CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY:
OLD SLAVONIAN OAK TREES

The paper provides a scientific insight into the history of human interaction with the environment. It focuses on the history of the Slavonian (oak) tree forests and lumbering that inspired the artists and their images. On the one hand, there is the well-known pre-war Vinkovci photographer, Franjo Körner (1901-1945), whose valuable collection of 97 glass plate negatives was accidentally discovered in 2020. Unlike Körner, another artist from Vinkovci used words to express his passion and love for the Slavonian (oak) tree forests. Being a professional forester, Ivan Kozarac wrote numerous poems, short stories and novels inspired by the Slavonian landscape. From the perspective of new cultural geography i.e. literature geography, the landscape is not simply a material artifact that reflects the culture in straightforward ways but is laden with symbolic meaning that needs to be decoded concerning the social and historical context.

**Keywords**: cultural geography, glass plate negatives, literature, Slavonian oak tree forests

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Introduction

This paper explores a brief part of the history of human interaction with the forested environment, both in artistic and economic terms. Archival, private, and digitalized collections provide a historical context for showing the impact of human use of natural resources from an interdisciplinary perspective. Recently discovered (2020), a rich private collection of 97 glass negatives documents the history of human interaction with the environment, focusing on the history of forests and lumbering that empowered the artist and his images. Most of the collection consists of pictures taken in the 1930s. The author of the series “Old Slavonian Oak Woods” is Franjo Körner (1901-1945), the well-known pre-war Vinkovci photographer. To show what visual art sees and what the word of literature says, the paper is based on comparing the private and professional lives and works of two artists strongly connected to Vinkovci, Slavonia, and its (oak) forests. It was Josip Kozarac who – by using the power of words – superbly transformed the power of Slavonian forests into the short story “Slavonian Wood.” By no means were Körner and Kozarac the only artists who found inspiration in the splendor and glory of the Slavonian woods. They used to be an essential element of the lives of its inhabitants throughout its entire history, especially during the modernization processes of the 19th century.

We aim to stress the necessity of interdisciplinary research; on the one hand, there are beautiful descriptions of Slavonian forests arising from the unconditional love of the woods and nature. From the perspective of new cultural geography, for instance, the landscape is not simply a material artifact that reflects the culture in straightforward ways but is laden with symbolic meaning that needs to be decoded concerning social and historical context. Since the 1980s, cultural geography has been developed to examine the broad range of ways in which culture evolves and makes a difference in everyday life and places. Through the cultural turn, there has also been a move to explore how culture intersects with other forms of geographical inquiry, such as the economic and political, arguing that these domains are deeply inflected and shaped by cultural processes (Research Guides at Dartmouth Colleague, 2022).

On the other hand, artistic images of undisputed beauty, although created for the needs of forest products companies, show how theories from forestry and geography can enhance an art-historical reading of the
photo archive and suggest an interdisciplinary approach to interpreting the photographs.

The power of oak forests

In the history of Croatia, forests have served for people’s survival and the economy’s recovery after numerous hardships and wars. Almost half of the land area of our country is stocked with forests and other kinds of forest land, so Croatia is considered one of the most forested countries in Europe. Slavonia’s history cannot be separated from the history of its forests. To illustrate, in the area of Slavonia, the first Forest Order (Rule of Conduct) was passed in 1755. It stated that the stewardship of Petrovaradinian, Brod, and Gradiška forests should be entrusted. The Forest Order contained many favorable regulations about forest management and exploitation, which were later incorporated into the Forest Order of Maria Theresia (1769). The special place in the history of Slavonian forests belonged to this majesty – the oak. Along with their economic value, lowland pedunculate oak forests are of undisputed ecological and social importance. Dubravac, Perić, and Tijardović (2015, 13) believe that the Croats are emotionally attached to the pedunculate oak: it is mentioned in the Croatian national anthem or can be found on the coin and postal marks.

