

# Muzealizacija mode - počeci i izazovi na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije

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**Edited book / Urednička knjiga**

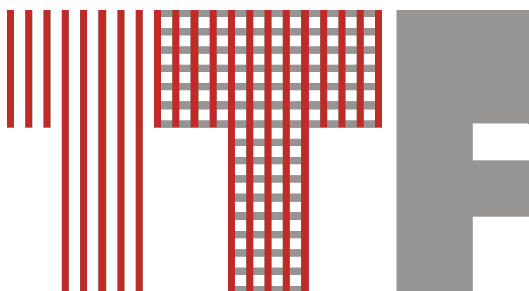
*Publication status / Verzija rada:* **Published version / Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

*Publication year / Godina izdavanja:* **2020**

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:201:156761>

*Rights / Prava:* [Attribution 4.0 International](#)/[Imenovanje 4.0 međunarodna](#)

*Download date / Datum preuzimanja:* **2025-02-25**



*Repository / Repozitorij:*

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# MUZEALIZACIJA MODE FASHION MUSEOLOGY

POČECI I IZAZOVI NA PROSTORU SLOVENIJE, HRVATSKE I SRBIJE  
BEGINNINGS & CHALLENGES IN SLOVENIA, CROATIA AND SERBIA



Sveučilište u  
Zagrebu  
*University of Zagreb*



TEKSTILNO-TEHNOLOŠKI  
FAKULTET / ZAVOD ZA DIZAJN  
TEKSTILA I ODJEĆE

FACULTY OF TEXTILE  
TECHNOLOGY / DEPARTMENT OF  
TEXTILE & CLOTHING DESIGN

**MUZEALIZACIJA MODE  
FASHION MUSEOLOGY**



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# INTRODUCTION

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— This scientific publication encompasses topics presented at the international symposium *Fashion Museology—Beginnings and Challenges in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia* held from October 12 until October 13, 2020<sup>1</sup>, organized by the Faculty of Textile Technology, University of Zagreb and supported by the *International Committee for Museums and Collections of Costume*. Heads of museums' textile, clothing or fashion collections whose activities focus primarily on fashion artefacts and fashion exhibition concepts were invited to the symposium. They were joined by an associate professor from the Department of Art History at the University of Ljubljana whose theoretical work includes the topic of musealization.

The content of the symposium was based on the overviews of the beginnings of collecting activities centred on fashion artefacts in museums of different profiles. On the one hand, a question of the approach and treatment of the item (fashion artefact) was raised. On the other, the treatment of exhibition concepts based on fashion phenomena as well as initiatives aligned with Riegels Melchior's definition of museology.<sup>2</sup> Heads of collections were especially encouraged to articulate their personal experiences, for example collecting practice, as well as institutional responses

1 – Due to the epidemiological situation caused by COVID-19, the symposium was held online.

2 – Riegels Melchior, Marie. "Introduction: understanding fashion and dress museology." *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, ed. Marie Riegels Melchior, Brigitta Svensson. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014: 6.

# UVOD

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— Ova znanstvena publikacija objedinjuje teme predstavljene na dvodnevnom međunarodnom simpoziju *Muzealizacija mode—počeci i izazovi na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije* (12.–13. listopada 2020.)<sup>1</sup> u organizaciji Tekstilno-tehnološkog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu te uz podršku ICOM-a—Međunarodnog odbora za muzeje i zbirke povijesne odjeće (orig. ICOM—*International Committee for Museums and Collections of Costume*). Na simpozij su pozvani ciljano voditelji tekstilnih, odjevnih ili modnih zbirki u državnim i gradskim muzejima na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije, čija je skupljačka djelatnost usredotočena prije svega na modne artefakte i izložbene modne koncepte. Voditeljima zbirki pridružila se i docentica s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Ljubljani, čija se teorijska istraživanja vezuju za pitanja muzealizacije.

Sadržajna okosnica simpozija temeljila se na pregledu početaka institucionalnih skupljačkih aktivnosti usmjerenih prije svega na modne artefakte i to u muzejima različitih profilacija. S jedne strane postavilo se pitanje odnosa i pristupa spram materijalnog predmeta (modnog artefakta), a s druge strane odnosa spram izložbenih koncepata temeljenih na modnim fenomenima te na inicijativama usklađenima s definicijom muzealizacije mode po Riegels Melchior.<sup>2</sup> Voditelje zbirki nastojalo se posebice potaknuti

1 – Zbog epidemiološke situacije uzrokovane koronavirusom COVID-19, simpozij je održan elektroničkim putem.

2 – Riegels Melchior, Marie. "Introduction: understanding fashion and dress museology." *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, ur. Marie Riegels Melchior, Brigitta Svensson. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014: 6.



to potential fashion exhibition projects scheduled for museum's annual programmes. The aim of the symposium was to raise awareness among interested public of the complex work carried out by the heads of different collections in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, which requires many compromises and resourceful solutions subject to spatial, temporal, and financial constraints. Despite all challenges, examples of contemporary efforts for the musealization of fashion were emphasized through various activities and presentations of fashion topics in museums.

## INCENTIVES FOR THE SYMPOSIUM'S TOPIC – FASHION MUSEOLOGY?

In 2014, Marie Riegels Melchior, the curator of *Designmuseum* in Denmark, and Birgitta Svensson, the professor of European Ethnology at the University of Stockholm and the associate of the *Nordiska Museet* museum, edited a scientific book entitled *Fashion and Museums, Theory and Practice*.<sup>3</sup> Alongside editors, Riegels Melchior and Svensson, all the authors are professors of theory of fashion and fashion design and curators of leading fashion museums and fashion collections in the English speaking world. They present the term fashion museology and musealization of fashion through their own experience describing the historical development of fashion artefacts' collecting practice and fashion exhibition programmes in their respective institutions. The entries deal with the influence of museums' collections on the creative processes of contemporary fashion designers, as well as on the museums and fashion collections as educational places in cooperation with institutions of higher education and universities. In addition to the aforementioned book which contributed to the scientific recognition of the discipline, a 2019 book *Fashion, History, Museums, Inventing the Display of Dress* by Julija Petrov should be emphasised. It is based on her doctoral thesis which gives a historical overview of *fashion musealization* as a discipline as well as its application through an extensive analysis of curatorial practices (*advantages and disadvantages*) at the institutions in the English-speaking world.

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3 – *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, eds. Marie Riegels Melchior and Brigitta Svensson, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014.

na artikulaciju osobnog iskustva, primjerice, u skupljačkoj praksi pa sve do institucionalnih odaziva na potencijalne izložbeno-modne projekte predviđene za godišnje muzejske programe. Cilj simpozija bio je i osvijestiti zainteresiranu publiku za kompleksnost rada voditelja pojedinih zbirki, koji iziskuje mnogobrojne kompromise te snalažljiva rješenja uvjetovana prostornim, vremenskim i financijskim okvirima. No, unatoč svim izazovima, istaknuta su i suvremena zalaganja za muzealizaciju mode kroz različite aktivnosti i prezentacije modnih tema u muzejima.

## POTICAJI ZA TEMU SIMPOZIJA – MUZEALIZACIJA MODE?

Godine 2014. Marie Riegels Melchior, kustosica *Designmuseuma* u Danskoj, i Birgitta Svensson, profesorica europske etnologije na *Sveučilištu u Stokholmu* u Švedskoj i suradnica muzeja *Nordiska Museet*, objavile su zbirnu znanstvenu knjigu *Fashion and Museums, Theory and Practice*.<sup>3</sup> Osim urednica Riegels Melchior i Svensson, autori su redom profesori teorije i modnog dizajna te kustosi vodećih muzeja mode i modnih zbirki engleskog govornog područja. Pojam muzealizacije mode i muzeologije mode predstavljaju kroz vlastito iskustvo, ukazujući na povijesni razvoj skupljačke prakse modnih artefakata i modno-izložbenih programa unutar institucija svog zaposlenja. Prilozi se bave i utjecajem muzejskih zbirki na stvaralačke procese suvremenih modnih kolekcija, zatim na muzeje i zbirke mode kao prostore educiranja u suradnji s visokoobrazovnim institucijama i sveučilištima. Uz spomenutu knjigu kao doprinos znanstvenoj profilaciji grane valja istaći i publikaciju iz 2019. godine *Fashion, history, Museums, Inventing the Display of Dress*, autorice Julije Petrov. Knjiga je zasnovana na doktorskoj disertaciji, koja uz povijesni pregled razvoja discipline *muzealizacije mode*, donosi i njezinu primjenu kroz iscrpnu analizu kustoskih praksi (*prednosti i mane*) institucija engleskog govornog područja.

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3 – *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, ur. Marie Riegels Melchior and Brigitta Svensson, London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014.



These books are vital for understanding fashion museology from a historical and theoretical perspective and provide an important comprehensive contribution for re-evaluating the meaning and the role of fashion museology in contemporary museum activities. In addition, they provided an incentive for the topic of fashion museology in southeast Europe. However, the symposium includes the experiences of only several museums in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. The first theoretical research on musealization of fashion in our region were conducted by Andrea Klobučar (2013),<sup>4</sup> Stefan Žarić (2015, 2019),<sup>5</sup> Draginja Maskareli (2017)<sup>6</sup> and Lea Vene (2018).<sup>7</sup> Andrea Klobučar (2013) analysed the fashion museology on art deco garments from the Zagreb Museum of Arts and Crafts' collection. Stefan Žarić (2015, 2019) provided an extraordinary insight into the presence of fashion museology within national museums in Serbia. He firmly established his research hypotheses on the analysis of museums' inclusion of fashion phenomena, pointed out the academic community's insufficient interest in the topic, and provided an extensive overview of educational processes in our region. Draginja Maskareli described fashion museology at the *Museum of Applied Art* in Belgrade in her 2017 paper and Lea Vene (2018) drew attention to the problems of current exhibition practices which need to balance between complying with cultural and commercial demands.

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4 – Klobučar, Andrea. "Zbirka ženske međuratne odjeće Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt: primjer muzealizacije art déco mode." *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umjetnosti* 9, 2013: 117–125. Url: <https://mpu.rs/zbornik/lat/clanak.php?zbornik=9&clanak=13> (accessed September, 4, 2020)

5 – Žarić, Stefan. "Muzealizacija bez muzeologije: Nacionalni muzeji i izložbe mode između istorije, teorije i prakse." *Etnoantropološki problemi: Moda i antropologija* 10, number 4, 2015: 915–924.; Žarić, Stefan. "Breaking the Canon: Towards Fashion Museology in Serbia. Museoeurope." *Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, eds.: Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Maribor Regional Museum, 2019: 159–170. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (accessed September, 4, 2020)

6 – Maskareli, Draginja. "Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu i počeci muzealizacije mode u Srbiji: Odsek za tekstil i kostim 1950–1980." *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 13, 2017: 22–30.

7 – Vene, Lea. "Muzealizacija mode, između kulturne i komercijalne proizvodnje." *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*, eds. Krešimir Purgar, Žarko Paić, Zagreb: Faculty of Textile Technology, 2018: 163–181.

Navedene knjige presudne su za razumijevanje mode iz diskursa povijesti i teorije muzealizacije te označavaju važan i cjelovit doprinos preispitivanju značenja i uloge muzealizacije mode u suvremenim muzejskim aktivnostima. Ujedno, bile su poticaj za otvaranje teme *Muzealizacije mode* na teritoriju jugoistočne Europe, dok se u realizaciji simpozija prostorno ipak obuhvatilo samo iskustvo jednog dijela muzeja u Sloveniji, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Prva teorijska istraživanja posvećena pitanju muzealizacije mode u našoj regiji proveli su Andrea Klobučar (2013.),<sup>4</sup> Stefan Žarić (2015., 2019.),<sup>5</sup> Draginja Maskareli (2017.)<sup>6</sup> i Lea Vene (2018.).<sup>7</sup> Tako je proces muzealizacije mode autorica Klobučar (2013) analizirala na primjeru odjevnih predmeta iz razdoblja *art déco* iz zbirke Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu. Izvanredan uvid u pitanje prisutnosti muzealizacije mode unutar nacionalnih muzeja Srbije dao je Žarić (2015., 2019.). Autor čvrsto postavlja uporišta svojih istraživačkih teza na analizi uključenosti fenomena mode u muzejima, zatim ukazuje na nedovoljan interes akademske zajednice za navedenu temu, te donosi iscrpan uvid u našoj regiji na obrazovne procese spomenutog područja. Muzealizaciji mode na primjeru Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu kroz svoju studiju opisala je Maskareli (2017.), dok je pregledom modnih zbirki i izložbi u svijetu autorica Lea Vene (2018.) ukazala na razapetost današnjih izložbeni praksi između težnji udovoljavanja kulturnih i komercijalnih potreba.

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4 – Klobučar, Andrea. "Zbirka ženske međuratne odjeće Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt: primjer muzealizacije art déco mode." *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umjetnosti* 9, 2013: 117–125. Url: <https://mpu.rs/zbornik/lat/clanak.php?zbornik=9&clanak=13> (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

5 – Žarić, Stefan. "Muzealizacija bez muzeologije: Nacionalni muzeji i izložbe mode između istorije, teorije i prakse." *Etnoantropološki problemi: Moda i antropologija* 10, broj 4, 2015: 915–924.; Žarić, Stefan. "Breaking the Canon: Towards Fashion Museology in Serbia. Museoeurope." *Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, ur.: Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej (Maribor Regional Museum), 2019: 159–170. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

6 – Maskareli, Draginja. "Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu i počeci muzealizacije mode u Srbiji: Odsek za tekstil i kostim 1950–1980." *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 13, 2017: 22–30.

7 – Vene, Lea. "Muzealizacija mode, između kulturne i komercijalne proizvodnje." *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*, ur. Krešimir Purgar, Žarko Paić, Zagreb: Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet, 2018: 163–181.

## WHAT IS FASHION MUSEOLOGY?

Museology is a scientific discipline which studies museum activities in order to protect, research, and present the items of cultural and natural heritage.<sup>8</sup> The term musealization is used as a synonym for placement in a museum, while the narrower definition focuses on the changes in the nature of a stored and exhibited item.

Fashion museology gained momentum in the United States of America, especially through curatorial practice of Diane Vreeland. Vreeland, the editor of *American Vogue*, became a special consultant of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute* in New York in 1972 as well as an author of numerous fashion exhibitions.<sup>9</sup> Due to their commercial character and historical inaccuracies, the exhibitions often received negative reviews. However, their glamorous presentation and contemporary concepts, which flirted with the form of fashion shows, managed to remove the aura of a *dead* exhibit from the museum's clothing artefacts.

Still, the most important contributor to defining *fashion museology* was Riegels Melchior. She began by determining the differences between the terms dress museology and fashion museology.<sup>10</sup> Dress museology is described as a discipline which deals with actual items. The primary activity is collecting with a strict adherence to rules of handling and storing (retrieving, documenting, storing, maintenance...). As for fashion museology, she states that *...fashion museology emphasizes the visibility of the museum through the staging of spectacular shows, primarily creating unique visitor experiences and only secondarily raising collecting possibilities.*<sup>11</sup> She concludes that fashion museology is a temporary spectacular practice the goal of which is to attract visitors and facilitate the recognition of a museum as a new, innovative cultural space. Museums become places of synergy of knowledge, interaction, and new social value. She mentions exhibitions and study programmes

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8 – *Muzeologija*. Croatian Encyclopaedia. Url: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=42626> (accessed August, 28, 2020)

9 – *The 18th-Century Woman* (1981), *Romantic and Glamorous Hollywood Design* (1974), *Yves Saint Laurent* (1983).

10 – Riegels Melchior 2014: 6.

11 – Riegels Melchior 2014: 11.

## ŠTO JE MUZEALIZACIJA MODE?

Muzeologija (eng. *museology*) je znanstvena disciplina koja proučava muzejsku djelatnost radi zaštite, istraživanja i prezentiranja predmeta kulturne i prirodne baštine.<sup>8</sup> Termin *muzealizacija* (eng. *musealization*) koristi se kao sinonim za “postavljanje u muzej”, dok je uža definicija usredotočena na promjenu prirode pohranjenog, a zatim i izloženog predmeta.

Muzealizacija mode svoj zamah ostvaruje u Sjedinjenim Američkim Državama, posebno kroz kustosku praksu Diane Vreeland. Vreeland, urednica američkog *Vogua*, godine 1972. postaje savjetnica *Costume Institute u Metropolitan Museum of Art* u New Yorku i autorica velikog broja modnih izložbi.<sup>9</sup> Izložbe su zbog komercijalnog karaktera i povijesne netočnosti bile često popraćene i jednim dijelom negativnih kritika. No, zahvaljujući glamuroznoj prezentaciji i osuvremenjenim konceptima koji su koketirali s formom modne revije, dotadašnji muzejski odjevni artefakti uspjeli su ukloniti auru *mrtvog* eksponata.

No, definiranju pojma *muzealizacija mode* u najvećoj mjeri ipak je pridonijela Riegels Melchior. Ona kreće od utvrđivanja razlika između muzeologija odijevanja (engl. *dress museology*) i muzeologija mode (engl. *fashion museology*).<sup>10</sup> Pri tome muzeologiju odijevanja opisuje kao granu koja se bavi stvarnim predmetima. Ističe skupljačku djelatnost kao primarnu, no uz pridržavanje strogih pravila rukovanja i pohranjivanja (preuzimanje, dokumentiranje, pohranjivanje, održavanje...). Za muzeologiju mode Riegels Melchior navodi da *...naglašava vidljivost muzeja postavljanjem spektakularnih revija, prvenstveno stvarajući jedinstvena iskustva posjetiteljima, dok je skupljačka djelatnost u sekundarnom planu.*<sup>11</sup> Nadalje zaključuje da je muzealizacija mode privremena spektakularna praksa kojoj je cilj privući posjetitelje te olakšati prepoznavanje muzeja kao novog, inovativnog kulturnog prostora. Oni postaju prostori sinergije znanja, međusobne interakcije i nove društvene vrijednosti. Kao pozitivan primjer prakse navodi uz izložbene aktivnosti i ponudu studijskih programa posvećenih modnim studijima, zatim radionice

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8 – *Muzeologija*. Hrvatska enciklopedija. Url: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=42626> (pristupljeno 28.08.2020).

9 – *The 18th-Century Woman* (1981), *Romantic and Glamorous Hollywood Design* (1974), *Yves Saint Laurent* (1983).

10 – Riegels Melchior 2014: 11.

11 – Ibid.

dedicated to fashion studies as well as workshops on clothing history organized by *The Costume Institute*, *The Museum of the Fashion Institute of Technology* in New York and *Victoria and Albert Museum* in London as examples of good practice.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, Riegels Melchior describes the three phases of development of dress and fashion museology which have the same historical root. The first phase, which consists of clothing collections' establishment, begins in the 1930s. In our region, collecting activities and establishment of collections began as early as 1900s. For example, *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb supplemented its permanent exhibition with fashion artefacts in 1909 and in 1913 the textile collection held more than 7,300 fashion and traditional items. At that time, the distinction between fashion and traditional item does not exist at the *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb. Traditional items are classified as clothing artefacts of artistic value.<sup>13</sup> According to Riegels Melchior, in the second period, from the 1960s to the 1990s, fashion is presented in exhibitions which re-evaluate its relationship with popular culture and avant-garde design. In our region, the following activities marked this period: in 1958, *Museum of Applied Art* in Belgrade included fashion artefacts in its permanent exhibition, *Maribor Regional Museum* presented a permanent exhibition dedicated solely to the culture of dressing in 1973, and the first exhibition dealing with the rhythm of style changes in the Western civilization, entitled *Shapes of Clothing from Antiquity to 1900*, was held at the *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb in 1952. The author of the exhibition was Vanda Pavelić Weinart, the Head of Textile and Accessories Collection. The exhibition was also held in Belgrade at the *Museum of Applied Art* in 1955.<sup>14</sup> The first use of the term "fashion" in exhibition names in our region should be mentioned. In 1965, *Maribor Regional Museum* held the exhibition *Tristo let mode na Slovenskem (Three Hundred Years of Fashion in*

povijesti odijevanja u organizaciji *The Costume Institute* i *The Museum of the Fashion Institute of Technology* u New Yorku te *Victoria and Albert* muzeja u Londonu.<sup>12</sup>

Riegels Melchior opisuje i tri faze razvoja muzeologije odijevanja i muzeologije mode, koje imaju isti povijesni korijen. Prva faza, vezana za osnivanje zbirke odijevanja u sklopu nacionalnih muzeja, započinje oko tridesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća. Na našim prostorima skupljačke aktivnosti i osnivanje zbirke započinju već početkom 20. stoljeća. Primjerice, *Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu* 1909. godine nadopunjuje stalni postav modnim artefaktima, dok 1913. godine tekstilna zbirka posjeduje preko 7300 modnih i tradicijskih predmeta. U to vrijeme u skupljačkoj djelatnosti *Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu* ne postoji razlika između modnog (*fashion*) ili tradicijskog predmeta. Njemu se pristupa kao odjevnom artefaktu umjetničkih vrijednosti.<sup>13</sup> U drugom razdoblju, od šezdesetih godina do devedesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća, Riegels Melchior napominje da se u svjetskim muzejima moda predstavlja kroz izložbene koncepte preispitivanja njezinog odnosa s popularnom kulturom i avangardnim dizajnom. Naša je regija obilježena sljedećim aktivnostima. *Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu* 1958. godine modne artefakte uvrstio je u stalni postav. *Pokrajinski muzej u Mariboru* 1973. godine predstavlja stalni postav posvećen isključivo kulturi odijevanja. Prvu izložbu, koja tematizira ritam stilsko-odjernih promjena zapadne civilizacije, naziva *Oblici odjeće od antike do početka XX. stoljeća*, 1952. godine postavio je *Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu*. Autorica izložbe bila je voditeljica Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora Vanda Pavelić-Weinert, a izložba je gostovala i u Beogradu u *Muzeju primenjene umetnosti* 1955. godine.<sup>14</sup> Zanimljivo je zabilježiti i prvo pojavljivanje termina *moda* u nazivima izložbi na našim prostorima. Godine 1965. *Pokrajinski muzej u Mariboru* predstavlja izložbu *Tristo let mode na Slovenskem (Tristo*

12 – Ibid.

13 – Riegels Melchior states that the term costume is used for historical clothing artefacts in the first phase in the English speaking world. A problem exists with the acquisition of the term costume in our region as the word *kostim* has multiple meanings none of which refer to the definition of a historical (authentic) clothing artefact. Riegels Melchior 2014:11.

14 – *Oblici odjeće*. Zagreb: Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1955: 2.

12 – Ibid.

13 – Riegels Melchior navodi da se na engleskom govornom području u prvoj fazi za povijesni odjevni artefakt koristi termin—*costume*. Pri usvajanju stranog termina *costume* na našim prostorima uočava se problem jer *kostim* posjeduje slojevito značenje i ne odgovara definiciji povijesnog (autentičnog) odjavnog artefakta. Riegels Melchior 2014: 11.

14 – *Oblici odjeće*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1955: 2.



Slovenija) whose author was Sergej Vrišer.<sup>15</sup> The following year, *Museum of Arts and Crafts* held the exhibition entitled *Moda od fin de siècle do charlestona (Fashion from fin de siècle until 1920s)* whose author was Vanda Pavelić Weinart, the Head of the Textile and Accessories Collection<sup>16</sup>, and *Museum of Applied Art* in Belgrade held the exhibition *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka (Women's Fashion from the Middle of the 19th Century until the 1930s)* whose author was the curator and Head of the Textiles and Costumes Collection Dobrila Stojanović.<sup>17</sup> The museums' collecting activities during the 1970s and the 1980s in the region of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia focused more on items of national and artistic value, while the tendency towards fashion artefacts depended on the museums' management strategies and partially the heads' of collections personal affinities. Research papers on clothing styles and dressing were written by ethnologists, historians, and art historians. From the 1990s, fashion phenomena and trends were presented as part of extensive cultural exhibitions and are viewed as one of the multi-layered segments of social expression.

Riegel Melchior places the third phase in the period from the 1990s until present day. Fashion is increasingly present in museums across the world, it is presented in a spectacular way, exhibitions have a strong

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15 – Clothing styles of Slovenian aristocracy and bourgeoisie from the 17th until the 19th century were presented. Vrišer, Sergej. *Tristo let mode na Slovenskem*, Maribor: Regional Museum, 1965.; Hren Brvar, Maja. "Museum Fashion Month." *Museoeurope. Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, eds. Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Maribor Regional Museum) 2019: 127–135. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (accessed September, 4, 2020); Kacafura Porekar, Irena. "History of preventive conservation in the collection of clothing and clothing accessories at the Maribor Regional Museum." *Museoeurope. Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, eds. Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Maribor Regional Museum, 2019: 137–150. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (accessed September, 4, 2020).

16 – Pavelić Weinart, Vanda. *Moda od fin de siècle do charlestona*. Zagreb: Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1966.

17 – Stojanović, Dobrila. *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka: iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 1966. Belgrade. URL: <https://digbibliotekampu.loccloudhosting.net/items/show/17> (accessed August, 28, 2020).

*godina mode u Sloveniji*) autora Sergeja Vrišera.<sup>15</sup> Sljedeće godine prate ga *Muzej za umjetnost i obrt* u Zagrebu izložbom *Moda od fin de siècle do charlestona* (1966.) autorice i voditeljice Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora Vande Pavelić-Weinert<sup>16</sup> i *Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu*, izložbom *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka* (1966.) kustosice i voditeljice Zbirke tekstila i kostima Dobrile Stojanović.<sup>17</sup> Muzejsko-skupljačka aktivnost sedamdesetih i osamdesetih godina na području Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije znatnije se usredotočila na predmete nacionalne i umjetničke vrijednosti, dok je senzibilitet za modne artefakte ovisio o upravljačkoj strategiji muzeja i djelomično o afinitetu samog voditelja zbirke. O odjevnim stilovima i odijevanju istraživačke radove pisali su etnolozi, povjesničari umjetnosti i povjesničari. Od devedesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća modni fenomeni i trendovi prezentirani su u sklopu opsežnih kulturoloških izložbi i promatraju se kao jedan od segmenata društvenog izraza slojevitog značenja.

Treću fazu periodizacije Riegels Melchior smješta u razdoblje od devedesetih godina dvadesetog stoljeća pa sve do danas. Moda je sve prisutnija u svjetskim muzejima, predstavlja se na spektakularan način, izložbe imaju snažan komercijalan karakter, naglašavaju se umjetničke vrijednosti modne produkcije, predstavljaju se opusi modnih dizajnera, dok izložbeni koncepti

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15 – Predstavljani su bili odjevni stilovi slovenske aristokracije i buržoazije u razdoblju od 17. do 19. stoljeća. Vrišer, Sergej. *Tristo let mode na Slovenskem*, Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej, 1965.; Hren Brvar, Maja. "Museum Fashion Month." *Museoeurope. Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, ur. Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej Maribor (Maribor Regional Museum), 2019: 127–135. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020); Kacafura Porekar, Irena. "History of preventive conservation in the collection of clothing and clothing accessories at the Maribor Regional Museum." *Museoeurope. Tekstil, oblačilna kultura in moda—Textile, The Culture of Clothing, Fashion*, ur. Nives Cvikl, Maja Hren Brvar. Maribor: Pokrajinski muzej Maribor (Maribor Regional Museum), 2019: 137–150. Url: [https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope\\_2019\\_vse.pdf](https://museum-mb.si/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/MuseoEurope_2019_vse.pdf) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

16 – Pavelić-Weinert, Vanda. *Moda od fin de siècle do charlestona*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1966.

17 – Stojanović, Dobrila. *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka: iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1966. Beograd. URL: <https://digbibliotekampu.loccloudhosting.net/items/show/17> (pristupljeno 28. 8. 2020).

commercial character, artistic value of fashion production is emphasised, fashion designers' collections are presented, and exhibition concepts follow current events and even taboo topics. In our region, several exhibitions stand out: *Comrade à la mode: Clothing and Fashion in Zagreb from 1945 until 1960* held at the *Museum of Contemporary Art-Zagreb* in 2006 authored by Ante Tonči Vladislavić, *Fashion in Motion: Italian style 1951–1990. Glimpses of Slovenian Fashion* held at the *Slovene Ethnographic Museum* in 2015 whose author was museum advisor Nina Zdravič Polič<sup>18</sup>, and *Aleksandar Joksimović: from the Collection of the Museum of Applied Art* held at the *Museum of Applied Art* in Belgrade in 2015 authored by museum advisor Bojana Popović.<sup>19</sup> *Maribor Regional Museum* provided especially important contribution to fashion musealization in the last two years by intensive inclusion of fashion related topics and various activities (conferences, lectures, discussions, workshops, fashion shows, exhibitions) in its annual programmes.<sup>20</sup>

## FASHION IN THE MUSEUM

Fashion exhibitions and other activities connected to fashion and its musealization became an essential part of annual programmes in institutions such as *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* in New York or *Victoria and Albert Museum* in London. At the same time, museums specializing in fashion such as *Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology* in New York, *Musée de la Mode et du Costume (the Palais Galliera)*<sup>21</sup> and *Musée de la Mode et du Textile* in Louvre, Paris, *Kyoto Costume Institute* in Japan, intensified their activities.<sup>22</sup> Their experiences based on visitor responses represented an important factor in the growth of a new wave of specialized fashion museums such as *MoMu—Mode Museum*

18 — *Moda v gibanju. Italijanski slog 1951–1990. Utrinki slovenske mode: fashion in motion: Italian Style 1951–1990. Glimpses of Slovenian fashion*, ed. Nina Zdravič Polič. Ljubljana: Slovene Ethnographic Museum, 2015.

19 — Popović, Bojana. *Aleksandar Joksimović. Iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2015.

20 — Hren Brvar 2019: 127–135.

21 — Founded by the city of Paris in the 1920s, located at Galliera since 1977.

22 — Private Japanese museum founded by Wacoal Company, underwear manufacturer.

prate društveno aktualna pitanja pa i tabu teme. Na tim tragovima na našim prstorima izdvojiti ćemo samo neke od njih poput izložbe *Drugarica à la mode: odijevanje i moda u Zagrebu od 1945. do 1960. godine*, iz 2006. godine u organizaciji *Muzeja suvremene umjetnosti*, te autora izložbe Ante Tončija Vladislavića. Zatim *Moda u pokretu: talijanski stil 1951–1990. Iskrice slovenske mode* (orig. *Moda v gibanju: Italijanski slog 1951–1990. Utrinki slovenske mode—fashion in motion: Italian Style 1951–1990. Glimpses of Slovenian fashion*) iz 2015. godine, postavljena u slovenskom etnografskom muzeju, autorice muzejske savjetnice Nine Zdravič Polič,<sup>18</sup> te u Beogradu u *Muzeju primenjene umetnosti* izložba *Aleksandar Joksimović*. Iz zbirke *Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*, autorice muzejske savjetnice Bojane Popović iz 2015. godine.<sup>19</sup> Posebno važan doprinos muzealizaciji mode zadnje dvije godine pruža *Pokrajinski muzej* u Mariboru, intenzivnim uključivanjem tema te različitih aktivnosti (konferencija, predavanja, diskusije, radionice, modne revije, izložbe) posvećenih modi kroz svoje godišnje programe.<sup>20</sup>

## MODA U MUZEJU

Modne izložbe te ostale aktivnosti vezane za modu i njezinu muzealizaciju postali su neizostavni sadržaji godišnjih programa u institucijama poput *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* u New Yorku ili *Victoria and Albert Museum* u Londonu, dok su muzeji specijalizirani za modu nalik *Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology* u New Yorku, *Musée de la Mode et du Costume (Palais Galliera)*<sup>21</sup> i *Musée de la Mode et du Textile* u sklopu *Louvrea* u Parizu, *Kyoto Costume Institute* u Japanu svoje djelatnosti intenzivirali.<sup>22</sup> Njihovo iskustvo zasnovano na odazivu posjetitelja predstavljalo je važnu odrednicu u eskalaciji novog vala specijaliziranih muzeja za modu, nalik *MoMu—Mode Museum Province Antwerpen* (2002.), *Fashion and Textile Museum*

18 — *Moda v gibanju. Italijanski slog 1951–1990. Utrinki slovenske mode: fashion in motion: Italian Style 1951–1990. Glimpses of Slovenian fashion*, ur. Nina Zdravič Polič. Ljubljana: Slovenski etnografski muzej, 2015.

19 — Popović, Bojana. *Aleksandar Joksimović. Iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2015.

20 — Hren Brvar 2019: 127–135.

21 — Osnovao grad Pariz 1920-ih, dok je na lokaciji Galliera od 1977.

22 — Privatni japanski muzej koji je osnovao Wacoal Company, proizvođač donjeg rublja.

*Province Antwerpen* (2002), *Fashion and Textile Museum* in London (2003), *Museo de la Moda* in Santiago, Chile (2006), *MUDE—Museo do Design et da Moda* in Lisbon (2008).

In the region of Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, a museum specializing exclusively in fashion does not exist. Fashion artefacts are held in the collections of national, city, and ethnographic museums together with liturgical textile items and items of traditional heritage. In most cases, the names of collections do not refer to fashion content. Instead, they use wider terms (textile, clothing, costume, accessories).<sup>23</sup> The first fashion museum in the region's surroundings was founded in Gorizia, Italy (*Museo della Moda e delle Arti Applicate*)<sup>24</sup> in 1999 and the museum *Centre for the History of Textiles and Costume* was housed at Mocenigo palace in Venice in 1985.<sup>25</sup> Specialized *Museum of Textile and Clothing Industry*,<sup>26</sup> was opened in Budapest, Hungary, in 1999, and fashion artefacts in Austria are held in the Fashion Collection founded in 1954 at the *Vienna Museum*,<sup>27</sup> as well as in the *Museum of Applied Arts' Historical Textiles Collection*.<sup>28</sup> Although the collection points towards historical

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23 – It should be emphasized that collecting of fashion items is carried out in other museums in the region of former Yugoslavia as well.

24 – *Museo della Moda e delle Arti Applicate, Gorizia, Italy*. Url: [https://musei.regione.fvg.it/index.php?page=it/musei\\_e\\_archivi/musei\\_provinciali\\_di\\_gorizia/museo\\_della\\_moda\\_e\\_delle\\_arti\\_applicate](https://musei.regione.fvg.it/index.php?page=it/musei_e_archivi/musei_provinciali_di_gorizia/museo_della_moda_e_delle_arti_applicate) (accessed September, 4, 2020)

25 – *Palazzo Mocenigo, Venice*. Url: <https://mocenigo.visitmuve.it/en/il-museo/layout-and-collections/itinerary-renewed/> (accessed September, 4, 2020).

26 – *Museum of Textile and Clothing Industry—Textilés Textilruházati Ipartörténeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary*. Url: <http://www.textilmuzeum.hu/> (accessed September, 4, 2020). Fashion in Hungary is also represented in collections of national museums which presented a larger number of exhibitions dedicated to fashion in the last several years: *Hungarian National Museum*. Url: <https://mnm.hu/en/collections/historical-repository/textile-collection, Budapest History Museum>. Url: <http://www.btm.hu/en/>; Kiscell Museum. Url: [http://kiscellmuzeum.hu/eng/about\\_us](http://kiscellmuzeum.hu/eng/about_us) (accessed September, 4, 2020)

27 – *Wien museum*. Url: <https://www.wienmuseum.at/en/collections/history-and-city-life/fashion-collection> (accessed September, 4, 2020)

28 – *MAK—Museum of Applied Arts, Textiles and Carpets Collection, Wien, Austria*. Url: [https://www.mak.at/en/collection/mak\\_collection/textiles\\_and\\_carpets\\_collection](https://www.mak.at/en/collection/mak_collection/textiles_and_carpets_collection) (accessed September, 4, 2020)

u Londonu (2003.), *Museo de la Moda* u Santiagu, Čile (2006.), *MUDE—Museo do Design et da Moda* u Lisabonu (2008.).

