatu
 Antun Ossian (1882. – 1940.) postolar

List of famous village shoemakers from Konavle:

Martin Glamuzina (1850 – 1932), *opanci* maker in Gruda; moved from Igalo
 Ivan Villa Skadar (1902, Albania - ?), Pavlje Brdo, shoemaker in Gruda
 Antun Palli (1900, Skadar – 1944, killed on Korčula), Lovorno, as of 1929 in Gruda
 Antun Jelinović (1890 – 1925), shoemaker in Gruda
 Frano Seregli (Sereći) (1889, Skadar – ?), shoemaker in Gruda
 Antun Đuraš (1905 – ?), shoemaker in Mrcine
 Mato Asanović (1854 – 1913), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Miho Bećir (1884 – 1965), shoemaker and photographer in Pločice
 Mato Brautović (1898 – ?), shoemaker in Močići
 Jako Guljelmović (1811 – 1845), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Antun Hlavač (1830 – ?), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Antun s. Lazara Jakova (1884, Skadar – 1910), shoemaker in Gruda
 Nikola s. Lazara Jakova (1881, Skadar – ?), shoemaker in Gruda
 Rado Kocelj (1843 – 1894), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Mato Martinac (1870 – ?), shoemaker in Gruda, and afterwards in Čilipi
 Mato Martinac (1908 – 1945, killed in Čilipi), shoemaker in Čilipi
 Đuro Mostahinić (1866 – 1944), shoemaker and fishermen in Cavtat
 Josip Shestani (1930, Skadar – ?), shoemaker in Gruda
 Marko Sudar (1890, Blata, Mostar – 1909), shoemaker in Komaji
 Luigi Polovineo (1838, Herceg Novi – 1890), shoemaker in Obod
 Stjepan Račić (1839 – 1905), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Tomo Radulović (1806., Kalađurđevići, Herzegovina – 1848), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Ivan Raičević, nadimak Pilaš (1812, Smirna – 1861), shoemaker in Cavtat, Gruda and Radovčići
 Vicko Skurić (1800 – 1862), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Ivan Skurić (1838 – 1862), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Mato Škrbina (1877, Šolta – 1910), shoemaker in Komaji
 Vicko Šoldić (1881 – 1940), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Antun Tepšić (1817 – ?), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Ivan Lang (1853, Firstenfeld – 1931), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Pero Selak (1887 – ?), shoemaker in Cavtat
 Antun Ossian (1882 – 1940), shoemaker

Suhozid izgrađen za potrebe prezentacije prezuvača u Zavičajnom muzeju Konavala



PREZUVAČE

U Konavlima su se i odjeća i obuća dijelile na one za svečanije prilike i za svakodnevnu upotrebu, odnosno za *bojega* i za *po svaki dan*, za *po kući*, za *rabote*. Tako je bilo i dok su se sami *opanci* nosili. Oni noviji su se čuvali za svečanije trenutke, a stari, razdrti pa *krpjesi* koristili su se za svakodnevnu upotrebu.

Ako su bili novi, nijesi mogo u njima đe si cio, nego obuj stare, a novi idu ko prezuv. (B. L., 1950.)

Tako su prezuvače bile sva nova, očuvana obuća, novi *opanci*, ali i crvene papuče, *kajzerice* koje su nošene samo na misu i prilikom odlaska u grad.

Tijekom odlaska u grad ili u matično selo na misu, prezuvače se nosilo u torbici, a na samom ulasku u grad ili u centar sela

In Konavle, clothes and shoes were divided to those worn on special occasions and those for everyday use. This was also the case during the time *opanci* were still worn. Newer ones were kept for more festive occasions, while the old ones, torn and mended, were used for everyday chores.

Thou shalt not wear the new ones for every occasion, but should rather wear the old ones, keeping the new pair as prezuv (spare). (B. L., 1950)

So, *prezuvače* was a term used for all new, well-preserved shoes, new *opanci*, but also red slippers *kajzerice* (shoes made of Kaiser leather) that were only worn at mass and when going to town. During a trip to town or when going to the holy mass, *prezuvače*

preoblačili bi se, odnosno *prezuvati* na određenim mjestima. U Čilipima je, primjerice, za ovu svrhu služila *međa* u Bakića ili u Martinca, u kojoj bi se za vrijeme mise ili mjesnog bala našlo više desetina opanaka od mladosti iz Gornje bande i okolnih sela Donje bande. Prazni prostori između nepravilnih kamena bili su ispunjeni obucom.

Na Grudi je Ida čuvala opanke. U nje u međi bi mladost iz Popovića ostavljala stare opanke i oblačila prezuvače kad bi išla na Grudu. U nje bi se i napili vode dok jom nije dodijalo. (A. R., 1933.)

Kad smo išli u Grad na placu, vajalo se prezut u Taboru. Bože sačuvaj da bi ko u opancima pošo u Grad. (A. Ž., 1923.)

Za potrebe prezentacije prezivanja u muzeju u sklopu izložbe *Kome obojci, kome opanci* u Zavičajnom muzeju u Čilipima izgrađen je suhozid. Predstavnici udruge Dragodid Anita Trojanović i Petar Đukan podigli su tzv. *među* na ulazu u izložbeni prostor muzeja. Suhozid u muzeju, osim za potrebe prezentacije prezivanja, doprinosi prezentaciji i održanju umijeća izrade suhozida koje je na UNESCO-ovoj listi zaštićene svjetske baštine, a istovremeno je osnovni element krajobraza Konavala.