A large number of authors investigated the area of the Spačva Forest Basin during the last century and a half. For instance, in his book “Old Slavonian Oak-grove” Tonković (1986)96 explains that the term Slavonian oak forests includes “the Pedunculate Oak forests of the Sava Valley along the left bank of the Sava River on the Sisak-Zemun division. Covering an area of c. 130,000 ha, they achieve a size of European proportions in this type of forest.” In his words, this is not a coherent complex; the central part is represented by areas near the town of Vinkovci – the well-known Spačva or Bosut Forest Basin. According to recent estimates by forestry scientists, before massive exploitation in the 19th century, some 70% of Slavonia was covered by forests (Histwood, 2019). From the historical point of view, the forests were of the primeval type due to poor colonization and were still

96 The book lacks pagination.
rarer with the arrival of the Turks. During the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period, human activities had little influence on forested areas due to a relatively small population and less advanced exploitation techniques (Histwood, 2019). A detailed description of oak forests can be found in Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube’s travelogue “Historical and Geographical Description of the Kingdom of Slavonia and the Province of Syrmia”. This German administrative officer in Austria wrote his perceptions during the trip (1777 – 1778) in a script in which he showed his admiration for waste Slavonian oak forests. According to his description, Slavonian oak trees “are of rare beauty and have healthy trunks. Their heights and vertical growth speak for rich, fertile soil.” (Taube, 2012, 26). Along with the praise for the undisputed beauty of the forests, Taube criticized the neglect of the cut oak tree for building new roads. He strongly resented the attitude of the locals toward the uneconomic use of the logs left rotten in the woods or aside the ways (Taube, 2012, 27).

Recently, a research project, “From Virgin Forests to Ploughlands: History of Anthropisation of Forests in Slavonia from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the Century” (IP 2014-09-6719), was conducted at the Department for the History of Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranya of the Croatian Institute for History. According to the project team consisting of historians and forestry experts, the objective of this project was to determine the extent of human influence on the Slavonian forests from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the 20th century and to determine the importance and essentiality of this process for the modernization of Slavonian region, especially during the period of increasing industrialization and urbanization in the 19th century (Histwood, 2019). “For the Slavonian Oak wood of that period, the chronicles mentioned that owing to its properties, it had no equal in the whole world and that on the Central and Western Europe’s markets, it was in great demand, and for more than a half-century it ruled the market” stressed Tonković (1986).

Besides their impact on the economy, the forests also affected the mentality of the Slavonian people through their influence on everyday life and have retained an important place in the cultural identity of the Slavonians until today (Histwood, 2019).

97 The Project is financed by the Croatian Science Foundation in duration of four years (June 1st 2015 – June 1st 2019).
The power of glass plate negatives

This study has been framed within one discourse in the visual arts – the one that concerns the vigorous scholarship within photo history. Over the last forty years, there has been a shift from aesthetic, formalist, and comparative art history to a controversial, critical and cultural analysis. These shifts from the pictorial to the political, decentralise the photographer and bring into focus the photographed and viewing subjects, are enough to remind us that no discipline, whether art- or photo-history or forestry, speaks with a single voice (De Lorenzo, 2015, 3). In the paper, a recently discovered collection of glass plate negatives showing Slavonian oak tree forest is described for the first time in the sense of cultural analysis. i.e., cultural geography.

Photographs result from various photographic processing transformations as part of the original archive material deposited in libraries, archives, and museums (LAMs) or in private possession. According to Gržina (2010, 63), the negatives play an essential role since they present the material containing the originally captured images. It is worth remembering that they preserve images crucial to the visual era, including historical events and persons, scientific proof, and artistic impressions. In essence, negatives represent unique photographic images formed within the camera that may produce multiple positive photographic prints after exposure to sensitized paper.