Na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije ne postoji specijalizirani muzej namijenjen isključivo modi. Modni artefakti nalaze se u zbirkama nacionalnih, gradskih, etnografskih muzeja, uz tekstilnu građu liturgijske ili tradicijske baštine. U većini slučajeva zbirke u svom nazivu ne upućuju na modni sadržaj, već su korištene riječi širih odrednica (tekstil, odjeća, kostim, modni pribor).<sup>23</sup> No, u okruženju regije, prvi *Muzej mode* utemeljen je u Goriziji u Italiji (*Museo della Moda e delle Arti Applicate*)<sup>24</sup> 1999. godine, dok se u Veneciji 1985. godine u palači Mocenigo smjestio muzej, ujedno *Centar za povijest tekstila i odjeće* (engl. *Centre for the History of Textiles and Costume, Centro Studi di Storia del Tessuto e del Costume*).<sup>25</sup> Budimpešta u Mađarskoj specijalizirani *Muzej tekstila i odjevne industrije* (*Museum of Textile and Clothing Industry, Textilés Textilruházati Ipartörténeti Múzeum*)<sup>26</sup> otvara 1999. godine, dok su u Austriji modni artefakti zastupljeni u Zbirci mode osnovanoj 1954. godine u sklopu bečkog muzeja (*Fashion Collection, Vienna Museum – Modesammlung des Historischen Museums*),<sup>27</sup> te u *Muzeju primijenjene umjetnosti* (*MAK – Museum of Applied Arts*) u Zbirci povijesnog tekstila.<sup>28</sup> Iako zbirka upućuje na povijesni tekstil,

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23 – Potrebno je naglasiti da je skupljačka djelatnost modne odjeće rasprostranjena i u ostalim muzejskim institucijama na tlu bivše Jugoslavije.

24 – *Museo della Moda e delle Arti Applicate, Gorizia, Italy*. Url: [https://musei.regione.fvg.it/index.php?page=it/musei\\_e\\_archivi/musei\\_provinciali\\_di\\_gorizia/museo\\_della\\_moda\\_e\\_delle\\_arti\\_applicate](https://musei.regione.fvg.it/index.php?page=it/musei_e_archivi/musei_provinciali_di_gorizia/museo_della_moda_e_delle_arti_applicate) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

25 – *Palazzo Mocenigo, Venice*. Url: <https://mocenigo.visitmuve.it/en/il-museo/layout-and-collections/itinerary-renewed/> (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.) No, uz navedene muzeje, u Italiji valja spomenuti i *Muzej tekstila* (*The Textile Museum – Museo del Tessuto*) u Pratu osnovan 1975. godine te *The Costume Gallery* (*Galleria del Costume*) koji je utemeljen 1983. godine u palači Pitti u Firenzi.

26 – *Museum of Textile and Clothing Industry—Textilés Textilruházati Ipartörténeti Múzeum, Budapest, Hungary*. Url: <http://www.textilmuzeum.hu/> (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.). Moda je u Mađarskoj zastupljena i u zbirkama nacionalnih muzeja, koje u zadnjih nekoliko godina bilježe veći broj izložbenih aktivnosti posvećenih modi: *Hungarian national Museum*. Url: <https://mnm.hu/en/collections/historical-repository/textile-collection, Budapest History Museum>. Url: <http://www.btm.hu/en/>; Kiscell Museum. Url: [http://kiscellmuzeum.hu/eng/about\\_us](http://kiscellmuzeum.hu/eng/about_us) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

27 – *Wien museum*. Url: <https://www.wienmuseum.at/en/collections/history-and-city-life/fashion-collection> (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)



textiles, the museum's exhibitions are focused on the musealization of contemporary fashion as is evident from the last virtual exhibition *SHOW OFF: Austrian Fashion Design* (February, 14, 2020 – August, 30, 2020) the presentation of which was adapted to the current global pandemic of Covid-19.<sup>29</sup>

The increase in the number of fashion exhibitions in the world is not surprising considering a substantial interest among the public which brings profit to the museums. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* in New York was visited by 661,509 people during the Alexander McQueen's *Savage Beauty* exhibition (May, 4 – August, 7, 2011), and 1.659,647 visitors during the *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* (May, 10 – October, 8, 2018) exhibition.<sup>30</sup> Alexander McQueen's *Savage Beauty* exhibition was held at the *Victoria and Albert Museum* in London in 2015 and it became the most visited exhibition in the museum's history with 493,043 visitors.<sup>31</sup> Its record was beaten in 2019 by the *Christian Dior: Designer of Dreams* exhibition (February, 2 – September, 1, 2019) with 594,994 visitors.<sup>32</sup> These numbers are unattainable for our region. It is interesting that here, unlike abroad, fashion exhibitions have less visitors than cultural exhibitions. For example, *Art Nuveau in Croatia* held at the *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb in 2003 was visited by more than 100,000 guests, *ART DECO and Art in Croatia in the Interwar Period* by 63,872 visitors in 2003, 1960s in *Croatia—Myth and Reality* by 51,252 visitors in 2018. Exhibitions dedicated exclusively to fashion such as *For Better or Worse: Wedding Garments from 1865 until Today* (2015) and *On Pins and Needles/Igor Galaš—Fashion Design* (2017), were visited by 4,930 and 8,041 visitors respectively. *Zagreb City Museum* had 10,289 visitors at its *Fashion and Clothing* in the 1960s Zagreb exhibition, and 6,377 visitors at the historical underwear fashion show on *Museum Night* 2009.

29 – Exhibition: *SHOW OFF: Austrian Fashion Design*, 2019. Url: <https://show-off.net/>

30 – Petrov, Julia. *Fashion, History, Museums, Inventing the Display of Dress*. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2019:186.

31 – Brooke, Eliza. "Alexander McQueen; Savage beauty beat attendance records in London, too." *Fashionista*, 2015. Url: <https://fashionista.com/2015/08/savage-beauty-victoria-albert> (accessed September, 1, 2020)

32 – Wightman-Stone, Danielle. "V&A Dior exhibition "most visited" in museum's history." *FashionUnited*, 2019. Url: <https://fashionunited.uk/news/culture/v-a-dior-exhibition-most-visited-in-museum-s-history/2019090345052> (accessed September, 1, 2020)

izložbene aktivnosti tog muzeja usredotočene su na muzealizaciju suvremene mode, o čemu svjedoči i posljednja virtualna izložba *SHOW OFF: Austrian Fashion Design* (14. 2. 2020.–30. 8. 2020.) prezentacijski prilagođena situaciji u svijetu izazvanoj Covidom-19.<sup>29</sup>

Porast broja modnih izložbi u svijetu ne iznenađuje, s obzirom na popriličan interes javnosti za njih, što muzeju donosi zaradu. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* u New Yorku povodom izložbe Alexandra McQueena (4. 5.–7. 8. 2011.) *Savage Beauty* posjetilo je 661.509 ljudi, a na izložbi *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* (10. 5.–8. 10. 2018.) zabilježeno je 1.659.647 posjetitelja.<sup>30</sup> Izložba Alexandra McQueena *Savage Beauty* gostovala je 2015. u *Victoria & Albert* muzeju u Londonu te postala najposjećenija ikada u povijesti tog muzeja s ukupno 493.043 posjetitelja.<sup>31</sup> Njezin rekord 2019. godine srušila je izložba *Christian Dior: Designer of Dreams* (2. 2.–1. 9. 2019.) s 594.994 posjetitelja.<sup>32</sup> Navedeni brojevi za prostore naše regije su nedostižni. Zanimljivo je da u odnosu na inozemne trendove modne izložbe bilježe manji odaziv u odnosu na izložbe kulturološkog karaktera. Primjerice, u *Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt* u Zagrebu izložbe koje su obuhvatile i modne dionice poput *Secesija u Hrvatskoj* 2003. godine posjetilo je preko 100 000 gostiju, *ART DECO i umjetnost u Hrvatskoj između dva rata*, 2011. godine 63 872 posjetitelja, izložbu *Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj—Mit i stvarnost*, 2018. godine 51 252 posjetitelja. U istoimenom muzeju izložbe posvećene isključivo modi poput *U dobru i zlu: vjenčana odjeća od 1865. do danas*, 2015. godine posjetilo je 4.930, dok izložbu *Na iglama/Igor Galaš—Modni dizajn*, 2017. godine 8041 posjetitelj. Dok *Muzej grada Zagreb* bilježi 10.289 posjetitelja na izložbi

28 – MAK – *Museum of Applied Arts, Textiles and Carpets Collection*, Wien, Austria. Url: [https://www.mak.at/en/collection/mak\\_collection/textiles\\_and\\_carpets\\_collection](https://www.mak.at/en/collection/mak_collection/textiles_and_carpets_collection) (pristupljeno 04.09.2020.)

29 – Izložba: *SHOW OFF: Austrian Fashion Design*, 2019. Url: <https://show-off.net/>

30 – Petrov, Julia. *Fashion, History, Museums, Inventing the Display of Dress*. London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2019:186.

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## FASHION MUSEOLOGY – BEGINNINGS & CHALLENGES IN SLOVENIA, CROATIA, AND SERBIA SYMPOSIUM

Based on the historical overview of the development of musealization of fashion in the world and its gradual acceptance in our region, this book presents eight authors from Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia who discuss the shift of research interest from *clothing* to *fashion* through case studies of individual collections and museums. Their studies were presented at the symposium *Fashion Museology—Beginnings and Challenges in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia* held in October, 2020. Andrea Klobučar's paper discusses the term fashion museology on the example of the *Museum of Arts and Crafts* in Zagreb pointing out that the discipline's development is subject to social and historical facts. Analysing her own experience as the head of a collection, she introduces us to the challenges and initiatives undertaken in order to evaluate fashion museology. Katja Mahnič's paper gives insight into the historical development of clothing and textile collections in the former *Regional Museum in Carniola*. The author describes fashion museology research as an analysis of a complex, conceptually conditioned and historically varying process. Draginja Maskareli provides insight into the change of the *Museum of Applied Art's* strategy towards fashion musealization on the example of the Textile and Costume Collection. Spomenka Težak provides an extensive analysis of *Varaždin City Museum's* collecting activities on the example of *A Century of Textiles* exhibition dedicated to Varteks' rich textile production. In addition, the author points out the transformation of the exhibition's character from historical to commercial caused by the need to present it at the *Museum of Arts and Craft* in Zagreb and to promote Varteks' new collection in 2019. Maja Arčabić, the Head of the *Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection* at Zagreb City Museum provides a wonderful insight into her own experience of collecting and presenting garments as documents of time which sublimates all political, economic and social changes. Despite numerous challenges, she considers fashion and fashion related initiatives an important incentive for visitors to recognize the museum as an interesting interactive space of new content and activities.

The curator of the Split city museum, Darka Perko Kerum, offers an insight into the collecting activities of historical and contemporary

*Moda i odijevanje u Zagrebu 1960-ih*, te 6.377 posjetitelja na modnoj reviji povijesnog donjeg rublja u Noći muzeja 2009. godine.

## SIMPOZIJ “MUZEALIZACIJA MODE — POČECI I IZAZOVI NA PROSTORU SLOVENIJE, HRVATSKE I SLOVENIJE

Na temelju povijesnog osvrtu razvoja muzealizacije mode u svijetu i njezinog postupnog primjenjivanja na našim prostorima, knjiga predstavlja osam autorica iz Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije, koje kroz studije slučaja pojedinih zbirki i muzeja prate razvoj istraživačkih interesa usmjerenih s *odijevanja* (odjeće) na *modu*. Njihove studije predstavljene su na simpoziju *Muzealizacija mode—počeci i izazovi na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije* održanom u listopadu 2020. godine. Rad Andree Klobučar obrađuje pojam muzealizacije mode na primjeru *Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt* u Zagrebu, ukazujući na uvjetovanost razvoja te discipline s društveno-povijesnim činjenicama. Na analizi vlastitog iskustva kao voditelja zbirke upoznaje nas s izazovima i inicijativama u cilju valorizacije muzealizacije mode. Studija Katje Mahnič, docentice na Odsjeku povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Ljubljani, otvara terminološka pitanja značenja muzeologije i muzealizacije mode te donosi uvid u povijesni razvoj odjevnih i tekstilnih zbirki u bivšem *Pokrajinskom muzeju* Kranjske. Autorica opisuje istraživanje muzealizacije mode kao analizu složenog, konceptualno uvjetovanog i povijesno promjenjivog procesa. Draginja Maskareli na primjeru Zbirke tekstila i kostima *Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* u Beogradu donosi uvid u promjenu strategije muzeja usmjerenog prema muzealizaciji mode, dok Spomenka Težak na primjeru varaždinske izložbe *Stoljeće tekstila* posvećene bogatoj Varteksovoj tekstilnoj proizvodnji pruža iscrpnu analizu skupljačke djelatnosti *Gradskog muzeja Varaždin*. Autorica ujedno ukazuje na transformaciju karaktera izložbe *Stoljeće tekstila* iz povijesne u komercijalnu, za potrebe gostovanja u *Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt* u Zagrebu i promocije nove Varteksove kolekcije 2019. godine. Maja Arčabić, voditeljica Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila u *Muzeju grada Zagreba*, daje izvanredan uvid u osobno iskustvo skupljanja i prezentiranja odjevnih predmeta kao dokumenta vremena koji sublimiraju sve političke, ekonomske i društvene promjene. Unatoč mnogobrojnim izazovima, *modu* i inicijative vezane za modne teme smatra važnim čimbenikom u poticaju posjetitelja da muzej prepoznaju kao zanimljiv interaktivan prostor novih sadržaja i aktivnosti.

fashion artefacts and mentions new initiatives in popularizing fashion museology. Aida Brenko presents one hundred years of Zagreb's *Ethnographic Museum's* experience and challenges the contextual relationship between fashion and traditional artefacts. She believes the founding of the *Collection of Contemporary Clothing* in 2015 was a great impetus for fashion museology. Mirjana Menković's paper provides insight into numerous activities dedicated to fashion at the *Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade* as a result of interdisciplinary approach to research which represents a significant contribution to new ways of presenting and evaluating fashion. Due to the support given to fashion museology, the *ICOM Costume Committee Annual Meeting* was held there in 2011.

As the symposium is organized by the Faculty of Textile Technology, University of Zagreb, which offers the course *Fashion Museology* as part of the interdisciplinary graduate studies *Textile and Fashion Design's Theory and Culture of Fashion* programme since 2008, the second day of the symposium was dedicated to two thematic discussions on education and fashion design. The first talk, between art historians Stefan Žarić (Belgrade) and Lea Vene (Zagreb), dealt with the current issue of educating future curators specialized in fashion. The second talk, between fashion designers Silvio Vujčić (Zagreb) and Elena Fajt (Ljubljana), raised the question of the role of museums in the work of fashion designers as places of inspiration, presentation, and education.

In conclusion, *Fashion Museology—Beginnings and Challenges in Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia* represents a valuable contribution to the historical development of the discipline and offers a specific insight into its presence in our region's museums. It raises new questions for future discussions such as the relationship between heads of collections and visiting curators, more intensive networking between museums and institutions of higher educations as well as between regional museums themselves. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider new museum spaces which would be appealing to visitors and new ways to make fashion exhibitions more commercially interesting. The presented papers also raise the question of the establishment of a new museum dedicated solely to fashion. A specialized museum would enable collecting activities centred on fashion artefacts, annual programme focused on fashion related topics, and the introduction of study programmes already well established in the world's leading museums.



Kustosica gradskog muzeja u Splitu Darka Perko Kerum pruža uvid u skupljačku djelatnost modno-povijesnih i suvremenih artefakata te ukazuje na nove inicijative u popularizaciji područja muzealizacije mode. Aida Brenko predstavljajući stogodišnje iskustvo *Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu* preispituje oblike kontekstualizacije odnosa modnih i tradicijskih artefakata, dok osnivanje *Zbirke suvremene odjeće* (2015.) u tom muzeju detektira kao kvalitetan zamah novim izazovima muzealizaciji mode. Rad dr. sc. Mirjane Menković donosi uvid u vrlo bogate aktivnosti posvećene sadržajima mode u *Etnografskom muzeju* u Beogradu, kao rezultat interdisciplinarnih pristupa istraživanja, što predstavlja značajan doprinos zalaganju za nove pristupe prezentaciji i valorizaciji mode. Zbog zalaganja za muzealizaciju mode upravo u tom muzeju 2011. godine održan je godišnji sastanak *Međunarodnog odbora za muzeje i zbirke povijesne odjeće—ICOM*.

Kako je organizator simpozija Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, na kojem se izvodi kolegij *Muzealizacija mode* od 2008. godine u sklopu interdisciplinarnog diplomskog sveučilišnog studija *Tekstilni i modni dizajn*, smjer *Teorija i kultura mode*, drugi dan posvećen je bio dvjema tematskim diskusijama o obrazovanju i modnom dizajnu. Prva je aktualizirala pitanje obrazovanja budućih kustosa specijaliziranih za modu, u razgovoru s povjesničarima umjetnosti Stefanom Žarićem (Beograd) i Leom Vene (Zagreb). Druga diskusija, s modnim dizajnerima Silvijem Vujičićem (Zagreb) i Elenom Fajt, prof. (Ljubljana), otvorila je pitanje značenja muzeja u njihovom radu, kao prostora inspiracije, prezentacije i edukacije modnih dizajnera.

Na kraju zaključujemo da publikacija *Muzealizacija mode—počeci i izazovi na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije* predstavlja vrijedan doprinos povijesnom razvoju te discipline te pruža određeni uvid u njezinu prisutnost u muzejima naše regije. Otvara nova pitanja za buduće diskurse, kao što je odnos voditelja zbirki s gostujućim kustosima, zatim intenzivnije povezivanje muzeja s visokoobrazovnim institucijama kao i muzejima u regiji. Nadalje, potrebno je razmotriti usmjerenja za osmišljavanje novih, posjetiteljima atraktivnih ozračja muzejskih prostora te oblika komercijalizacije modno-izložbenih praksi. Na temelju izloženih istraživanja potiče se i pitanje buduće inicijative za pokretanje novog muzeja namijenjenog isključivo modi. Specijalizirani muzej omogućio bi skupljačku aktivnost usmjerenu na modne artefakte, godišnji program primarno modne tematike te pokretanje studijskih programa nalik uvriježenoj praksi u vodećim svjetskim muzejima.



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**FASHION  
MUSEOLOGY  
IN THE MUSEUM  
OF ARTS AND  
CRAFTS & THE  
PROBLEMS OF ITS  
PRESENTATION**

**MUZEALIZACIJA  
MODE U MUZEJU  
ZA UMJETNOST  
I OBRT I PROBLEM  
PREZENTACIJE**



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Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Hrvatska

## SUMMARY

Ever since it was established in 1880, the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb has been procuring various garments for their esthetic value and quality, to set an example for all future artists and artisans. In the 1940s and 50s, most exhibits were garments from the fin de siècle. During the 1960s, the then curator of the textile collection Vanda Pavelić Weinert formed a collection policy focused on the procurement of more recent garments from the past two decades and a systematic purchase of products of the contemporary Yugoslavian textile industry. The Museum held on to this collection policy for the several decades to come. The rise of the Croatian fashion scene in the 21st century coincided with the collapse of the domestic textile industry. The collection and the exhibition policy of the textile collection in the 21st century is concerned with these phenomena, as discussed in this paper.

Clothing as a tridimensional object with kinetic properties occupies both visual and cubical space and its performativity is generated through different presentation techniques. As opposed to works pertaining to fine and applied arts, clothing cannot stand on its own. It requires a body, ideally a body in motion in order to be interpreted adequately. The lack of a museum aid that would make this presentation possible commonly results in clothing exhibited solely on mannequins, in a manner of presentation often described as “void of life”.

## SAŽETAK

Muzej za umjetnost i obrt osnovan je 1880. godine. Prema muzejskom statutu, prvu od šest temeljnih zbirki činili su tekstilni predmeti. Najraniji odjevni predmeti u zbirci datirani su u 18. stoljeće, a nabavljeni su za zbirku tekstila u prvoj polovini osamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća. Sukladno onodobnim muzeološkim principima, odjevni predmeti su se prikupljali radi estetskih vrijednosti i kakvoće izrade. Tijekom 1940-ih i 1950-ih godina najveći prirast u zbirci tekstila činila je odjeća s kraja 19. stoljeća, a 1960-ih odjeća iz razdoblja međuraća. Kustosica zbirke tekstila Vanda Pavelić-Weinert šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća uvodi novinu u sakupljačku politiku nabavkom odjeće onodobne jugoslavenske tekstilne industrije. Tijekom narednih desetljeća sakupljačka politika nije se znatno mijenjala te se zbirka tekstila popunjava odjevnim predmetima iz razdoblja od 19. do devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća. U 21. stoljeću, jačanjem hrvatske modne scene, ali i istovremenim propadanjem hrvatske tekstilne industrije, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt svoju je sakupljačku i izlagačku politiku zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora usmjerio ka tim dvjema pojavama.

Istodobno s prikupljanjem, obradom i istraživanjem odjeće i kulture odijevanja, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt priređuje tematske izložbe. Pri njihovoj realizaciji kustosice i restauratorice susreću se s problemom adekvatnog izlaganja odjeće. Budući da je odjeća trodimenzionalni objekt s kinetičkim svojstvima, da bi bila pravilno „pročitana“, potrebno joj je tijelo koje bi je nosilo i pritom se micalo. U nedostatku takvoga muzeološkog pomagala, odjeća se najčešće izlaže na raznovrsnim lutkama pri čemu je često takav način prezentacije opisan kao „lišen života“.

Over the first half of the 20th century, art museums housing historical clothing had grown aware of the need to apply the museological approach to clothing culture and fashion, which had led to strategic planning and revisiting the collection policy for textile and garment artifacts. The process of musealization of fashion first started in the 1980s. The term *fashion* initially referred only to the types of garments worn by the majority of people in a given period of time, and thus evaluated and interpreted as an expression of a particular society and/or culture. Until the emergence of specialized fashion museums or the setup of fashion collections in museums of fine and applied arts, garments were treated solely as artifacts of applied arts, craftsmanship and design; however, the methodological and scientific paradigms applied in their valorization were identical to those of fine and applied arts. Textile collections in most European museums founded from 1800 to 1850 were comprised of artifacts procured for the quality and value of the materials. Garments were mostly collected for their modern cuts, construction quality, origin and esthetic value. Until the 1950s, fashion garments were considered pertaining only to women, ephemeral, frivolous, commercial, of low value and unworthy of serious attention. Only in the 1960s was fashion first recognized as a social and cultural phenomenon, taking over all walks of life, leading the public to reevaluate historical clothing. Garment collections were set up to track changes in design, production and taste, but also to document social and cultural customs, to reconstruct and comprehend personal and national history. The 21st-century collection policy for clothing should be aimed at regional and national developments in the world of fashion, making museum collections reflective of local and national cultural initiatives, projects and goals. The complete blurring of

Tijekom druge polovine 20. stoljeća umjetnički muzeji, koji u svojim fundusima čuvaju povijesnu odjeću, postali su svjesni potrebe muzealizacije kulture odijevanja i mode te su počeli strateški planirati i promišljati sakupljačku politiku zbirki tekstila čiji su sastavni dio i odjevni predmeti. Sam proces muzealizacije mode započeo je tek u osmom desetljeću 20. stoljeća. Pri tome se pojam *moda* primjenjuje na odjevne predmete koje je velik broj ljudi nosio u određenom vremenu te ih se vrednuje i interpretira kao izraz određenog društva i/ili kulture. Do pojave osnivanja specijaliziranih muzeja mode ili do formiranja zbirki mode u općim, umjetničkim i muzejima primijenjene umjetnosti, odjevni predmeti bili su tretirani kao umjetnički predmeti ili predmeti primijenjene umjetnosti, obrta i dizajna te su za njihovu valorizaciju primjenjivane iste metodološke i znanstvene paradigme kao i za predmete lijepih i primijenjenih umjetnosti. Zbirke tekstila u većini europskih muzeja osnovanih u periodu od 1800. do 1850. godine činili su tekstilni predmeti koji su za fundus nabavljeni radi kakvoće i vrijednosti materijala od kojeg su izrađeni. Odjevni predmeti postupno su se počeli sakupljati većinom radi modernih krojeva, konstrukcije, provenijencije i estetske vrijednosti. Sve do sredine 20. stoljeća modna se odjeća smatrala prvenstveno ženskom, prolaznom, neozbiljnom, komercijalnom, male vrijednosti i nevrjednom ozbiljne pažnje. Tek je šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća fenomen mode prepoznat kao društveno-kulturni fenomen koji je zahvatio sva područja života i ujedno je promijenio način valoriziranja odjeće iz povijesti. Zbirke odjeće stvarane su da bi se pratile promjene u dizajnu, proizvodnji i ukusu, ali i s ciljem da se dokumentiraju društveni i kulturni običaji, rekonstruiraju i razumiju osobna i nacionalna povijest. Sakupljačka politika zbirki odjeće u 21. stoljeću treba biti usmjerena ka regionalnim i nacionalnim modnim zbivanjima, centrima i dizajnerima tako da zbirke odražavaju lokalne i nacionalne kulturne inicijative,

boundaries between fine and applied arts, research of different aspects of material culture and social-cultural phenomena have led to changes in the approach to clothing and fashion. Garments are no longer observed solely as works of applied arts, but are now valued for their social and cultural significance, which further grows once they are turned into museum exhibits.<sup>1</sup>

## DRESS MUSEOLOGY IN THE COLLECTION OF TEXTILES AND FASHION ACCESSORIES IN THE MUSEUM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS

The first conceptions of establishing the Museum of Arts and Crafts started in the period of Croatian national revival in the first half of the 19th century, with the attempts to organize the “craftsmanship department” within what was then the National Museum. The Art Association founded in 1868 played a key role in the establishment of the Museum of Arts and Crafts as one of the first items on their agenda. The then president of the Association Izidor Kršnjavi was the central figure of this undertaking. Owing to his friendship with the bishop Strossmayer, he was trusted with procuring the first artifacts for the future museum of arts and crafts at the auction of painter Fortuny in 1875 in Paris. Three years later, Kršnjavi drafted the rulebook for the management of the temporary crafts department in the National Museum and the groundwork for the future establishment of the Museum of Arts and Crafts titled *Osnova naredbe kojom se ustraja privremeno umjetno-obrtni odjel muzeja i osnovu za umjetničko-obrtnički muzej u Zagrebu*. The Art Association issues the print of the Statute of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1879. The Museum was finally founded on 17 February 1880, with Izidor Kršnjavi as the director.

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1 – Fukai, Akiko. „Dress and Fashion Museums.“ In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10040.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010); Thompson, Eleanor. „Museum Collections of Dress and Fashion.“ In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10041.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010)

projekte i ciljeve. Potpuno brisanje granica između lijepih i primijenjenih umjetnosti, istraživanja različitih aspekata materijalne kulture, kao istraživanja sociološko-kulturoloških fenomena dovela su do promjena u pristupu sagledavanja odijevanja i mode. Odjevni predmeti više se ne promatraju kao umjetnički predmeti, dio primijenjene umjetnosti, već je važno njihovo sociološko i kulturno značenje kao i promjene koje se u značenju događaju kada odjeća postaje muzejski predmet.<sup>1</sup>

## MUZEALIZACIJE ODIJEVANJA U ZBIRCI TEKSTILA I MODNOG PRIBORA MUZEJA ZA UMJETNOST I OBRT

Začeci razmišljanja o potrebi osnivanja zagrebačkog Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt sežu u vrijeme Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća, kada se govorilo o potrebi osnivanja „obrtničkog odsjeka“ u okviru tadašnjeg Narodnog muzeja. Ključnu ulogu pri osnivanju muzeja imalo je Društvo umjetnosti osnovano 1868. godine koje je kao jedan od svojih prvih zadataka odredilo osnivanje Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. Tadašnji predsjednik Društva Izidor Kršnjavi bio je jedan od ključnih ljudi pri osnivanju muzeja. Zahvaljujući prijateljstvu s biskupom Strossmayerom, bilo mu je povjerenje da na dražbi slikara Fortunya u Parizu 1875. godine nabavi prve predmete za fundus budućeg umjetničko-obrtničkog muzeja. Tri godine kasnije Kršnjavi sastavlja *Osnovu naredbe kojom se ustraja privremeno umjetno-obrtni odjel muzeja i osnovu za umjetničko-obrtnički muzej u Zagrebu*, a 1879. godine Društvo umjetnosti štampa Statut Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. Muzej je konačno osnovan 17. veljače 1880. godine i prvi ravnatelj postao je Izidor Kršnjavi. Glavna svrha Muzeja bila je što potpunije prikazati razvoj domaćega i inozemnog obrta i umjetnosti te tako pomoći domaćim zanatlijama da na temelju izloženih muzejskih primjeraka usavrše svoja

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1 – Fukai, Akiko. „Dress and Fashion Museums.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10040.xml?print> (Pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.); Thompson, Eleanor. „Museum Collections of Dress and Fashion.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10041.xml?print> (Pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.)



The main purpose of the Museum was to provide a comprehensive overview of the developments in national and international arts and crafts, in order to help local craftsmen develop their knowledge and skills and foster esthetic sense in wider public. The first exhibition of the Museum was set up on 20 June, 1880, on the second floor of the house in Gajeva ulica no. 26. Unfortunately, the Museum was closed the same year due to the damage of the building and the artifacts caused by the 1880 major earthquake.

According to the aforementioned Statute of the Museum from 1879, the archive is divided into six categories: the first category comprises textile, reed, and brushwood artifacts, the second contains carvings, parchments, bookbinding and ivory, the third glass and ceramics, the fourth carpentry and furnishings, the fifth stone artifacts, original architectural fragments and molds, and the sixth consists of artifacts made of gold, bronze, tin etc.<sup>2</sup> The placement of textile artifacts in the first collection speaks for the importance ascribed to their procurement. Izidor Kršnjavi designed the policy for the collection of textiles in accordance with the then effective museological principles in Europe—as stated in the Statute, textile artifacts and garments were primarily collected for their quality and artistic value to set an example for future artists and craftsmen. The first procured artifacts in the collection of textiles were folk embroideries and fabrics purchased in 1881 and 1882. According to the 1882 inventory list, all textile artifacts were assembled in the *Collection of Old and Recent Laceworks, Haberdashery and Alike*. The listed artifacts were displayed in the new permanent collection of the Museum in 1882. The collection occupied five rooms of the second floor in Priester House in what is today Praška ulica in Zagreb, and textile artifacts were exhibited in the third room in the second group.<sup>3</sup> Even though the collection of textiles was based on ethnographic artifacts, Kršnjavi exhibited certain sensitivity to clothing by donating a rococo style jacket for the Museum's collection.<sup>4</sup>

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2 – Statute and the establishment of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1879

3 – MUO Archive, 1882 Inventory Ledger

4 – MUO 3091, earlier signature III./I. 119

znanja i vještine, ali ujedno i utjecati na stvaranje i razvoj smisla za estetiku kod građanstva. Prvi postav Muzeja otvara se 20. lipnja 1880. godine na drugom katu kuće u Gajevoj ulici br. 26, ali se iste godine zbog oštećenja zgrade i predmeta uslijed potresa Muzej zatvara.

Prema Statutu Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt iz 1879. godine fundus se dijeli u šest skupina predmeta: u prvoj su predmeti od tekstila, trstike, pruča i lika, u drugoj su rezbarije, pergamene, knjigoveštvo, slonova kost, u trećoj keramika i staklo, u četvrtoj stolarstvo i izrađivanje posoblja, u petoj predmeti od kamena, originalni arhitektonski fragmenti i odljevi i u šestoj su proizvodi od zlata, bronce, kositra itd.<sup>2</sup> Svrstavanje predmeta od tekstila u prvu skupinu govori o važnosti koja se pridavala njihovu sakupljanju. Izidor Kršnjavi je sakupljačku politiku zbirke tekstila formirao sukladno tadašnjim europskim muzeološkim principima—tekstilni i odjevni predmeti primarno su se, kao što je naznačeno u statutu, sakupljali radi svoje umjetničke vrijednosti i kvalitetne izrade te su kao takvi trebali biti primjerom za buduće umjetnike i obrtnike. Prvi predmeti za fundus zbirke tekstila Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt bili su narodna veziva i tkanine kupljeni 1881. i 1882. godine. Prema inventaru iz 1882. godine svi tekstilni predmeti bili su objedinjeni u zbirci koja se zvala *Sbirka starih i novijih čipaka, gumbarskih radnja i drugo*. Popisani predmeti u ovom inventaru bili su izloženi u novom stalnom postavu Muzeja 1882. godine. Postav je zauzimao pet soba drugoga kata kuće Priester u današnjoj Praškoj ulici u Zagrebu, a tekstilni predmeti bili su izloženi u trećoj sobi u drugoj skupini.<sup>3</sup> Iako se fundus zbirke tada temeljio na etnografskom tekstilu, Kršnjavi pokazuje senzibilitet spram odjeće poklonivši Muzeju rokoko haljetak.<sup>4</sup>

Iščitavajući stare muzejske inventare može se vidjeti kako se mijenjao naziv i sadržaj zbirke koja obuhvaća tekstilne predmete. Prema inventaru iz 1885. godine, muzejski fundus podijeljen je u sedam skupina. Prvu skupinu čine *Tekstilni predmeti: starije i novije domaće i strane tkanine, ćilimi, odijela, veziva, čipke, pletiva...* Iz ovako podijeljene zbirke vidimo da su se tekstilije počele dijeliti na podzbirke, pri čemu se odjeća, kao zasebna

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2 – Statut i osnova Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, 1879.

3 – Arhiv MUO, Inventarna knjiga iz 1882. godine.

4 – MUO 3091, ranija signatura III./I. 119.

By analyzing the old Museum inventory lists, we can observe that the collection of textiles changed its name and contents on multiple occasions. According to the 1885 inventory list, the Museum's archive was divided into seven categories. The first group was now named *Textile Artifacts: older and recent local and imported fabrics, rugs, attires, embroidery, lace, knits...* This categorization suggests the introduction of subdivisions in the collection of textiles, whereby clothing was considered a category of its own, worthy of systematized and selective collection policy.<sup>5</sup> An empire style silk dress from this inventory, dating from 1810, is the oldest garment in the entire collection.<sup>6</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th century, all collections were being curated and prepared for the opening of the permanent exhibition in the Museum's own building for the first time. A teacher and textile expert Jelica Belović Bernadzikowska was engaged to curate the collection of textiles. The result of her work in curating and categorization of the collection was also the first Museum catalog titled *Katalog tekstilne zbirke zemalj. umjetničko-obrtnog muzeja z Zagrebu*, printed in 1907. The catalog indicates that the earliest collection of textiles consisted of ethnographic artifacts—clothing, furnishings (bed linens, tablecloths, towels), fragments of fabrics and embroideries, rugs, but also fragments of various European laceworks, a fragment of a 15th century tapestry, fragments of silk, damask, velvet and cotton fabrics, a “finely embroidered rococo garment from the 18th century” (MUO 3091), “an Empire silk dress, with colorful silk embroidery” (MUO 3089) and an “18th-century grey-navy blue silk jacket, embroidered with silk and sequins”.<sup>7</sup> The Museum of Arts and Crafts finally opened its permanent exhibition on 19 May, 1909 in its current location. The collection of textiles was exhibited in showcases on the first floor. According to the then inventory, it was named the *Collection of Weaves and Embroideries*, counting the total of 5881 artifacts.<sup>8</sup> In 1913, the collection of textiles had the highest count in the Museum with 7312 artifacts.<sup>9</sup>

5 – MUO Archive, Inventory Ledger from 1885

6 – MUO 3089, earlier signature, Suit no. 3

7 – Belović Bernadzikowska, Jelica. *Katalog tekstilne zbirke zemalj. umjetničko-obrtnog muzeja u Zagrebu*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1907: 72.

8 – MUO Archive, Inventory Ledger from 1910

9 – MUO Chronology, unpublished manuscript

cjelina, smatra vrijednom sustavnoga i promišljenoga sakupljanja.<sup>5</sup> Svilena haljina, datirana u vrijeme empirea, oko 1810. godine, iz ovoga inventara najranija je nabavka odjeće za fundus Muzeja.<sup>6</sup>

Početak 20. stoljeća uređuje se muzejska zgrada, obrađuju se zbirke i vrše se pripreme za otvorenje stalnog postava u vlastitoj zgradi. Učiteljica i stručnjakinja za tekstil Jelica Belović Bernadzikowska angažirana je da obradi tekstilnu zbirku. Kao rezultat njezina rada na sređivanju i katalogizaciji zbirke, tiskan je 1907. godine prvi muzejski katalog—*Katalog tekstilne zbirke zemalj. umjetničko-obrtnog muzeja z Zagrebu*. Prema katalogu vidimo da su se u najranijem fundus zbirke nalazili etnografski predmeti—odjeća, posoblje (posteljina, stolnjaci, ručnici), fragmenti tkanina, fragmenti vezova, ćilimi, ali i fragmenti raznih europskih čipaka, fragment tapiserije iz 15. stoljeća, fragmenti svilenih, damastnih, baršunastih i pamučnih tkanina, te „lijepo vezen rokoko-struk iz 18. vijeka“ (MUO 3091), „haljina svilena iz doba „Empire“, svilovez šareni“ (MUO 3089) i „haljetak iz 18. vijeka, vezen svilom i šljokicama po sivo-modroj svili“.<sup>7</sup> Muzej za umjetnost i obrt konačno otvara stalni postav 19. svibnja 1909. godine u zgradi u kojoj se i danas nalazi. Zbirka tekstila bila je izložena u ormarima na prvom katu. Prema tadašnjem inventaru zove se *Zbirka vezova i tkanja* i broji 5881. predmet.<sup>8</sup> Godine 1913. zbirka tekstila najbrojnija je muzejska zbirka i broji 7312 muzejskih predmeta.<sup>9</sup>

Sakupljačka politika zbirke tekstila Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt promijenila se osnivanjem Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu 1919. godine kada je sva etnografska građa iz Muzeja predana novoosnovanom muzeju. U zbirci tekstila ostali su odjeća, fragmenti tekstila, čipke, sagovi, ćilimi, tapiserije i liturgijsko ruho. Početkom dvadesetih godina muzejska sakupljačka politika sve se više orijentira na prikupljanje predmeta radi njihove kulturne, povijesne i umjetničke vrijednosti. Zbirka tekstila se tijekom dvadesetih godina popunjava pojedinačnim otkupima i donacijama, većinom odjevnih predmeta iz kraja 19. stoljeća. Među zanimljivijim predmetima je benkica koju je izradila majka

5 – Arhiv MUO, Inventarna knjiga iz 1885. godine.

