

FASHIONABLE IMAGES: THE WORLD OF FASHION THROUGH PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGES OF THE TURN OF THE CENTURY - A CASE STUDY

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During the last decades of the 19th Century, urban societies in general were being governed by new rules of sociability regarding social, political, religious and individual behavior. The technical changes and innovations - such as photography, started in early 19th Century - were now part of daily life. Also, a new aesthetic sense was emerging, concerning, among other factors, the human body and how it was dressed and adorned for the public space of the cities.

The following text intends to show the results of the research I've carried out on the turn of Century fashion (1890-1920) and its manifestations in the photographs of that period, in urban Curitiba, in Southern Brazil¹.

It must be remembered that all the considerations that follow are the result of a reflection on photography as a source for the writing of history, and not as the illustrative element of a previously defined topic. That is, while thinking of photography as a means of communication filled with specific meanings, we try to understand how it can be used as a historical source and how another "language" was transmitted through photography; the language of fashion.

When we speak of fashion, we must review how some authors have treated this subject. Many of them have used concepts that emphasize the idea of fashion as a social division or social limitation factor, rigidly defining social classes and groups. J. C. Durand, for example, considers that "through fashion, people communicate that they belong to a social class, an age group and one or other sex. Clothes are, therefore, instantaneous classifiers of individuals in a social hierarchy"². Yet, as Alexandre Eulálio puts it, "being no longer a caste privilege, [fashion] becomes, in the so called 'democratic societies', the element of difference *par excellence*, besides being a definite sign of cultural

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'contemporaneity'; in close connection to fashion are the *happy few* who have the information in its pure state that means money and power"³.

This identification of fashion with social class is a rather common concept and it is connected, in part, with the links normally made between fashion and psychological aspects of social behavior. Gillo Dorfles says that, in spite of the particularities of apparel, which denote it as "one of the most important symbolic elements of the social condition itself [...] there is still the fact that Fashion is not only a frivolous, epidermic, superficial phenomenon, but it is also the mirror of habits, of psychological behavior of the individual, of profession, political orientation, of taste [...]"⁴.

Fashion certainly is a social class marker and a psychological manifestation. But it is not only that. Gilles Lipovetsky, for instance, sees in fashion a historical phenomenon, which, although in its beginning assumed strong class division characteristics, had a great push forward within the logic of "the ephemeral and of the aesthetic fantasy". In the period he calls *The one hundred year fashion*, limited, on the one hand, by the beginning of the *haute couture*, in mid 19th Century, and on the other, by the industrial brands and the cultural contestations of the 1960's, fashion appears not as a simple phenomenon of social division. It comes out in a system the both creates a bureaucratic apparatus which begins to coordinate fashion - the *haute couture* - ruling it and eliminating its national character (i.e., making it an international event out of a world center - Paris), and democratizes it with the great fashion industry, which follows the rules dictated by *haute couture* and spreads them through mass production⁵.

We can, according to the same author, verify that while the *haute couture* "monopolizes innovation" and the industrial ready made articles follow the trends laid by the former at the season shows, fashion contributed to the democratization of the societies of the West from the moment it started to spread, in the populace, the taste for novelty: "through the magic seduction of fashion, the masses were prepared for the codes of originality and personality [...] Fashion contributed simultaneously for the democratic organizations to uproot our societies from the holist-traditional order, to install universal and centralized rules [...]"⁶.

Therefore, besides being a sign of class status, fashion is also and - according to Lipovetsky - mainly, a historical phenomenon circumscribed to the Western World, with no precedent or equivalent in other societies. This phenomenon "has contributed to pluck the whole of men from obscurantism and fanaticism, to institute an open public space [...] [fashion] lives of its paradoxes: its unconsciousness favors conscience; its madness, the spirit of tolerance; its mimetism, individualism; its frivolity, the respect for man's rights"⁷.

These are the characteristics of fashion we intend to analyze in a given society in the past. Of course the above concepts have to be considered as relative, for Lipovetsky, as all good philosophers, makes up ideal societies to match his theory. Such changes in fashion were normally spread downwards from the elites. And, to come to a second question of the present work, it is the elite who use photographic images to perpetuate their own aesthetic world.

How can photographs be used as "main sources" of information to carry out historical research? How can the photographic image (or any image) contribute for the perception of the processes that Lipovetsky describes?