It is commonly believed that “photographs” are plastic-based negatives, despite these photographic techniques being relatively recent inventions. Before digital image files, photographers captured images on glass plate negatives even before there were film negatives. Bahnemann (2012) reminds us that before the invention of cellulose nitrate film in 1903, photographic emulsions were made on glass supports. These glass supports are typically referred to as glass plate negatives. The term “glass plate negative” refers to two different formats: the collodion wet plate negative and the gelatin dry plate. Both formats contain a light-sensitive emulsion fixed to the glass plate base with a binder. Gržina (2010, 64) provides the data that collodion wet plate negatives were used from 1851 to 1885, while gelatin dry plates were longer in use (1878. – 1940, up to 1970). In the 1870s, many attempts were made to find a dry substitute for wet collodion so that plates could be prepared in advance and developed long after exposure,
thereby eliminating the need for a portable darkroom (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2022).

They also found their use in Croatia: Gržina (2010, 72) explains that dry plates were used continuously daily in the 30s of the last century. That this was the case is proven by the discovery on February 22nd, 2022, in Vinkovci. Franjo Körner’s collection of glass plate negatives, “Old Slavonian Oaktree Forests”, was packed in four white and yellow boxes. These almost century-old negatives are uniquely large (13 x 18 cm) and were in serious need of cleaning and re-housing. Nevertheless, it was an incredible discovery because glass plates survived intact, although not appropriately stored according to modern requirements (individual sleeves and boxes, vertical position within the larger box). Three out of five boxes with the removable lid were labeled with information on plate dimensions, the number of plates, and the title of Körner’s oeuvre – Old Slavonian Oaktree Forests.

What might these mean to the scientific communities? These pictures that emerge are, in De Lorenzo’s words (2004, 147), “of a re-awakening of complex visual heritages within some of the social sciences.” By its regulations, the Brod Estate Community (Brodska imovna općina) in Vinkovci98 imposed requirements on private firms or individuals to photograph the sold oak trees, especially those sold abroad. This task, which Tonković (1986) praises to be “realized masterfully,” was performed for many years by the owner of the famous photo atelier Foto Etienne from Vinkovci, Stjepan Kirschweng (1865-1935)99. After his retirement, Franjo Körner took the job over.

As previously mentioned, Körner’s glass plate negatives were discovered in the attic of the old abandoned family house at 2 Zagrebačka Street in Vinkovci. The loft was cleared out: just the dark corners were filled with boxes of unknown content, covered with piles of dusty old embroidery magazines and weekly journals from the mid-20th century100. The white

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98 The main resources of the ten estate communities were vast wooded areas of the Military Border. Since the area of former Brod regiment was covered by remnants of lush high-quality oak forests, Brod Estate Community gained significant resources through trading and managing the forest goods, positioning itself among the wealthiest estate communities of the former Military Border (Damjanović, 2011, 184).

99 Kirschweng’s photographs are available in “Old Slavonian Oak-grove” by D. Tonković (1986).

100 The house was abandoned in 1991.
boxes (13x19x4cm) seemed to be adequately cared for: they were sealed with a thin but firm string and rubber bands. For illustrative purposes, in this paper, only one white box is inspected, described, and explained to provide a detailed insight into the worthy collection. On its removable lid, some data was written in handwriting but hard to read due to the use of pencil and discoloration:

- “Negatives of the Old Slavonian Oak Forests
- dimensions 13 x 18 cm
- 20 pcs
- with the description.

A part of this data was also written on the narrow side of the lid. But, the data from the top did not match the content: there were 18 glass plate negatives of the said dimensions along with a smaller one (9x11,5cm), whereas 6 lacked the description. The most common injury of the found gelatine glass plate negatives was the so-called silver mirroring explained by Gamulin and Kiseljak (2016, 301). Although usually seen at the edges of the negatives, it was not restricted to this area and manifested as a bluish metallic reflection. Körner marked the location of the shooting, the buyer’s name, and the year(s) on the plates themselves.