6 – MUO 3089, ranija signatura Odijelo 3

7 – Belović Bernadzikowska, Jelica. *Katalog tekstilne zbirke zemalj. umjetničko-obrtnog muzeja u Zagrebu*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1907: 72.

8 – Arhiv MUO, Inventarna knjiga iz 1910. godine.

9 – Kronologija MUO, neobjavljeni rukopis

The collection policy of the Museum of Arts and Crafts started to change with the establishment of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb in 1919, when all ethnographic collectables were transferred to the newly founded museum. What remained the collection of textiles were clothing, fragments of fabrics and laceworks, carpets, rugs, tapestries and liturgical vestments. In the early 1920s, the collection policy was aimed at the procurement of artifacts for their cultural, historical and artistic value. In this decade, the collection of textiles was complemented with individual purchases and donations, mainly garments from the late 19th century. One of the interesting artifacts is a wrap-over vest made by the mother of the sculptor Robert Frangeš Mihanović, donated to the Museum on 23 November, 1929 by his wife Ženka Frangeš.<sup>10</sup> In the early 1930s, the Museum's director Antun Jiroušek (1926–1933) introduced the central inventory ledger for all collections, making it more difficult to track new additions within individual collections. Artifacts from certain collections such as liturgical vestments and laceworks<sup>11</sup> were entered in the central inventory ledger and categorized as items in the collection of textiles.

The period under the directorship of Vladimir Tkalčić (1933–1952) was considered the “golden age” of the textile collection, since the largest number of items was procured in that period. These include a large number of oriental carpets and rugs, some finest samples of lacework from Lepoglava and the island of Pag, and a wide range of garments. One of the most significant procurements in the 1930s is a skirt made of Lyon silk from around 1710.<sup>12</sup> The items from the fin de siècle were mostly procured in the late 1940s and 1950s. One of the largest and most significant purchases was from Zlata Lubienski in 1949. The Museum then procured 35 garments and fashion accessories (hats, purses, shoes, boots, parasols and fans) dating from the period between the 1870s and 1904. The garments belonged to Albertina Adrowski, nee Unukić, the mother of Zlata Lubienski. The first procurements of the garments belonging to the family of Jelka Winkler, nee Turković, were recorded

10 – MUO 3401, MUO Inventory Ledger.

11 – Only two of the old textile collection inventory ledger are still preserved: the inventory ledger of the collection of liturgical vestments and collection of lace.

12 – MUO Archive registry number 360/1936

kipara Roberta Frangeša Mihanovića, a Muzeju ju je poklonila 23. 11. 1929. godine njegova supruga Ženka Frangeš.<sup>10</sup> Ranih tridesetih godina ravnatelj Antun Jiroušek (1926.–1933.) uvodi centralnu inventarnu knjigu te se od tada, budući da se ukidaju inventarne knjige po pojedinim zbirka, teže može pratiti prirast predmeta unutar pojedinih zbirki. Predmeti iz pojedinih tekstilnih zbirki poput liturgijskog ruha i čipaka<sup>11</sup> uvedeni su u centralni inventar i vode se kao dio zbirke tekstila.

Vrijeme ravnateljstva Vladimir Tkalčića (1933.–1952.) bilo je „zlatno doba“ zbirke tekstila jer se tada za zbirku nabavlja najviše predmeta. Nabavljen je velik broj orijentalnih sagova i ćilima, najbolji komadi lepoglavske i paške čipke te velik broj odjevnih predmeta. Tridesetih godina ističe se otkup suknje izrađene od svile proizvedene u Lionu oko 1710. godine.<sup>12</sup> Krajem četrdesetih i tijekom pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća za zbirku se otkupljuju većinom predmeti iz kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća. Jedan od značajnijih i većih otkupa bio je od Zlate Lubienski 1949. godine. Za Muzej je tada nabavljeno 35 komada odjeće i modnog pribora (šešira, torbica, cipela, čizama, suncobrana i lepeza) datiranog od sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća do oko 1904. godine. Predmeti su pripadali Albertini Adrowski, rođ. Unukić, majci Zlate Lubienski. Godine 1943. zabilježene su prve nabavke predmeta iz obitelji Jelke Winkler, rođ. Turković.<sup>13</sup> Tijekom narednih nekoliko desetljeća zbirka će se sustavno popunjavati odjevnim predmetima i modnim priborom koji je pripadao Jelki Winklere i njenim kćerima.<sup>14</sup> Na taj je način stvoren

10 – MUO 3401, Inventarna knjiga MUO.

11 – Od starih inventarnih knjiga pojedinih tekstilnih zbirki danas su sačuvane samo inventarna knjiga zbirke liturgijskog ruha i inventarna knjiga zbirke čipaka.

12 – Arhiv MUO, akt ur. br. 360/1936.

13 – Jelka Winkler rođ. Turković (1859.–1942.) bila je kći, drugo od petero djece, Vjenceslava i Ivane Turković. Vjenceslav je bio bogati karlovački trgovac drvima, gradio je jedrenjake u Kraljevici i bio vlasnik Kutjeva. Pohađala je internat Englische Fräuleins u St. Pöltenu u Austriji. Udala se 1883. godine za doktora medicinskih znanosti Eugena Winklera, sina Ivane i Ferdinanda Winklera, prvog ravnatelja i utemeljitelja Prve hrvatske štedionice u Zagrebu. U braku su dobili tri kćeri: Ivanu, Željku i Olgu.

14 – Ivana Vrbanić, kći Jelke Winkler daruje majčinu odjeću 1943. godine. Željka Novković, kći Jelke Winkler, prodaje majčinu odjeću 1949. godine. Iva Vrbanić, kći Ivane Vrbanić, prodaje majčinu odjeću 1960. godine. Vera Thaller, unuka Jelke Winkler, prodaje bakinu odjeću 1968. godine. Olga Klobučar, unuka Jelke Winkler, 1988. godine prodaje odjeću.



in 1943.<sup>13</sup> The collection would continue to grow over the following few decades with the procurement of garments and accessories belonging to Jelka Winkler and her daughters.<sup>14</sup> These donations and purchases led to the formation of the so-called *wardrobe collection*<sup>15</sup>, which recounts the fashion history of several generations of women from a single family, revealing details about the changes in clothing practices over time—the cut, style, fashion, but also the social status and the taste of the owners.

In the mid-1950s, the Museum purchased items of both menswear and womenswear from the 18th century. Along with the Lyon silk dress, these are the oldest artifacts in the collection of textiles. In 1956, Marija Luković sold several garments of menswear (trousers, a vest and a coat) from around 1780 to the Museum.<sup>16</sup> In 1955 and 1956, the Museum complemented the collection of textiles by purchasing eight garments and nineteen laceworks from Marija Kasandrić.<sup>17</sup> The clothes in question were a women's jacket from the early 18th century, five garments (two dress tops, two dresses and one bolero) dating from 1810s, and two men's vests, dating from the end of the 18th century and the first two

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13 – Jelka Winkler, nee Turković (1859–942) was the second of five children of Vjenceslav and Ivana Turković. Vjenceslav was a wealthy wood merchant from Karlovac, the owner of Kutjevo, who also built sailing boats in Kraljevica. She attended the Englische Fräuleins u St. Pölten in Austria. In 1883, she married doctor Eugen Winkler, the son of Ivana and Ferdinand Winkler, the founder and first director of the first Croatian savings bank in Zagreb. They had three daughters: Ivana, Željka and Olga.

14 – Ivana Vrbanić, the daughter of Jelka Winkler, donated her mother's clothes in 1943. Željka Novković, the daughter of Jelka Winkler, sold her mother's clothes in 1949. Iva Vrbanić, the daughter of Ivana Vrbanić, sold her mother's clothes in 1960. Vera Thaller, the granddaughter of Jelka Winkler, sold her grandmother's clothes in 1968. Olga Klobučar, the granddaughter of Jelka Winkler, sold clothes in 1988.

15 – The term *wardrobe collection* denotes a collection of garments worn by one or more generations of women in a single family. Thompsom, Eleanor. „Museum Collections of Dress and Fashion.“ In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10041.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010)

16 – MUO Archive registry number 128/56

17 – MUO Archive registry numbers 821/55, 1366/55, 6/56, 1171/56

tzv. modni ormar<sup>15</sup> žena iz jedne obitelji koji nam govori o promjenama u odijevanju—kroju, stilu, modi, ali i o socijalnom statusu i modnom ukusu njegovih vlasnica.

Sredinom pedesetih godina Muzej otkupljuje primjerke ženske i muške odjeće iz 18. stoljeća. To su, uz suknu od lionske svile, najstariji odjevni predmeti u zbirci tekstila. Marija Luković 1956. godine Muzeju je prodala mušku odjeću (hlače, prsluk i kaput) iz vremena oko 1780. godine.<sup>16</sup> Godine 1955. i 1956. Muzej je za zbirku tekstila otkupio od Marije Kasandrić 8 odjernih predmeta i 19 čipaka.<sup>17</sup> Radi se o jednom ženskom haljetku iz početka 18. stoljeća, pet odjernih predmeta (2 gornja dijela haljine, 2 haljine i 1 bolero) datiranih u prvo desetljeće 19. stoljeća i dva muška prsluka od kojih je jedan iz kraja 18., a drugi iz prvih desetljeća 20. stoljeća. Krajem pedesetih godina zanimljiva je donacija Školskog muzeja iz Zagreba koju čini 8 komada donjeg rublja (obruč za krinolinu, podsuknje i umetci za *cul de Paris*).<sup>18</sup>

Početkom šezdesetih godina tadašnja kustosica zbirke tekstila Vanda Pavelić-Weinert, u skladu sa suvremenim europskim zbivanjima, uvodi novinu u sakupljačku politiku zbirke te otkupljuje proizvode suvremene jugoslavenske tekstilne industrije. Godine 1962. otkupljena su četiri predmeta: bluza iz zagrebačke tvornice *Nada Dimić*,<sup>19</sup> suknja iz tvornice *Zelinka* u Zelini<sup>20</sup> te set—majica i vesta iz beogradske tvornice trikotaže *Partizanka*.<sup>21</sup> Istodobno je otkupljen i tada kostim (suknja i vestica) francuske proizvodnje.<sup>22</sup> Nažalost, takva praksa otkupa suvremene konfekcije nije se nastavila.<sup>23</sup>

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15 – Termin *wardrobe collection* označava zbirku predmeta koje je nosila jedna ili nekoliko generacija žena iz jedne obitelji. Thompsom, Eleanor. „Museum Collections of Dress and Fashion.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10041.xml?print> (Pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.)

16 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 128/56.

17 – Arhiv MUO, ur br. 821/55, ur br. 1366/55, ur br. 6/56, ur br. 1171/56.

18 – Arhiv MUO iz 1956. godine.

19 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 6/25-62. Na žalost, tijekom revizije 2019. godine ustanovljeno je da predmet nedostaje.

20 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 6/25-62.

21 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 6/24-1962.

22 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 6/24-1962.

23 – Tek u 21. stoljeću uspjelo se otkupiti nekoliko komada redizajnirane obuće, „borosana“ i „startasica“, tvornice Borovo i nabaviti nekoliko predmeta suvremenih hrvatskih dizajnera.

decades of the 20th century. In the late 1950s, an interesting donation was made by the Croatian Museum of School in Zagreb, consisting of eight undergarments (a crinoline hoop, petticoats and bustles).<sup>18</sup>

In the early 1960s, the then curator of the textile collection Vanda Pavelić Weinert introduced a new collection policy in accordance with contemporary developments and trends in Europe. It included the procurement of products from the contemporary Yugoslavian textile industry. Four items were procured in 1962: a blouse from the factory *Nada Dimić* in Zagreb,<sup>19</sup> a skirt from the factory *Zelinka* in Zelina<sup>20</sup>, and a set of a top and cardigan from the knitwear factory *Partizanka* in Belgrade.<sup>21</sup> At that time, the Museum also procured a suit (skirt and cardigan) by a French manufacturer.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, the practice of purchasing contemporary ready-to-wear garments was short lived.<sup>23</sup>

Purchases and donations in the 1960s were mostly items in Art Nouveau and Art Deco style from the end of the 19th century. Egon Marjanović donated nineteen garments dating from the period between the end of the 19th century and 1920s to the Museum in 1967.<sup>24</sup> The most significant donation was a dress from the atelier Gjuro Matić in Zagreb. One of the most interesting and abundant purchases was the so-called wardrobe collection of Matilda Hengl, the wife of Vjekoslav Hengl, who was the mayor of Osijek from 1920 to 1934.<sup>25</sup> The items in this closed collection date from the period between 1900 and 1935, granting an opportunity for research and observations regarding social status, changes in trends, but also the individual taste and

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18 – MUO Archive from 1956

19 – MUO Arhive registry number 6/25-62. Unfortunately, the audit in 2019 showed that the item is missing.

20 – MUO Archive registry number 6/25-62

21 – MUO Archive registry number 6/24-1962

22 – MUO Archive registry number 6/24-1962

23 – It was first in the 21st century that the Museum managed to procure several pairs of iconic redesigned "startas" and "borosana" shoes by the factory Borovo and several garments by contemporary Croatian designers.

24 – MUO Archive registry number 3/62-67

25 – The items were purchased in 1965 ( MUO Archive registry number 2/24-65 i 2/37-65), and in 1968 ( MUO Archive registry number, 28/83-68).

Tijekom šezdesetih godina u zbirku otkupima i donacijama dolaze predmeti datirani u kraj 19. stoljeća, vrijeme secesije i *art decoa*. Egon Marjanović 1967. godine daruje Muzeju 19 odjevnih predmeta datiranih od kraja 19. stoljeća do 1920-ih godina.<sup>24</sup> Među darovanim predmetima najznačajnija je haljina iz zagrebačkog salona Gjuro Matić. Jedan od najzanimljivijih i najbrojnijih otkupa je tzv. modni ormar Matilde Hengl, supruge Vjekoslava Hengla, osječkog gradonačelnika od 1920. do 1934. godine.<sup>25</sup> Predmeti unutar te zatvorene zbirke datiraju od 1900. do 1935. godine i na njima se može istražiti i sagledati socijalni status, modne promjene, ali i individualni ukus i preferencije vlasnice odjeće. Od četrdeset i sedam predmeta, dvadeset i šest—petnaest haljina, pet pari cipela i sedam šešira, potječe iz vremena između dva svjetska rata.

Takva se sakupljačka politika nastavila i tijekom narednih desetljeća te se muzejska zbirka tekstila najvećim dijelom popunjava predmetima iz vremena od kraja 19. do pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Sredinom osamdesetih godina izdvaja se dar Mirka Belušića koji čini 28 predmeta odjeće i modnog pribora datiranih od 1965. do 1975. godine. Tijekom devedesetih godina, na inicijativu tadašnje kustosice Jelene Ivoš, kolegice iz Muzeja poklanjaju odjeću iz osamdesetih godina za fundus zbirke tekstila.<sup>26</sup> Krajem devedesetih godina liječnica Heda Dubac Šohaj, supruga slikara Slavka Šohaja, Muzeju je počela sustavno poklanjati suprugovu i svoju odjeću. U pet je navrata, od 1994. do 2015. godine<sup>27</sup> poklonila 12 komada ženske odjeće i modnog pribora i 17 komada muške odjeće i modnog pribora datiranih u razdoblje od 1959. do druge polovine osamdesetih godina 20. st.

U 21. stoljeću zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora sporo i teško se popunjava recentnijom odjećom. Propadanje i nestajanje hrvatske tekstilne industrije kao i istodobno jačanje dizajnerske modne scene usmjerilo je sakupljačku politiku zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora na te dvije pojave. Odnos ljudi spram domaće konfekcije (smatra(la) se lošijom izgledom i izvedbom od inozemne)

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24 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 3/62 - 67

25 – Predmeti su otkupljeni 1965. (Arhiv MUO, akt ur. br. 2/24-65 i 2/37-65) i 1968. (Arhiv MUO, akt ur. br. 28/83-68) godine.

26 – Odjeću su poklonile Nela Tarbuk, Saša Mihelj, Minja Olujić, dubravka Osrečki Jakleić. Radi se uglavnom o manjem broju predmeta koje su one odijevale tijekom osamdesetih.

27 – Arhiv MUO ur. br. 04/005-1994, Arhiv MUO 26.4.2004., 5.12.2006., Arhiv MUO ur. br. 21/41-2013, Arhiv MUO ur. br. 28/37-2015

preferences of the owner. Out of 47 garments, 26 of them (15 dresses, five pairs of shoes and seven hats) date from the interwar period.

The same collection policy was pursued over the following decades, complementing the collection mostly with items dating from the period between the end of the 19th century to the 1950. A considerable donation was made by Mirko Belušić in the mid-1980s, consisting of 28 garments and fashion accessories dating from the period between 1965 and 1975. In the 1990s, the employees of the Museum donated their clothes from the 1980s, under the initiative of Jelena Ivoš, the then curator of the textile collection.<sup>26</sup> At the end of the 1990s, Doctor Heda Dubac Šohaj, the wife of painter Slavko Šohaj, started donating her own and her husband's clothes to the Museum. On five occasions in the time between 1994 and 2015,<sup>27</sup> she donated 12 women's garments and accessories and seventeen men's garments and accessories dating from 1959 to the mid-1980s.

In the 21st century, it has become increasingly difficult to complement the collection of textiles with more recent clothing. The collapse of the Croatian textile industry and the boost of designer fashion dictated the changes in the collection policy. The negative attitude of the public towards domestic clothing brands (their products were considered less appealing and of poorer quality in comparison to the foreign brands) resulted in almost complete deficiency of garments produced in domestic clothing factories. The problem of procuring the clothes of contemporary Croatian and international fashion designers lies in the absence of a systematic purchasing policy which would secure sufficient funding. In the current procedure, the Museum of Arts and Crafts is required to seek funding from the Museum's founder, i.e. Zagreb city authorities, whose approval is sometimes awaited for over a year. How should the collection policy be framed in these conditions? In reality, it can be based solely on donations from citizens and designers. Funding is necessary if we want to keep track of a designer's work

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26 – The garments were donated by Nela Tarbuk, Saša Mihelj, Minja Olujčić, and Dubravka Osrečki Jaklečić. They donated several garments they actively wore in the 1980s.

27 – MUO Archive registry number 04/005-1994, MUO Archive 26 Apr, 2004, 5 Dec, 2006, MUO Archive registry number 21/41-2013, MUO Archive registry number 28/37-2015

rezultirali su gotovo potpunim nedostatkom predmeta domaćih tekstilnih tvornica. Problem nabavke odjeće suvremenih hrvatskih (i svjetskih) modnih dizajnera možemo tražiti u nepostojanju sustavne politike otkupa koja bi osigurala dostatna sredstva. Procedura je trenutno takva da se za svaki predmet traže sredstva od osnivača, za Muzej za umjetnost i obrt to je Grad Zagreb, čije se odobrenje čeka i više od godine dana. Kako u takvim uvjetima realizirati sakupljačku politiku? Ona se ne može bazirati isključivo na poklonima građana ili dizajnera. Ako se želi pratiti nečiji rad i sustavno popunjavati zbirku, moraju se imati osigurana sredstva. O mogućnosti kupovine odjeće *high street* brendova ne možemo trenutno u ovakvoj situaciji niti razmišljati. Na kraju je kustos(ica) zbirke ovisan/ovisna o vlastitoj društvenoj mreži unutar koje može ljude zamoliti da poklanjaju odjeću za zbirku. Unatoč nepovoljnoj situaciji zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora popunila se recentnijim ostvarenjima hrvatskih modnih dizajnera te se u fundusu nalaze radovi I-gli<sup>28</sup>, Ivice Klarića<sup>28</sup>, Igora Galaša<sup>29</sup>, eNVy rooma<sup>30</sup> i Twinsa<sup>31</sup>.

Osim nepovoljnih financijskih okvira unutar kojih se mora moći raditi, problem kustosica<sup>33</sup> zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt leži prvenstveno u kompleksnosti zbirke što se vidi i iz njenog naziva: „zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora“. Ona je podijeljena na 12 podzbirki: odjeća, modni pribor, liturgijsko ruho, sagovi i čilimi, tapiserije, fragmenti tkanja, veziva, čipke, nacrti, tiskovine, igračke i teatralije i trenutno broji gotovo 10.000 predmeta. Najveći je problem što je sav taj materijal objedinjen u jednoj zbirci pod zajedničkim imenom *tekstil* jako različit i zahtijeva specifična znanja za svaku vrstu materijala. Nemoguće je i nepotrebno očekivati i zahtijevati od jedne osobe da će se jednako dobro snalaziti npr. u modi, liturgijskom ruhu, sagovima i teatralijama. Upravo nemogućnost tako sveobuhvatnog

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28 – Dar kolegice Vesne Jurić Bulatović.

29 – Otkup predmeta od Radija 101 bio je 2009. godine na humanitarnoj prodajnoj modnoj reviji Radija 101 za Specijalnu bolnicu za kronične bolesti dječje dobi Gornja Bistra.

30 – Oba predmeta su ušla u Muzej 2015. godine. Vjenčanicu je poklonio, a za drugi predmet novac mu je isplaćen tek 2017. godine.

31 – Dar Nikice Ivančevića i Vjekoslava Franetovića.

32 – Damir Begović i Domagoj Štimac snimali su u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt dvije modne kampanje te su predmeti za zbirku nabavljeni kao kompenzacija, tj. dar.

33 – Ovdje je namjerno napisano kustosica jer su zbirku uvijek vodile žene: Vanda Pavelić-Weinert, Jelena Ivoš i danas Andrea Klobučar.



or systematically complement the collections. The current situation leaves the possibility of purchasing clothes from *high street* brands out of the question. Finally, the curator of the collection can depend only on their personal social network and potential garment donations. Despite these unfavorable circumstances, the collection of textiles and fashion accessories was recently complemented with the works of Croatian fashion designers I-gle<sup>28</sup>, Ivica Klarić<sup>29</sup>, Igor Galaš<sup>30</sup>, eNVy room<sup>31</sup> and Twins<sup>32</sup>.

Besides unfavorable financial framework, the curators<sup>33</sup> of the textiles collection at the Museum of Arts and Crafts are also facing many issues which primarily result from the complexity of the collection, which can be observed in its name: the collection of textiles and fashion accessories. The collection is divided into twelve subcategories: clothing, accessories, liturgical vestments, carpets and rugs, tapestries, fragments of fabrics, embroidery, laceworks, sketches, prints, toys and theater prompts with the current count of almost 10.000 artifacts. The main issue here is that all these very diverse items are assembled into a single collection, but require very specific knowledge for each type of the artifact. It is virtually impossible and unreasonable to expect a single person to have equally extensive knowledge of e.g. fashion, liturgical vestments, rugs and theater prompts at the same time. It is precisely the inability to have such all-encompassing specialized knowledge in these different categories that hinders the implementation of an adequate approach in framing the right collection policy and research of each artifact.

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28 – Donation of colleague Vesna Jurić Bulatović.

29 – Purchase of the artifacts from Radio 101 took place in 2009, at a humanitarian fashion show organized by Radio 101 for specialized children's hospital Gornja Bistra.

30 – The Museum procured both garments in 2015. The wedding gown was donated, the other garment was not paid for until 2017.

31 – Donation of Nikica Ivančević and Vjekoslav Franetović.

32 – Damir Begović and Domagoj Štimac shot two fashion campaigns on the premises of the Museum of Arts and Crafts and donated their designs as a compensation.

33 – The textile collection was always managed by women: Vanda Pavelić Weinert, Jelena Ivoš, and currently Andrea Klobučar.

specijalističkog znanja onemogućuje odgovarajući pristup promišljanju sakupljačke politike i istraživanja predmeta pojedinih podzbirki.

## IZLOŽBE ODIJEVANJA I MODE U MUZEJU ZA UMJETNOST I OBRT I PROBLEM PREZENTACIJE

Prema muzeološkoj definiciji izložba je reprezentativni oblik komunikacije kojim predmeti prenose poruke javnosti te time krajnji korisnik—posjetitelj izložbe, postaje dijelom povijesti, značenja, vrijednosti i spoznaja koje određeni predmeti nose.<sup>34</sup> Prvotno privatno značenje sada zamjenjuje javno u kojem odjeća postaje simbolom prošlosti koji posjetitelja istovremeno povezuje s vlastitom i s prošlošću vlasnika predmeta. Budući da i sami posjetitelji nose odjeću, oni se mogu trenutno povezati s izloženim predmetima—bilo da su i sami imali takvu ili sličnu odjeću ili je netko njima blizak imao takvu odjeću ili naprosto uživaju u estetskom dojmu koji odjevni predmeti emitiraju.<sup>35</sup>

Tijekom povijesti izložbi odjeće najčešće su bile upravo one koje su davale povijesni pregled odijevanja ili tematizirale pojedine tipove odjeće, što je ovisilo o vrsti i misiji muzeja u kojoj se izložba postavlja. Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, u skladu sa svojom muzeološkom koncepcijom usmjerenom na obrtnu, kulturno-povijesnu i estetsku komponentu predmeta, prvu izložbu odjeće priređuje 1952. godine. Naziv izložbe je bio *Oblici odjeće od antike do početka XX. stoljeća*, a autorica je bila kustosica zbirke tekstila Vanda Pavelić-Weinert. Ista je izložba postavljena 1955. godine u Muzeju primjenjene umjetnosti u Beogradu i tom je prigodom štampan prateći katalog. U tekstu kataloga autorica piše o vrstama, oblicima i razvoju odjeće od Mezopotamije do 19. stoljeća. Na kraju teksta donosi kratki popis muzeja sa značajnim zbirkama tekstila. Nakon teksta slijedi devetnaest crno bijelih reprodukcija uz kratak opis materijala, dataciju, provenijenciju predmeta i mjesto čuvanja. Cilj izložbe bio je predstaviti zbirku tekstila te kroz komunikaciju s publikom

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34 – Maroević, Ivo. *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije, 1993: 199–201.

35 – Druesedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDCh10042.xml?print> (Pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.)



# CLOTHING AND FASHION EXHIBITIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF ARTS AND CRAFTS AND THE PROBLEM OF PRESENTATION

According to the museological definition, an exhibition is a representative form of communication, in which exhibits communicate messages to the public. The visitor as the final recipient becomes a part of the history, significance, value and insight that these items hold.<sup>34</sup> The initial, private significance of clothing has now entered the public domain as a symbol of the times past, reminding the visitor of their own past or that of the item's owner. Since all visitors wear clothes themselves, they can instantly connect with the presented artifacts—be it that they themselves or somebody close to them owned such garments or they simply enjoy in the esthetic appeal emitted by these clothes.<sup>35</sup>

In the history of clothing exhibitions, the most frequently set up exhibitions would give a historical overview of clothing practices or address particular types of clothing, which naturally depended on the type and mission of the museum setting up the exhibition. In accordance with its museological concept focused on the artisanal, cultural-historical and esthetic value of the artifacts, the Museum of Arts and Crafts set up the first exhibition of clothing in 1952. The title of the exhibition was *Forms of Clothing from Classical Antiquity to the beginning of the 20th century* (orig. *Oblici odjeće od antike do početka XX. stoljeća*), and the exhibition's author was the curator of textile collection Vanda Pavelić Weinert. The same exhibition was set up in 1955 at the Museum of Applied Arts in Belgrade, accompanied with the prints of the exhibition catalog. The catalog features a text in which the author describes the types, forms and the development of clothing from Mesopotamia to the 19th century, a short list of museums housing notable textile collections and nineteen black-and-white reproductions accompanied with a short description

34 – Maroević, Ivo. *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Department of information and communication sciences, 1993: 199-201.

35 – Druesedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10042.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010)

uspostaviti razumijevanje za važnost odjeće kao „kulturno-povijesnog dokumenta“.<sup>36</sup> U umjetničkim muzejima kao što je Muzej za umjetnost i obrt odjeća se prikupljala i izlagala s ciljem pokazivanja umjetničkih i oblikovnih vještina osobe koja ju je osmislila i izradila, finoće i kakvoće materijala od kojeg je izrađena kao i njenih karakterističnosti za razdoblje u kojem je nastala. Stoga se često izložbe odjeće u takvim muzejima fokusiraju na njene estetske kvalitete koje se vrednuju u komparaciji s drugim umjetničkim predmetima nastalim u istom razdoblju.<sup>37</sup> To je bio jedan od ciljeva izložbe *200 godina odjeće iz zbirke Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu* koju je Muzej za umjetnost i obrt priredio 1964. godine u Pomorskom i povijesnom muzeju u Rijeci. Autorica izložbe bila je Vanda Pavelić-Weinert, voditeljica zbirke. U uvodnom tekstu kataloga autorica naglašava krhkost materijala, njegovu kulturno-povijesnu važnost, ali naglašava i estetsku komponentu odjeće.<sup>38</sup> Tekst prate kataloške jedinice za 92 predmeta koji su bili izloženi na izložbi.

Šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća promijenio se pristup proučavanju odjeće te se prvi puta u naziv izložbe odjeće Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt uvrštava termin „moda“. Bila je to izložba *Moda od fin de siecle do charlestona* održana 1966. godine u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt. Autorica je Vanda Pavelić-Weinert. U uvodnom tekstu kataloga piše o kompleksnosti promjena u odjeći koje su povezane s čovjekovom unutrašnjošću—psihom, i vanjstinom—odjećom. To vezu objašnjava pojmom mode, tj. „načina kako se čovjek odijevanjem prikazuje sebi i drugima“.<sup>39</sup> Cilj izložbe i dalje je dati pregled promjena u konstrukciji i kroju odjeće kao i povezati odjeću s ostalim umjetnostima toga vremena. Novina na ovoj izložbi je, osim uvođenja termina *moda*, vrednovanje odjeće prva četiri desetljeća 20. stoljeća kao povijesne čime je Vanda Pavelić-Weinert pomaknula granice poimanja povijesne odjeće.<sup>40</sup> Tekst prate dvije crno-bijele reprodukcije i 80 kataloških jedinica organiziranih prema vrstama odjeće.

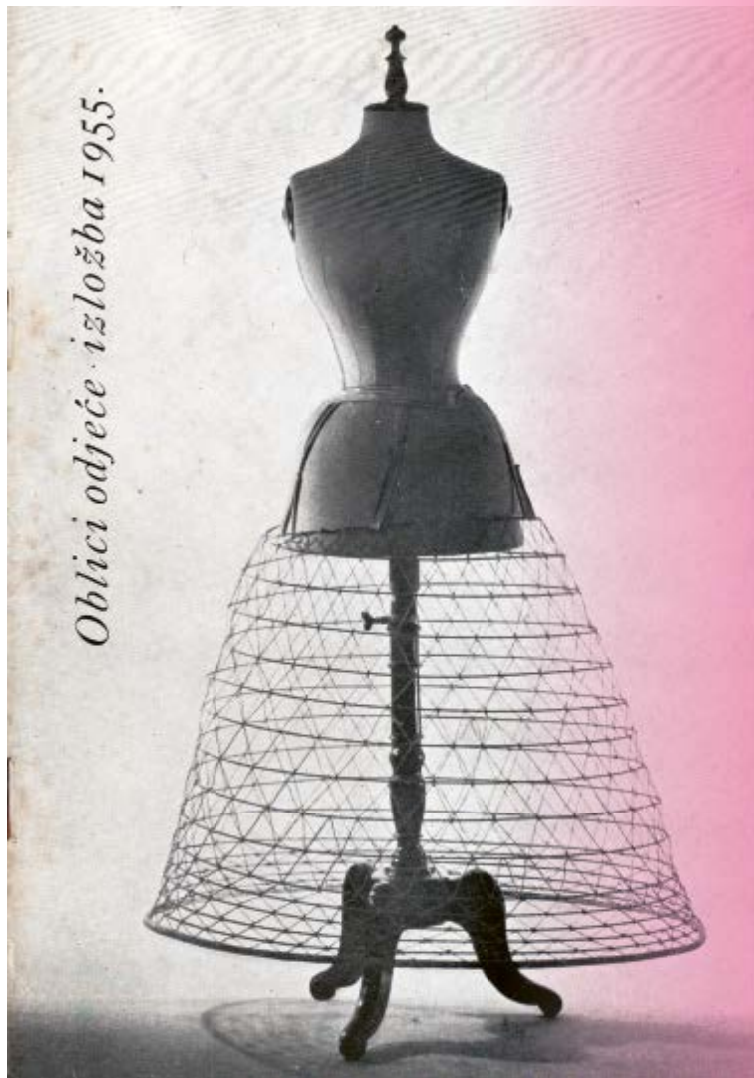
36 – *Oblici odjeće*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1955: 2.

37 – Druesedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10042.xml?print> (pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.)

38 – Pavelić-Weinert, Vanda. *200 godina odjeće iz zbirke Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu*. Rijeka: Novinsko izdavačko poduzeće Novi list, 1964: 2.

39 – Pavelić-Weinert, Vanda. *Moda od fin de siecle do charlestona*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1966: 3.

40 – Ibid.



Sl. 1. – Katalog izložbe *Oblici odjeće* Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt održane 1952. godine u Zagrebu i 1955. u Beogradu. / Fig. 1 – The catalogue *Forms of Clothing from Classical Antiquity to the beginning of the 20th century* (orig. *Oblici odjeće od antike do početka XX. stoljeća*) of exhibition organized by the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb (1952) and Belgrade (1955)



Sl. 2. – Katalog izložbe *Oblici odjeće* Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt održane 1952. godine u Zagrebu i 1955. u Beogradu. / Fig. 2 – The catalogue *Fashion from the fin de siècle to Charleston* (orig. *Moda od fin de siècle do charlestona*) of exhibition organized by the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb (1966)

of the material, dating, origin and housing location. The goal of the exhibition was to establish communication with the visitors and help them recognize the significance of clothing as a “cultural-historical” document.<sup>36</sup> Like the Museum of Arts and Crafts, other art museums also collected and exhibited clothing with the goal of showcasing artistic and construction skills of its makers, the fineness and quality of the material and specific features reflecting its time in history. Clothing exhibitions in such museums are therefore often focused on its esthetic value, measured in comparison to other works of art in the same period of time.<sup>37</sup> This was also the main goal of the exhibition titled *200 years of clothing from the collection of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb* (orig. *200 godina odjeće iz zbirke Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu*), which was organized in 1964 at the Maritime and History Museum of the Croatian Coast in Rijeka. The author of the exhibition was Vanda Pavelić Weinert, the collection manager. In her introduction to the exhibition catalog, the author emphasizes the frailty of the material, its cultural-historical value, but also the esthetic quality of the clothing.<sup>38</sup> The text is accompanied with catalog entries for 92 artifacts showcased in the exhibition.

The 1960s brought on changes in the approach to the analysis of clothing, and it was the first time that the term *fashion* made its way into the title of an exhibition at the Museum of Arts and Crafts. The exhibition *Fashion from the fin de siècle to Charleston* (orig. *Moda od fin de siecle do charlestona*) was set up in the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1966. The author of the exhibition was Vanda Pavelić Weinert. In the introduction of the exhibition catalog, she writes about the complexity of changes in clothing, which are connected to the human psyche on the inside, and our exterior—the clothes we wear. She explains this connection with the concept of *fashion*, i.e. “the manner in which we use clothing to represent

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36 – Museum management board: *Oblici odjeće*. Museum of Arts and Crafts: Zagreb, 1955: 2.