It is not my purpose to go into an exhaustive discussion of photography as a language. It seems that ever since it appeared, photography has puzzled modern man, from Walter Benjamin to Mapplethorne, as a part of real life, frozen in paper, glass, or whatever material used.

To many people, this "real" of photography is to be taken as the closest to a human "truth" one might ever get. And for the historian, what should it mean?

I have selected some ideas on photography that suggest its viability as a historical source. First, according to Arlindo Machado, we can think of photography as "a rectangle cutting the visible world"⁸ with a very powerful significance. When it cuts the visible world, it alludes to an "extra pictorial" space, an area which is exterior to the picture, and which also is illusory⁹. The "extra-pictorial" idea helps us to understand one given photograph, both in its aspects of representation of daily life situations and the subjective character of photography itself. This character is given by the multiple interferences we can see in a picture and it can heavily influence what we can historically apprehend from its contents. We start from the basic idea that all these interferences are extremely subjective, therefore the final result of a photographic picture - or any picture - involves such instances as the preparation of the model/subject - quite evident on photos from the end of the 19th Century - and the angle the photographer might choose to shoot it, with an ocean of different variables in between¹⁰. Notwithstanding the brevity of this discussion, these two ideas are fundamental: 1) photographs represent a certain part of reality, no matter how prepared and "false" it is; and 2) this reality is a continuation of values, representations, concepts of a given society.

In order to be able to instrumentalize the analysis of fashion through photographic images, will rely on a concept Roland Barthes elaborated in his *Système de la mode*¹¹. Even though I do not intend to use his structuralist analysis of the language used in fashion magazines, his concept of "apparel-image" (photographs used in fashion magazines) as complementary and necessary to the "apparel-language" (what is written under, about or with those images) is useful here. There is a difference, although, regarding the original

purpose of the pictures used for this work, since they were not meant to be used in fashion ads, but as personal and family souvenirs or gossip columns illustrations¹². So the intention, considering this "apparel-image" as a language, impregnated by the subjectiveness of the people involved in the making of any given image, is, in the first place, to see whether or not the photographs we have function as such. Second, working with the "extra-pictorial" concept and supporting the analysis on written material,¹³ to see how the "new" and the "ephemeral" work as the founding elements of fashion, and from there, other elements of the society.

Finally, we must characterize the society we intend to study. Curitiba, at the turn of the Century, was an urban center of relative importance as the state capital (the imperial province of Paraná was emancipated from São Paulo in 1852 and lost its southern part to Santa Catarina by the first decades of this century. It was turned into State of Paraná with the Republic, in 1889), and as a center of production and distribution of "erva-mate", a plant used to make a very popular hot infusion similar to tea, drunk with silver straws in wooden cups, sold to Uruguay, Argentina and Chile in large quantities¹⁴. The period in focus is one of complex ideological conflicts between hard line catholics and the positivist, anti-clergy intellectuals, as well as political disputes between the Liberal and Conservative parties. Also, as in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, this was a time of changes in urban and social structures¹⁵. Curitiba was, at that time, with its 50,000 inhabitants or so, a city that worried about how it looked, and how its people looked.

Here, as in many other Western urban centers, the city changed, or tried to change, following European standards - mainly the transformations occurred in Paris in the 1890's - of urbanization. The aesthetic element was privileged on the need for modernization and hygienic measures, considered, at the time, basically as ways of making the urban space more pleasant. Therefore, while the factor "beauty" was ever more worrisome to the administrators and the elites, fashion followed and inspired that concern very closely, since the cities had to be clean and pleasant for those who tried to dress and present themselves on the streets under the strict standards dictated by the *terribilis dea*, as one writer of the time describes fashion¹⁶.

Besides, as several research works concerning the photographers established in Curitiba at the time show that, with the necessary time for technical changes to come from Europe and the United States, photography reached an unparalleled level of dissemination and became, in its own way, a fashionable article at the period. An example of this can be seen in the magazine *O Olho da Rua* (the eye of the street, a literal translation). Although photographic images were not used before its fourth number (in April, 1907), they began to be utilized to illustrate children's literature and the "feminine

pages" (in which the photos were entitled "Elegant Coritiba) and isolated, showing country scenes, immigrants in traditional clothes, workers and peasants. From 1908 onwards, photographs are used in its cover, and almost every page shows a picture of some person or place. Another example of the fashionable use of photography at the turn of the century are the collections of the photographers working in the city. We can see an intense and regular production of photos, particularly from the German immigrants Adolph Volk and the Weiss brothers, whose large amount of work is kept in the *Casa da Memória de Curitiba*, as well as in many private collections, and from which I have collected most of the pictures used for this study¹⁷.