Dječje cipele, oko 1960., privatna zbirka



Dječje cipele iz proizvodnje Nika Kuliša, oko 2000., privatna zbirka

were carried in a satchel, and upon entering the town or the village centre, there were certain places where one could change shoes. In Čilipi, for example, the boundary wall at the Bakić house was used for this purpose, or the boundary wall at the Martinac house on the north side, and during mass or a local dance one could find several dozen *opanci* belonging to young people from *Gornja banda*. Empty spaces between the irregular stones were filled with footwear.

In Gruda, Ida kept the opanci. At her property, the youths from Popovića would leave their old opanci and put on prezuvače to go to Gruda. They would also quench their thirst there. (A.R., 1933)

When we would go to town to the market, one had to change shoes in Tabor. God forbid that anyone would go to town wearing opanci. (A.Ž. 1923)

At the Konavle County Museum in Čilipi a dry stone boundary wall was built for the purpose of presentation of changing shoes as part of the exhibition *Obojci for some, opanci for others*. Representatives of the Dragodid association Anita Trojanović and Petar Đukan built the so-called property boundary (*međa*) at the entrance to the exhibition area of the museum. Dry stone wall in the museum, in addition to the presentation of changing shoes, also contributes to the presentation and preserving the knowledge of building dry stone walls which is on the UNESCO list of protected world heritage, and at the same time is a basic element of the Konavle landscape.



TRANSHISTORY

Izložba *Kome obojci, kome opanci* dio su Erasmus+ projekta Transnational approaches and multi-perspective methods in history teaching broj 2020-1-AT01-KA204-078112. Projekt je započeo 2020. godine s partnerima iz Austrije, Belgije, Njemačke, Švedske i Poljske. Cilj projekta je da svaki partner obradi povijesnu temu transnacionalnom metodom, odnosno da neki povijesni događaj ili proces u kojemu se susreću više nacionalnih faktora promatra kroz oči pojedinca, svjedoka događaja, te usporedba kazivanja sa službenom historiografijom. Osim pokušaja proširivanja upotrebe ove metode, cilj projekta je sačuvati od zaborava događaje koji nisu zabilježeni u pisanim povijesnim izvorima. Partneri iz Austrije za svoju su temu odabrali slovensku manjinu u južnoj Austriji. Partneri iz Belgije bave se problematikom kolonizacije u Kongu. Njemački partneri obrađuju progon Nijemaca 1945. godine. Partneri iz Poljske bave se problematikom antisemitizma u Poljskoj 1968. godine, dok su partneri iz Švedske za svoju temu odabrali grčku imigraciju u Švedskoj. Muzeji i galerije Konavala obrađuju temu Konavle pod talijanskom vlašću 1941. – 1943. Ideja transnacionalne povijesti je istraživanje sudionika povijesnih događaja ili samih povijesnih događaja koji nisu dio nacionalne povijesti. Tijekom projekta veliki je naglasak stavljen na proučavanje oralne povijesti. Upravo ove metode i pristupi omogućuju lakše razumijevanje svakodnevnog života u povijesnom periodu. Izložba *Kome obojci, kome opanci* zamišljena je kao najvidljiviji transnacionalni dio konavoske etnološke baštine. Preko opanaka i obojaka Konavle su povezane sa širim područjem Dinarida, dok su preko papuča i cokula povezane s čitavim svijetom Mediterana. Ujedno, izložba u Zavičajnom muzeju Konavala jedan je od završnih produkata projekta, uz priručnik metoda i kazališnu predstavu.

The exhibition *Obojci for some, opanci for others* is part of the Erasmus + project Transnational approaches and multi-perspective methods in history teaching number 2020-1-AT01-KA204-078112. The project was started in 2020 with partners from Austria, Belgium, Germany, Sweden and Poland. The goal of the project was for each partner to present a historical topic using a transnational method, that is, to view a historical event or process in which several national factors meet through the eyes of an individual, a witness to the event, and to compare the telling with official historiography. In addition to trying to expand the use of this method, the goal of the project is to preserve from oblivion events that are not recorded in written historical sources. The partners from Austria chose the Slovenian minority in southern Austria as their topic. Partners from Belgium deal with the issue of colonization in the Congo. German partners deal with the persecution of Germans in 1945. Partners from Poland deal with the issue of anti-Semitism in Poland in 1968, while partners from Sweden chose Greek immigration in Sweden as their topic. Museums and Galleries of Konavle deal with the topic of Konavle under Italian rule in 1941-1943. The idea of transnational history is the research of participants in historical events or historical events themselves that are not part of national history. During the project, great emphasis was placed on the study of oral history. It is precisely these methods and approaches that allow an easier understanding of everyday life in the historical period. The exhibition *Obojci for some, opanci for others* is conceived as the most visible transnational part of Konavle's ethnological heritage. Konavle is connected to the wider area of the Dinarides through opanci and obojci, while they are connected to the entire Mediterranean world through slippers and cokule. At the same time, the exhibition at the Konavle County Museum is one of the final products of the project, along with a manual of methods and a theatre performance.

KOME OBOJCI KOME OPANCI / OBOJCI FOR SOME OPANCI FOR OTHERS

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