37 – Druessedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ In: Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BWDF-v10/EDch10042.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010)

38 – Pavelić Weinert, Vanda. *200 godina odjeće iz zbirke Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu*. Rijeka: Newspaper Publisher Association Novi List, 1964: 2.

Godine 1980. Muzej za umjetnost i obrt priređuje izložbu *Iz albuma i ormara – Odjeća i fotografija od vremena bidermajera do kraja XIX. st.* Autorice izložbe su Jelena Ivoš, kustosica zbirke tekstila, i Marija Tonković, kustosica zbirke fotografije. Izložba istodobno prikazuje modne promjene na odjeći iz fundusa zbirke tekstila i na fotografijama iz fundusa zbirke fotografije. Istodobno s razvojem odjevnih oblika prati se i razvoj fotografije.<sup>41</sup> Naglasak je na tehničkim i estetskim vrijednostima odjeće čime se dokazuje da je hrvatsko građanstvo slijedilo aktualne modne trendove. U katalogu se, uz tekstove autorica izložbe, nalazi i tekst Fedora Moačanina o tehničkom i znanstvenom razvoju u 19. stoljeću. Tekstove prati 14 crno-bijelih reprodukcija i 89 kataloških jedinica.

Godine 1977. u Muzeju se održala kulturološka izložba *Secesija u Hrvatskoj* na kojoj je moda vremena secesije činila jedan segment. Ova izložba preteča je velikih kulturoloških projekata koji će obilježiti djelovanje Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt tijekom 1990-ih i prvog desetljeća 21. stoljeća. Dionica mode s ove izložbe prezentirana je pod nazivom *Odijevanje u doba secesije u Hrvatskoj* i u ponešto izmijenjenom obliku, 1984. godine u Mazowieckie muzeju u Płocku, u Poljskoj. U pratećem katalogu objavljen je tekst Vande Pavelić-Weinert<sup>42</sup> koji je najvjerojatnije trebao biti dio kataloga zagrebačke izložbe, ali on, nažalost, nikada nije tiskan. Budući da nema prijevoda na hrvatski, ali sudeći prema naslovu, naglasak na izložbi bio je na promjenama oblika i izgleda odjeća kao i na njenom estetskom vrednovanju. U katalogu je 67 kataloških jedinica autorice Jelene Ivoš i 10 crno-bijelih reprodukcija. Ista je izložba *Secesijska oblačila na Hrvaškem* priređena 1985. godine u Narodnom muzeju – razstavišče Arkade u Ljubljani. U katalogu je opet tiskan tekst Vande Pavelić-Weinert, uvodnik Jelene Ivoš i 67 kataloških jedinica izložbenih predmeta koje je izradila Jelena Ivoš.<sup>43</sup>

Na čelo Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt 1983. godine dolazi Vladimir Maleković koji mijenja izlagačku politiku Muzeja te naglasak stavlja na velike kulturološke projekte. Od prvog projekta *Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790. – 1848.* 1985.

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41 – Ivoš, Jelena. *Iz albuma i ormara – Odjeća i fotografija od vremena bidermajera do kraja XIX. st.* Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1980: 5.

42 – Pavelić-Weinert, Vanda. *Ubiory w okresie Secesji w Chorwacji*. WZKart: Muzeum Mazowieckim w Płocku, 1984: 5–9.

43 – Ivoš, Jelena i Vanda Pavelić-Weinert. *Secesijska oblačila na Hrvaškem*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1985.



who we are to ourselves and others".<sup>39</sup> The goal of the exhibition is still to provide an overview of changes in the cuts and construction of garments, but also to draw parallels with other forms of art at that time. Besides the introduction of the term *fashion*, another novelty in this exhibition was the evaluation of clothing from the first four decades of the 20th century as historical, whereby Vanda Pavelić Weinert redefined historical clothing.<sup>40</sup> The text is accompanied with two black-and-white reproductions and 80 catalog entries categorized by the type of garments.

In 1980, the Museum of Arts and Crafts set up the exhibition titled *From albums and wardrobes—Clothing and Photography from Biedermeier to the end of the 19th century* (orig. *Iz albuma i ormara—Odjeća i fotografija od vremena bidermajera do kraja XIX. st.*). The authors of the exhibition were Jelena Ivoš, the curator of the textile collection, and Marija Tonković, the curator of the photography collection. The exhibition allowed the observers to track changes, developments and trends in both clothing and photography.<sup>41</sup> The emphasis was placed on the esthetical value and the construction and cut of the garments, bearing witness to fashion consciousness of the people in Croatia. The exhibition catalog features texts of the exhibition authors and Fedor Močanin's recount of the developments in technology and science in the 19th century. The texts are accompanied with 14 black-and-white reproductions and 89 catalog entries.

In 1977, the Museum set up a cultural exhibition titled *Art Nouveau in Croatia*, in which the fashion of this period was only one segment. This exhibition was the precursor of major cultural projects, which would become the hallmark of the Museum's agency in 1990s and 2000s. The fashion section in this exhibition was presented under the title *Clothing in the period of Art Nouveau in Croatia*, which was later set up in a slightly different form in 1984, in Muzeum Mazowieckie in Płock, Poland. The accompanying catalog features a text by Vanda Pavelić

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39 – Pavelić Weinert, Vanda. *Moda od fin de siecle do charlestona*. Zagreb: Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1966: 3.

40 – Ibid.

41 – Ivoš, Jelena. *Iz albuma i ormara—Odjeća i fotografija od vremena bidermajera do kraja XIX. st.* Zagreb: Museum of Arts and Crafts, 1980: 5.

godine, zatim 1997. godine *Bidermajer u Hrvatskoj 1815.–1848.* do 2000. godine i izložbe *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj* zbirka tekstila sastavni je dio projekta koji u katalogu izložbe dobiva zasebnu dionicu. Odjeća se na izložbi postavlja ravnopravno s drugim predmetima lijepih i primijenjenih umjetnosti i vrednuje u odnosu spram njih i njihovih oblikovnih karakteristika. Tekstovi u katalogu izložbe donose prikaz povijesti razvoja odijevanja i mode u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj u određenom vremenu. Istu praksu nastavio je nasljednik Vladimira Malekovića, Miroslav Gašparović. Na kulturološkim projektima koji su se održali u vrijeme njegovog ravnateljstva *Secesija u Hrvatskoj 2003. godine, Art Deco i umjetnost u Hrvatskoj između dva rata 2011. godine i Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj—Mit i stvarnost 2018. godine* pristup dionici mode ostao je isti. Moda je integralni dio izložbe, najčešće izložena s ostalim predmetima. U katalogu je dopuštena sloboda autoru da bira pristup interpretaciji mode i odijevanja određenog razdoblja. Jelena Ivoš, autorica dionice o modi na izložbama *Bidermajer u Hrvatskoj 1815.–1848.*, *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj* i *Secesija u Hrvatskoj* donosi povijesni pregled odijevanja, promjena u odijevanju i njihove recepcije u Hrvatskoj. Đurđa Bartlett, autorica dionice o modi na izložbi *Art Deco i umjetnost u Hrvatskoj između dva rata* u tekstu donosi povijesni i sociološki aspekt odijevanja i mode u Hrvatskoj, posebice Zagrebu. Katarina Nina Simončić, autorica dionice mode na izložbi *Šezdesete u Hrvatskoj—Mit i stvarnost* bavi se odijevanjem i modom s kulturno-antropološkog aspekta te ih kao kulturne produkte kontekstualizira unutar zapadnoeuropskog kulturnog kruga.

Velike kulturološke izložbe istaknule su problem postavljanja odjeće. Ona, za razliku od drugih predmeta lijepih ili primijenjenih umjetnosti, ne može stajati samostalno te joj je potreban nosač, tj. tijelo, da bi bila pravilno „pročitana“. A budući da je odjeća trodimenzionalni objekt koji posjeduje kinetičke kvalitete, idealno bi bilo kada bi se tijelo moglo micati.<sup>44</sup> U nedostatku takvog pomičnog muzeološkog pomagala, odjeća se najčešće izlaže na raznim vrstama lutaka, od klasičnih krojačkih do suvremenih lutaka za opremanje modnih dućana. Problem kod serijski proizvedenih lutaka je u tome da ne odgovaraju svim vrstama, oblicima i veličinama odjeće. Ženska odjeća, kojom se modificiralo žensko tijelo i iz epohe u epohu se stvarala nova obrisna linija tijela, najizazovnija je i najzahtjevnija za postavljanje.

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44 – De la Haye, Amy. „Introduction: Dress and Fashion in the Context of the Museum“. U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010.

Weinert<sup>42</sup>, which was presumably supposed to be a part of the Zagreb exhibition catalog, which unfortunately never went to print. Since the Croatian translation is not available, we can assume from the title that the focus of the exhibition was on changes in shape and appearance of clothing, and its esthetic evaluation. The catalog contains 67 catalog entries by the exhibition author Jelena Ivoš and ten black-and-white reproductions. The same exhibition was set up in 1985 at the Narodni muzej in Ljubljana. The exhibition catalog again featured the text by Vanda Pavelić Weinert, the introduction by Jelena Ivoš and 67 catalog entries for exhibits by Jelena Ivoš.<sup>43</sup>

Vladimir Maleković became the director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 1983, changing the exhibition policy of the Museum and laying emphasis on major cultural projects. From the first project titled *Croatian national revival 1790–1848* in 1985, followed by *Biedermeier in Croatia 1815–1848* in 1997, to the year 2000 and the exhibition *Historicism in Croatia*, the collection of textiles is considered an integral part of the projects, but is granted a separate section in the exhibition catalog. Clothing in exhibitions is treated and displayed equally to other works of fine and applied arts and evaluated in comparison to their features. The texts in the exhibition catalog give an overview of clothing and fashion history in Zagreb and Croatia during certain periods. The same practice was taken over by Miroslav Gašparović, Vladimir Maleković's successor. In cultural projects launched during his management: *Art Nouveau in Croatia* in 2003, *Art Deco and art in interwar Croatia* in 2011, and *1960s in Croatia—Myth and reality* in 2018, the approach to fashion section remained the same. Fashion was an integral part of every exhibition, often displayed among other artifacts. The author of the fashion section was granted liberty to choose their approach to the interpretation of fashion and clothing in a certain period. Jelena Ivoš, the author of fashion sections in exhibitions *Biedermeier in Croatia 1815–1848*, *Historicism in Croatia and Art Nouveau in Croatia*, brings a historical overview of clothing, changes in clothing and its reception in Croatia. Đurđa Bartlett, the author of fashion section in exhibition *Art Deco and art in*

42 — Pavelić-Weinert, Vanda. *Ubiory w okresie Secesji w Chorwacji*. WZKart: Muzeum Mazowieckim w Płocku, 1984: 5–9.

43 — Ivoš, Jelena i Vanda Pavelić-Weinert. *Secesjska oblačila na Hrvaškem*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1985.

Klasične krojačke lutke konfekcijskog su broja 36, nemaju izrazito naglašene bokove, struk niti grudi stoga je na njih teško odjenuti haljinu iz vremena bidermajera, koja ima izrazito uzak struk, ili iz osamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća, kada je naglasak u konstrukciji na stražnjici, ili iz doba secesije kada žensko tijelo ima oblik ose i S profilnu liniju. Tijelo se modificiralo donjim rubljem: korzetima, raznim samostalnim konstrukcijama ili konstrukcijama na podsuknjama itd. Za izlaganje povijesne odjeće postoji nekoliko mogućih rješenja: korištenje lutaka iz vremena, prilagođavanje klasičnih krojačkih lutaka odjeći (tzv. *costume mounting*) popunjavanjem određenih dijelova odgovarajućim materijalima i kaširanje novih lutaka, tj. torza prema mjerama određene haljine. U Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt od 1986. godine postoji restauratorska radionica za tekstil i u njoj su trenutno zaposlene dvije restauratorice: Iva Čukman, restauratorica savjetnica i voditeljica restauratorskih radionica, i Antonina Srša, restauratorica savjetnica. Pri postavi izložbi restauratorice se redovito susreću s problemima neadekvatnih lutaka te često moraju postojeće lutke „nadopunjavati“ i „popravlјati“ vatelinom da bi odjeća savršeno pristajala. Obje su restauratorice radile na postavu dionica tekstila (mode) svih velikih muzejskih projekata, a za potrebe postava izložbi *Historicizam u Hrvatskoj i Secesija u Hrvatskoj* izradile su posebna torza za haljine koje se nisu mogle odjenuti niti na jednu postojeću muzejsku lutku. Nažalost često se takav način izlaganja odjeće smatra neadekvatnim, statičnim, „lišenim života“ i dosadnim.

Paralelno s velikim kulturološkim projektima, organiziraju se i manje tematske izložbe iz zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora. U okviru čipkarskog festivala u Lepoglavi održane su tri tematske izložbe autorice Andree Klobučar, kustosice i voditeljice zbirke tekstila od 2010. godine. Izložbe su se bavile ulogom čipke u ženskoj modi i modnom priboru—*Čipka na ženskoj građanskoj odjeći i modnom priboru* 2008. godine, *Čipka na obrednoj odjeći iz fundusa Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt* 2010. godine i *Nakičeno, nenakičeno—čipka na ženskome modnom priboru od 1800. do 1900.* iz fundusa Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt 2014. godine.

Slijedeći muzeološke koncepcije izlaganja odjeće svojih prethodnica u prezentiranju odijevanja i mode kroz povijesne promjene oblika, konstrukcije i kroja odjeće 2015. godine kustosica Andrea Klobučar priredila je tematsku izložbu „U dobru i zlu: vjenčana odjeća od 1865. do danas“ posvećenu vjenčanicama i njihovim mijenama tijekom vremena. Na kronološki postavljenj izložbi bila je izložena ženska i muška vjenčana odjeća, modni pribor (vjenčići, tokice, velovi, cipele, rukavice, šeširi, donje rublje) i vjenčane



Sl. 3. – Prilagođavanje klasičnih krojačkih lutaka odjeći (tzv. *costume mounting*) u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Hrvatska (prije prilagodbe) / Fig. 3 – An example of the *costume mounting*, Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia (before adjustment)



Sl. 4. – Prilagođavanje klasičnih krojačkih lutaka odjeći (tzv. *costume mounting*) u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, Zagreb, Hrvatska (nakon prilagodbe) / Fig. 4 – An example of the *costume mounting*, Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, Croatia (after adjustment)



*interwar Croatia* discusses the historical and social aspect of clothing and fashion in Croatia, particularly in Zagreb. Katarina Nina Simončić, the author of fashion section in exhibition *1960S in Croatia—Myth and reality* addresses clothing and fashion from the cultural-anthropological viewpoint and contextualizes them as cultural products within the West European cultural sphere.

Major cultural exhibitions raised the issue of the clothing setup. As opposed to works of fine and applied arts, clothing cannot stand on its own; it needs a carrier, i.e. a body, in order to be interpreted correctly. Since clothing is a three-dimensional object with kinesthetic qualities, it would ideally be showcased on a body in motion.<sup>44</sup> In the absence of such museum aid, clothing is normally exhibited on either classic tailor's dress forms or contemporary fashion retail mannequins. The problem with serially produced mannequins is that they are not appropriate for all types, shapes and sizes of clothing. Since its shape has undergone frequent changes throughout history, modifying and changing the contours of the female body, women's clothing is the most challenging when it comes to the setup. Standard dress forms in size 36 do not typically have an hourglass figure, so it is difficult to fit a Biedermeier dress with an exceptionally narrow waist, a dress from the 1880s with a pronounced bottom, or a dress from the Art Nouveau period, when a female body has a shape of a wasp and a pronounced S profile line. Body shapes are modified through the use of shaping underwear: corsets, bands, petticoats, etc. There are several possible solutions for the setup of historical clothing: the use of mannequins from the time of origin, the adaptation of standard dress forms to the clothing (the so-called *costume mounting*) by filling certain portions with adequate materials, or the construction of new mannequins, i.e. torsos according to the measurements of a particular dress. In 1986, the Museum of Arts and Crafts opened a textile restoration workshop, which currently employs two restorers, Iva Čukman, restorer consultant and workshop manager, and Antonina Srša, restorer consultant. In setting up exhibitions, they often face problems with inadequate dress forms and mannequins, and often need to resort to wadding to make the clothing fit perfectly.

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44 – De la Haye, Amy. „Introduction: Dress and Fashion in the Context of the Museum“. In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010.

fotografije. Katalog je kroz poglavlja posvećena pojedinim desetljećima pratio raspored izložbe. U poglavljima je dan povijesni, kulturni, sociološki, antropološki i modni okvir vjenčane odjeće i običaja. Svi predmeti s izložbe su reproducirani u katalogu uz odgovarajuće kataloške jedinice.

Muzej za umjetnost i obrt priredio je 2007. godine u dvorani XXIX stalnog postava posvećenoj modi dvije izložbe hrvatskih modnih dizajnera: modnog studija I-gle i Dženise Pecotić. Izložbe su održane u okviru projekta *Modni dizajneri u stalnom postavu MUO* koji su vodile Vesna Jurić Bulatović, voditeljica marketinga, i Jelena Ivoš, voditeljica zbirke tekstila. Niti uz jednu izložbu nije izdan prateći katalog. Izložba Modnog studija I-gle bila je zamišljena kao retrospektiva njihovog desetogodišnjeg rada i stoga se zvala *I-Gle 010*. Kostimografkinja i modna dizajnerica Dženisa Pecotić predstavila je seriju odjeće izrađene od svilenog organdija s digitalnim printom crteža arhitekta Nenada Fabijanića.

Predstavljanje modnih dizajnera u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt nastavila je kustosica Andrea Klobučar izložbama *Na iglama / Igor Galaš—modni dizajn* 2017. godine i *Posveća ženstvenosti—15 godina modnog brenda eNVy room* 2019. godine. Obje izložbe karakterizira sličan pristup kao i problem prezentacije. Iako se u prvi tren obje izložbe doimlju kao retrospektivne, tome nije tako. Odabirom predmeta željelo se publici pokazati koji su to elementi prepoznatljivosti dizajnerskog rukopisa te kako su ih oni razvijali i/ili modificirali kroz rad i razvoj brenda. Izložbe su, radi volumena odjeće, bile tehnički zahtjevne za postav. Klasične muzejske lutke na kojima se u muzeju najčešće izlaže odjeća nisu mogle nositi volumen i konstrukciju nosive umjetnosti Igora Galaša kao niti voluminoznost i konstrukciju modela iz eNVy room kolekcija. Stoga su se za potrebe izložbi posudile lutke s ekstremitetima. Prije samog oblačenja lutaka za izložbu Igora Galaša trebalo je dobro promisliti koji model najbolje izgleda na kojoj lutki. Na taj je dio posla potrošeno dosta vremena jer često bi se najbolji dojam stekao tek kada bi se lutka odjenula. Težina vune, kao i kompleksnost kroja, otežavali su postavljanje na klasičnim lutkama te su se ekstremiteti, ali i donji dijelovi haljina, često morali ispunjavati vatelinom da bi dobili bolji volumen. Iako su Galaševe skulpturalne organske biomimetičke odjevne forme namijenjene, kao i skulptura, pogledu sa svih strana, zbog prostornih ograničenja odlučeno je da se odjevne lutke postave uza zid s najatraktivnijom vizurom okrenutom prema posjetitelju. Predmeti su bili osvijetljeni reflektorima te se kroz dodatno naglašenu igru svjetla i sjene naglasila skulpturalnost odjernih predmeta. Manji problem bilo je oblačenje lutaka za izložbu eNVy rooma budući



Both restorers worked on the setup of textile and fashion sections of all the major Museum's projects. They also constructed special torsos for the setup of exhibitions *Historicism in Croatia* and *Art Nouveau in Croatia*, since some dresses could not be put on a single museum mannequin. Unfortunately, this manner of presenting clothing is often considered inadequate, static, boring and "devoid of life".

Certain exhibitions of textile and fashion accessories took place parallel to major cultural projects. Andrea Klobučar, author, curator and manager of the textile collection since 2010, organized three specialized exhibitions during the International Lace Festival in Lepoglava. The exhibitions addressed the application of lace in women's clothing and accessories—*Lace on women's urban clothing and accessories* in 2008, *Lace on liturgical vestments from the archive of the Museum of Arts and Crafts* in 2010, and *Lace on women's fashion accessories from 1800 to 1900* from the archives of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 2014.

Following the guidelines of museological concepts set by her predecessors, regarding the presentation of clothing and fashion with respect to historical changes in forms, construction and cut, curator Andrea Klobučar set up an exhibition in 2015 titled "For better or for worse: wedding attires from 1865 to the present day", dedicated to wedding attires and their changes over time. The exhibits were set up in chronological order, featuring both men's and women's wedding attires, accessories (festoons, toques, veils, shoes, gloves, hats, underwear) and wedding photographs. The catalog was divided into chapters dedicated to individual decades in the order of the exhibition setup. Each chapter provided a historical, cultural, anthropological and fashion framework of wedding attires and customs. All exhibited garments were reproduced in the catalog with respective catalog entries.

In 2007, the Museum of Arts and Crafts set up two exhibitions of Croatian fashion designers: the fashion studio I-gle and Dženisa Pecotić, in one of the halls of the permanent exhibition dedicated to fashion. The exhibitions were set up within the project *Fashion designers in the permanent exhibition at the Museum of Arts and Crafts*, run by Vesna Jurić Bulatović, the head of the marketing department, and Jelena Ivoš, the manager of the collection of textiles. No accompanying catalogs were issued for either of these exhibitions. The exhibition of the fashion studio I-gle was envisioned as a retrospective of ten years of their work, hence the title

da su Nikica Ivančević i Vjekoslav Franetović Muzeju posudili lutke iz svog *show rooma* te su nakon odabira predmeta znali koji će odjenuti na koju lutku. Skulpturalnost i složenost konstrukcije pojedinih modela bila je naglašena ostavljanjem većeg razmaka između pojedinih modela kao i upotrebom reflektora. Ali, budući da se u vitrinama stalnog postava ne mogu pomicati stropni reflektori niti dodavati novi, bilo je potrebno prilagoditi poziciju modela poziciji svjetla. Problem prezentacije kinetičkog svojstva odjeće na obje se izložbe pokušalo riješiti prikazivanjem snimki modnih revija na video-ekranima. Na taj je način posjetitelj mogao vidjeti i osjetiti razliku između „statične“ odjeće na lutkama i „dinamičke“ odjeće na biološkom tijelu.

Iako se često smatra da su izložbe odjeće jedne od najzanimljivijih i publici najpristupačnijih izložbi,<sup>45</sup> izložbe odjeće i mode priređene u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt nisu privukle veći broj posjetitelja od drugih muzejskih izložbi. Ne znam je li razlog tome nedovoljno agresivan marketing, statičan postav, nepostojanje ciljane skupine ili nedovoljna atraktivnost izložbi. Modne izložbe vrlo su teške i produkcijski zahtjevne za postavljanje. Njihova realizacija zahtijeva izdašan budžet koji to često nije. Budžet izložbe *U dobru i zlu: vjenčana odjeća od 1865. do danas* iznosio je 110.000 kn od čega je na izradu vitrina obaveznih za izlaganje povijesne odjeće otpalo 70.000 kn. Od ostatka je trebalo platiti oblikovanje vizualnog identiteta i postav izložbe, oblikovanje kataloga, pozivnice, plakata i banera te tisak kataloga. Zbog neadekvatnog budžeta izložbe morali su se odrediti prioriteta—katalog, te je izložba ostala bez edukativnih legendi koje bi kontekstualizirale izloženi materijal. Izložba *Na iglama / Igor Galaš—modni dizajn* dobila je za realizaciju 25.000 kn—20.000 od Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske i 5.000 kn od Grada Zagreba. Zahvaljujući angažmanu kolega iz muzeja, voditeljice tehničke službe, preparatora namještaja, stolara i muzejskih tehničara koji su osmislili, izradili i sastavili postamente od materijala zatečenog u muzeju, privatnim socijalnim mrežama poznanstava dizajnera i kustosice izložba se uspjela realizirati u okviru zadanog budžeta. S takvim budžetima i načinima financiranja teško je parirati velikim svjetskim muzejima poput Victoria & Albert muzeja ili Metropolitan muzeja u New Yorku čija produkcija izložbi iznosi puno, puno više.

45 – Druesedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ U: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDCh10042.xml?print> (pristupljeno 9. 12. 2010.)

*I-Gle 010*. Costume and fashion designer Dženisa Pecotić presented a collection of garments made of silk organdy with digital prints of sketches by architect Nenad Fabijanić.

The practice of presenting fashion designers at the Museum of Arts and Crafts was continued by curator Andrea Klobučar with exhibitions titled *On pins and needles / Igor Galaš—fashion design* in 2017, and *Ode to femininity—15 years of fashion brand eNVy room* in 2019. Both exhibitions were characterized by a similar approach and a problem of presentation. Even though both exhibitions seem retrospective at a first glance, this was not the case. The selected garments were intended to demonstrate the recognizable designer's signature, and how it was developed and modified throughout their work and brand development. The setup of these exhibitions was challenging, due to the sheer volume of garments. The standard museum dress forms could not carry the volume and the construction of designs by Igor Galaš and eNVy room. For this reason, the Museum rented mannequins with extremities. Dressing the mannequins in Galaš's designs required detailed planning, in terms of finding the best fit of clothes for each mannequin; nevertheless, the process was still very time-consuming, because the accurate impression could not be formed until the dress was already on the mannequin. The weight of wool and the complexity of the cut made the mounting on mannequins particularly difficult, and the extremities and bottom parts of dresses often had to be filled with wadding to gain more volume. Even though Galaš's sculptural organic bio-mimetic designs are meant to be observed from all angles like sculptures, they had to be placed against the wall due to spatial limitations, facing the visitors from the most attractive angle. The exhibits were illuminated with spotlights, and the contrast of light and shadow further accentuated the sculptural quality of garments. Dressing the mannequins for the exhibition of eNVy room was simpler, since Nikica Ivančević and Vjekoslav Franetović loaned the mannequins from their show room to the Museum, so the clothing would fit perfectly. The sculptural quality and complexity of the construction of certain garments was accentuated with spotlights and space between models. Since the position of spotlights inside the showcases is not adjustable and new ones cannot be added, it was necessary to adjust the position of the model according to the light. In both exhibitions, the problem of presenting the kinetic quality of clothing was partly resolved by playing footage of fashion shows on video screens. In that way, the visitor could see and feel the difference

Muzej za umjetnost i obrt od osnutka 1880. godine slijedi muzeološke strategije i principe sakupljanja tekstila i odjeće te muzeološke koncepcije izlaganja odjeće i mode kao i ostali europski muzeji tog tipa. Zbirka tekstila jedna je od temeljnih i najbrojnijih muzejskih zbirki. Bez obzira na to što su svi predmeti unutar zbirke svedeni pod zajednički nazivnik „tekstil“, ona je izrazito kompleksna i podijeljena je na dvanaest podzbirki koje zahtijevaju uža specijalistička znanja. Izlagačka politika većinom je bila usmjerena na vrednovanje estetskih i kulturno-povijesnih vrijednosti odjeće. Iako se moda spominje u naslovu muzejske izložbe 1966. godine, tek se u okviru velikih muzejskih kulturoloških izložbi odjeći pokušalo pristupiti kao modnom, kulturnom produktu. Svojim bogatim fundusom u kojem se nalaze odjevni predmeti i modni pribor od početka 18. stoljeća do 2014. godine, kao i izlagačkom praksom, zbirka tekstila Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt profilirala se kao referentno mjesto za istraživanje povijesti i kulture odijevanja te povijesti mode u Hrvatskoj.



between “static” clothing on mannequins and “dynamic” clothing on real live bodies in motion.

Even though fashion exhibitions are often considered some of the most interesting and approachable to visitors,<sup>45</sup> the clothing and fashion exhibitions set up at the Museum of Arts and Crafts did not attract a larger number of visitors in comparison to other exhibitions. It is hard to tell whether this is due to insufficiently aggressive marketing strategies, a static setup, a lack of targeted audience or insufficient appeal of the exhibitions. Fashion exhibitions are often very challenging regarding production and setup. The realization of such exhibition requires a generous budget, which is often unavailable. The budget for the exhibition *For better or for worse: wedding attires from 1865 to the present day* was 110.000 HRK, and the construction of showcases mandatory for exhibiting historical clothing cost as much as 70.000 HRK. The rest of the budget was supposed to cover the design of visual identity and setup, the design and print of the catalog, invitations, posters and banners. Budget limitations called for setting priorities—the catalog was not printed, leaving the exhibition without valuable educative contents that would put the exhibits into a context. The exhibition titled *On pins and needles / Igor Galaš—fashion design* was granted 20.000 HRK from the Croatian Ministry of Culture and 5.000 HRK from the City of Zagreb. Thanks to the effort of museum colleagues, the head of technical support, furniture restorers, carpenters and museum technicians, who designed and constructed pedestals from the scrap material available, and personal contacts of both the designer and the curator, the exhibition was successfully set up within the budget. With limited financing, it is difficult to match the world's renowned museums such as the Victoria & Albert Museum or the Metropolitan Museum in New York, who have much larger budgets at their disposal.

Since its establishment in 1880, the Museum of Arts and Crafts has been following museological strategies and principles of collecting and exhibiting textiles, clothing and fashion garments, like other European

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45 – Druesedow, Jean. L. „Dress and Fashion Exhibits.“ In: *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion: Global Perspectives*, ur. Joanne B. Eicher. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2010. Url: <http://www.bergfashionlibrary.com/view/bewdf/BEWDF-v10/EDch10042.xml?print> (accessed December, 9, 2010)

museums of this type. The collection of textiles is one of the fundamental and most plentiful collections in the Museum. Regardless of the fact that all artifacts fall to the common denominator of "textile", the collection is extremely complex; the artifacts are placed into twelve subcategories, which require profound specialized knowledge and expertise. The exhibition policy has mostly been aimed at recognizing and honoring the esthetic and cultural-historical value of clothing. Even though the term *fashion* was first used in the title of an exhibition only in 1966, clothing was first approached as a cultural and fashion product within major cultural projects. Due to its extensive exhibition practice and rich archive that houses clothing and fashion accessories from the early 18th century to 2014, the collection of textiles at the Museum of Arts and Crafts has become a relevant point of reference in research of clothing and fashion history and culture in Croatia.



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**MUSEUM OF  
APPLIED ART IN  
BELGRADE  
AND FASHION  
MUSEOLOGY: THE  
FIRST 70 YEARS**

**MUZEJ  
PRIMENJENE  
UMETNOSTI  
U BEOGRADU  
I MUZEALIZACIJA  
MODE: PRVIH  
70 GODINA**

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## SUMMARY

Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade was founded in 1950 as the first, and still the only, museum in Serbia specializing in applied art. One of the newly founded museum's tasks was musealisation of fashion. Therefore, Textiles and Costumes Collection was immediately formed. This paper presents a brief overview of the Museum's fashion collections' development and the dynamics of exhibitions which depended on the Museum's development strategies as well as social and political circumstances. In lieu of the Museum's 70th anniversary this year, this paper connects the first fashion exhibition realized at the Museum in 1966 entitled *Women's fashion from the mid-19th century to the 1930s (from the collection of the Museum of Applied Art)* and the last fashion exhibition entitled *Fashion in Modern Serbia: Fashion in Serbia in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century from the collection of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade* opened in November 2019.

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## SAŽETAK

Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu osnovan je 1950. godine kao prvi i za sada jedini muzej u Srbiji koji je specijalizovan za primenjenu umetnost. Jedan od zadataka novoosnovanog muzeja bila je muzealizacija mode, zbog čega je zajedno sa njegovim osnivanjem formirana muzejska Zbirka tekstila i kostima. Rad donosi kratak pregled razvoja modnih zbirki u Muzeju i prati dinamiku organizovanja modnih izložbi koja se menjala u skladu sa strategijama razvoja ustanove i društveno-političkim okolnostima. Imajući u vidu da Muzej primenjene umetnosti 2020. godine obeležava 70 godina postojanja, rad povlači muzeološku paralelu između prve modne izložbe koja je realizovana u produkciji Muzeja 1966. godine, *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka (iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti)*, i poslednje muzejske modne izložbe, *Moda u modernoj Srbiji: Moda u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu*, koja je otvorena u novembru 2019. godine.

— Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade celebrates its 70th anniversary on November 6, 2020. It was founded on November 6, 1950 as the first, and still the only, museum in Serbia specializing in applied art. Its foundation was guided by the experience of other museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London founded in 1852 and Museum of Arts and Craft in Zagreb founded in 1880. One of the newly-founded museum's collections, formed according to the items they held, was the Textile and costume collection which now holds approximately 2,200 items including fashion and clothing items, carpets, kilims, tapestries, wovens, needlework, lace, blankets, rugs, wall decorations, curtains, pillows, church textiles, weaving tools, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Although complete records of the first permanent exhibition at the Museum of Applied Art held in 1951 is not saved, fashion was undoubtedly not included. The first publication about the museum and its collections, published the same year, does not perceive fashion as a relevant field of applied arts.<sup>2</sup> Fashion was finally included in the renewed permanent

1 — Stojanović, Dobrila. „Tekstil i odeća kao predmet kolekcioniranja i njihovo valorizovanje u muzejima : Začeci kolekcioniranja tekstilnih predmeta na našem terenu sa osvrtom na manastirske riznice.“ *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 19–20, 1976: 183; Rakonjac, Srđan. „Istorijat Muzeja primenjene umetnosti 1950–2005.“ U: *55 godina Muzeja primenjene umetnosti : 1950–2005*, ur. I. Zorić. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2005, 7–11; Maskareli, Draginja. “Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu i počeci muzealizacije mode u Srbiji: Odsek za tekstil i kostim 1950–1980.” *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 13, 2017: 22.

2 — Ćorović-Ljubinković, Mirjana i Mano-Zisi, Đorđe. *Muzej primenjene umetnosti*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 1951.

— Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu proslavlja 6. novembra 2020. godine 70 godina od osnivanja. Kao prvi i još uvek jedini muzej u Srbiji koji je specijalizovan za primenjenu umetnost, osnovan je 6. novembra 1950. godine, a prilikom njegovog osnivanja korišćena su iskustva srodnih muzejskih institucija, kao što su Muzej Viktorije i Alberta u Londonu, osnovan 1852, ili Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu, osnovan 1880. godine. Jedna od zbirki novoosnovanog muzeja, formiranih prema materijalu koji se u njima čuvao, bila je Zbirka tekstila i kostima, u kojoj se danas čuva oko 2.200 predmeta: modni i odevni predmeti, tepisi, ćilimi, tapiserije, tkanine, vezovi, čipke, prekrivači, prostirke, zidne dekoracije, zavese, jastuci, crkveni tekstil, alatke za tkanje i dr.<sup>1</sup>

Iako nije sačuvana kompletna dokumentacija o prvoj stalnoj postavci Muzeja primenjene umetnosti iz 1951. godine, izvesno je da moda na ovoj postavci nije našla svoje mesto, dok prva publikacija o Muzeju i njegovim zbirkama, objavljena iste godine, ne percipira modu kao relevantnu oblast primenjene umetnosti<sup>2</sup>. Svoje mesto moda dobija tek na obnovljenoj stalnoj postavci

1 — Stojanović, Dobrila. „Tekstil i odeća kao predmet kolekcioniranja i njihovo valorizovanje u muzejima : Začeci kolekcioniranja tekstilnih predmeta na našem terenu sa osvrtom na manastirske riznice.“ *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 19–20, 1976: 183; Rakonjac, Srđan. „Istorijat Muzeja primenjene umetnosti 1950–2005.“ U: *55 godina Muzeja primenjene umetnosti : 1950–2005*, ur. I. Zorić. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2005, 7–11; Maskareli, Draginja. “Muzej primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu i počeci muzealizacije mode u Srbiji: Odsek za tekstil i kostim 1950–1980.” *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* 13, 2017: 22.

2 — Ćorović-Ljubinković, Mirjana i Mano-Zisi, Đorđe. *Muzej primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1951.