There is little doubt that Curitiba at the turn of the Century had a very specific kind of fashion: that dictated by the Parisian masters. There is nothing new in this fact, since that is the period that this "Hundred-year fashion" establishes itself in the whole of Western cities, or those influenced by the West, following the rules from the French capital which, syntomatically, assume then - and even today - the title of World fashion capital¹⁸. This "dependence" becomes quite clear in the adds published during the 1900's:

After the changes that my house has gone through, I am able to serve the honorable families [...] with a beautiful stock of vests, which due to the continuous shipments of models received from Paris, we can assure are the most modern sold in this capital¹⁹.

This important tailor shop [...] receives with all the steam ships the most modern Parisian models²⁰.

This preoccupation with Paris reflects itself also in the fashion articles published in *O Olho da Rua*. Besides referring constantly to the latest Parisian vogue - e.g., *The May vogue in Paris*²¹ - practically all the images used to illustrate these articles are photographs or drawings brought from the French capital (sometimes the articles are translations of French magazines). These images function as a guide of a type of fashion that must be followed, both because it's *the latest* and Parisian.

When we put together the demand for photographic images and the Parisian craze, we have then a group of images, published in local newspapers and magazines, meant basically to stimulate consumption and search for novelty, the (locally) unknown and to direct this search for a very specific kind of novelty: that recognized worldwide as such. At a more local level, can also be seen as the need to establish apparel standards for a limited group, an elite. In this aspect, to be "up-to-date" means both to belong to that elite and to be influenced by it. It also means that fashion is being organized bureaucratically and hierarchically as an institution which transmits standards and conditions

behaviors derived from these standards²². Pictorial examples of this are the snapshots of children and women, walking around the streets of the city, published as "Elegant Corityba". These pictures mean basically the same as the Parisian photos, i.e., they establish standards to be followed and imitated; communicating that those people, those women and children, were elegant, up-to-date, examples to bear in mind when getting dressed. they establish a contrast with the photos showing "popular characters", i. e. pictures of workers and poor European immigrants in general - who seem to the observer to be more like examples of a typical exoticism to be observed with the neutral eye of positivist science, but under no circumstance, to be spontaneously imitated or followed - except perhaps during carnivals and other moments of exception²³. Immigrants dressed according to tradition, which is the exact opposite of the world of novelty involved in the quick changes in the whole or in details of the garments - the basic concept of fashion we are interested in²⁴.

This situation should not, however, lead us to imagine that uniformity in people's dress prevailed. What the pictures show are general standards of a fashion that should be followed according to one's creativity. Difference laid exactly in the possible combinations of several details, finery and colors one could make. One of the journalists of *O Olho da Rua*, wrote:

*Women have an enchanting virtue [...] to be able, by themselves, with no help from a dressmaker [...] to match a few rags, give them shape and, with subtle and acute precision, transform them into a gracious effect. That is what I call virtue [...]*²⁵

Now, when we leave the published photos, Parisian or not, and go to the "private" pictures, i.e. the portraits and photographs of situations which have survived the people who collected them, to whom they were meant or whom they show, how can we see in such images the influence or presence of those standards of fashion.

First of all, we start from the presupposition that, in spite of a previous preparation to be photographed, these people's daily dress was similar to that captured here by the camera. This is justified by the strong resemblance between the great majority of the collected images and the descriptions spread by the press, and the photos we call "private". People decked themselves out according to that general concept and seemed to be quite worried about details of their outfit. Most of the photos - even those which show less formal situations than a photo shop section, such as picnics, family meetings, groups of students, country and city scenes - show a common standard of how to dress, with a strong variation of details from picture to picture, but still according to the visual and written descriptions given by the press.

That brings us back to the "extra-pictorial", the continuing space of the moment of the photographic cutting. These photos, beyond the affectionate character they might have had to those they were meant to, beyond the character of perpetuating an image which both models and photographers wanted to perpetuate, transmit habits of how to dress, which incorporated the "rules" of fashion known at the time. They also show how much those "rules" of how to be dressed - well dressed - were accepted, re-elaborated and spread within that given society; a society which considered itself, due to that fact, totally integrated in the world of fashion and modern Western civilization.