- Locations\(^1\) Körner took images of Ilijanska (forest near Garčin), Paovo (hunting ground near Soljanî), Kragujna, Jošava I. i Jošava II., Merolino (forest and hunting ground near Cerna), Čunjevci, Radišev (forest reserve near Vrbanja) and Rastovo (forest reserve near Gunja). Interestingly, these forests (except Ilijanska and Jošava) were included in the list of oak forests created by the Brod Grenz Regiment\(^2\) in 1820, providing information about their size in acres and square fathoms.

- Buyers It was challenging to decipher Körner’s short forms of some firm or to find out that they were misspelled. Nevertheless, all the effort was rewarded by establishing the importance of his clients.

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\(^1\) The names of locations were checked and found in GoogleMaps.

\(^2\) HR-HDA-Fond 445 (Brodiska graničarska pukovnija), Odjel graničarske uprave, Upravni odsjek, Šumarski ured, kut. 206 (1813.-1821.) b.b (Mastungs-beaugenscheinigung pro anno 1820) in Radošević, M. (2018) Šume Brodsko pukovnije u drugoj polovici 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća (Forests of the Brod Grenz Regiment in the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century).
Filipa Deutscha sinovi

One of the buyers under the obligation to make shots of felling units taken over was the firm “Filipa Deutscha sinovi.” This name appears on two glass plate negatives (Photo 4) dating from 1935-1936.

Photo 1. The postcard – “Steam Sawmill Filipa Deutscha sinova” Zagreb (“Paropilana Filipa Deutscha sinova” – sent from Sisak to Budapest on January 24th, 1916
Source: https://get.google.com/albumarchive/115832472923921605832/album/AF1QipNUogfLML41azCFDgPg5qZ_K7CNypOBVyAu6wn8/AF1QipMSJfV8QZc5rh8ULnSTZYMlyomvwMVT45b_503

According to the Jewish Biographical Lexicon (2018), Filip Deutsch was an active entrepreneur. In Zagreb, he had a storage company for timber and firewood sale. In 1884 his company “Filip Deutsch i sinovi Zagreb” (Filip Deutsch and sons Zagreb) produced the columns for the Podsused bridge. Deutsch bought, in 1910, 50 acres of land from the noble municipality Turopolje (blog.dnevnik.hr, 2013). On that land, Deutsch founded the steam sawmill (1911), which he named “Paropilana Filipa Deutsch sinova” (Photo 1). Deutsch’s workers were treated fairly with an eight-hour working day, a rarity at the time, with hot meals, decent salaries, and housing for every worker. Deutsch was also a great philanthropist who often aided the poor. In Zagreb, twice a year, he would donate two to three wagons of wood during the winter. For his contribution to the
development of the Turopolje region, Deutsch was awarded the title pl. (plemeniti in Croatian) Maceljski per Macelj forest.

Their steam sawmill was advertised in different formats in the “Forestry Journal” over the years. (Photos 2 and 3)

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103 *noble* in English
Photo 4. Glass plate negative with two inscriptions:
“F. Deutscha Sin. Zgb.935-6.” and “Kragujna (not sold) 935-936”
Source: author’s private family collection
Grossmann

The twice-mentioned name Grossmann probably refers to G. Grossmann, the Jew from Brod na Savi. According to Švob (2010, 204), he traded with furniture. Grossmann’s name is written on two glass plate negatives, one being overwritten (Photo 5).

Photo 5. Glass plate negative with the inscription “Kragujna Grossmann Deutsch 936.”
Source: author’s private family collection
Domovinsko

The list of woodworking firms in Croatia from 1935 provided by Piškorić (1993, 142) contains the name of Domovinsko and its address (Zagreb, 8 Smičiklasova Street). Other information remains unknown.