Sl. 1. – Izložba Ženska moda od sredine XIX do tridesetih godina XX veka, Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, 1966–1967. (Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, fotografija Radomir Živković) / Fig. 1 – Exhibition Women's fashion from the mid-19th century until the 1930s, Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, 1966–1967. (Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, photo by Radomir Živković)



exhibition in 1958 presenting the transformation of urban clothing and the fashion system in Serbia during the 19th century by showcasing womenswear from the 19th century national costume holdings, European fashion at the turn of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, contemporary fashion sketches, and a number of portraits of women from the 19th century primarily as information carriers of the fashion at the time.<sup>3</sup>

The first fashion exhibition, entitled *Shapes of Clothing*, arrived at the Museum of Applied Art from the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb and was held from April 10 until April 30, 1955. The first fashion exhibition produced by the Museum of Applied Art, *Women's fashion from the mid-19th century until the 1930s (from the collection of the Museum of Applied Art)*, was held from December 13, 1966 until May 5, 1967. In the introductory chapters of the exhibitions' catalogues, the curators of both exhibitions speak of special items that are still trying to find their place in museum collections and exhibitions. Vanda Pavelić, the curator of the *Shapes of Clothing* exhibition, believes that it will "contribute to the scope and strength of interest in these precious and valuable cultural and historical items [...] and help its preservation"<sup>4</sup>. Dobrila Stojanović, the curator of the *Women's fashion* exhibition, states that it presents "items that are hard to find nowadays due to their destruction stemming from lack of appreciation"<sup>5</sup>.

Dobrila Stojanović (1925–2018), the first curator of the Textile and costume collection at the Museum of Applied Art, was also the first curator in Serbia to specialize in musealisation of fashion. In her years of working at the museum, she pioneered this field and her work was internationally recognized as well. For example, she was on the Directing Council of the *Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens* (CIETA) in Lyon.<sup>6</sup>

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3 – Maskareli 2017: 23

4 – *Oblici odjeće*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1955:4.

5 – Stojanović, Dobrila. *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka: iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Museum of Applied Art, 1966: 1.

6 – Maskareli 2017: 22–23, 28; Ristić, Andrijana. *Dobrila Stojanović : četiri decenije stručnog i naučnog rada u oblasti tekstila i mode*. Beograd: Museum of Applied Art, 2019: 7–8.

1958. godine. Tom prilikom prikazana je transformacija građanskog odevanja i modnog sistema u Srbiji tokom XIX veka, a među izabranim predmetima našli su se predmeti ženske mode iz korpusa nacionalnog kostima XIX veka, evropske mode s kraja XIX i iz prvih decenija XX veka, zatim skice za savremenu modnu odeću, kao i jedan broj ženskih portreta iz XIX veka, pre svega u funkciji nosilaca informacija o tadašnjoj modi<sup>3</sup>.

Prva modna izložba, pod nazivom *Oblici odjeće*, stigla je u Muzej primenjene umetnosti iz zagrebačkog Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, i održana je od 10. do 30. aprila 1955. godine, dok je prva modna izložba u produkciji samog Muzeja, *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka (iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti)*, održana od 13. decembra 1966. do 5. maja 1967. godine. Kustosi obe izložbe nagoveštavaju u uvodnim tekstovima kataloga da je reč o specifičnom materijalu koji još uvek traži svoje mesto u muzejskim zbirkama i na muzejskim izložbama. Kustos izložbe *Oblici odjeće*, Vanda Pavelić, iskazuje uverenje da će izložba „pridonijeti širenju i jačanju interesa za ovaj dragocjeni i zanimljivi kulturno-historijski materijal [...] i pomoći njegovom očuvanju"<sup>4</sup>, dok kustos izložbe *Ženska moda*, Dobrila Stojanović, naglašava da je izložen „materijal do koga se danas teško dolazi, jer je često uništavan pošto nije dovoljno cenjen"<sup>5</sup>.

Dobrila Stojanović (1925–2018), prvi kustos Zbirke tekstila i kostima u Muzeju primenjene umetnosti, bila je istovremeno i prvi kustos u Srbiji koji se bavio muzealizacijom mode. Tokom svog dugogodišnjeg rada u Muzeju uspešno je obavila pionirski posao u ovoj oblasti. Rad Dobrile Stojanović bio je zapažen i na međunarodnom nivou, tako da njeno ime, u periodu od 1983. do 1987. godine, možemo naći na spisku članova Upravnog saveta Međunarodnog centra za proučavanje istorijskog tekstila u Lionu (CIETA)<sup>6</sup>.

Dobrila Stojanović radila je u Muzeju primenjene umetnosti od 1951. do penzionisanja 1988. godine. Ako posmatramo tadašnju dinamiku održavanja modnih izložbi u Muzeju, možemo primetiti da gotovo nijedna decenija nije

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3 – Maskareli 2017: 23.

4 – *Oblici odjeće*. Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 1955: 4.

5 – Stojanović, Dobrila. *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka: iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1966: 1.

6 – Maskareli 2017: 22–23, 28; Ristić, Andrijana. *Dobrila Stojanović : četiri decenije stručnog i naučnog rada u oblasti tekstila i mode*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2019: 7–8.

Dobrila Stojanović worked at the Museum of Applied Art from 1951 until her retirement in 1988. When looking at the fashion exhibition dynamics in this period, we see that a fashion exhibition was held almost every decade, either an exhibition produced by the museum or a visiting exhibition from renowned institutions and fashion collections in the former Yugoslavia and the Western Balkans. After *Shapes of Clothing* (1955) and the *Women's fashion from the mid-19th century to the 1930s* (1966), the visiting exhibition *Clothing from the Maribor Regional Museum's collection*<sup>7</sup> was held from April 6 until May 4, 1976. The museum's thirtieth anniversary was celebrated by the *Urban costume in Serbia in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century* exhibition held from November 6 until December 20, 1980.<sup>8</sup>

After Dobrila Stojanović left the position of the Textile and costume collection's curator, the dynamics changed according to the collecting and exhibiting policies of the collection which shifts towards affirmation of traditional textile crafting and decorating skills, for example weaving and needlework. Fashion items presented at the *Artistic embroidery in Serbia 1804–1904* exhibition held at the museum from November 6, 1994 until February, 12, 1995, were chosen primarily according to the artistic and historic value of their needlework embroidery<sup>9</sup>, while the *Kilims of Pirot* exhibition held from November 6, 2001 until February 10, 2002, was closed with a fashion show by *Mona* fashion house whose models were inspired by the exhibited items<sup>10</sup>.

The next fashion exhibition at the museum was held on its 50th anniversary in 2000. Fashion in Belgrade: 1918–1941<sup>11</sup> garnered a lot of attention

7 – Sergej Vrišer and Marjetica Simoniti from the Maribor Regional Museum were the curators, see Sergej Vrišer. *Odeća iz zbirke Pokrajinskog muzeja u Mariboru*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 1976.

8 – Dobrila Stojanović curated the exhibition, see Dobrila Stojanović. *Gradska nošnja u Srbiji u XIX. i početkom XX. veka*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 1980.

9 – Milena Vitković-Žikić of the Museum of Applied Art curated the exhibition, see Milena Vitković-Žikić. *Umetnički vez u Srbiji 1804–1904 = Artistic Embroidery in Serbia 1804–1904*. Belgrade: Prosveta, Museum of Applied Art, 1994.

10 – Milena Vitković-Žikić curated the exhibition, see idem. *Pirotski ćilim = Les kilims de Pirot*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2001.

11 – Bojana Popović. *Moda u Beogradu: 1918–1941*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2000.

protekla bez modne izložbe, kao i da su se izložbe u produkciji samog Muzeja smenjivale sa gostujućim izložbama relevantnih institucija i modnih zbirki tadašnje Jugoslavije i sadašnjeg regiona Zapadnog Balkana. Posle izložbi *Oblici odjeće* (1955) i *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka* (1966), u Muzeju je od 6. aprila do 4. maja 1976. godine održana gostujuća izložba Pokrajinskog muzeja u Mariboru, *Odeća iz zbirke Pokrajinskog muzeja u Mariboru*<sup>7</sup>, da bi tridesetogodišnjica rada Muzeja bila obeležena izložbom *Gradska nošnja u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka*, koja je održana od 6. novembra do 20. decembra 1980. godine<sup>8</sup>.

Odlaskom Dobrile Stojanović sa mesta kustosa Zbirke tekstila i kostima, ova dinamika se menja zajedno sa sakupljačkom i izlagačkom politikom zbirke, koja se okreće ka afirmaciji tradicionalnih veština proizvodnje i ukrašavanja tekstila, kao što su tkanje i vez. Modni predmeti na izložbi *Umetnički vez u Srbiji 1804–1904*, koja je održana u Muzeju od 6. novembra 1994. do 12. februara 1995. godine, birani su pre svega prema kriterijumu umetničko-istorijske vrednosti svoje vezene dekoracije<sup>9</sup>, dok je izložba *Pirotski ćilimi*, održana od 6. novembra 2001. do 10. februara 2002. godine, zatvorena revijom modela modne kuće *Mona*, koji su bili inspirisani izloženim materijalom<sup>10</sup>.

Sledeća muzejska modna izložba događa se tek 2000. godine, na pedesetogodišnjicu rada Muzeja. U pitanju je izložba *Moda u Beogradu: 1918–1941*<sup>11</sup>, koja je privukla veliku pažnju javnosti, dok je kustos Muzeja, mr. Bojana Popović, nagrađena prestižnim nagradama struke—nagradom za najbolju autorsku izložbu Društva istoričara umetnosti Srbije i nagradom „Pavle Vasić“ za objavljeni tekst iz oblasti primenjene umetnosti i dizajna, koju dodeljuje Udruženje likovnih umetnika primenjenih umetnosti i dizajnera Srbije (ULUPUDS)<sup>12</sup>.

7 – Kustosi izložbe bili su dr Sergej Vrišer i Marjetica Simoniti iz Pokrajinskog muzeja u Mariboru, v. Vrišer, Sergej. *Odeća iz zbirke Pokrajinskog muzeja u Mariboru*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1976.

8 – Kustos izložbe bila je Dobrila Stojanović, v. Stojanović, Dobrila. *Gradska nošnja u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1980.

9 – Kustos izložbe bila je Milena Vitković-Žikić iz Muzeja primenjene umetnosti, v. Vitković-Žikić, Milena. *Umetnički vez u Srbiji 1804–1904 = Artistic Embroidery in Serbia 1804–1904*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 1994.

10 – Kustos izložbe bila je Milena Vitković-Žikić, v. idem, Vitković-Žikić Milena. *Pirotski ćilim = Les kilims de Pirot*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2001.

11 – Popović, Bojana. *Moda u Beogradu : 1918–1941*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2000.

12 – Rakonjac 2015: 23.

from the public, and the museum's curator Bojana Popović, MA, was the recipient of two prestigious professional awards—the best original exhibition award from the Serbian society of art historians, and the “Pavle Vasić” award for published work in the field of applied arts and design from the Association of Applied Arts Artists and Designers of Serbia (ULUPUDS)<sup>12</sup>. Unlike previous fashion exhibitions realized within the Textile and costume collection, this exhibition of historical fashion was realized within the Contemporary applied art and design collection.

Contemporary applied art and design collection was established in 1966 as a turning point in the museum's operational organization. Unlike “historic” collections, formed according to the items held in them, the new collection was formed to encompass all the areas of contemporary applied art from 1918 onwards. The new collection's concept is based on the idea that “in contemporary industrial production, material is not of vital significance for aesthetic and formal qualities of an item as it was historically” forcing the “principle of xy based on unique stylistic features”.<sup>13</sup>

A large number of historical fashion artefacts was taken from the Textile and costume collection and transferred to the newly-founded Contemporary applied art and design collection. The selection was not done consistently from the very beginning which resulted in a significant number of garments, accessories, carpets, kilims, and other items produced after 1918 and present in the Textile and costume collection in 1966 still being part of it today. This made it much more difficult to create a unified acquisition policy and continuously study the development of individual fashion items and occurrences. What is more, directing necessary museum resources towards following contemporary fashion was not achieved.

Fashion museums occupy important positions in the international museum scene and fashion exhibitions achieve blockbuster status. This global trend is reflected in the exhibition programmes of Serbian museums as well. An important incentive for the return of fashion on the Serbian museum scene was the International Committee for Museums and Collections of Costume's (ICOM Costume) annual conference

12 – Rakonjac 2015: 23.

13 – Rakonjac 2015: 15.

Za razliku od prethodnih modnih izložbi koje su realizovane u okviru Zbirke tekstila i kostima, ova izložba istorijske mode realizovana je u okviru Zbirke savremene primenjene umetnosti i dizajna.

Osnivanje Zbirke savremene primenjene umetnosti i dizajna 1966. godine predstavljalo je značajnu prekretnicu u organizaciji rada Muzeja. Za razliku od „istorijskih” zbirki, formiranih prema materijalu koji se u njima čuva, nova zbirka je koncipirana tako da prati sve oblasti savremene primenjene umetnosti od 1918. godine pa nadalje. Konceptcija nove zbirke zasnovana je na stavu da „materijal u savremenoj industrijskoj proizvodnji nije od presudnog značaja za estetska i formalna svojstva predmeta, kao što je to bio slučaj u prošlosti”, zbog čega se nameće „princip obrade na osnovu jedinstvenih stilskih obeležja”<sup>13</sup>.

Osnivanjem Zbirke savremene primenjene umetnosti i dizajna, veliki broj istorijskih modnih artefakata izdvojen je iz Zbirke tekstila i kostima i pripojen novoosnovanoj zbirci. Ovo izdvajanje već na samom početku nije sprovedeno dosledno, pa se u Zbirci tekstila i kostima i danas nalazi značajan broj odevnih predmeta, modnih detalja, tepiha, ćilima i drugih predmeta koji su nastali u periodu posle 1918. godine, a koji su se 1966. godine zatekli u zbirci. Ovakva podela umnogome je otežala uspostavljanje jedinstvene politike nabavke predmeta i kontinuirano proučavanje razvoja pojedinih modnih predmeta i pojava, ne uspevši pri tome da preusmeri neophodan deo muzejskih resursa na praćenje savremene mode.

Muzeji mode danas zauzimaju važna mesta na globalnoj muzejskoj sceni, dok modne izložbe dobijaju status blokbestera. Ovaj globalni trend odrazio se i na izlagački program muzeja u Srbiji, pri čemu je važan podsticaj za povratak mode na srpsku muzejsku scenu predstavljala Godišnja konferencija Komiteta za kostim Međunarodnog saveta muzeja (ICOM Costume), održana u Beogradu od 25. do 30. septembra 2011. godine, sa temom *Između: kultura odevanja između Istoka i Zapada*. Na inicijativu organizatora, Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu, konferenciju je pratila manifestacija *Mesec odevanja u Srbiji*, u okviru koje je 20 kulturnih institucija u Beogradu i Novom Sadu realizovalo program od 27 izložbi<sup>14</sup>.

13 – Rakonjac 2015: 15.

14 – Balaša, Vanja. „Između—kultura odevanja između Istoka i Zapada.” *ICOM Srbija : časopis Nacionalnog komiteta međunarodnog saveta muzeja—Srbija* 1, 2011: 16.



held in Belgrade from September 25 until September 30, 2011. The topic was *In Between—Culture of dress between the East and the West* and it was organized by the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. At the organizer's initiative, the conference was accompanied by the *A month of dressing in Serbia* event which consisted of 20 cultural institutions holding 27 exhibitions in Belgrade and Novi Sad<sup>14</sup>.

Museum of Applied Art participated in the event with its *Wedding dresses in Serbia in the second half of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century from the collection of MAA* exhibition held from September 22 until December 31, 2011<sup>15</sup>. In the following years, the museum continued holding smaller exhibitions of its fashion collections such as *Ah, the shoes!: Women's footwear in the 19th and the 20th century from the Museum of Applied Art collections* (2013)<sup>16</sup>, *Bags*<sup>17</sup> (2015) and *Aleksandar Joksimović: from the Museum of Applied Art collection* (2015)<sup>18</sup>.

From March, 2012 until February 2015, Museum of Applied Art participated in the *European Fashion* international project for digitalization of fashion heritage. 22 partners from 12 European countries took part in the project whose aim was to create a thematic aggregator of digital content in the field of fashion. For the duration of the project,

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14 – Van Balaša, Vanja. „Između – kultura odevanja između Istoka i Zapada.” *ICOM Srbija : časopis Nacionalnog komiteta međunarodnog saveta muzeja—Srbija* 1, 2011: 16.

15 – The exhibition was curated by Draginja Maskareli of the Museum of Applied Art, see Draginja Maskareli. *Venčane haljine u Srbiji u drugoj polovini XIX. i početkom XX. Veka iz kolekcije MPU = Wedding Dresses in Serbia in the Second Half of the 19th and at the Beginning of the 20th Century from the Collection of MAA*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2011.

16 – The exhibition was held from May 16, 2013 until January 8, 2014 and was curated by Bojana Popović and Draginja Maskareli, see Bojana Popović and Draginja Maskareli. *Ah, te cipele! : Ženska obuća iz XIX i XX veka iz kolekcija Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2013.

17 – The exhibition was held from May 11 until May 30, 2015 and was curated by Draginja Maskareli, see Draginja Maskareli. *Tašnice = Bags*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2015.

18 – The exhibition was held from September 9 until October 30, 2015 and was curated by Bojana Popović, see Bojana Popović. *Aleksandar Joksimović : iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2015.

Muzej primenjene umetnosti učestvovao je u manifestaciji izložbom *Venčane haljine u Srbiji u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka* iz kolekcije MPU, koja je održana od 22. septembra do 31. decembra 2011. godine<sup>15</sup>. Narednih godina, Muzej je nastavio sa realizacijom manjih izložbi pojedinačnih muzejskih modnih kolekcija kao što su: *Ah, te cipele! : Ženska obuća iz XIX i XX veka iz kolekcija Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* (2013)<sup>16</sup>, *Tašnice* (2015)<sup>17</sup> i *Aleksandar Joksimović: iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti* (2015)<sup>18</sup>.

Od marta 2012. do februara 2015. godine Muzej primenjene umetnosti učestvovao je u međunarodnom projektu digitalizacije modnog nasleđa *Europeana Fashion*. Cilj projekta, u kome je učestvovalo 22 partnera iz 12 evropskih zemalja, bila je izrada tematskog agregatora digitalnih modnih sadržaja. Tokom projekta, Muzej je stavio u režim slobodnog pristupa 5.585 predmeta iz svojih modnih zbirki koji su danas dostupni na portalu *Europeana*. U okviru projekta, u saradnji sa Vikimedijom Srbije, 18. oktobra 2014. godine, Muzej je organizovao i modni uređivački maraton (edit-a-thon), koji je okupio više od četrdeset učesnika: muzejskih kustosa, profesora i studenata modnog dizajna, modnih kreatora, stilista i novinara<sup>19</sup>.

Takođe, Muzej primenjene umetnosti bio je domaćin pojedinih događaja koji su organizovani u okviru Beogradske nedelje mode (Belgrade Fashion Week). Među ovim događajima izdvaja se izložba *Između prošlosti i budućnosti*:

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15 – Kustos izložbe bila je Draginja Maskareli iz Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu, v. Maskareli, Draginja. *Venčane haljine u Srbiji u drugoj polovini XIX i početkom XX veka iz kolekcije MPU = Wedding Dresses in Serbia in Second Half of the 19th and Beginning of 20th Century from the Collection of MAA*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2011.

16 – Izložba je održana od 16. maja 2013. do 8. januara 2014. godine, a kustosi su bili Bojana Popović i Draginja Maskareli, v. Popović, Bojana, Maskareli, Draginja. *Ah, te cipele! : Ženska obuća iz XIX i XX veka iz kolekcija Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2013.

17 – Izložba je održana od 11. do 30. maja 2015. godine, a kustos je bila Draginja Maskareli, v. Maskareli, Draginja. *Tašnice = Bags*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2015.

18 – Izložba je održana od 9. septembra do 30. oktobra 2015. godine, a kustos je bila Bojana Popović, v. Popović, Bojana. *Aleksandar Joksimović : iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2015.

19 – Suls, Dieter. „Europeana Fashion: Past, Present and Future.” *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 11, 2015: 45–48.; Maskareli, Draginja. „Projekat Europeana Fashion.” *ICOM Srbija: časopis Nacionalnog komiteta međunarodnog saveta muzeja—Srbija* 5, 2015: 91–93.



the museum allowed open access to 5,585 items from its fashion collections which are now available on the *Europeana* portal. As part of the project and in cooperation with Wikimedia Serbia, the museum organized an edit-a-thon on October 18, 2014 with more than 40 participants: museum curators, professors and students of fashion design, fashion designers, stylists, and journalists<sup>19</sup>.

In addition, Museum of Applied Art hosted individual events organized as part of the Belgrade Fashion Week. The exhibition that stood out was the *Between past and future: 25 years of fashion design in Serbia* held as part of Belgrade Fashion Week anniversary celebrations from October 27 until November 19, 2016. It presented the development of contemporary fashion scene from the 1990s by showcasing models by Ingrid Huljev, Doda Komad, Jasmina Sanader, Maja Nedeljković Davidovac, Dragana Ognjenović, Valentina Obradović, Igor Todorović, Bata Spasojević, and others whose work left a mark of the fashion scene of the previous decades<sup>20</sup>.

The last big fashion exhibition, entitled *Fashion in Modern Serbia: Fashion in Serbia in the 19th and the early 20th centuries in the collection of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade*, was held at the Museum of Applied Art from November 6, 2019 until January 31, 2020. The exhibits bore witness to the dynamic changes in the fashion system and the society in Serbia in the 19th century accompanied by building new cultural models with local specificities and acquiring cultural models of urban Europe.

The exhibition emphasized the role of fashion in the visual representation and construction of individuals' identities of ruling families and the middle class by interpreting fashion as a part of visual culture. Specific national costume, created after 1830 from nationalized elements

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19 – Suls, Dieter. „Europeana Fashion: Past, Present and Future.” *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 11, 2015: 45–48.; Maskareli, Draginja. „Projekat Europeana Fashion.” *ICOM Srbija : časopis Nacionalnog komiteta međunarodnog saveta muzeja –Srbija* 5, 2015: 91–93.

20 – The exhibition was curated by Ksenija Marković Božović, MA, and Nenad Radujević of the Click fashion studio, see Jelena Kavaja. “Mnogo je Roksandi Ilinčić u Srbiji, ali im treba podrška.” *Politika*, October 27, 2016. Url: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/366604/Mnogo-je-Roksandi-Ilincic-u-Srbiji-ali-im-treba-podrška> (accessed October, 27, 2016)

25 godina autorske modne scene u Srbiji, koja je održana u Muzeju od 27. oktobra do 19. novembra 2016. godine, u okviru obeležavanja jubileja Beogradske nedelje mode. Na izložbi je prikazan razvoj savremene modne scene od devedesetih godina dvadesetog veka, a publika je imala prilike da vidi modele Ingrid Huljev, Dode Komad, Jasmine Sanader, Maje Nedeljković Davidovac, Dragane Ognjenović, Valentine Obradović, Igora Todorovića, Bate Spasojevića i drugih autora čiji je rad obeležio modnu scenu prethodnih decenija<sup>20</sup>.

Poslednja velika modna izložba, *Moda u modernoj Srbiji: Moda u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu*, održana je u Muzeju primenjene umetnosti od 6. novembra 2019. do 31. januara 2020. godine. Materijal predstavljen na izložbi svedočio je o dinamičnim promenama modnog sistema i društva u Srbiji XIX veka, praćenih izgradnjom novih kulturnih modela s lokalnim specifičnostima i usvajanjem kulturnih modela građanske Evrope.

Izložba je stavila naglasak na ulogu mode u vizuelnoj reprezentaciji i konstruisanju identiteta pojedinaca, pripadnika vladarskih porodica i građanske klase, tumačeći modu kao deo vizuelne kulture. Na taj način, u okvirima novoprihvaćenog evropskog modnog sistema sagledan je i specifični nacionalni kostim, konstruisan posle 1830. godine od nacionalizovanih elemenata preuzetih iz „tradicionalnog” osmansko-balkanskog odevnog asortimana. Izložba je prikazala i značajne promene koje u ovom periodu nisu bile vidljive samo u oblicima odeće, već i u načinu njene proizvodnje i tržišnog plasmana, prateći put koji je moda u XIX veku prešla od osmansko-balkanskog kulturnog modela do ulaska u evropski sistem *moderne* mode<sup>21</sup>.

Tokom prvih sedam decenija postojanja, jedan od zadataka Muzeja primenjene umetnosti bio je i kontinuirani rad na muzealizaciji mode u Srbiji. Prateći razvoj ovog važnog segmenta muzejske delatnosti, ovaj rad nastoji da povuče muzeološku paralelu između prve modne izložbe koja je realizovana u

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20 – Kustosi izložbe bili su mr Ksenija Marković Božović i Nenad Radujević iz modnog studija Click, v. Kavaja, Jelena. „Mnogo je Roksandi Ilinčić u Srbiji, ali im treba podrška.” *Politika* 27, 2016. Url: <http://www.politika.rs/sr/clanak/366604/Mnogo-je-Roksandi-Ilincic-u-Srbiji-ali-im-treba-podrška> (pristupljeno 27. 12. 2020.)

21 – Maskareli, Draginja. *Moda u modernoj Srbiji : Moda u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka iz Zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu = Fashion in Modern Serbia : Fashion in Serbia in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the collection of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade*. Beograd: Muzej primenjene umetnosti, 2019: 18–19, 74–75.



Sl. 2. – Izložba *Moda u modernoj Srbiji*, Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, 2019–2020. (Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, fotografija Veselin Milunović) / Fig. 2 – Exhibition *Fashion in Modern Serbia: Fashion in the 19th and the early 20th centuries in the collection of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade*, Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, 2019–2020. (Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, photo by Veselin Milunović)

taken from the “traditional” Ottoman-Balkan clothing assortment, was viewed in the same way, within the framework of the newly accepted European fashion system. In addition, the exhibition presented significant changes not only in the types of clothing but also in the way it was produced and placed on the market by following the path fashion took in the 19th century from the Ottoman-Balkan cultural model to its entry into the European system of *modern* fashion<sup>21</sup>.

During its first 70 years, one of the museum’s tasks was to continuously work on musealisation of fashion in Serbia. This paper follows the development of this important segment of the museum’s activities and tries to draw a museological parallel between the first fashion exhibition realized by the museum in 1966, *Women’s fashion from the mid-19th century to the 1930s* and the last one opened in November, 2019, *Fashion in modern Serbia*<sup>22</sup>.

The 1966 exhibition was accompanied by a modest, 15 pages mimeographed catalogue with an introduction and catalogue units but without illustrations. In line with the museological trends at the time, the exhibition was focused only on women’s fashion. The name of the exhibition did not include a marker of nationality, however, its connection to national history and fashion was defined in the introduction of the catalogue. Among other, “by gaining independence and enriching the middle class in Serbia, a number of inevitable changes occurred including changes in dressing inspired by European centres such as Vienna, Pest, and Paris<sup>23</sup>”.

131 items were presented at the exhibition. They were classified in the catalogue according to types and then chronologically: dresses, blouses,

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21 – Maskareli, Draginja. *Moda u modernoj Srbiji : Moda u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka iz Zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu = Fashion in Modern Serbia : Fashion in Serbia in the 19th and early 20th centuries in the collection of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade*. Belgrade: Museum of Applied Art, 2019: 18–19, 74–75.

22 – If we drew a thematic parallel, instead of the museological, we would compare *Fashion in modern Serbia* (2019) to *Urban costume in Serbia in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century* (1980) as both exhibitions cover the changes in the fashion system and society in the same time span, see Maskareli 2017: 26; Maskareli 2019: 16.

23 – Stojanović 1966: 1.

produkciji Muzeja 1966. godine, *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka*, i poslednje muzejske modne izložbe, *Moda u modernoj Srbiji*, koja je otvorena u novembru 2019. godine<sup>22</sup>.

Izložbu iz 1966. godine pratio je skroman, šapirografisan katalog, bez ilustracija, obima 15 strana, sa uvodnim tekstom i kataloškim jedinicama. U skladu sa tadašnjim muzeološkim trendovima, izložba je bila fokusirana samo na žensku modu. Naziv izložbe nije sadržavao nacionalnu odrednicu, ali je njena veza sa nacionalnom istorijom i modom definisana u uvodnom tekstu kataloga, gde je, između ostalog, naglašeno da „dobijanjem samostalnosti i obogaćivanjem građanskog društva u Srbiji dolazi do niza neminovnih promena, pa i izmena u odevanju”, pri čemu „uzori u odevanju postaju evropski centri Beč, Pešta i Pariz”<sup>23</sup>.

Na izložbi je prikazan 131 predmet, koji su u katalogu klasifikovani prema vrstama, a zatim hronološki: haljine, bluže, okovratnici, šalovi, ogrtači i kaputi, šeširi, rukavice, torbice i tašne, maramice, lepeze, suncobrani, rublje, čarape, obuća i razni detalji. Na sličan način predmeti su grupisani i na izložbenoj postavci, gde je, kao dodatno sredstvo komunikacije, korišćen bogat dokumentarni materijal: slikani ženski portreti iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu, kao i ženski fotografski portreti i stranice ilustrovanih modnih časopisa iz zbirke Muzeja primenjene umetnosti<sup>24</sup>.

Godine 2019. na izložbi je prikazan 81 predmet, dok na postavci i u pratećem katalogu nisu korišćeni linearni narativi, kao što je klasifikacija predmeta prema vrstama i hronologiji. Izloženi materijal obuhvata i žensku i mušku modu, dok su odabrani predmeti organizovani u „sekvence”, od kojih svaka prikazuje i tumači pojedinačne modne fenomene XIX i početka XX veka, kako na lokalnom tako i na globalnom nivou. Materijal prezentovan na izložbi i u katalogu podeljen je u sledeće celine: *Gradska nošnja i nacionalni kostim*, „Tradicija” i „moda”, *Zanati, trgovina i industrija*, *Doba „moderne” mode*, *Modne siluete*, *Muška moda* i *Hiljadu grana*.

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22 – Ukoliko bismo umesto muzeološke, povlačili sadržajno-tematsku paralelu, izložbu *Moda u modernoj Srbiji* (2019) uporedili bismo sa izložbom *Gradska nošnja u Srbiji u XIX i početkom XX veka* (1980), s obzirom na to da su obe izložbe pratile isti vremenski period kroz promene modnog sistema i društveno-istorijske promene, v. Maskareli 2017: 26; Maskareli 2019: 16.

23 – Stojanović 1966: 1.

24 – Ibid., 3–15; Maskareli 2017: 23; spisak izloženih portreta iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu nije sačuvan u muzejskoj dokumentaciji.



collars, scarves, cloaks and coats, hats, gloves, purses and bags, handkerchiefs, fans, parasols, underwear, socks, footwear, and various accessories. The items were grouped in a similar way in the exhibition accompanied, as an additional means of communication, by ample documentary material: painted portraits of women from the National museum in Belgrade's collection as well as photographic portraits of women and pages from illustrated fashion magazines from the collection of the Museum of Applied Art<sup>24</sup>.

81 items were presented at the 2019 exhibition but were not exhibited following a linear narrative such as classification according to the type or in chronological order, nor presented in such a way in the accompanying catalogue. The exhibits included both women's and men's fashion and selected items were organized in "sequences" each one representing and interpreting individual fashion phenomena of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, locally and globally. The items presented in the exhibition and the catalogue were divided in the following segments: *Urban clothing and national costume*, "Tradition" and "fashion", *Crafts, trade and industry*, *The age of "modern" fashion*, *Fashion silhouettes*, *Men's fashion*, and *A thousand branches*.

Although both exhibitions use the word "fashion" in their names, the selection of the exhibits bears witness to the change in understanding of what fashion is. The 1966 exhibition presented "fashion" only as items coming from western, European fashion, while the 2019 exhibition, in line with contemporary definitions of fashion<sup>25</sup>, follows the development of the fashion system within the framework of pluralism of cultural models which ruled the 19th century Serbia. In order to

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24 – Ibid., 3–15; Maskareli 2017: 23; a list of portraits from the collection of the National museum exhibited in this exhibition was not kept.

25 – According to one of the contemporary definitions, fashion is the clothing that is desirable at a given moment and time. Furthermore, whenever a certain person (consciously or unconsciously) prefers one bodily decoration over another, we can talk about fashion, see Entwistle, Joanne. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 2000: 1; Jansen, Maria Angela; Craik, Jennifer. "Introduction." *Fashioning Traditions: Negotiating Tradition and Modernity through Fashion*, ur. Maria Angela Jansen and Jennifer Craik. London: Bloomsbury, 2016: 8.

26 – Keiser, Susan. *Fashion and Cultural Studies*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013: 2–3.

Iako obe izložbe u naslovu koriste odrednicu „moda”, izbor izloženih predmeta svedoči o promeni u njenom razumevanju, koja se u međuvremenu dogodila. Na izložbi iz 1966. godine pod „modom” se podrazumevaju samo predmeti iz korpusa zapadne, evropske mode, dok izložba iz 2019. godine, u skladu sa savremenim definicijama mode<sup>25</sup>, prati razvoj modnog sistema u okviru pluralizma kulturnih modela, koji je vladao u Srbiji u XIX veku. Nastojeći da izbegne binarne kategorije „zapadne” i „ostale” odeće<sup>26</sup>, izložba iz 2019. godine pod odrednicu „moda” stavlja i predmete iz korpusa gradske nošnje, koji su preuzeti iz osmanskog modnog sistema, da bi kasnije, u okviru novoprihvaćenog evropskog modnog sistema, bili konvertovani u nacionalni kostim.

Dok na fotografijama izložbe iz 1966. godine vidimo, kao deo postavke, originalne slikane i fotografske ženske portrete, kao i listove iz ilustrovanih modnih časopisa, izložba iz 2019. godine koristi savremene tehnologije reprodukcija dokumentarnog materijala—svi slikani i fotografski portreti, modne ilustracije, modni oglasi i dr. predstavljeni su na postavci u vidu digitalno štampanih reprodukcija. Na ovaj način, u izložbenu postavku i katalog uključen je materijal iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu, Istorijskog muzeja Srbije, Muzeja grada Beograda, Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja u Beogradu, Narodne biblioteke Srbije i Jugoslovenske kinoteke.

Osim standardnih printova na zidovima, posebnu vrstu interakcije sa postavkom i komunikacije sa prostorom ulice ostvarili su monumentalni dvostrani printovi na prozorskim površinama galerije, vidljivi i spolja i iznutra. „Videla sam potencijal u velikim prozorskim površinama na kojima je svakako moralo da se interveniše zbog svetla. [...] Iskoristila sam ta velika platna kao deo scenografije, shvatila da moraju da ostanu u komadu, nedeljena, da nema usitnjavanja. Napravili smo niz velikih crno-

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25 – Prema jednoj od savremenih definicija, pod modom se podrazumeva odeća koja je poželjna u datom trenutku i vremenu. Shodno tome, čim određena osoba (svesno ili nesvesno) pretpostavlja jedan telesni ukras drugom, može se govoriti o modi, v. Entwistle, Joanne. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge, Oxford: Polity Press, 2000: 1; Jansen, Maria Angela; Craik, Jennifer. "Introduction." *Fashioning Traditions: Negotiating Tradition and Modernity through Fashion*, ur. Maria Angela Jansen and Jennifer Craik. London: Bloomsbury, 2016: 8.

26 – Keiser, Susan. *Fashion and Cultural Studies*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013: 2–3.





Sl. 3. – Izložba *Moda u modernoj Srbiji*, Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, 2019–2020. (Muzej primenjene umetnosti, Beograd, fotografija Veselin Milunović) / Fig. 3 – Exhibition *Fashion in modern Serbia*, Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, 2019–2020. (Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade, photo by Veselin Milunović)

avoid binary categories of “western” and “other” clothing<sup>26</sup>, the 2019 exhibition subsumes urban clothing taken from the Ottoman fashion system, and later converted into national costume under the newly accepted European fashion system, under the term fashion.

While we see original painted and photographed women’s portraits as well as pages from illustrated fashion magazines as part of the 1966 exhibition, the 2019 exhibition uses contemporary technologies of reproducing documentary materials—all painted and photographed portraits, fashion illustrations, etc., are presented in the exhibition as digitally printed reproductions. This way, the exhibition includes materials from the National Museum in Belgrade, Historical Museum of Serbia, Belgrade City Museum, Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, National Library of Serbia, and the Yugoslav Film Archive.

Apart from standards posters on the walls, a special type of communication with the street was achieved through monumental two-sided decals on the gallery’s windows visible from the outside and the inside. “I saw a potential in large windows which required an intervention anyway due to light. [...] I used these big canvases as part of the scenery, realized they have to stay in one piece, undivided, that there should not be any reduction in size. We made a series of large black and white posters, photographs, and drawings which follow this story of fashion, but also serve as a background and support for the exhibits”, Aleksandra Tosman, the architect of the exhibition, explained<sup>27</sup>.