In which situations was fashion shown in society? Which society was to see that show? Clearly, conditions were imposed upon fashion - or perhaps fashion imposed them upon itself - which referred to the role of the individual in that society and to fashion itself. Concerning women's garments in particular, we can see a close association by the chronicle writers in general, between the housewife/mother stereotype and how she should dress. Women's clothes and their public appearances were identified with the idea of a woman who, although certainly submissive and discreet, also had knowledge of her own situation; who, through fashion and knowing how to be "well-dressed", exercised her influence in society, mainly using the seduction power of what was beautiful and agreeable to one's sight.²⁶

*Undoubtfully this [the good combination of clothes] is beautiful, adorable, but how much responsibility it lays on women! [...] If elected souls, ideal beings, know how to choose, by the refinement of their talent and excellence of their taste, everything that can enhance elegance, the majority of them intend to imitate what they see in those who distinguish themselves by gift, with no reflection about the fact that what suits one, is not absolutely convenient to another.*²⁷

This gift, almost demanded from women, must also be the indicator with which men should choose a companion and a future bride, for, observing how women dressed and took care of their clothes, men had ways of evaluating women's character and personality, i. e., whether they were economical - an essential factor for a bourgeois of any place - laborious, humble, etc...

Therefore, women were represented both as the active agent of fashion and a passive agent of public life. Within the etiquette of fashion, they were allowed to use all the power not available to them in politics, since fashion is the only public space given to their action, even though this is a relative freedom, due to moral restrictions upon female behavior.

On the other hand, while men's clothes were as refined and creative as women's in the 18th Century, after the "great self-abandonment" of the 19th,²⁸ men's fashion show slow, moderate, democratic changes, without great impacts.

Man has his public space secured outside the world of fashion and does not need to show his participation in it. Nevertheless, men were recommended to take certain cares:

To demand strictness from masculine fashion is a sheer absurd. Man [...] lives in constant struggle [...] and to keep grace and "smartism", one needs time. this is what he lacks. Notwithstanding, it's never bad for a man to spend a few minutes taking care of himself and his own person. This care must not be too great, and the lack of worry must not get to the lowest level.²⁹

All these characteristics are quite easily recognizable in the photographic images of the time. Women are shown - or show themselves - within the most strict *vogue*, with all the necessary complements. Equally, when pictured with their husbands or children, they transmit - intentionally - their maternal qualities, including the submission men imposed on them. Again, fashion becomes a tool for men to evaluate women:

Let us ask our female readers not to be selfish and allow us to include here advice for men, friendly advice and [...]very useful. When a certain lady pleases you, kind [male] reader, and there is on your part disposition for marriage, try, first of all, if possible, to surprise such lady in the kitchen - what is in itself a very good sign. If she does not apologize, is not ashamed of being caught in rough works, be sure that she has a sound judgment and a well oriented mind.

Try, afterwards, to see her going out on a day of rainy weather: if she dresses herself with a plain old coat, wearing a hat of the last winter, obviously in order not to destroy the hat she has just recently acquired, this woman will not ruin you, surely, with expensive and exquisite dresses and hats.³⁰

Men built their respectability alike, even though one or another *dandy* came out to provoke general indignation. Still, men and women tried, through their outfits to appear *modern*. From the moment people dressed according to the latest *vogue*, they were participating in this modernity of fashion and transmitted this visually through the photos. The novelty which they were interested in, the kind clothes they considered most peculiar, at the specific moment the picture was taken show their intention to be modern. Although we cannot judge the degree of novelty each picture held at the time, this is the main characteristic of the system of fashion as we have understood it here, i.e., a system in which novelty is a social rule which, coming from above, breaks and remakes tradition and sets up the world of fashion, imposing the "new" as a social category.³¹

The ruptures of fashion place themselves in the photographic image in such a way we can literally feel the presence of the meaningful force the clothes had for those who were photographed. It was not the aim of this work to search for or to try to identify temporal changes in fashion during the period of time studied, but instead, to see how these changes were transmitted. Therefore, the meanings images embody are rather specific. They are the perpetuation or the representations of an ego in the most perfect stage of novelty and modernity - of course, within what was considered to be modern at the time.