Slavex

Although F. Körner misspelled the firm’s name (Slaveks) on five glass plate (Photo 6) negatives dated 1934-36, we could trace its origins. According to the Croatian Technical Heritage Portal (2021), in 1890, thanks to French investments, the firm Blau et comp. was established in Brod na Savi (today’s Slavonski Brod) that produced barrels. By the end of the year, the sawmill started with its work. Ten years later, the Hungarian firm Holzindustrie AG took it over, and it was renamed Slavex later. On the other hand, according to Švob (2010, 204) and CENDO – Research and Documentation Center (2020), it was the Jews who played a significant role in the economic development of Brod. In this context, the sawmill Blau und comp (1890) is mentioned as well as Aktiengesellschaft Holzindustrie (1900). The CENDO’s text about the Jewish community (municipality) Slavonski Brod brings the explanation that the company’s name: Slavex is an abbreviation from Slavonische Exploitation.

Photo 6: The negative with the inscription “Slaveks Jošava I. 935-6
Source: author’s private family collection
Našička

When marking one of his glass plates negative with the name Našička, F. Körner used the short derived from its full name, *The Našice Tannin and Steam Saw Factory* (*Našička tvornica tanina i paropila*). Its origins can be traced to 1866, when the sawmill was grounded in Đurđenovac (Photos 7 and 8).

Through the years, it changed its owners but developed strongly and rapidly. Under the name, the national joint-stock company was established in 1920 and associated later with its branches in Romania, Tchechia, Hungary, and Austria (Najcer Sabljak and Lučevnjak, 2004, 201) in the *Union des usine set des exploitationis forestireres de Nasic. s.a.*, of the leading international woodworking concerns. One of its plants was in Donji Andrijevci (Rajković, 2021, 201). When discussing woodworking companies in Croatia, Šimončić (1976) underlines *The Našice Tannin and Steam Saw Factory* (*Našička tvornica tanina i paropila*) and Slavex as a part of the group of the biggest wood producers but owned by foreigners.
Unfortunately, no data has been found about the last firm to which F. Körner provided his services, Timber from Zagreb.

**Period of taking photos**

Most images were created from 1934 -1936, except for the only glass plate negative that differs in size. Remarkably smaller (9x11.5cm), the photo of the Ilijanska forest was taken later, in 1939-1940, without the buyer’s name. To this period also belongs the image of Timber from the forest Paovo.

**The power of words**

Josip Kozarac (1858-1906), the Slavonian and Croatian writer, was known for his poems, stories, plays, and novels. Along with his love for the written word, Kozarac was deeply connected to nature: he studied forestry management in Vienna at the University of Natural Resources and Life Sciences. He graduated as the best student of his generation in 1879. As a forestry official, he served in different places in Slavonia and wrote

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104 The most substantial impact on Kozarac’s private and professional life was a Slavonian village
many professional papers. As Matić and Oršanić (2014, 17) state, Kozarac published 69 professional articles in Croatia and abroad. More importantly, he was one of the editors of “Šumarski list”105, one of the world’s oldest, still-publishing forestry journals, from 1896 to 1898.106 Furthermore, he was the first to explain the structure and composition of lowland forests and established the Croatian pedunculate oak forest restoration model (Hrvatska tehnička enciklopedija, 2019).

**Photo 9. Acknowledgment from “Šumarski list” published after Kozarac’s death**

*Source: Šumarski list, Number 10 October 1906, pp. 414-415*  
[https://www.sumari.hr/sumlist/190610.pdf#page=3](https://www.sumari.hr/sumlist/190610.pdf#page=3)

named Lipovljani, where he spent ten years most productive. In his book “Lipovljani – in life and work of Josip Kozarac”, Matušek (1976, 5) tried to find the answer to the question of what could influence such a cold and rational painter of the disintegration of the Slavonian village, as Kozarac was, that he was unable to forget his years spent there. Matušek found the answer in three treasures: vast oak forests, the silence of pastoral life, and undisturbed mental satisfaction. In Lipovljani, Korazac discovered his entire Slavonia with its beauties and troubles (Matušek, 1976, 5-6).

105 “Journal of Forestry” was established in October 1876 and is published by the Croatian Forestry Society.