Alongside portraits created by painting, graphics, and photography as well as other printed documentary materials, the 2019 exhibition uses film recordings, too. The first Serbian ethnological film *One Serbian village wedding*, filmed in 1911 by a Hungarian film maker Louis de Beéry in Majdevo near Kruševac and kept in the Yugoslav Film Archive, was shown as part of the exhibition<sup>28</sup>.

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27 – Pražić, Bojana. „Kako su se nosili naši stari kad su bili mladi.” *Arhitekton*, 1. decembar 2019. Url: <http://arhitekton.net/kako-su-se-nosili-nasi-stari-kad-su-bili-mladi/> (accessed September, 1, 2019)

28 – Erdeljanović, Aleksandar Saša. „Producent Svetozar Botorić i njegovi filmovi.” *Novi filmograf: portal za bolju kinematografiju*. Url: <http://www.novifilmograf.com/producent-svetozar-botoric-i-njegovi-filmovi/> (accessed January, 17, 2020)

belih printova, fotografija i crteža koji takođe prate ovu priču o modi, ali su i pozadina i podrška eksponatima”, objasnila je arhitekta postavke, Aleksandra Tosman<sup>27</sup>.

Pored portreta u tehnikama slikarstva, grafike i fotografije, kao i drugog štampanog dokumentarnog materijala, izložba iz 2019. godine koristi i filmski zapis. U okviru izložbene postavke emitovan je prvi sprski etnološki film *Jedna seoska srpska svadba*, koji je 1911. godine snimio mađarski sineasta Luj de Beri (Louis de Beéry) u Majdevu kod Kruševca i koji se čuva u Jugoslovenskoj kinoteci<sup>28</sup>.

Kroz svoj prateći program, obe izložbe su povezale modu prošlosti sa aktuelnim modnim trenutkom. U prostoru izložbe iz 1966. godine održana je, u saradnji sa modnom kućom *Centrotexstil*, revija modnog kreatora Aleksandra Joksimovića (1933). Tadašnja Mis Jugoslavije, Dubrovčanka Nikica Marinović (1947–2008), prikazala je na reviji kolekciju specijalnih modela koju je Joksimović kreirao povodom njenog učešća na izboru za Mis sveta (Miss World) u Londonu, gde je bila izabrana za prvu pratilju<sup>29</sup>.

Dok su na pratećoj reviji iz 1966. godine prikazani komadi visoke mode, dizajnirani za određenu osobu i posebnu priliku, otvaranje izložbe iz 2019. godine pratila je prezentacija *prêt-à-porter* modne linije *Love by Valentina*, modne kreatorke Valentine Obradović. U vidu modnih vinjeta, prezentovani su elegantni i praktični savremeni modeli, inspirisani modom poslednje decenije XIX veka, čiji su elementi, poput puf rukava, ponovo u trendu već nekoliko sezona koje su prethodile otvaranju izložbe<sup>30</sup>.

Kada je reč o interaktivnosti i korišćenju savremenih tehnologija, na izložbi iz 1966. godine nailazimo na jednostavan rani primer korišćenja

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27 – Pražić, Bojana. „Kako su se nosili naši stari kad su bili mladi.” *Arhitekton*, 1. decembar 2019. Url: <http://arhitekton.net/kako-su-se-nosili-nasi-stari-kad-su-bili-mladi/> (pristupljeno 27. 12. 2020.)

28 – Erdeljanović, Aleksandar Saša. „Producent Svetozar Botorić i njegovi filmovi.” *Novi filmograf: portal za bolju kinematografiju*. Url: <http://www.novifilmograf.com/producent-svetozar-botoric-i-njegovi-filmovi/> (pristupljeno 17. 01. 2020.)

29 – Revija je održana 22. decembra 1966, v. Maskareli 2017: 24.

30 – V.R. „Puf rukavi—trend koji se vraća velikom brzinom.” *Harper’s Bazaar*, 27. jul 2018. Url: <http://www.harpersbazaar.rs/moda/street-style/puf-rukavi-trend-koji-se-vraca-velikom-brzinom>

Both exhibitions connected the fashion of the past with the current fashion moment through its accompanying programme. During the 1966 exhibition, a fashion show by the designer Aleksandar Joksimović (1933) was held in cooperation with *Centrotexil* fashion house. The then Miss Yugoslavia, Nikica Marinović from Dubrovnik (1947–2008), wore the collection of special models designed by Joksimović for her participation in the Miss World contest where she won first runner-up<sup>29</sup>.

While couture items designed for a specific person and occasion were shown at the 1966 fashion show, a pret-a-porter show of *Love by Valentina* clothing line by the designer Valentina Obradović was held at the opening of the 2019 exhibition. Elegant and practical contemporary models inspired by 1890s fashion, whose elements such as leg of mutton sleeves are back in trend for the last few seasons, were presented in the form of fashion vignettes<sup>30</sup>.

When discussing interaction and using modern technologies, the 1966 exhibition was an early example of using simple multimedia as a museum's communication tool in Serbia. Namely, period music was played at the exhibition during its entire span<sup>31</sup>.

The interactive segment of the 2019 exhibition, entitled *Point of contact*, was not realized by digital technologies which have otherwise conquered museums. This segment, unlike others, was conceptualized in such a way that allowed visitors to touch the exhibits. In other words, *Point of contact* enabled them to interact with three characteristic fibres that were, and are still, used in clothing production: cotton, wool, and silk. Fibres were presented to be seen and touched in their raw form, as spun yarn, and finally as various fabrics, for example woven cotton or silk satin.

Interaction with visitors by using digital technologies was realized only towards the end of the exhibition. As part of the *PlayUK* festival

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29 – The fashion show was held on December 22, 1966, see Maskareli 2017: 24.

30 – V. R., "Puf rukavi—trend koji se vraća velikom brzinom", Harper's Bazaar, July 27, 2018, <http://www.harpersbazaar.rs/moda/street-style/puf-rukavi-trend-koji-se-vraca-velikom-brzinom>.

31 – Maskareli 2017: 23; unfortunately, more detailed information of what music was played at the exhibition was not kept in the museum's records.

multimedije u Srbiji kao muzejske alatke za komunikaciju. Naime, na izložbi je, tokom celog njenog trajanja, reprodukovana muzika iz epohe<sup>31</sup>.

Interaktivni deo postavke iz 2019. godine, nazvan *Tačka kontakta*, nije realizovan uz pomoć digitalnih tehnologija, koje su uveliko osvojile muzejske prostore. Ovaj deo postavke, za razliku od ostalih, bio je koncipiran tako da je u njemu posetiocima bilo dozvoljeno da dodiruju izložene predmete. Naime, *Tačka kontakta* omogućila im je interakciju sa tri karakteristična vlakna koja su se nekada koristila (i još uvek se koriste) u proizvodnji odeće: pamukom, vunom i svilom. Vlakna su bila postavljena na taj način da su posetioci dobili priliku da ih dodirnu i sagledaju, prvo u sirovom obliku, zatim kao upredene niti, i na kraju, kao različite vrste tkanina, npr. pamučno platno ili svileni saten.

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Interakcija sa posetiocima uz korišćenje digitalnih tehnologija ostvarena je tek u završnom delu izložbe. U okviru festivala *PlayUK*, koji organizuje Britanski savet (British Council), na izložbi je od 22. do 31. januara 2020. godine prezentovana muzejska aplikacija *Gift*. Ova aplikacija, koju je razvila umetnička grupa *Blast Theory* iz Brajtona, omogućila je posetiocima da koristeći svoje smart telefone pošalju odabrane modne predmete prikazane na izložbi kao virtuelni dar svojim kontaktima<sup>32</sup>.

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31 – Maskareli 2017: 23; nažalost, detaljnije informacije o plejlisti sa izložbe nisu sačuvane u muzejskoj dokumentaciji.

32 – *Gift: Give a Museum Experience to Someone You Love*. Url: <https://gifting.digital/gift-experience/> (pristupljeno 14. 01. 2020.); po završetku izložbe, predmeti koji su predstavljani u okviru aplikacije premešteni su na stalnu postavku Muzeja. Na ovaj način, aplikacija je nastavila da funkcioniše, a posetiocima je i u narednim mesecima omogućena interakcija sa modnim predmetima.



organized by the British Council, museum application Gift was presented at the exhibition from January 22 until January 31, 2020. This application, developed by the art group *Blast Theory* from Brighton, enabled the visitors to send chosen fashion items from the exhibition as a virtual present to their contacts by using their smartphones<sup>32</sup>.

In accordance with the active role of the museum, demanded by the current times, a rich accompanying programme was organized during the 2019 exhibition—a series of *Lectures on Wednesday* and *Guided Fridays*. Lecturers and associates of the university as well as museum experts from Serbia and abroad participated in the *Lectures on Wednesdays* series by holding lectures on various topics related to 19th century and early 20th century fashion. The lectures were to supplement and expand the content of the exhibition segments, and the topics included: different forms of men's urban costume in the 19th century, urban costume and women's portraits in the 19th century, fashion rhetoric and identity construction in photographs, military uniform and fashion, Jewish funeral photography as source for fashion and identity studies, history of British fashion house *Redfern* and its influence on development of *modern* fashion, and women's costume from the late Ottoman period<sup>33</sup>.

*Guided Fridays* consisted of visitors being guided through the exhibition by visiting guides: fashion designers, authors, journalists, actors. Instead of the usual guiding by the curator, this was achieved as a dialogue between the exhibition's curator and visiting guides in which each visiting guide commented on the exhibition from the perspective of their own profession and interest. This way, the visitors had an opportunity to hear how one feels wearing a historic costume on set, what is the relationship between fashion and architecture, how important is

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32 – “Gift : Give a Museum Experience to Someone You Love”, The Gift Box : Tools and Ways of Working to Help Museums Make Richer Digital Experiences for Their Visitor <https://gifting.digital/gift-experience/> (accessed January 14, 2020); after the exhibition ended, the items presented in the application were transferred to the museum's permanent exhibition. This way, the application continued to work enabling the visitors to interact with the fashion items in the following months.

33 – *Predavanja sredom*. Muzej primenjene umetnosti. Url: <http://mpu.rs/izlozbe/moda-u-modernoj-srbiji/predavanja-sredom> (accessed January, 17, 2020)

U skladu sa aktivnom ulogom muzeja, koju zahteva današnje vreme, tokom izložbe iz 2019. godine bio je organizovan bogat prateći program—ciklusi *Predavanja sredom* i *Vođenja petkom*. U ciklusu *Predavanja sredom* učestvovali su nastavnici i saradnici univerziteta i muzejski stručnjaci iz Srbije i inostranstva, koji su svake srede držali predavanja na različite teme vezane za modu XIX i početka XX veka. Predavanja su bila zamišljena tako da dopune i prošire sadržaj izložbenih sekvenci, a neke od tema bile su: modaliteti muškog građanskog kostima u XIX veku, građanski kostim i portreti žena u XIX veku, retorika mode i konstrukcija identiteta na fotografijama, vojna uniforma i moda, jevrejska funerarna fotografija kao izvor za studije mode i identiteta, istorija britanske modne kuće *Redfern* i njen uticaj na razvoj *moderne* mode, kao i ženski pozno-osmanski kostim<sup>33</sup>.

U okviru ciklusa *Vođenja petkom*, posetioce su svakog petka kroz izložbu vodili gosti-vodiči: modni kreatori, pisci, novinari, glumci. Umesto uobičajenih kustoskih vođenja, ova vođenja su realizovana kao dijalog kustosa izložbe i gostiju-vodiča u kome je svaki gost komentarisao izložbu sa aspekta sopstvene profesije i interesovanja. Tokom vođenja posetioci su bili u prilici da čuju kako se osećate kada nosite istorijski kostim na sceni, kakva veza postoji između mode i arhitekture, koliko je u izradi modnog predmeta važna konstrukcija ili na koje sve načine pisac može da iskoristi modne detalje u svojim pričama<sup>34</sup>.

U okviru pratećeg programa izložbe iz 2019. godine, realizovana je i virtuelna izložba *Dobrila Stojanović: četiri decenije stručnog i naučnog rada u oblasti tekstila i mode*. Izložba je postavljena u Digitalnoj biblioteci Muzeja primenjene umetnosti sa ciljem da „kroz kataloge i tekstove objavljene u periodici sagleda aktivnost Odseka za tekstil i kostim [...] kao i da se stručnjacima i zainteresovanoj publici omogući otvoren pristup rezultatima bogate kustoske karijere Dobrile Stojanović”<sup>35</sup>.

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33 – *Predavanja sredom*. Muzej primenjene umetnosti. Url: <http://mpu.rs/izlozbe/moda-u-modernoj-srbiji/predavanja-sredom> (pristupljeno 17. 01. 2020.)

34 – *Vođenja petkom*. Muzej primenjene umetnosti. Url: <http://mpu.rs/izlozbe/moda-u-modernoj-srbiji/vodjenja-petkom> (pristupljeno 17. 01. 2020.)

35 – Kustos izložbe je mr Andrijana Ristić iz Muzeja primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu, v. Ristić 2019: 3; Petrović, Marijana. „Bibliografija Dobrile Stojanović.” *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 15, 2019: 74–81.



construction in the creation of a fashion item or what are the different ways authors can use accessories in their stories<sup>34</sup>.

The virtual exhibition *Dobrila Stojanović: four decades of professional and scientific work in the field of textiles and fashion* was held as part of the 2019 exhibition's accompanying programme. It was held at the museum's Digital library in order to "present the activities of the Textile and Costume Department through catalogues and texts published in newspapers [...] as well as to enable experts and interested members of the public open access to the results of Dobrila Stojanović's rich curator career"<sup>35</sup>.

If we observe the musealisation of fashion process at the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade during its first 70 years, we can conclude that it tried to meet its many challenges since the very beginning. The documents of the Textile and costume collection show that the museum started collecting fashion items in the first years of its existence and that they soon found their place in the permanent collection. During the following decades, a dynamic programme of fashion exhibitions took place at the museum. The work of the museum's first Textile and costume collection's curator, Dobrila Stojanović, laid firm foundations for the development of museology and further fashion museology.<sup>36</sup> As a consequence, the museum was able to keep up with the contemporary museological trends in which fashion collections and exhibitions hold an important place in museums' programmes and garner a lot of interest from the public.

By comparing the museum's first fashion exhibition, *Women's fashion from the mid-19th century to the 1930s* held in 1966, and the last fashion exhibition *Fashion in Modern Serbia* held from November 2019 until January 2020, we can see how the perception of what is fashion changed, as well as the ways of its representation and share in

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34 – *Vodjenja petkom*. Muzej primenjene umetnosti. Url: <http://mpu.rs/izlozbe/moda-u-modernoj-srbiji/vodjenja-petkom> (accessed January, 17, 2020)

35 – Andrijana Ristić, MA, of the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade curated the exhibition, see Ristić 2019: 3; Petrović, Marijana. „Bibliografija Dobrile Stojanović.” *Zbornik, Muzej primenjene umetnosti* 15, 2019: 74–81.

36 – Maskareli 2017: 29.

Ukoliko posmatramo kako se odvijao proces muzealizacije mode u Muzeju primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu tokom prvih 70 godina njegovog rada, možemo zaključiti da je Muzej odmah po svom osnivanju nastojao da odgovori njegovim brojnim izazovima. Uvidom u dokumentaciju Zbirke tekstila i kostima vidimo da je Muzej već u prvim godinama rada počeo da sakuplja modne predmete, koji su ubrzo našli svoje mesto i na stalnoj postavci, dok se tokom narednih decenija u Muzeju odigravao dinamičan program modnih izložbi. Rad prvog kustosa muzejske Zbirke tekstila i kostima, Dobrile Stojanović, pružio je čvrste temelje za razvoj muzeologije i dalju muzealizaciju mode<sup>36</sup>. Zahvaljujući tome, Muzej je bio u mogućnosti da uhvati korak sa savremenim muzeološkim trendovima, u okviru kojih modne zbirke i izložbe zauzimaju važno mesto u muzejskim programima i izazivaju veliko interesovanje publike.

Poređenjem prve muzejske modne izložbe *Ženska moda od sredine XIX veka do tridesetih godina XX veka* iz 1966. godine, i poslednje modne izložbe *Moda u modernoj Srbiji*, održane od novembra 2019. do januara 2020. godine, možemo videti kako su se menjala shvaćanja pojma mode, kao i način njenog predstavljanja i zastupljenost u muzejima. Savremeni muzeološki trendovi i potreba za stalnom interakcijom sa posetiocima rezultirali su 2019. godine primenom različitih alatki za muzejsku komunikaciju i intenzivnim pratećim programom na izložbi.

Ono što treba posebno istaći jesu nastojanja Muzeja da u različitim periodima svog rada, čak i u decenijama kada moda nije bila u fokusu njegove sakupljačke i izlagačke politike, kroz nju ostvari vezu između prošlosti i sadašnjosti, istorijskog i savremenog trenutka. Ovaj pravac kojim su se modne izložbe i programi kretali tokom prvih 70 godina rada svakako predstavlja važan putokaz za buduće strategije muzealizacije mode u Muzeju primenjene umetnosti u Beogradu.



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36 – Maskareli 2017: 29.

museums. Contemporary museological trends and the need for constant interaction with visitors resulted with the application of various tools of museum communication as well as an intensive accompanying programme at the 2019 exhibition.

The intention of the museum to express the relationship between past and present, historical and contemporary moment through fashion, at different periods of its existence, even when fashion was not the focal point of its collection and exhibition policy, should be strongly emphasised. The direction of the fashion exhibitions and programmes during the museum's first 70 years represents an important sign post for future fashion museology strategies at the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade.



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DRAGINJA MASKARELI / MUSEUM OF APPLIED ART IN BELGRADE AND FASHION MUSEOLOGY: THE FIRST 70 YEARS / MUZEJ PRIMENJENE UMETNOSTI U BEOGRADU I MUZEALIZACIJA MODE: PRVIH 70 GODINA

**A FEW HISTORICAL  
MUSEOLOGICAL  
AND THEORETICAL  
MUSEOLOGICAL  
REMARKS ON THE  
STUDY OF THE  
MUSEALISATION OF  
FASHION ON THE  
EXAMPLE OF TEXTILE  
AND CLOTHING  
COLLECTIONS IN  
SLOVENIA**

**NEKOLIKO  
POVIJESNO  
MUZEOLOŠKIH  
I TEORIJSKO  
MUZEOLOŠKIH  
NAPOMENA  
O PROUČAVANJU  
MUZEALIZACIJA  
MODE NA PRIMJERU  
ZBIRKI TEKSTILA  
I ODJEĆE  
U SLOVENIJI**



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## SUMMARY

Based on the discussion of the historical development of clothing and textile collections at the former Provincial Museum of Carniola, I argue that the research of the musealization of fashion must be approached as an analysis of a complex, conceptually conditioned and historically changeable process. If we stem from the hypothesis that musealization is a process during which an object transitions from everyday life to a museum, thus acquiring a new function, i.e. the function of presenting the reality outside of the museum, we must also be aware that this reality is always a construct. As such, it is subject to change. When researching the conceptualization of the musealization of fashion, we must ask ourselves over and over again which reality the objects are to represent in the museum, and what that reality is to represent. And we must do that separately for each period of the development of museums.

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## SAŽETAK

Na temelju diskusije o povijesnom razvoju kolekcija tekstila i odjeće u bivšem *Kranjskom deželnom muzeju*, smatram da se problematici muzealizacije mode treba pristupiti kao složenom i konceptualno uvjetovanom procesu, podložnom povijesnim promjenama. Ako krenemo od pretpostavke da je muzealizacija proces u kojem predmet prelazi iz svakodnevne uporabe u muzej, i time dobija novu funkciju, tj. funkciju predavljanja stvarnosti izvan muzeja, moramo biti svjesni činjenice da je ta stvarnost uvijek samo konstrukt, samim time podložan promjenama. U istraživanju konceptualizacije procesa muzealizacije mode, moramo se uvijek iznova zapitati koju će stvarnost ti predmeti predstavljati u muzeju, a što će pak predstavljati ta stvarnost. Taj postupak moramo ponoviti u svakom periodu daljnog razvoja muzeja.

Research into the musealization of fashion, whether at the level of discussing a specific form of museum practice and its changes through time, or even more so at the level of examining the conceptual frameworks that conditioned that practice and its changes, must begin by reflecting on what musealization means. A cursory review of the growing volume of literature on the topic of fashion in museums that has been produced in the past decades shows many different views not only on this concept<sup>1</sup> but also on a few other fundamental museological concepts. For example, in the introductory chapter of a miscellany on fashion and museums Marie Riegels Melchior outlines the historical development of the musealization of fashion without once using the term musealization.<sup>2</sup>

1 – In addition to the views on the concept of musealization, which will be discussed below, another problem arises when attempting to define the syntagm of the musealization of fashion, namely the very concept of fashion. This problem is a prominent one in the literature on the history of clothing and will therefore not be discussed much in this article. For a brief presentation of the problem see e.g. Giorgio Riello, “The object of fashion: methodological approaches to the history of fashion,” *Journal of Aesthetic and Culture* 3, no. 1, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.3402/jac.v3i0.8865>.

2 – Riegels Melchior, Marie. “Introduction: understanding fashion and dress museology.” *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, ed. Marie Riegels Melchior, Brigitta Svensson. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014: 6–10. Riegels Melchior based her outline on select papers by pioneers in the research of fashion in museums. They had not used the term musealization in their papers either; cf. Taylor, Lou. “Doing the Laundry? A Reassessment of Object-based Dress History.” *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 4, 1998; Steele, Valerie. “A Museum of Fashion is More Than a Clothes-Bag.” *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 4, 1998; Steele, Valerie. “Museum Quality: The Rise of the Fashion Exhibition.” *Fashion Theory* 12, no. 1, 2008; Palmer, Alexandra. “Untouchable: Creating Desire and Knowledge in Museum Costume and Textile Exhibitions.” *Fashion Theory* 12, no. 1, 2008.

Istraživanje o muzealizaciji mode, bilo da se provodi na razini rasprave o specifičnoj formi muzejske prakse i njene promjene kroz vrijeme, ili na razini istraživanja konceptualnih okvira koji su tu praksu i promjene uvjetovali, mora započeti sa promišljanjem o samoj definiciji muzealizacije. Letimičan pregled sve brojnije literature na temu mode u muzejima koja je nastala u posljednjim desetljećima ukazuje na mnogo različitih poimanja ne samo ovog koncepta, već i nekih drugih temeljnih muzeoloških koncepta.<sup>1</sup> Primjerice, u uvodnom poglavlju zbornika radova o modi i muzejima, Marie Riegels Melchior donosi prikaz povijesnog razvoja muzealizacije mode, bez da uopće spominje pojam muzealizacije.<sup>2</sup> Međutim, autorica u svojoj prezentaciji koristi pojam *muzeologija* kako bi razjasnila konceptualnu razliku između “muzeologije odijevanja” i “muzeologije mode”. Ona tvrdi da se

1 – Osim stavova prema konceptu muzealizacije, koje ćemo analizirati u daljnjem tekstu, novo pitanje se otvara kada pokušamo definirati sintagmu muzealizacija mode, ili pak sami koncept mode. Ovo pitanje je inače jako zastupljeno u literaturi o povijesti odijevanja i stoga ga u ovom radu nećemo posebno analizirati. Za sažeti pregled ove problematike, vidi npr. Giorgio Riello, “The object of fashion: methodological approaches to the history of fashion,” *Journal of Aesthetic and Culture* 3, no. 1, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.3402/jac.v3i0.8865>.

2 – Riegels Melchior, Marie. “Introduction: understanding fashion and dress museology.” *Fashion and Museums. Theory and Practice*, ed. Marie Riegels Melchior, Brigitta Svensson. London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014: 6–10. Riegels Melchior je svoj prikaz temeljila na odabranim radovima pionira u istraživanju mode u muzejima. Ni u njihovim radovima se ne navodi pojam muzealizacija; cf. Lou Taylor, “Doing the Laundry? A Reassessment of Object-based Dress History,” *Fashion Theory* 2, br. 4, 1998; Valerie Steele, “A Museum of Fashion is More Than a Clothes-Bag,” *Fashion Theory* 2, br. 4, 1998; Valerie Steele, “Museum Quality: The Rise of the Fashion Exhibition,” *Fashion Theory* 12, br. 1, 2008; Alexandra Palmer, “Untouchable: Creating Desire and Knowledge in Museum Costume and Textile Exhibitions,” *Fashion Theory* 12, br. 1, 2008.

However, she does use the term museology in her presentation when she introduces a conceptual difference between “dress museology” and “fashion museology”. She claims that the former is a practice of collecting clothing that typically focuses on the actual clothes, whereas the latter is a practice of setting up spectacular exhibitions and as such focuses mainly on the museum’s recognizability and increasing the number of its visitors.<sup>3</sup> It is clear from both definitions that she uses the term museology as a synonym for museum practice.

The (non)use or the different understanding of museological terms is to be expected, even in the case of such basic concepts as museology. ICOFOM’s publication *Key Concepts of Museology*, a sort of predecessor of the planned encyclopaedic dictionary, which was edited by Andre Desvallées and François Mairesse, contains as many as five different interpretations of museology which are used in professional literature.<sup>4</sup> Besides the most established interpretation which simply defines museology as “anything relating to museums”, the second definition understands museology as “an applied science, the science of the museum”. Considering the fact that some of the most prominent theoreticians connected with the establishment of the third definition—who view museology as a special scientific discipline—have pointed out explicitly that museology is not the science of the museum but the science of museality,<sup>5</sup> it becomes clear that there are no minor variations in the different definitions of museology but major conceptual and epistemological discrepancies. A similar gap is evident in the term ‘musealization’. In the broader, more general sense this term is used as a synonym for “placement in a museum”, whereas the narrower, museological definition focuses on the change in the perceived nature of the object which occurs during this transition.<sup>6</sup>

3 – Melchior Riegels 2014: 10–11.

4 – “Museology (Museum Studies),” in *Key Concepts of Museology*, ed. André Desvallées and François Mairesse. Paris: Armand Colin and ICOFOM, 2010: 53–56. Url: <https://icom.museum/en/ressource/key-concepts-of-museology/>

5 – Cf. e.g. Waidacher, Friedrich. *Handbuch der allgemeinen Museologie. 2 Ergänzte Auflage*. Wien, Weimar, Köln: Böhlau, 1996: 39.

6 – “Museology (Museum Studies),” in *Key Concepts of Museology*, ed. André Desvallées and François Mairesse. Paris: Armand Colin and ICOFOM, 2010: 53–56. Url: <https://icom.museum/en/ressource/key-concepts-of-museology/>. The concept of musealization is also used in the broader area of the protection of cultural heritage

prethodni pojam koristi u smislu prikupljanja odjeće, koje je usredotočeno na same odjevne predmete, dok je potonji praksa postavljanja spektakularnih izložbi koja se fokusira isključivo na prepoznatljivost muzeja i povećani broj posjetitelja.<sup>3</sup> Iz obje definicije je razvidno da se pojam muzeologija koristi kao sinonim za muzejsku praksu.

(Ne)uporaba ili različito poimanje muzeoloških pojmova je očekivano, čak i u slučaju tako temeljnih pojmova i koncepta kao što je muzeologija. ICOFOM-ova publikacija *Key Concepts of Museology*, svojevrsna preteča planiranog enciklopedijskog rječnika, čiji su urednici Andre Desvallées i François Mairesse, sadrži čak pet različitih interpretacija pojma muzeologija koje se koriste u stručnoj literaturi.<sup>4</sup> Osim najustaljenije interpretacije, koja naprosto definira muzeologiju kao “sve što se odnosi na muzeje”, druga definicija muzeologiju smatra “primijenjenom znanošću, znanošću muzeja”. Ako razmotrimo činjenicu da su neki od najznačajnijih teoretičara povezanih s uspostavljanjem treće definicije—koji muzeologiju smatraju posebnom znanstvenom disciplinom—izričito ukazali na to da muzeologija nije znanost muzeja već znanost muzealnosti,<sup>5</sup> postaje jasno da ne postoje samo male varijacije u različitim definicijama muzeologije, već značajne konceptualne i epistemološke razlike. Sličan raskorak je vidljiv i kod termina *muzealizacija*. U širem, općem smislu, ovaj termin se koristi kao sinonim za “postavljanje u muzej”, dok se uža, muzeološka definicija fokusira na promjenu prirode predmeta, koja se događa tijekom ove tranzicije.<sup>6</sup>

Vratimo se na rad Marie Riegels Melchior i njenu uporabu dvaju dotičnih muzeoloških pojmova. Kao što je već istaknuto, ona riječ *muzeologija* koristi kao sinonim za muzejsku praksu. Sudeći prema definicijama muzeologije

3 – Melchior Riegels 2014: 10–11.

4 – “Museology (Museum Studies),” in *Key Concepts of Museology*, ed. André Desvallées and François Mairesse. Paris: Armand Colin and ICOFOM, 2010: 53–56. Url: <https://icom.museum/en/ressource/key-concepts-of-museology/>

5 – Ugl.npr. Waidacher, Friedrich. *Handbuch der allgemeinen Museologie. 2 Ergänzte Auflage*. Wien, Weimar, Köln: Böhlau, 1996: 39.

6 – Museology (Museum Studies),” in *Key Concepts of Museology*, ed. André Desvallées and François Mairesse. Paris: Armand Colin and ICOFOM, 2010: 53–56. Url: <https://icom.museum/en/ressource/key-concepts-of-museology/>. Muzealizacije se također koristi u širem smislu čuvanja narodne baštine, a ne samo u smislu vezanom za muzeje i muzejske predmete; vidi npr. Ivo Maroević, Ivo. “Razine muzealizacije vezane uz kulturnu baštinu,” *Informativa museologica* 36, br. 3–4, 2005: 44–49.

Let us return to the paper by Marie Riegels Melchior and her use of the two museological terms in question. As has already been pointed out, she uses the word museology as a synonym for museum practice. Judging from the definitions of museology mentioned in ICOFOM's publication, her interpretation is closest to the second definition, according to which museology is an applied science that deals, among other things, with the history and social role of museums, and with individual forms of research and conservation, activities and organization.<sup>7</sup> The author, as has already been mentioned, does not use the term musealization at all. The text as a whole reveals that in her historical outline of the "presence" of fashion in museums she does not deal with the epistemological changes accompanying its transition to the museum environment.<sup>8</sup> The only conceptual change relating to fashion in museums that she does discuss is the transition from the concept of clothing to the concept of fashion, which is characteristic of the practice of studying this segment of human culture and not something that is tied to the very transition of clothing items to museum institutions. This conceptual change can also be understood as an essential element of the transition from "dress museology" to "fashion museology" as defined by Riegels Melchior.

The approach to discussing the musealization of fashion, which stems from an understanding of museology as the science of the museum, explicitly or implicitly using the concept of musealization in a highly simplified form, i.e. more or less in the sense of stating the bare fact that museums collect, house and exhibit fashion, is undoubtedly legitimate. However, the flaw of this interpretation of the concept of musealization and of the practice it is said to denote, becomes clear the moment we attempt to explain or at least describe their historical development. Reducing their meaning—namely, overlooking the fact that musealization is a process during which we ascribe an important cognitive and value function to objects—accompanied by temporal flattening—in other words, neglecting the fact that this social function of musealization

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and not only in relation to museums and museum objects; see e.g. Maroević, Ivo. "Razine muzealizacije vezane uz kulturnu baštinu," *Informatica museologica* 36, no. 3–4, 2005: 44–49.

7 – "Museology," 54.

8 – Riegels Melchior 2014: 6.

spomenutima u ICOFOM-ovoj publikaciji, njena interpretacija je najbliža drugoj definiciji, prema kojoj je muzeologija primijenjena znanost koja se bavi, između ostalog, poviješću i društvenom ulogom muzeja, te zasebnim oblicima istraživanja i konzervacije, aktivnostima i organizacijom.<sup>7</sup> Kao što je spomenuto, autorica uopće ne koristi pojam *muzealizacija*. Čitav tekst otkriva da se ona u svom povijesnom pregledu "prisutnosti" mode u muzejima ne bavi epistemološkim promjenama koje prate njenu tranziciju u muzejsko okruženje.<sup>8</sup> Jedina konceptualna promjena vezana za modu u muzejima koju spominje je tranzicija iz koncepta odjeće u koncept mode, koja je karakteristična za praksu izučavanja ovog segmenta ljudske kulture, ali ne i onog što je vezano za samu tranziciju odjevnih predmeta u muzejske institucije. Ova konceptualna promjena se može shvatiti kao ključni element tranzicije iz "muzeologije odijevanja" u "muzeologiju mode", kao što je to definirala Riegels Melchior.

Pristup raspravi o muzealizaciji mode, koji proizlazi iz shvaćanja muzeologije kao znanosti muzeja, koji eksplicitno ili implicitno koristi koncept muzealizacije u krajnje pojednostavljenom obliku, tj. više ili manje u smislu potvrde same činjenice da muzeji prikupljaju, čuvaju i izlažu modu, je bez sumnje opravdan. Međutim, manjkavost ovog tumačenja koncepta muzealizacije i prakse koju bi trebao označavati, postaje vidljiva u trenutku kada pokušamo objasniti ili barem opisati njihov povijesni razvoj. Sužavanje njihovog semantičkog polja—naime, ako previdimo činjenicu da je muzealizacija proces u kojem pripisujemo važnu kognitivnu i vrijednosnu funkciju predmetima—ili drugim riječima, zanemarimo činjenicu da se ova društvena funkcija muzealizacije mijenjala kroz vrijeme kroz različite oblike sakupljačke politike<sup>9</sup>—neizbježno vodi k povijesno i konceptualno iskrivljenom poimanju navedenog problema. Drugim riječima, iscrpno popisivanje primjera muzeja, njihovih zbirki i izlagačkih strategija kako bi se predmeti izložili za što širu publiku, ne

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7 – "Museology," 54.

8 – Riegels Melchior 2014: 6.

9 – "Musealisation," 50–52. Za opis procesa muzealizacije i promjene statusa predmeta koje iz njega proizlaze, vidi Maroević, Ivo. *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije, 1993: 135–138. Kognitivni i vrijednosni aspekt muzealnosti, te njena funkcija u kontekstu društvene stvarnosti su predmet istraživanja opće ili teorijske muzeologije; različite strategije prikupljanja materijala s ciljem određivanja vremenskih i prostornih uvjeta za pojavu muzealnosti su predmet istraživanja povijesne muzeologije; Waidacher 1996: 40–50.



with diverse forms of collecting has changed through time<sup>9</sup>—inevitably leads to a historically and conceptually distorted understanding of the problem in question. To put it differently, thoroughly listing examples of different types of museums and their collections, and the exhibition strategies used to present them to the widest public, does not shed light on the conceptual background of the musealization of fashion nor its history, unless we ask ourselves how a given period viewed the nature of individual objects incorporated into collections, why they were collected, and why they were presented to the public or as what.

The establishment and early operation of the former Deželni muzej za Kranjsko (Provincial Museum of Carniola), the present-day Narodni muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia), and its collections will be used as a starting point for establishing a framework for researching the musealization of fashion in Slovenia. There are several reasons why I have chosen this museum as a case study to show how to devise historical museological and theoretical museological research of the musealization of fashion, not only in Slovenia but also in a broader political and cultural context. Firstly, it is the oldest museum in Slovenia and its establishment, organization and gradual shaping of collections can be or even must be researched parallel to other museums in the broader Central European area. Secondly, the museum was established as a universal museum that combined different collections; later, after certain collections had seceded—constituting the foundation for three specialized museums—it was converted into a historical museum with archaeology, history, and arts-and-crafts collections.<sup>10</sup> Thirdly, numerous and diverse sources relating to its early operation have been preserved, enabling a reconstruction of the understanding of musealization (of fashion) and its changes through time.

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9 – “Musealisation,” 50–52. For a description of the musealization process and the resulting changes in the object’s status see Maroević, Ivo. *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije, 1993: 135–138. The cognitive and value aspect of museality, and its function within the context of social reality are researched by general or theoretical museology; the diverse forms of collecting, with the aim of determining the temporal and spatial conditions of the emergence of museality, are researched by historical museology; Waidacher 1996: 40–50.

10 – On the topic of organizational changes to the museum as a problem and challenge see Kastelic, Jože. “Narodni muzej v Ljubljani in njegovi problemi,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 4, 1950 (1951): 195–207.

pojašnjava ni konceptualnu pozadinu muzealizacije mode, ni njenu povijest, ukoliko se ne zapitamo kako se poimala priroda izloženih predmeta u vremenu njihova nastanka, zašto su prikupljeni, i kako i zašto su predstavljeni posjetiteljima.