Another aspect to be considered about this is that it is, within its particularities, an example of daily life, in the way that the idealized image on the photographic moment is equally idealized for the daily existence of the individuals. That is where we can use the "extra-pictorial" idea. The photographic cutting allows an understanding of a reality that is contiguous to it, both on the level of concrete reality and of symbolic representation. While the first level is the normal concern of historicism, the symbolic representation within photography gives the sharpest and most precise elements for the work of the historian.

For example, the 1914 picture of four women gathered in a small room, around a table where there is a flower vase. Besides being an excellent picture, technically speaking (the very good element composition, the soft light from the window on the right) it allows us to see, outside the cutting, that this rather small space - some kind of scape area - went far beyond what the photographer chose. Naturally, it is of great value to know it was the female washroom of the Universidade do Paraná (founded in 1912), in 1914, what means that this was a women's only place but, notwithstanding, "public"³². The *Alumnas* shown were conscious of that. They looked introspective and all but one seemed to ignore the photographer's presence. The only one looking straight to the camera is almost inquisitive. They transmit a whole burden of responsibility. As we have seen, women were idealized as mothers/housewives and had a quite limited space to act publicly - that of fashion being part of it. It is hard to assert what those young women studied at the university - for we could not identify them in the lists of students - what they really got out of their education and how they used it during their lives. It's safe to assume they belonged to the higher classes and could afford to attend lectures at the university. Accordingly, since they were women who had conquered public spaces outside the household, their clothes are more discreet and sober than all the other women shown in pictures of the same year. They were modern because they were at the university as students (*alumnas*). They didn't need, at least in the washroom, to show any other sign of novelty.

On the other hand, if we compare this picture with the one of the young girl with the pretty white blouse and heavy coat, the strength is transferred from

the person to the clothes themselves. There is very little in common between the subjects of both pictures besides being women. While the former were visibly worried with how they acted, the latter was concerned with how she looked and let the image show that. The former were pictured in such a situation to show that they wanted - and needed - to state the overcoming of unfavorable social conditions. The latter continued to imitate what has long ago being determined as a portrait, by Western art tradition. This is a photo that is concerned with the beauty of the model and her garments. In its core, this picture by Adolpho Volk is rather similar to that of Henri Mann, published in *O Olho da Rua* in 1911³³. The resemblance is in their eyes, their lips, their expression. Two photos (of a series) and one meaning: this is fashion, *la mode*, and it must be observed, followed. It doesn't matter that only one of these pictures was originally meant to advertise what was shown (Mann's).

Carrying the comparison further, more than an innocent coincidence related to their pose, they also have coincident multiple transcriptions of the image. The languages are similar, despite the original function they might have had. Mann's photo was obviously made to show Parisian hats. Volk's might have been made with a similar intention - which doesn't seem very likely- or for any other of the age-old reasons for collecting images: love, affection, instinct of preservation (of a transitory youth), etc... In Mann's photo, the model influences on the result, due to the fact that she has to convince the observer that she likes what she wears. In Volk's, there is no such need on the model's part, but her clothes please her enough for her to wear them when photographed. Both say that they are dressed like that because, in their opinion, this is the best way to do so, and due to the pleasant results of the final images, others must follow their examples - as they already do concerning other women (or designers).

In another of the photos in the Volk collection, in a rather Shakespearean scenery, we can see a Juliet, on white gloves and a beautiful dress, leaning against the always present balcony, with her Romeo on the outside, if not in love, at least complacent. Many couples of Romeos and Juliets must have leaned against that same balcony during the years Volk had his shop downtown. Many must have looked alike, elaborated, in love, uncomfortable,... Most of them must have believed in such pictures as something sophisticated, *chic*, making them feel as "modern" and "novel" as their clothes, their poses, their being in the picture, at the same time it perpetuated the ephemeral moments of both fashion and photography. As the photos published in *O Olho da Rua*, Juliets and Romeos meet constantly on the streets of a city that was "civilizing itself" while bringing to the streets the constants of fashion:

[...] *In former times there was no Curitiba lady who came to the stores by herself, to shop so late at night. It seems something rather*

meaningless, doesn't it? But one can evaluate the level of civilization of a given land by the level of freedom that women have in it. Now, look! See the difference between the proud aspect of these ladies today and the shy, deeply provincial aspect, they had, in general, twenty or thirty years ago.