106 Interestingly enough, Kozarac did not move to Zagreb, but stayed loyal to his home town Vinkovci, from where he edited the journal. According to Matić and Oršanić (2014, 18), Kozarac rejected the invitation to move to Zagreb permanently in a humorous way: “Move Zagreb to Vinkovci, and everything will be settled.”
After he died in 1906, “Šumarski list” published a text in which the Croatian-Slavonian Forestry Society members expressed their gratitude for the offered condolences and Kozarac’s immense professional contribution (Photo 9).

The call for the gathering of photographs published in the “Šumarski list” (1936) after his death speaks about the significant role he played in forestry. The invitation was based on the conclusion brought on the 1935 general assembly of the Yugoslav Forestry Association to sculpt the busts of two late eminent editors, Kesterčanek and Kozarac (Photo 10).

![Image](https://www.sumari.hr/sumlist/193602.pdf#page=139)

Photo 10. The call for the gathering of photographs of the late Mr. Kesterčanek and Mr. Kozarac

Source: Šumarski list, Number 2-4 February – April 1936. p. 203

The last number of the “Šumarski list” published in 1936 brought a detailed report of the busts (Photo 11) unveiling ceremony and speeches held in honor of the two distinguished editors.¹⁰⁷

When reading Kozarac’s literary works and professional papers, the reader meets a true literary and forestry phenomenon: a diligent, gifted, and highly educated man who loves his homeland, especially Slavonia and its people, forests, villages, land farming – simply, everything that has to do with it (Matić and Oršanić, 2014, 18).

¹⁰⁷ Complete and full text of speeches held by Andrija Petračić, prof. dr. Josip Balen, dr. Mihovil Gračanin and dr. Ante Bonifačić are published pp. 678-685 Available at: https://www.sumari.hr/sumlist/193611.pdf#page=66
His private and professional love for forests resulted in a brilliant short story, “Slavonian Forest” (printed in Zagreb in 1888). Štampar (1968, 161) calls it the incarnation of his scientific point of view, in which the sociological relations toward woods and nature are described. Unfortunately, rarely is Kozarac mentioned in terms of literary geography and the short story. No better characterization of “Slavonian Forest” can be found than in Hones’ statement (2010, 484) that “short fiction, as a genre, characteristically engages with the challenge of expressing the inexpressible: certainly, there is a story to be told, but that story is not in itself the point.” Furthermore, there is an outstanding example in the form of Bilić’s monograph “Literary geography of Slavonia – from the areal of farmers and “bećar” (2018). It is dedicated to the Slavonian landscape emphasizing literature geography as a subdiscipline of cultural geography. Unavoidably, Bilić discusses Kozarac’s “Slavonian Forest” in that context.
Conclusion

People’s perceptions play a crucial role in defining the landscape, to Bressan and Guaran (2022, 201). Indisputably, the power of the Slavonian (oak) tree woods inspired and empowered both Körner’s and Kozarac’s oeuvres through their perception and representation. Still, today’s trends in interdisciplinary research enabled us to picture the artistic forms in a new light following the traces of cultural geography, i.e., literary geography. Since the character of a landscape is the result of the action and interaction of not only its natural features but also human ones, distinctive elements can be traced thanks to digitized materials. By stepping into the field of new technologies, the Croatian Forestry Society has made it possible for its members and the entire forestry profession to access the extensive fund of scientific, technical, and historical information, which have for over 130 years been presented on the pages of “Šumarski list” (Meštrić, 2008, 554). Its texts and advertisements, news and other information, enabled us to shed new light on some aspects of Körner’s and Kozarac’s work. Hopefully, Körner’s glass plate negatives, or as Caruso (2021) refers to them as “hidden gems”, will be re-housed, conserved, and digitized one day. In this way, the digital capture of the negatives will provide robust image files that would serve almost any practical need from archive, production, and exhibitions, to database and web use.

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STARI SLAVONSKI HRASTICI

Sažetak


Ključne riječi: književnost, kulturna geografija, negativi na staklu, slavonski hrastici