Polazište za uspostavljanje okvira za istraživanje muzealizacije mode u Sloveniji će biti osnivanje, rano djelovanje i zbirke prijašnjeg *Kranjskog deželnog muzeja*, današnjeg *Narodnog muzeja Slovenije*. Postoji nekoliko razloga zbog kojih sam izabrala ovaj muzej za studiju slučaja; na ovom primjeru ću pokazati kako koncipirati povijesno-muzeološko i teorijsko-muzeološko istraživanje muzealizacije mode, ne samo u Sloveniji već i u širem političkom i kulturološkom kontekstu. Prvi razlog je činjenica da je ovo najstariji muzej u Sloveniji; njegovo osnivanje, organizacija i postupno oformljavanje zbirki se može, ili čak mora istraživati usporedno s ostalim muzejima na širem području središnje Europe. Drugi razlog je činjenica da je muzej osnovan kao univerzalni muzej koji je trebao čuvati vrlo raznolike zbirke; kasnije, nakon što su povučene određene zbirke za osnivanje triju specijaliziranih muzeja, ovaj muzej je pretvoren u povijesni muzej u kojem se čuvaju povijesne, arheološke i umjetničko-obrtničke zbirke.<sup>10</sup> Treći razlog su brojni očuvani različiti izvori koji svjedoče o ranom djelovanju muzeja, koji omogućuju rekonstrukciju poimanja muzealizacije (mode) i njene promjene kroz povijest.

Nastojanja da se osnuje prvi muzej u Sloveniji datiraju još iz početka druge polovice 19. stoljeća. U proljeće 1821., tadašnji upravitelj Ilirske provincije, grof Sweerts-Spork je caru izrazio želju za osnivanjem “regionalnog muzeja za Kranjsko”. Obzirom da je car izrazio podršku ideji, prve pripreme su započele nekoliko mjeseci kasnije. U ljeto te godine, biskup Avguštin Gruber iznio je podugačko pojašnjenje članovima pokrajinskog zemljoposjedničkog odbora o dobrobitima i zadacima takvog muzeja, te predložio njegovo osnivanje. Njegovo izlaganje uvjerilo je članove odbora koji su potom osnovali muzej na sastanku u studenom. Zbog nekih nejasnoća vezanih uz program rada i plana organizacije, car nije izdao odobrenje za osnivanje muzeja sve do 1826. Čitavo to vrijeme, sav trud osnivača muzeja i onih koji su ih podržavali bio je usmjeren uglavnom na stvaranje muzejskog fundusa.

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10 – Na temu organizacijskih promjena u muzeju koje predstavljaju problem i izazov, vidi Kastelic, Jože. “Narodni muzej v Ljubljani in njegovi problemi,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 4, 1950 (1951): 195–207.

Efforts to establish the first museum in Slovenia date back to the beginning of the second decade of the 19th century. In the spring of 1821, the then governor of the Illyrian Governorate, Count Sweerts-Spork expressed his wish to the emperor of establishing a “regional museum for Carniola”. As the emperor was in favour of the idea, the first preparations were made a few months later. In the summer of that year, Bishop Avguštin Gruber gave a lengthy explanation to members of the Carniolan Provincial Estates Committee of the benefits and tasks of such a museum, and proposed its establishment. His explanation convinced the members of the Committee who then established the museum at a November meeting. Due to certain ambiguities regarding the work programme and the planned organization, the emperor did not issue an order approving the museum’s establishment until 1826. At that time, the efforts of the museum’s founders and supporters were focused mainly on creating the museum’s fonds. The collections, which they were slowly acquiring for the museum, were kept in a flat in the Pogačnik House on Salendrova ulica street. By 1831, the collections had become so large that they had to be moved to bigger rooms in the building of the former intermediate college in the present-day Vodnikov trg square, where they were opened to the public for the very first time. Five years later, the first guidebook to the museum collections was published. These collections grew in the years that followed, making it clear that a special building intended for the museum would have to be built. After drafting the first plans in 1881, the museum building was built between 1883 and 1885 (Fig. 1); in 1888, the provincial governor solemnly opened the “new” museum. A new museum guidebook was published on that occasion. What is most relevant for the topic of this article is the changes brought on by the end of World War I or the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the division of the museum fonds among different museum institutions. With the dissolution of Austria-Hungary, the museum, which had until then been territorially bound to an Inner Austrian province, i.e. Carniola, took on the role of a national museum for the entire Slovenian territory. In the decades that followed, parts of the museum fonds of the new central Slovenian museum were used to enlarge or even newly establish certain specialized museums—Etnografski muzej/Ethnographic Museum (1923), Narodna galerija/National Gallery of Slovenia (1933), Mestni muzej/City Museum of Ljubljana (1935) and Prirodoslovni muzej/Museum of Natural History (1944).<sup>11</sup>

11 – For the history of museum see Mal, Josip. „Zgodovinski pregled,” in *Vodnik po zbirkah*

Kolekcije koje su polako prikupljali za muzej su se čuvale u stanu u kući Pogačnik u Salendrovoj ulici. Do 1831., zbirke su narasle do te mjere da ih se moralo premjestiti u veće prostorije u zgradi bivše škole na sadašnjem Vodnikovom trgu, gdje su se prvi put i otvorile za javnost. Pet godina kasnije, objavljen je prvi vodič kroz muzejske zbirke. Budući da su zbirke rasle i u narednim godinama, postalo je jasno da će se morati izgraditi posebna zgrada za njih. Prvi nacrti nastali su 1881. godine, a zgrada je izgrađena između 1883. i 1885 (Sl. 1); 1888. godine, upravitelj provincije je svečano otvorio “novi” muzej, a za tu priliku je objavljen i novi muzejski vodič. Ono što je najvažnije za temu ovog rada su promjene koje je donio završetak Prvog svjetskog rata, raspad Austro-Ugarske i podjela muzejskog fundusa između različitih muzejskih institucija. Raspadom Austro-Ugarske je muzej, koji je do tada teritorijalno bio dijelom Nutarnje Austrije, tj. Kranjske, preuzeo ulogu nacionalnog muzeja za čitav teritorij Slovenije. U narednim desetljećima, dijelovi fundusa novog središnjeg slovenskog muzeja su iskorišteni da povećaju ili čak osnuju neke specijalizirane muzeje—Etnografski muzej (1923), Narodnu galeriju (1933), Mestni muzej (1935) i Prirodoslovni muzej (1944).<sup>11</sup>

Dugačak i kompliciran proces osnivanja muzeja se može pratiti kroz brojne arhivske izvore koji nam omogućuju da pravilno rekonstruiramo pravne, formalne i financijske aspekte rada muzeja, kao i muzejski koncept, njegove zadatke i budućnost njegovih zbirki, kako su ih vidjeli njegovi osnivači. Kao što je i nalaže logika koja stoji iza osnivanja muzeja, očito je da je glavna briga osnivača u početnom razdoblju bila, kao što je već rečeno, stvaranje muzejskog fundusa. Sami osnivači su donirali osobne zbirke novoosnovanom muzeju, te su isto tražili i od šire javnosti, što je tada bila uobičajena praksa. Kao što je vidljivo iz molbe koju je 1823. godine tadašnji upravitelj provincije i provincijskih posjeda Jožef Kamilo Schmidburg, jedan od glavnih pokretača osnivanja muzeja, uputio “lokalnim prijateljima znanosti” u nadi da će dobiti pomoć u osnivanju muzeja, muzej je trebao obuhvatiti sve predmete koji se odnose na nacionalnu književnost i nacionalnu

11 – Za povijest muzeja, vidi Mal, Josip. „Zgodovinski pregled,” u *Vodnik po zbirkah Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani. Kulturnozgodovinski del*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, 1931; Kastelic, Jože. “Narodni muzej v Ljubljani in njegovi problemi,” *Zgodovinski časopis* 4, 1950 (1951); Peter, Petru. “Misli ob stopetdesetletnici Narodnega muzeja,” *Argo. Informativno glasilo za muzejsko dejavnost* 10, br.1, 1971.





Sl. 1. – Narodni muzej u Sloveniji. (Fotografija Marko Mahnič) / Fig. 1 – National Museum of Slovenia. (Photo by Marko Mahnič)

The rather complicated and lengthy process of establishing the museum can be traced by means of numerous archival sources, which enable us to adequately reconstruct the legal, formal and financial aspects of the museum's operation, as well as the museum's concept, its tasks and the nature of its collections, as understood by the initiators of its establishment. In light of the logic behind the museum's establishment, it is clear that in the initial period the founders' main concern was, as has already been said, the creation of the museum's fonds. The initiators themselves donated individual collections to the new museum, while, as was customary at the time, asking the broader public to donate objects to the museum. As can be seen in the appeal of 1823 by the then Provincial Governor and Chairman of the Provincial Estates Jožef Kamilo Schmidburg, one of the main initiators of the museum's establishment, addressed to "local friends of science" in hope of receiving aid in establishing the museum, the museum was to encompass all things pertaining to national literature and national production. It was to unite all things created by nature or human diligence, and safeguard all memories of the fate of the province and of the merits of its population.<sup>12</sup>

The purpose of the museum was a dual one from the very start: natural and man-made products were to serve as an incentive for the development of domestic industry, while the historical documents and monuments were to bear witness to the nation's worth and its development.<sup>13</sup> This simultaneous gazing into the past, represented by human and natural achievements of previous periods, and focusing on the present, which would lead to a breakthrough in different areas of operation and clearly outline the course of future development, could already be discerned from the speech by Bishop Avguštin Gruber held two years earlier at a meeting of the Carniolan Provincial Estates Committee. In it, he made it clear that the new museum was to become the centre of all scientific work and a testing facility for all discoveries and devices for public

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*Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani. Kulturnozgodovinski del.* Ljubljana: Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, 1931; Kastelic, Jože. "Narodni muzej v Ljubljani in njegovi problemi," *Zgodovinski časopis* 4, 1950 (1951); Petru, Peter. "Misli ob stopetdesetletnici Narodnega muzeja," *Argo. Informativno glasilo za muzejsko dejavnost* 10, no. 1, 1971.

12 – Freyherr v. Schmidburg, Joseph Camillo. „An die Vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften,“ in *Annalen der kaiserl. königl. Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft in Laibach. Jahrgang 1822 und 1823*. Laibach: Ignaz Aloys Edler v. Kleinmayr, 1830: 91–92.

proizvodnju. Trebalo je ujediniti sve predmete stvorene prirodom ili ljudskom marljivošću i zaštititi sva sjećanja na sudbinu provincije i zasluge njenog stanovništva.<sup>12</sup>

Svrha muzeja je od samog početka bila dvojaka: prirodni predmeti i oni izrađeni ljudskom rukom trebali su poslužiti kao poticaj za razvoj domaće industrije, dok su povijesni dokumenti i spomenici svjedočili vrijednosti i razvoju naroda.<sup>13</sup> Ovakvo istodobno gledanje u prošlost temeljeno na ljudskim i prirodnim postignućima prošlih vremena i fokusiranje na sadašnjost koje bi potaknulo napredak u različitim područjima i dalo nacrt za budući smjer i razvoj se moglo nazrijeti još iz govora biskupa Avguština Grubera, održanog dvije godine ranije na sastanku pokrajinskog zemljoposjedničkog odbora Kranjske. U govoru je biskup jasno rekao da muzej treba postati centar sveg znanstvenog rada i mjesto na kojem se testiraju sva otkrića i naprave za javnu dobrobit. Osim što je služio za izlaganje nacionalnih predmeta koji se tiču kulturne povijesti i prirode, muzej je trebao postati i mjestom rješavanja različitih pitanja koja su bila nužna ili služila nekoj svrsi u svakodnevnom životu.<sup>14</sup>

Dvostruka svrha muzeja prema ideji osnivača jasno se ocrtavala u pet glavnih područja sakupljanja, kako je izložio Schmidburg u svojoj molbi—povijest, statistika, prirodoslovlje, tehnologija, fizika i matematika.<sup>15</sup> Program osmišljen na ovaj način zahtijeva dodatno pojašnjenje, što se najbolje može učiniti uspoređujući ga sa statutom *Johanneum* muzeja u Grazu kojeg je priredio njegov osnivač, nadvojvoda Johann 1811. godine. Usporedba ovih dvaju dokumenata korisna je ne samo zbog činjenice da dokumenti potječu od dvije slične muzejske institucije osnovane u istoj državi sa samo desetljećem razlike, nego još više i zbog nepogrešivih znakova da su osnivači Kranjskog muzeja temeljili svoj plan muzeja prema statutu muzeja u Grazu.<sup>16</sup>

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12 – Freyherr v. Schmidburg, Joseph Camillo. „An die Vaterländischen Freunde der Wissenschaften,“ u *Annalen der kaiserl. königl. Landwirtschafts-Gesellschaft in Laibach. Jahrgang 1822 und 1823*. Laibach: Ignaz Aloys Edler v. Kleinmayr, 1830: 91–92.

13 – Schmidburg 1830: 91–92

14 – Mal 1931: 6–7.

15 – Schmidburg 1830: 92.

16 – Prije nego što su sastavili program djelovanja *Kranjskog muzeja*, osnivači su proučavali kipove iz muzeja u Pragu, Brnu and Grazu. Biskup Gruber je u svom govoru izričito naglasio kako se muzej u Grazu smatra najboljim primjerom modela za onaj u Ljubljani; Mal 1931: 6.



benefit. In addition to displaying the characteristics of cultural history and nature, the museum was to be a place for resolving various issues that are necessary and beneficial in real life.<sup>14</sup>

The museum's double purpose, as envisaged by its founders, was also clearly reflected in the five main areas of collecting, as laid down by Schmidburg in his appeal—history, statistics, natural history, technology, physics and mathematics<sup>15</sup> The programme devised in this manner should be explained further, which can best be done by comparing it to the statute of the Joanneum museum in Graz, as prepared by its founder Archduke Johann in 1811. A comparison of both documents is sensible not only because of the fact that the documents are of two similar museum institutions that were founded within the same country only a decade apart, but even more so due to the unmistakable signs that the initiators of the Carniolan museum based their design of the museum on the statute of the Graz museum.<sup>16</sup> According to the idea of its founder, the Graz museum was to be a “regional” one and would collect objects relating to seven areas—history, statistics, physics and mathematics, natural history, chemistry, agronomy, technology –; moreover, the museum was to include a professional library housing the literature relevant to all the above-mentioned areas.<sup>17</sup>

As indicated by the comparison of both documents, the collections of the Ljubljana museum were to be divided identically as the collections of the Graz museum, only less comprehensively. The statute of the Graz museum is even more important because of the fact that it defines individual areas or objects to be collected under each area in far greater detail than Schmidburg's appeal. For the area of statistics, the latter

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13 – Schmidburg 1830: 91–92.

14 – Mal 1931: 6–7.

15 – Schmidburg 1830: 92.

16 – Prior to drafting the work programme of the Carniolan museum, the founders studied the statutes of museums in Prague, Brno and Graz. That the Graz museum was considered the most suitable role model for the one in Ljubljana was explicitly pointed out by Bishop Gruber in his speech; Mal 1931: 6.

17 – Habsburg, Erzherzog Johann. “Statuten,” in *Das Joanneum in Gratz geschichtlich dargestellt zur Erinnerung an seine Gründung vor 50 Jahren*, ed. Georg Göth. Graz: Leykam, 1861: 256–259.

Prema ideji svog osnivača, muzej u Grazu trebao je biti “regionalni” i trebao je izlagati predmete iz sedam područja: povijest, statistika, fizika i matematika, prirodoslovlje, kemija, agronomija, tehnologija; štoviše, u muzeju se trebala nalaziti i specijalizirana knjižnica koja bi trebala sadržavati literaturu relevantnu za sva gore spomenuta područja.<sup>17</sup>

Kako je usporedba obaju dokumenata pokazala, kolekcije iz muzeja u Ljubljani trebale su biti podijeljene identično onima u muzeju u Grazu, samo nešto manje sveobuhvatno. Statut muzeja u Grazu je čak i važniji dokument, obzirom na činjenicu da definira pojedinačna područja ili predmete na puno detaljniji način nego što je to Schmidburg zamislio. Za područje statistike, ljubljanski muzej je imao u vidu uglavnom prikupljanje mapa i podataka, a rezultate za “prirodnu i umjetnu proizvodnju” povezuje s ovim područjem, dok bi se rezultati inače kategorizirali pod prirodoslovlje i tehnologiju.<sup>18</sup> Statut muzeja *Joanneum* posvećuje više pažnje definiranju polja statistike. U ovom slučaju, polje statistike obuhvaća podatke prikupljene i u prošlosti i sadašnjosti, ali također s jedne strane naglašava prikaze neobičnih spomenika, dok s druge strane naglašava uobičajene kostime, blagdanske i svakodnevne običaje. Ovo polje bi nadalje trebalo obuhvatiti i prikupljanje podataka o razvoju provincijske proizvodnje. Drugim riječima, provincijskoj statistici bi se trebala posvetiti jednaka pozornost kao i njenoj povijesti.<sup>19</sup> Iz oba dokumenata je potpuno jasno da se riječ ‘statistika’ koristi u svom izvornom značenju, tj. “nacionalni podaci”<sup>20</sup>, ili ih čak možemo protumačiti kao karakteristike provincije.

Razumijevanje dualnog koncepta muzeja u Ljubljani na način na koji su ga vidjeli njegovi osnivači je preduvjet za bolje razumijevanje njegove izvorne sakupljačke politike, na temelju koje su htjeli osmisliti i razvijati muzej. Ako uzmemo u obzir da je prvi vodič kroz muzejske zbirke izdan tek 1836.

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17 – Habsburg, Erzherzog Johann. “Statuten,” u *Das Joanneum in Gratz geschichtlich dargestellt zur Erinnerung an seine Gründung vor 50 Jahren*, ur. Georg Göth. Graz: Leykam, 1861: 256–259.

18 – Schmidburg 1830: 93.

19 – Habsburg 1861: 257–258.

20 – Statistika”, u Marko Snoj, *Slovenski etimološki slovar*, 2015. Url: <http://www.fran.si/193/marko-snoj-slovenski-etimoloski-slovar/4292173/statistika?View=1&Query=statistika#> (pristupljeno 28. 08. 2020.)

mostly envisages collecting maps and data, and associates the results of “natural and artificial production” with this area, which it otherwise categorizes under natural history and technology.<sup>18</sup> The statute of the Joanneum devotes more attention to defining the field of statistics. In its case, the field of statistics also encompasses data collected in previous periods and in the present, but it also highlights the depictions that portray unusual monuments on the one hand, and typical costumes, holiday and everyday customs on the other. Furthermore, this field is to include the collection of data on the progress made in provincial production. In other words, the statistics of the province should be devoted the same amount of attention as its history.<sup>19</sup> As is perfectly clear from both documents, the word ‘statistics’ is used in its original meaning, i.e. as “national data”<sup>20</sup> or, better yet, as the characteristics of the province.

Understanding the dual concept of the Ljubljana museum envisaged by its founders is a prerequisite for a better understanding of its original collecting policy, based on which they wanted to design and later systematically develop the museum. Considering that the first guidebook to the museum collections was published as late as 1836,<sup>21</sup> and that the systematic inventorying of newly obtained museum objects was introduced half a century later,<sup>22</sup> we must use other sources to reconstruct the objects acquired for the museum during the first fifteen years after its establishment. Most helpful are the regular letters of thanks for objects donated to the museum which were published in the daily newspapers, at first in the *Illyrisches Blatt* and *Laibacher Zeitung*, and after its establishment in 1839 also in *Carniolia* by Franc Jožef Hohenwart, the first chairman of the museum’s board of trustees and the author of the first museum guidebook.<sup>23</sup> As pointed out by Matija Žargi, Hohenwart was a natural scientist

18 – Schmidburg 1830: 93.

19 – Habsburg 1861: 257–258.

20 – Statistika”, in Marko Snoj, Slovenski etimološki slovar, 2015. Url: <http://www.fran.si/193/marko-snoj-slovenski-etimoloski-slovar/4292173/statistika?View=i&Query=statistika#> (accessed August, 20, 2020)

21 – Franz Josef graf v. Hohenwart, Leitfaden für die das Landes-Museum in Laibach Besuchenden. Laibach: Ignaz Aloys v. Kleinmayrsche Schriften, 1836.

22 – Matija Žargi, „Arhiv Narodnega muzeja kot vir za kulturnozgodovinsko gradivo,“ *Argo. Časopis slovenskih muzejev* 36/37, 1994: 77.

23 – Mal 1931: 11; Žargi 1994: 75.

godine<sup>21</sup>, te da je prvo sustavno popisivanje novoprikupljenih predmeta uvedeno tek pola stoljeća kasnije,<sup>22</sup> moramo se okrenuti drugim izvorima kako bi rekonstruirali prikupljanje predmeta u prvih petnaest godina djelovanja muzeja. Pri tom nam najviše mogu pomoći pisma zahvale za donacije muzeju, koje su se objavljivale u dnevnom tisku, prvo u *Illyrisches Blatt* (Ilirskom listu) i *Laibacher Zeitung* (Ljubljanskim novinama), a nakon osnutka 1839. godine i u listu *Carniolia* Franca Jožefa Hohenwarta, prvog predsjednika upravnog odbora muzeja i autora prvog muzejskog vodiča.<sup>23</sup> Kako je istaknuo Matija Žargi, Hohenwart kao prirodoslovac nije bio stručnjak za povijesno-kulturološke predmete, iako ih je detaljno izučavao, opisivao i komentirao; smatra se da je on bio čak precizniji kod raspoznavanja predmeta iz industrijske proizvodnje i kućne radinosti<sup>24</sup> Bez obzira na njihovu tehničku adekvatnost, njegovi popisi doniranih predmeta, posebno kad su popraćeni iscrpnim objašnjenjima njihovog značaja za muzejsku zbirku, često nam omogućuju da shvatimo koje mjesto svaki prikupljeni predmet zauzima u rastućem muzejskom fundusu.

Hohenwart nosi zasluge i za više odjevnih predmeta. Oni nam, uz uključivanje pojedinih predmeta u stalni postav zbirke, kao što je vidljivo iz prva dva izdanja muzejskog vodiča, ukazuju na važnost prikupljanja, čuvanja i izlaganja odjeće u najranijem periodu djelovanja muzeja. 1836. godine, Hohenwart se zahvalio mladoj ženi koja je donirala stariji primjerak dijela narodne nošnje s područja Gorenjske, takozvani *šapelj*.<sup>25</sup> Narodna nošnja se smatrala važnim dijelom muzejske zbirke (Sl. 2), kako je i naglasio u svom izvješću iz 1839., u kojem navodi da je muzej primio donaciju u vidu nekoliko figurica odjevenih u narodnu nošnju područja Bele krajine. On je tom prilikom

21 – Hohenwart, Franz Josef graf. *Leitfaden für die das Landes-Museum in Laibach Besuchenden*. Laibach: Ignaz Aloys v. Kleinmayrsche Schriften, 1836.

22 – Žargi, Matija. „Arhiv Narodnega muzeja kot vir za kulturnozgodovinsko gradivo,“ *Argo. Časopis slovenskih muzejev* 36/37, 1994: 77.

23 – Mal 1931: 11; Žargi 1994: 75.

24 – Žargi 1994: 75.

25 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, “Verzeichniss der im Monate März für das Landes-Museum in Laibach eingegangenen Beiträge,“ *Illyrisches Blatt*, br. 17, 23. travnja, 1836: 67–68.

26 – Mal 1931: 11.





Sl. 2. – Vitrina s predmetima narodne nošnje u Kranjskem deželnem muzeju (između 1910. i 1920. godine). (Slovenski etnografski muzej, Photodocumentation) / Fig. 2 – Showcase with items of Folk Costumes in Provincial Museum of Carniola (between 1910 and 1920). (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, Photodocumentation)

and as such was no expert in objects of cultural history, but he nevertheless described and commented them meticulously; he is said to have been even more precise when defining contemporary industrial products and cottage industry products.<sup>24</sup> Regardless of their technical adequacy, his lists of donated objects, especially when accompanied by a detailed explanation as to why these objects would be of great importance for the museum collection, often enable us to understand the placement of an individual acquired object within the growing museum fonds.

Quite a few of Hohenwart's thanks relate to clothing. These, along with the incorporation of individual objects into the permanent layout of the collection, as can be discerned from the first museum guidebook, and even more so from the second one, enable us to understand the importance of collecting, protecting and displaying clothing in the earliest period of the museum's operation. In 1836, Hohenwart thanked an unknown young female donor for donating to the museum an old form of a part of the folk costume of the Gorenjska region, the so-called *šapelj*.<sup>25</sup> Folk costume was considered an important part of the museum collection (Fig. 2), as is corroborated by his report from 1839, which mentions that the museum was donated a few figurines dressed in the costume of the Bela krajina region. On that occasion, he asked women to make similar figurines for the museum for each district of Carniola in order to "save" the local national costumes.<sup>26</sup> This appeal also reveals that the museum's founders placed importance not only on original objects but also on secondary sources that would present individual aspects of life in the past and present. This is not surprising because, as has already been pointed out, the statute of the Graz museum clearly states that statistics were to be presented with depictions too, i.e. with what we would now call visual sources.

Hohenwart's texts clearly show that the museologists of the time were also interested in clothing beyond the context of folk costumes or statistics. Thus, for example, in one of his publications he gave

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24 – Žargi 1994: 75.

25 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, "Verzeichniss der im Monate März für das Landes-Museum in Laibach eingegangenen Beiträge," *Illyrisches Blatt*, br. 17, 23. travnja, 1836: 67–68.

26 – Mal 1931: 11.

zamolio žene da za muzej izrade slične figurice za svaki predio Kranjske, kako bi se "sačuvala" sve lokalne narodne nošnje.<sup>26</sup> Ova molba pokazuje da su osnivači muzeja polagali važnost ne samo na izvorne predmete, nego i na sekundarne izvore koji bi prikazali pojedine aspekte života u prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Ova pojava nije neuobičajena; kao što je već naglašeno, statut muzeja u Grazu jasno kaže da se statistike trebaju popratiti prikazima, tj. onime što bismo danas nazvali vizualni izvori.

Hohenwartovi tekstovi jasno pokazuju da su se tadašnji muzeolozi zanimali također i za odjeću izvan konteksta narodnih nošnji i statistika. Stoga se u jednoj od svojih publikacija izrazito zahvalio Kranjskoj kmetijskoj družbi za donaciju fragmenta damastne tkanine. Tvrdio je kako je taj fragment od iznimne vrijednosti za muzej, jer svjedoči prvim pokušajima pokretanja proizvodnje svile u Kranjskoj, koja je dala poticaj za njeno daljnje širenje.<sup>27</sup> Iz tog razloga je taj donirani fragment tkanine okarakterizirao kao predmet u kategoriji tehnologije. Kao što je Schmidburg objasnio u svojoj molbi, ovo područje predstavljaju "svi primjeri prerade prirodnih materijala, jer su stvoreni u okviru obrtničke i industrijske proizvodnje tipične za provinciju".<sup>28</sup> Drugi odjevni predmet koji je bio dio donacije se u to vrijeme zasigurno također kategorizirao u polje tehnologije. Jedan od Hohenwartovih popisa, kojeg je izdao 1837., se gotovo u potpunosti sastoji od poduzeg opisa zbirke predmeta koja je pripadala materijalnoj kulturi sjevernoameričkih domorodaca, koju je muzeju donirao Friderik Baraga. Hohenwart je ovu novu kolekciju čitateljima predstavio na sustavan način, kroz tematski zaokružene cjeline, od kojih je jednu nazvao "odjevni predmeti".<sup>29</sup> Zajedno s drugim predmetima iz ove zbirke (Sl. 3), oni su predstavljali važni doprinos širenju polja tehnologije,

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26 – Mal 1931: 11.

27 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, "Verzeichniss der für das Jahr 1838/39 eingegangenen Museums-Beiträge (Fortsetzung)," *Illyrisches Blatt*, br. 18, 2. svibnja, 1839: 76.

28 – Schmidburg 1830: 93. Na temelju gore navedenog smanjenja broja područja i tematske definicije programa muzeja u Ljubljani u usporedbi s onim u Grazu, narodne nošnje i ostali tipični oblici materijalne kulture se svrstavaju u dvije kategorije, tj. statistiku i tehnologiju. Slično možemo reći i za proizvode od prirodnih materijala, koji se svrstavaju u statistiku i prirodoslovlje; Schmidburg 1830: 92–93.

29 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, "Verzeichniss der für das Landes-Museum eingegangenen Beiträge," *Illyrisches Blatt*, br. 17, 29. travnja, 1837: 67–68.





Sl. 3. – Snimak dijela izložbe etnografske zbirke iz Afrike, Amerije i Azije (1957). (Slovenski etnografski muzej, Photodocumentation) / Fig. 3 – A snapshot from the Exhibition The Museum Week: the Exhibitions of the Ethnographic Collections from Africa, America and Asia (1957). (Slovenian Ethnographic Museum, Photodocumentation)

an especially warm thanks to Kranjska kmetijska družba (Carniolan Agricultural Society) for donating a piece of damask fabric. He claimed that this piece was particularly valuable for the museum as it bore witness to the first attempts of setting up a silk industry in Carniola, while providing the incentive for its further expansion.<sup>27</sup> He therefore considered the donated textile sample an object belonging under technology. As Schmidburg explained in his appeal, this area is represented by “all examples of the processing of natural materials, as created within the scope of the arts-and-crafts and industrial production typical of the province”.<sup>28</sup> Another form of clothing which was included among the objects donated to the museum at that time was undoubtedly categorized under the same field, i.e. technology. One of Hohenwart's lists, which he published in 1837, is almost entirely composed of a lengthy description of a collection of objects belonging to the material culture of native North Americans, which had been donated to the museum by Friderik Baraga. Hohenwart presented this new collection to the readers in a systematic way, through thematically rounded-off units, one of which he named “items of clothing”.<sup>29</sup> Along with other objects in the collection (Fig. 3), these represented an important contribution to the expansion of the field of technology, under which they were to collect not only examples of Carniolan arts and crafts and industrial production, but also examples of such production from abroad.<sup>30</sup>

27 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, “Verzeichniss der für das Jahr 1838/39 eingegangenen Museums-Beiträge (Fortsetzung),” *Illyrisches Blatt*, no. 18, May 2, 1839: 76.

28 – Schmidburg 1830: 93. Based on the above-mentioned reduction in the number of areas and the thematic definition of the programme of the Ljubljana museum compared to the one in Graz, folk costume and other typical forms of material culture are categorized into two categories, i.e. statistics and technology. Something similar can be said about natural products which fall under statistics and natural history; Schmidburg 1830: 92–93.

29 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, “Verzeichniss der für das Landes-Museum eingegangenen Beiträge,” *Illyrisches Blatt*, no. 17, April 29, 1837: 67–68.

30 – In his appeal, Schmidburg stresses that when collecting the material culture of foreign lands, the museum is to focus mainly on objects made from natural materials which are also typical of Carniola; Schmidburg 1830: 93. The statute of the Graz museum points out that these objects mostly relate to the production areas which are also practised locally at a high level; Habsburg, “Statuten,” 258. Of course, it primarily

za koje su se prikupljali ne samo kranjski, već i inozemni predmeti obrtničke i industrijske proizvodnje.<sup>30</sup>

Da je Baragina kolekcija bila važna za muzej govori i činjenica da je organizirao njenu donaciju muzeju čak i prije njegovog povratka u Kranjsku,<sup>31</sup> i da je bila izložena odmah. Hohenwart je sam naglasio na kraju gore spomenute liste da su svi Baragini predmeti, zajedno s onima koje je muzeju darovao Franc Pirc, bili izloženi u posebnoj vitrini.<sup>32</sup> Kako možemo razaznati iz sedam godina mlade publikacije, Baragini i Pircovi predmeti su bili izloženi u trećem muzejskom krilu.<sup>33</sup> Ukoliko uzmemo u obzir činjenicu da je Hohenwartov prvi muzejski vodič iz 1836. primjenjivao specifičnu logiku uključivanja informacija o izloženom predmetu i kao takav je nedostatan izvor za rekonstrukciju zbirke u prvom stalnom postavu,<sup>34</sup> utoliko su takve informacije i dragocjenije. Unatoč

30 – Schmidburg u svojoj molbi naglašava da se pri prikupljanju materijalne kulture stranih zemalja muzej treba usredotočiti isključivo na predmete izrađene od prirodnih materijala koji su također tipični za Kranjsku; Schmidburg 1830: 93. Statut muzeja u Grazu ističe da se ovi predmeti uglavnom odnose na područja proizvodnje koja se u velikoj mjeri prakticiraju na lokalnoj razini; Habsburg, “Statuten,” 258. To se naravno odnosilo primarno na susjedne i europske zemlje. Možemo svejedno pretpostaviti da se ova sakupljačka politika primijenjivala barem djelomično i na umjetničko-obrtničke predmete vaneuropskih kultura, kao što se može zaključiti iz ostalih suvremenih i novijih izvora. Na primjer, pri otkupu zbirke koptskog tekstila, Alfonz Müllner, kustos Kranjskog deželnege muzeja, istaknuo je ta zbirka nije vrijedna samo zbog svoje estetske vrijednosti i rijetkosti, već je od iznimnog praktičkog značaja za obrtničku školu; Knez, Darko. “Historiat Zbirke koptskih tkanin iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije,” u *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, ur. Jan Ciglenečki, Tomislav Kajfež, Darko Knez i Miran Pflaum. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019: 16.

31 – Kao što je ustanovila Pavla Štrukelj iz sačuvanih arhivskih izvora, Baraga je 1833. g. iz Amerike svojoj sestri Amaliji napisao da još nije u prilici poslati predmete; Štrukelj, Pavla. “Etnološka zbirka severnoameričkih Indijancev Ojibwa iz 19. stoletja v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju (Zbiralci Friderik Baraga, Franc Pirc, Ivan Čebul),” *Slovenski etnograf* 25/26, (1972/1973) 1974: 109.

32 – Curatorium 1837: 68.

33 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, “Verzeichniss 1844 der eingegangenen Museal-Geschenke,” *Illyrisches Blatt*, br. 6, 8. veljače, 1844: 24. Uz navedene predmete, također su bili izloženi predmeti iz afričkih naroda, koje je te iste godine muzeju donirao Anton Lavrin.

34 – Hohenwart u svom vodiču posvećuje pažnju pojedinim značajnim donatorima predmeta, izrađivačima posebnih vitrina i ormara, i razlozima zbog kojih bi posjetiteljima bili posebno zanimljivi određeni dijelovi zbirke. Neki dijelovi zbirke su opisani prilično temeljito, dok su neki samo navedeni. Generalno gledano, čak i kad su temeljiti i sadrže dodatna pojašnjenja, vodiči i katalozi izložbi su ograničeni izvori koji ne omogućavaju potpunu rekonstrukciju muzejskih



That Baraga's collection was important for the museum is evidenced by the fact that Baraga was arranging its donation to the museum even before returning to Carniola,<sup>31</sup> and by the fact that it was put on display immediately. Hohenwart himself emphasized at the end of the above-mentioned list that all of Baraga's objects, together with those donated to the museum by Franc Pirc, were exhibited in a dedicated cabinet.<sup>32</sup> As can be discerned from a publication seven years younger, Baraga's and Pirc's objects were displayed in the third museum hall.<sup>33</sup> In light of the fact that Hohenwart's first museum guidebook from 1836 applied a special logic of including information on the exhibited objects and is therefore a rather insufficient source for reconstructing the first layout of the permanent collection,<sup>34</sup> such information is that much

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concerned the neighbouring or European lands. It can nevertheless be assumed that this logic of collecting was applied, at least partially, also to the arts-and-crafts products of non-European cultures, as can be deduced from other contemporary and younger sources. For example, upon the purchase of a collection of Coptic textiles, Alfonz Müllner, the curator of the Provincial Museum of Carniola, pointed out that the collection was not only important for its aesthetic value and rarity, but also had a practical significance for the craft school; Knez, Darko. "Historiat Zbirke koptskih tkanin iz Narodnega muzeja Slovenije," in *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*, ed. Jan Ciglenečki, Tomislav Kajfež, Darko Knez and Miran Pflaum. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019: 16.

31 – As has been determined by Pavla Štrukelj based on the preserved archival sources, Baraga wrote to his sister Amalija in 1833 from America saying that he was yet unable to send the objects; Štrukelj, Pavla. "Etnološka zbirka severnoameriških Indijancev Ojibwa iz 19. stoletja v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju (Zbiralci Friderik Baraga, Franc Pirc, Ivan Čebul)," *Slovenski etnograf* 25/26, (1972/1973) 1974: 109.

32 – Curatorium 1837: 68.