While we talked, slowly the public traffic was getting bigger, and what I had seen in the ladies, I could equally see in the gentlemen: the latter were gaining, in the way they walked, another attitude, much more citizen-like than in former times. A sensible improvement in male dressing habits, and all of them shaved as on Sundays in the old days.³⁴

And naturally, without the tragic nature of the fiction, Juliets could become Jocastas. And mothers are a very common motif in the work of local photographers, whether with their children and their husbands or only with their children. In one of such pictures, the mother, in a sober dress, heavy and dark which visibly betrays her situation of inaccessible being to the ordinary mortals who might have desired her, is accompanied by her three children, in white, simple clothes, as it was convenient to children:

When girls become six to eight years old, the skirts, instead of becoming longer, become shorter, just a little above the boots. Dresses are made of two pieces: the body and the skirt, which are independently cut and joined later. The skirts are cut out of one piece [...] the Empire dresses for males are not used with girls this old, except if well tightened in the waistline. The prettiest for girls of seven and eight is the short skirt, a bit round, which gives the child the aspect of a ballerina [...] Girls up to eleven years old can dress with luxury and fantasy, but from that age up to fifteen, it is of proved good taste to choose for them the most simple models.³⁵

Children were not excluded from the universe of fashion, but they had their particularities. There is no great sex differentiation - after all they are, by definition, angels - and the predominance of white clothes indicates purity. They almost always appear insecure, except when they have their mother besides them, for the mother should be the guardian of youth. Even though they look heavily responsible in such pictures, mothers are still, and even in the presence of their husbands, they look extremely dominant over the children.

In spite of all the mythologies, the representation of reality kept in photographic images stands for a social universe that made possible such representations to be made. The "apparel-image", with its ruled unity, makes it possible to reconstruct and analyze such social universe. The new and the ephemeral are perpetuated as an attempt to transcend the human condition, ephemeral in itself, even if it through the fragile means of photographic paper.

NOTES

1. Special thanks go to Maria Cristina Baptista Pinto, Mirian Adelman, Sérgio Odilon Nadalin and Francisco Moraes Paz for their reading of this text. Ana Maria Burmester de Oliveira, who undertook the task of guiding this research is quite an inspiration with her deep insights. Although they all read and gave suggestions to the present text, any mistakes and misleading interpretations are my own.
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4. DORFLES, Gillo. *La moda della moda*. Costa & Nolan S.P.A., 1984. / Port. Trans. *A moda da moda*. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 1988. p. 13/
5. LIPOVETSKY, Gilles. *L'empire de l'ephemere; la mode et son destin dans les sociétés modernes*. Paris: Gallimard, 1987. / Port. Trans. *O império do efêmero; a moda e seu destino nas sociedades modernas*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989, p. 91-115/.
6. Ibid., p. 79.
7. Ibid., p. 19.
8. MACHADO, Arlindo. *A ilusão especular; introdução Ó fotografia*. São Paulo: Brasiliense/Funarte, 1984, p. 76-7.
9. Ibid., p. 83.
10. This subjective character of the image is well put by Umberto Eco: "The theory of photography as analogous to reality was abandoned, even by those who once sustained it - we know that it is necessary for us to be trained to recognize the photographic image. We know that the image which takes form in celluloid is analogous to that of the retina, but not to that which we perceive. We know that sensorial phenomena are transcript, in photographic emulsion, in such a way that even if there is a casual link to real phenomena, the graphic images made can be considered as totally arbitrary regarding these phenomena. Of course, there are several degrees of arbitrariness and motivation [...] but still it is true that, in different degrees, every image is born from a series of successive transcriptions". ECO, Umberto. *Critique of the image*, In: BURGIN, Victor, ed. *Thinking photography*. London: Macmillan, 1982.
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13. Basically, the chronicles and fashion columns of *O Olho da Rua*.
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16. *O Olho da Rua*, 21/ março/ 1908.
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18. LIPOVETSKY, ... p. 93.
19. *O Olho da Rua*, 44(01/jan./1909).
20. *O Olho da Rua*, 02 (27/abr./1907).
21. *O Olho da Rua*, 54 (19/jun./1909).
22. LIPOVETSKY, ... p. 23-25.
23. *O Olho da Rua*, 9 (10/ago./1907); 11(07/set./1907); 16 (15/nov./1907); 43 (18/nov./1908).
24. LIPOVETSKY,... p. 23-25
25. MATA, João. "Chronica ellegante". *O Olho da Rua*, (27/maio/1911).
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