33 – Curatorium des krainerischen Landes-Museum, "Verzeichniss 1844 der eingegangenen Museal-Geschenke," *Illyrisches Blatt*, no. 6, February 8, 1844: 24. Alongside these objects they also displayed objects belonging to African peoples, which had been donated to the museum by Anton Lavrin in the same year.

34 – In his guidebook, Hohenwart devotes a great deal of attention to individual important donors of objects, to the makers of individual showcases and cabinets, and to the reasons why visitors would find certain parts of the collections especially interesting. Some parts of the collections are described quite thoroughly, while others are only summed up. Generally speaking, guidebooks and exhibition catalogues, even if they are thorough about individual objects and equipped with additional explanations, are a limited source for the reconstruction of museum layouts. They are linear texts whereas the museum exhibition is three-dimensional. Regardless, they are an important source of information for reconstructing the historical development of the conceptualization of musealization.

nedostacima, Hohenwartov katalog je važan izvor za razumijevanje tadašnje konceptualizacije muzealizacije—i općenito gledano, i što se tiče odjeće. Katalog nam otkriva da su tijekom postavljanja stalnog postava u nove prostorijske bivše škole, barem ugrubo primijenjena tematska područja prikupljanja koja je Schmidburg izložio u svom programu. Eksplicitno se ne spominju ni odjevni predmeti niti tekstil, ali su vrlo vjerojatno uključeni u skupinu predmeta koju Hohenwart stavlja pod zajednički naziv "noviji i najnoviji umjetničko-obrtnički predmeti".<sup>35</sup> Oni su izloženi u posebnoj vitrini u trećoj izložbenoj prostoriji, dakle u istoj onoj u kojoj je i Baragina zbirka.

U pogledu rekonstrukcije uključivanja pojedinačnih zbirki ili predmeta u stalni postav i konceptualizacije njihove muzealizacije, Dežmanov drugi vodič iz 1888. je znatno korisniji. Vodič prezentira izložene predmete s puno više detalja i eksplicitno definira zbirke u svakoj izložbenoj dvorani. Njegova definicija kulturne povijesti i etnografskih zbirki je naročito važna za temu kojom se bavimo. U tom smislu, sadržaj pete izložbene dvorane posebno je zanimljiv; prema sadržaju vodiča, tu su završavale kulturno-povijesne i započinjale etnografske zbirke. Dio kataloga koji opisuje što je posjetitelj zapravo mogao vidjeti u petoj izložbenoj dvorani sadrži dodatno objašnjenje da su u dvorani izloženi „kranjski industrijski proizvodi iz starijih razdoblja i etnografske zbirke“.<sup>36</sup> Tako je u prvoj vitrini kraj zida posjetitelj mogao vidjeti gore spomenuti komad damastne tkanine, različite odjevne predmete, uključujući predmet građanske ženske nošnje iz 16. stoljeća i različite predmete nekada popularne narodne nošnje.<sup>37</sup> Ti su se predmeti smatrali predmetima kulturne povijesti ili, točnije, primjerima umjetničkog i obrtničkog ili industrijskog dizajna. Predmeti prikazani od izloga četvrtog zida nadalje—među njima je posjetitelj mogao vidjeti i gore spomenute odjevne predmete koji su bili djelom Baragine zbirke—<sup>38</sup> su smatrani etnografskima.

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postava. Oni su ipak samo linearni tekstovi, dok je muzejska izložba trodimenzionalna. Neovisno o tome, oni i dalje ostaju vrijedan izvor informacija za rekonstrukciju povijesnog razvoja konceptualizacije muzealizacije.

35 – Hohenwart 1836: 14.

36 – Deschmann, Karl. *Führer durch das Krainische Landes-Museum Rudolfinum in Laibach*. Laibach: Landes-Museum, 1888: 146.

37 – Deschmann 1888: 146–148.

38 – Deschmann 1888: 149–157.

more valuable. Despite its flaws, Hohenwart's catalogue is an important source for understanding the conceptualization of musealization at that time—generally speaking and as regards the area of clothing. It reveals that when the permanent collection was being set up in the new rooms of the former intermediate college, the areas of collecting laid down in Schmidburg's programme were applied, at least roughly. It does not explicitly mention items of clothing or textiles, but they are most likely included in the group of objects mentioned by Hohenwart with the common denomination "newer and latest arts-and-crafts products".<sup>35</sup> They were displayed in a special cabinet in the third exhibition room, that is, in the same room as the Baraga collection.

As regards the possibility of reconstructing the incorporation of individual collections or objects into the permanent layout and the conceptualization of their musealization, Dežman's second guidebook from 1888 is much more useful. It presents the objects on display in much greater detail and explicitly defines the collections presented in each exhibition hall. His definition of the cultural history and ethnography collections is especially important for the topic in question. In this regard, the contents of the fifth exhibition hall are especially interesting; according to the guidebook's table of contents, that was where the cultural history collections ended and the ethnography collections began. The part of the catalogue that describes what a visitor was actually able to see in the fifth exhibition hall contains an additional explanation that the hall displayed "Carniolan industrial products from older periods and the ethnography collections".<sup>36</sup> Thus, in the first showcase by the wall, the visitor could see the above-mentioned piece of damask fabric, different items of clothing, including an item of 16th-century bourgeois women's costume, and different items of the once popular national costume.<sup>37</sup> These objects were considered objects of cultural history or, more precisely, examples of the arts-and-crafts or industrial design. The objects displayed from the fourth wall showcase onward—among them the visitor could also see the above-mentioned

35 – Hohenwart 1836: 14.

36 – Karl Deschmann, *Führer durch das Krainische Landes-Museum Rudolfinum in Laibach*. Laibach: Landes-Museum, 1888: 146.

37 – Deschmann 1888: 146-148.

Usporedba oba kataloga je vrlo zanimljiva. Ponajprije, usporedba jasno pokazuje da je i nakon pola stoljeća rada ljubljanski muzej još uvijek promatrao neke od gore spomenutih odjevnih predmeta manje-više u okviru koncepta muzealizacije koji je bio postavljen prilikom njegovog osnivanja, tj. unutar konteksta područja tehnologije, bilo prošle ili sadašnje, domaće ili inozemne, ili područja statistike. Drugo, usporedba pokazuje da prilikom rekonstrukcije konceptualizacije muzealizacije moramo uzeti u obzir brojne izvore, istovremeno svjesni varijabilnosti sadržaja pojedinih pojmova. Upotreba riječi „etnografski“ najbolji je primjer za to. Kad je Hohenwart 1836. zahvalio donatorici gore spomenutog šapelja, izričito ga je spomenuo kao prilog "etnografskoj zbirci".<sup>39</sup> U Dežmanovom katalogu iz 1888. godine predmeti narodne nošnje, zajedno s ostalim odjevnim predmetima, smatraju se objektima "kulturne povijesti", dok se izraz "etnografski" koristi u odnosu na materijalnu kulturu vaneuropskih naroda. S jedne strane, moramo obratiti pažnju na različita značenja koja pojedinačni korisnici pripisuju istom pojmu;<sup>40</sup> s druge strane, također moramo obratiti pažnju na različite pojmove s istim konceptualnim okvirom ili koji se odnose na isti sadržaj. U slučaju istraživanja predmetne teme, posebna pažnja mora se posvetiti temeljitoj analizi uporabe pojmova „statistika“, „etnologija“ i „etnografija“.

Bez obzira na korištenje različitih pojmova, ljubljanski muzej se do ranog 20. stoljeća percipirao kao institucija čije su zbirke s jedne strane svjedočile prošlosti, a s druge reflektirale sadašnjost, što je također utjecalo na percepciju njegove misije. Potonje je u velikoj mjeri još uvijek bilo usmjereno prema oblikovanju povijesnih saznanja i istodobno prema promicanju kreativnosti i daljnjem razvoju. Osim ostalih izvora, to se također jasno odražava u spisima Josipa Mantuanija, koji je vodio muzej između 1909. i 1924. Dva su teksta posebno važna za analizu njegovog razumijevanja općenitog rada muzeja; u njima je raspravljao o problemu povijesti i modernizacije ljubljanskog muzeja. Kada se analizira njegovo razumijevanje muzealizacije odjeće, važna su i

39 – Curatorium, "Verzeichniss 1836," 68.

40 – Što se tiče Dežmanove uporabe oba pojma, mnogo je zanimljiviji način na koji ih je koristio Walter Šmid, jedan od njegovih nasljednika u ulozu kustosa Kranjskog deželne muzeja. U svom osvrtu na bečku izložbu kranjske narodne umjetnosti, koja je uključivala tipične narodne nošnje, Šmid je nedvosmisleno koristio termin 'kulturna povijest' za predstavljanje sadržaja iz prošlosti, a termin 'etnografski' za predstavljanje stvari koje još uvijek žive i mijenjaju se; Šmid, Walter. "Kranjska narodna umetnost na dunajski razstavi," *Slovan. Mesečnik za književnost, umetnost in prosveto* 4, br. 6, 1906: 168.



items of clothing that were part of the Baraga collection—<sup>38</sup>were considered ethnographic.

A comparison of both catalogues is very interesting. Firstly, the comparison clearly shows that even after half-a-century of operation the Ljubljana museum still viewed some of the above-mentioned items of clothing more or less within the concept of musealization that had been laid down upon its establishment, i.e. within the context of the field of technology, either past or present, domestic or foreign, or the field of statistics. Secondly, the comparison shows that when reconstructing the conceptualization of musealization, we must take numerous sources into account, while being aware of the variability of the content of individual terms. The use of the word 'ethnographic' is the best example of this. When Hohenwart thanked the donor of the above-mentioned *šapelj* in 1836, he explicitly mentioned it as a contribution to the "ethnography collection".<sup>39</sup> In Dežman's catalogue of 1888, items of the folk costume, along with other items of clothing, are considered objects of "cultural history", whereas the term "ethnographic" is used in relation to the material culture of non-European peoples. On the one hand, we must pay attention to the different meanings individual users attributed to the same term;<sup>40</sup> on the other hand, we must also pay attention to the different terms with the same conceptual framework or which refer to the same content. In the case of the topic in question, special attention must be devoted to a thorough analysis of the use of the terms 'statistics', 'ethnology' and 'ethnography'.

Regardless of the use of different terms, until the early 20th century the Ljubljana museum was apparently perceived as an institution whose collections, on the one hand, contained witnesses to the past and, on

38 – Deschmann 1888: 149–157.

39 – Curatorium 1836: 68.

40 – In connection with Dežman's use of both terms, the use of these two terms by one of his successors in the role of curator of the Provincial Museum, Walter Šmid, is that much more interesting. In his review of the Vienna exhibition of Carniolan folk art, which included the characteristic folk costumes, Šmid unambiguously used the term 'of cultural history' as referring to a presentation of the past, and the term 'ethnographic' as a presentation of things that are still living and changing; Šmid, Walter. "Kranjska narodna umetnost na dunajski razstavi," *Slovan. Mesečnik za književnost, umetnost in prosveto* 4, no. 6, 1906: 168.

dva druga teksta, i to njegov članak o Heimatschutzu i njegovo izlaganje o *Mestnom muzeju Ljubljana* (Gradski muzej Ljubljana).<sup>41</sup> Ukratko, Mantuani također smatra da je misija muzeja dvojaka: s jedne strane muzej predstavlja dostignuća prošlosti i odražava sadašnjost, pomažući tako u uspostavljanju i održavanju kolektivnog identiteta—arheološka i etnografska zbirka posebno su važne u tom pogledu; s druge strane, njegove kolekcije trebaju poticati daljnji razvoj rukotvorina i industrije.<sup>42</sup> Iako za područja oformljivanja zbirki koristi drugačija imena od onih koja je Schmidburg prvotno predvidio za muzej—između ostalog, govori o prirodoslovnoj zbirci, umjetničko-zanatskoj zbirci, umjetničkoj zbirci i etnografskoj zbirci—unatoč tome jasno da se on i Schmidburg pridržavaju iste konceptualizacije muzealizacije. To se savršeno dobro vidi po njegovom svrstavanju odjeće u razne zbirke. I on nacionalne narodne nošnje koje su dio etnografske zbirke smatra odrazom "nacionalnog duha", a njihovo izlaganje sredstvom za podizanje svijesti o njihovoj važnosti u sadašnjosti. Smatra da bi pojedini odjevni predmeti i tekstil, posebno oni iz starijih razdoblja i udaljenih dijelova svijeta, trebali poslužiti kao uzor i primjer za daljnji razvoj ove industrije na domaćem tlu. Naravno, na povijesnu odjeću gleda i na kao svjedoke povijesti.

Promjena u konceptualizaciji muzealizacije odjeće dogodila se tek nakon podjele fundusa bivšeg *Kranjskog deželne muzeja*, odnosno nakon osnivanja specijaliziranih muzeja. To ne čudi, jer je dio te promjene povezan s činjenicom da vrsta muzeja, kojem pripada muzejski predmet ili zbirka, označava prvu razinu klasifikacije,<sup>43</sup> a klasifikacija je, naravno, sastavni dio konceptualizacije muzealizacije. Drugim riječima, ako bi univerzalni muzej mogao klasificirati element odjeće u različite vrste zbirki ili čak u nekoliko tipova

41 – Za analizu oba muzeološka teksta vidi Mahnič, Katja. "Josip Mantuani in moderni muzej. Prispjev k razumevanju Mantuanijeveih prizadevanj za reorganizacijo Deželne muzeja za Kranjsko," Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino n.v. LII, 2016. Za Mantuanijev pogled na Heimatschutz i s tim povezano očuvanje kulturne baštine vidi Mahnič, Katja. "Collective Memory between Tradition and Archive: Josip Mantuani, Heimatschutz and Monument Protection," *Ars & Humanitas. Revija za umetnost in humanistiko*, XIII, br. 1, 2019.

42 – Mahnič 2016: 214–216.

43 – Kao što je istaknula Ludmilla Jordanova, svaki je muzej "vježba" u klasifikaciji, koja se odvija na tri razine: na razini muzeja ili njegove kategorije; na razini prostornog smještaja unutar pojedinog muzeja, npr. u okviru kronološki osmišljene izložbe; i na razini pojedinačnog predmeta ili njegove taksonomske definicije; Jordanova, Ludmilla. "Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums," in *The New Museology*, ur. Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 2009: 23–25.

the other hand, reflected the present, which also influenced the perception of its mission. The latter was to a great extent still directed towards shaping historical knowledge and simultaneously towards promoting creativity and further development. Besides other sources, this is also clearly reflected in the writings of Josip Mantuani, who ran the museum between 1909 and 1924. Two texts are especially important for analysing his understanding of the museum's operation in general; in them, he discussed the problem of the history and modernization of the Ljubljana museum. When analysing his understanding of the musealization of clothing, two other texts are important too, namely his article on Heimatschutz and his exposé on Mestni muzej Ljubljana (City Museum of Ljubljana).<sup>41</sup> In short, Mantuani also considers the museum's mission to be a double one: on the one hand, the museum presents the achievements of the past and reflects the present, thus helping to establish and maintain the collective identity—the archaeology and ethnography collections are especially important in this regard; on the other hand, its collections are to foster the further development of handicrafts and industry.<sup>42</sup> Even though he uses different names for the areas of collecting than Schmidburg originally envisaged for the museum—among other things, he talks about a natural science collection, an arts-and-crafts collection, an art collection, an ethnography collection—, it is nevertheless clear that he and Schmidburg adhere to the same conceptualization of musealization. This can be seen perfectly in his incorporation of clothing into various collections. He, too, considers the national costumes, which are part of the ethnography collection, a reflection of the “national spirit”, and their display a means of raising awareness about their importance in the present. He believes individual items of clothing and textiles, especially those from older periods and remote parts of the world, should serve as patterns and models for the further

41 – For an analysis of both museological texts see Mahnič, Katja. “Josip Mantuani in moderni muzej. Prispevek k razumevanju Mantuanijeveih prizadevanj za reorganizacijo Deželnega muzeja za Kranjsko,” *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* n.v. LII, 2016. For Mantuani's view on Heimatschutz and the related preservation of cultural heritage see Mahnič, Katja “Collective Memory between Tradition and Archive: Josip Mantuani, Heimatschutz and Monument Protection,” *Ars & Humanitas. Revija za umetnost in humanistiko*, XIII, no. 1, 2019.

42 – Mahnič 2016: 214–216.

zbirki istovremeno, ovisno o kontekstu, to mnoštvo mogućnosti klasifikacije postaje uvelike ograničeno, usmjereno i, prije svega, različito konceptualizirano kada muzej postaje specijalizirani muzej.

Nakon uspostave Etnografskog muzeja 1923. i posljedične podjele muzejskih fundusa, zbirke „kulturne povijesti“ Narodnog muzeja u Ljubljani razvrstale su elemente odjeće u odjeljak „obrta“ pod zajedničkim naslovom „vezovi i razni drugi obrti“ (Sl. 4). Zbirka je sadržavala ostatke koptskog tekstila, dijele crkvenog liturgijske odjeće (misnice, ruho), dijelove različitih kostima i uzorke tekstila, kožne proizvode i goblenske tapiserije.<sup>44</sup> Kao što Josip Mal objašnjava u uvodnim bilješkama uz predstavljanje rukotvorina u trećem vodiču, izvorna svrha prikupljanja takvih predmeta bila je prije svega ekonomska, ali kako se zbirka proširivala, počela je dobivati povijesni značaj.<sup>45</sup> Druhim riječima, unutar Nacionalnog muzeja umjetnički i obrtnički proizvodi, koji su, naravno, sadržavali i odjevne predmete, stekli su funkciju predstavljanja razvoja pojedinog obrta ili industrije. Iako je na kraju preuzeo ulogu središnjeg povijesnog muzeja u Sloveniji, Narodni muzej nikada nije razvio povijesnu zbirku odjeće.

Prvi je to učinio Pokrajinski muzej Maribor koji ga je uvrstio u svoje kulturno-povijesne zbirke, kao dio „zbirke kulture odijevanja“ još 1965.<sup>46</sup> S druge strane, novoosnovani je Etnografski muzej također preuzeo dio fundusa bivšeg kranjskog muzeja koji je također obuhvaćao etnografske zbirke koje se odnose na slovenske provincije, ostatak Europe i vaneuropske zemlje.<sup>47</sup> Stanko Vurnik, pomoćnik prvog ravnatelja muzeja i kustos, u godinama prije njegove smrti, počeo je sustavno raditi na muzejskim fundusima nakon preuzimanja građe; njegov je cilj bio “prikazati slovensko i jugoslavensko stanovništvo iz perspektive etnografije, antropologije i narodne umjetnosti”, čemu

44 – Mal, Josip. „Obrtni oddelek,” in *Vodnik po zbirkah Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani. Kulturnozgodovinski del*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, 1931: 147–153.

45 – Mal, “Obrtni oddelek,” 1931: 118–119.

46 – Uz povijesnu kolekciju odjeće ili kako su je nazvali „zbirku kulture odijevanja“, obuhvaćala je i zbirku povijesnih odora i zbirku kazališnih kostima; Vrišer, Andreja. “Pokrajinski muzej Maribor. *Dest let kostumske zbirke* 1965–1975. Razstava novih pridobitev,” *Informatica museologica* 7, br. 3–4, 1976: 66–68.

47 – Promitzer, Christian. “Niko Županič kot slovenski etnolog : njegovo ravnateljstvo v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani (1923–1940),” *Etnolog. Glasnik Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja* 13, br. 1, 2003: 295.

pisu: Sravie Lublanske gospode). Neitalijanske, nemške alpske majolike imajo sicer tudi belo glazuro, okrasje pa je izvršeno v zeleni ali temnorjavi barvi, slikarja pa je višnjeva; včasih je glazura rjava in črna, cvetlični dekor pa plastičen. Mnogo fajanse je prišlo v naše kraje iz Zg. Avstrije (Gmunden) in iz Moravskega (Třebíč).

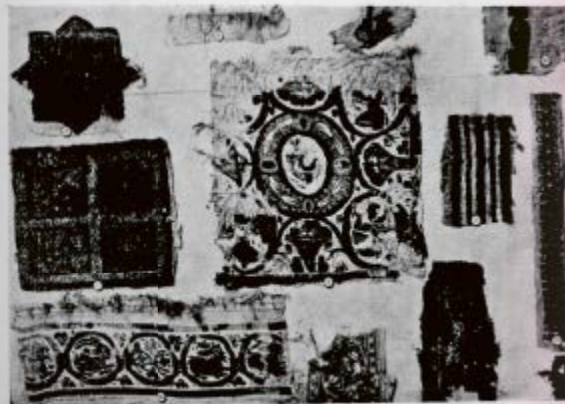
Iz povedanega je razvidno, da se je majolično posodje med ljudstvom trdno zasidralo: ko ga je pri bogatinih izpodrinil dragoceni porcelan, je majolika radi svoje cenenosti ostala še za dolgo porcelan nepremožnih. Navadne lončarske predmete in posodo (vrče za vodo, čutare, skleda, kozice, skodelice, latvice, kropilnice, otroške igrače itd.) so seveda izdelovali po vsej deželi, kjer je bilo dovolj primerne gline. Zelo je bilo lončarstvo razvito v Ljubnem pri Podnartu, Smartnu in Taenu pod Šmarno goro, Ljubljani, Mengšu, Komendi, Kamniku, Dolenjivasi pri Ribnici, na Kočevskem v Sp. Podgori, St. Jerneju pri Kostanjevici, Pišecah, Kapeli pri Brežicah, Slov. Bistrici, Petrovčah (Deutschental), Ptuj in Kamnici pri Mariboru. Glazirane in neglazirane pečnice so izdelovali predvsem v Ljubnem, Malem Mengšu, Komendi, Taenu in v Sp. Podgori na Kočevskem.

V muzejski keramični zbirki je razen fajančnih in porelanskih izdelkov nekaterih v tem spisu naštetih trdk razstavljeno tudi več navadnejšega domačega lončarskega posodja iz prejšnjih stoletij (vrči za vodo in kis, pečnice in vzorci za peči, tintnik, štirioglat ozek umivalnik itd.). Zanimiva je tako zvana »štimenca«, kratka, na enem kraju trebušasto zaokrožena in preluknjana cevka, kakršne so bile vzdane na oboku cerkve v Pleterjah, da so izboljšale njeno akustičnost.

V zbirki je razen izdelkov keramičnega ateljeja I. Pazdera v Pragi z motivi starih češko-moravskih vezenin tudi nekaj kitajskega in japonskega porelana odnosno fajanse. Kitajska kamenina sive, modre ali rdeče barve je pogosto okrašena še z emajlom (em. cloisonné), pri čemer je ločilna medena žica uporabljena kot viden, vitičast okrask. Emajl je večkrat tudi krakeliran (razpokan), ker lončevina in glazura nista imela pravilnega razmerja razteznosti, ko so ju žgali; v Evropi so kasneje to tehnično nepopolnost nalašč posnemali.

#### Vezenine in razne druge obrti.

Najstarejše, kar ima muzej tkanin, so poznoantični, tako zvali **koptiški** ostanki iz 5. do 7. stoletja po Kr., odkriti v grobiščih Koptov, ki jih smatrajo za krščanske naslednike starih Egipčanov. Kopti svojih mrličev niso več mumizirali, marveč so jih oblečene v oblačila, kakršna so nosili v življenju, in zavite v platnene rjuhe pokopavali v suho pečeno zemljo, v kateri blago kljub dolгим stoletjem ni popolnoma razpadlo. Muzej je te tkanine (l. 1890) kupil od zasebnika,



Koptiške vezanine

po čigar zatrjevanju naj bi ne izvirale iz grobov v Zgornjem Egiptu, marveč da so bile baje zakopane in najdene v razvalinah neke ondote stare predilnice.

Rumenkastobelo platno je vezeno s temnomodro, modro-violetno, črnkasto ali pa s temno rdečkastorjavo volno. Ploskev je razčlenjena v četverkotne, okrogle in ovalne razdelke,



development of this industry on domestic soil. Of course, he also views historical clothes as witnesses to history.

A change in the conceptualization of the musealization of clothing occurred only after the division of the fonds of the former Provincial Museum or after the establishment of specialized museums. That is not surprising, because a part of that change is connected simply with the fact that the type of museum, of which the museum object or collection is a part, denotes the first level of its classification,<sup>43</sup> and classification is, of course, an integral part of the conceptualization of musealization. In other words, if a universal museum could classify an element of clothing into different types of collections or even into several types of collections simultaneously, depending on the context, this plurality of classification possibilities becomes greatly restricted or focused and, above all, conceptualized differently as the museum transitions to a specialized museum. After the establishment of the Ethnographic Museum in 1923 and the consequent division of the museum fonds, the “cultural history” collections of the National Museum in Ljubljana classified elements of clothing into the “crafts” section under the common heading “embroidery and various other crafts” (Fig. 4). The collection included remains of Coptic textiles, pieces of ecclesiastic liturgical equipment (chasubles, vestments), parts of different costumes, and textile samples, leather products and Gobelin tapestries.<sup>44</sup> As Josip Mal explains in the introductory notes to the presentation of the crafts section in the third guidebook, the original purpose of collecting such objects was primarily economic, but as the collection expanded, it was beginning to gain a historical significance.<sup>45</sup> In other words, within

43 – As pointed out by Ludmilla Jordanova, each museum is an “exercise” in classification, which takes place at three levels: at the level of the museum or its category; at the level of the spatial placement within an individual museum, e.g. within a chronologically designed exhibition; and at the level of an individual object or its taxonomic definition; Jordanova, Ludmilla. “Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums,” in *The New Museology*, ed. Peter Vergo. London: Reaktion Books, 2009: 23–25.

44 – Mal, Josip. „Obrtni oddelek,“ in *Vodnik po zbirkah Narodnega muzeja v Ljubljani*. Kulturnozgodovinski del. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, 1931: 147–153.

45 – Mal, “Obrtni oddelek,” 1931: 118–119.

je stalni postav zbirke trebao značajno pridonijeti. Među izloženim predmetima, mjesto “vodećih muzejskih predmeta” trebale su zauzeti narodne nošnje.<sup>48</sup>

To pokazuje da je u Etnografskom muzeju zbirka odjeće stekla funkciju predstavljanja tipičnih oblika narodnih nošnji na slovenskom teritoriju, a time postala i važan aspekt nacionalne kulture. Stoga su pojedini odjevni predmeti dobili funkciju predstavljanja specifičnog aspekta života te društveno, etnički, te prije svega, usko definirane zajednice.

Sustavno nadopunjavanje i proučavanje pojedinih zbirki odjeće u slovenskim muzejima se nastavilo i u sljedećim desetljećima. Kolekcija odjeće današnjeg *Slovenskog etnografskog muzeja*, zbog svog opsega i važnosti, smatra se jednom od ključnih slovenskih zbirki u tom području<sup>49</sup>. Ona ne samo da se tijekom vremena povećavala, već je i postupno mijenjala sadržaj. Te su promjene bile povezane s promjenama u području etnologije. Kako su se društveni, vremenski i funkcionalni okviri etnoloških istraživanja proširivali, promijenili su se ne samo načini i metode istraživanja, već i kriteriji prikupljanja.<sup>50</sup> Drugim riječima, dogodila se promjena u konceptualizaciji muzealizacije odjeće unutar etnografskih muzeja. Funkcija kolekcije tako se transformirala od predstavljanja specifičnog aspekta života nekog segmenta društva prema predstavljanju jednog od najvažnijih i najkarakterističnijih segmenata materijalne kulture iz vizure industrijskog i potrošačkog društva.

U tom se razdoblju u *Narodnom muzeju* ne mogu uočiti veće konceptualne promjene u vezi s muzealizacijom odjeće. Kao što jasno pokazuje ovogodišnja izložba koptskog tekstila,<sup>51</sup> ona još uvijek proizlazi iz pristupa gdje su predmeti svjedoci povijesnog razvoja, kao što se vidi iz Malovog vodiča. Na neki je način pristup samo postao složeniji. Kao što je bilo jasno iz postava

48 – Rogelj Škafar, Bojana. „Slovenski etnografski muzej od ustanovitve do danas,“ in *Razvoj slovenske etnologije. Od Štreklja in Murka do sodobnih etnoloških prizadevanj*, ed. Rajko Muršič and Mojca Ramšak. Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 1995: 215–216.

49 – Žagar, Janja. „Tekstilna zbirka Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja,“ *Etnolog. Glasnik Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja* 13, br. 1, 2003: 165. Žagar u svom članku također nabroja zbirke tekstila u ostalim slovenskim muzejima; Žagar 2003: 174, bilješka 36.

50 – Žagar 2003: 167–168.

48 – Izložba *Koptski tekstil iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja Slovenije*, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 10.10.2019 – 21.6.2020. Url: <https://www.nms.si/si/dogodki/832> (pristupljeno 28. 08. 2020.)



the National Museum the arts-and-crafts products, which, of course, included elements of clothing, acquired the function of presenting the development of individual crafts or industries. Even though it eventually took on the role of the central history museum in Slovenia, the National Museum never developed a historical clothing collection. The first one to do so was Pokrajinski muzej Maribor (Maribor Regional Museum) which incorporated it into its cultural history collections, as part of the “costume design collection” as late as in 1965.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the newly founded Ethnographic Museum also took on a part of the fonds of the Provincial Museum, which also included ethnography collections relating to Slovenian provinces, the rest of Europe, and non-European countries.<sup>47</sup> Stanko Vurnik, the assistant to the museum’s first director, and its curator in the years before his death, began to work systematically on the museum fonds after taking over the material; his aim was to “portray the Slovenian and Yugoslavian population from the perspective of ethnography, anthropology and folk art”, to which the permanent layout of the collection was to contribute substantially. Among the objects on display, the place of “flagship museum objects” was to be occupied by folk costumes.<sup>48</sup> This shows that within the Ethnographic Museum the collection of clothing was given the function of presenting the typical forms of folk costumes in Slovenian territory, and through this an important aspect of national culture. Individual items of clothing were therefore given the function of presenting a specific aspect of the life of a socially and ethnically well-defined and, above all, narrowly defined community.

46 – In addition to the historical collection of clothes or the “collection of historical fashionable attires”, as they called it, the “costume design collection” also included a collection of historical uniforms and a collection of theatrical costumes; Vrišer, Andreja. “Pokrajinski muzej Maribor. Deset let kostumske zbirke 1965–1975. Razstava novih pridobitev,” *Informatica museologica* 7, no. 3–4, 1976: 66–68.

47 – Promitzer, Christian. “Niko Županič kot slovenski etnolog: njegovo ravnanje v Etnografskem muzeju v Ljubljani (1923–1940),” *Etnolog. Glasnik Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja* 13, no. 1, 2003: 295.

48 – Rogelj Škafar, Bojana. „Slovenski etnografski muzej od ustanovitve do danes,“ in *Razvoj slovenske etnologije. Od Štreklja in Murka do sodobnih etnoloških prizadevanj*, ed. Rajko Muršič and Mojca Ramšak. Ljubljana: Slovensko etnološko društvo, 1995: 215–216.

i popratnog kataloga,<sup>52</sup> izloženi fragmenti istaknuti su ne samo kao dokumenti određene razine tekstilne proizvodnje (Sl. 5), već su današnjem posjetitelju muzeja predstavljeni i kao dokumenti nekadašnje (odjevne) kulture jedne određene povijesne zajednice (Sl. 6). Osim toga, oni istovremeno dokumentiraju razvoj arheologije ili muzeja općenito, ali i razvoj *Kranjskog deželne muzeja*. U svim tim ulogama, predmeti su trebali posjetitelju pružiti nova saznanja o prethodnim razdobljima.

S obzirom na ovu bitnu funkciju izloženih predmeta, koja je nedvosmisleno istaknuta u popratnim tekstovima, popratna izložba KOPTI.TEX, time je još zanimljivija. Bila je to izložba suvremenih tekstilnih i odjernih proizvoda (Sl. 7)<sup>53</sup> koje su dizajnirali i izradili studenti Zavoda za dizajn tekstila i odjeće *Naravoslovnotehniška Fakulteta*, na temelju njihovog proučavanja koptskog tekstila. Predmeti iz zbirke umjetnosti i obrta ili pojedinačni predmeti mogu ponovno, ili i dalje biti izazov kreativnosti suvremenih autora, iako to više nije glavni razlog njihovog postojanja u muzeju.

Kao što je pokazano u raspravi o povijesnom razvoju zbirke odjeće u bivšem *Kranjskom deželnom muzeju*, istraživanju muzealizacije mode, kao i istraživanju muzealizacije bilo kojeg drugog područja materijalne kulture, mora se pristupiti kao analizi složenog, konceptualno uvjetovanog i povijesno promjenjivog procesa. Čak i ako se složimo da taj postupak uključuje “samo” prelazak predmeta iz njihovog životnog okruženja u instituciju muzeja, taj prijelaz nikada nije proizvoljan. Ako polazimo od hipoteze da je muzealizacija proces tijekom kojeg predmet prelazi iz svakodnevnog života u muzej, stječući na taj način novu funkciju, tj. funkciju predstavljanja stvarnosti izvan muzeja, također moramo biti svjesni da je ta stvarnost uvijek konstrukt. Kao takav može biti podložan promjenama. Istražujući konceptualizaciju muzealizacije mode, moramo se uvijek iznova zapitati koju stvarnost predmeti trebaju predstavljati u muzeju i što ta stvarnost treba predstavljati. I to moramo činiti zasebno za svako razdoblje razvoja muzeja.

52 – Ciglencečki, Jan; Kajfež, Tomislav; Knez, Darko; Pflaum, Miran. *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnoga muzeja Slovenije*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019.

53 – Izložba *KOPTI.TEX*, Narodni muzej Slovenije / National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019. – 21. 6. 2020. Url: <https://www.nms.si/si/razstave/pretekle/676-Koptske-tkanine-iz-zbirke-Narodnoga-muzeja-Slovenije> (pristupljeno 21. 08. 2020.)



Sl. 5. – Fragment koptske tkanine, izložba *Koptski tekstil iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja Slovenije*, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 10. 10. 2019.–21. 6. 2020. (Fotografija Katja Mahnič) / Fig. 5 – Fragments of Coptic Textile, Exhibition Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia, National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019.–21. 6. 2020. (Photo by Katja Mahnič)



Sl. 6. – Rekonstrukcija tunike i koptskih motiva, izložba *Koptski tekstil iz zbirke Narodnog muzeja Slovenije*, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 10. 10. 2019.–21. 6. 2020. (Fotografija Katja Mahnič) / Fig. 6 – Reconstruction of a Tunic adorned with Coptic Motifs, Exhibition Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia, National Museum of Slovenia, 10.10.2019.–21. 6. 2020. (Photo by Katja Mahnič)



Sl. 7. – Odjevni dizajn nadahnut istraživanjem koptskog tekstila, rad studenata Zavoda za dizajn tekstila i odjeće, Naravoslovno-tehniške Fakultete, Sveučilišta u Ljubljani. Izložba *KOPTI.TEX*, Narodni muzej Slovenije / National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019. – 21. 6. 2020. (Fotografija Katja Mahnič) / Fig. 7 – Clothes designed and made by students of the Chair of Textile and Fashion Design at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Engineering, University of Ljubljana, based on their study of Coptic textiles. Exhibition *KOPTI.TEX*, Narodni muzej Slovenije / National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019. – 21. 6. 2020. (Photo by Katja Mahnič)



The systematic supplementation and study of individual collections of clothing in Slovenian museums continued in the following decades. As regards the collection of clothing of the present-day Slovenski etnografski muzej (Slovene Ethnographic Museum), it is considered one of the key Slovenian collections in its field owing to its volume and importance.<sup>49</sup> It has not only grown in volume, but has also gradually changed its content. These changes were connected with changes in the field of ethnology. As the social, temporal and functional frameworks of ethnological research broadened, they changed not only the research modes and methods, but also the criteria of collecting.<sup>50</sup> In other words, a change occurred in the conceptualization of the musealization of clothing within ethnographic museums. The function of the collection thus changed from presenting a specific aspect of the life of a segment of society, to presenting one of the most important and most characteristic segments of material culture from the aspect of the industrial and consumer society.

In that period, no greater conceptual changes regarding the musealization of clothing can be detected at the National Museum. As is clearly shown by this year's exhibition of Coptic textiles,<sup>51</sup> it still stems from the concept of objects as witnesses to historical development, which was observed in Mal's guidebook. In a way, the concept has merely grown more complex. As was clear from the layout itself, and from the accompanying catalogue,<sup>52</sup> the exhibited fragments were highlighted not only as documents of a specific level of textile production (Fig. 5), but were also presented to today's museum visitor as documents of a former (clothing) culture of a specific community that existed in the past (Fig. 6), and, moreover, as documents of the development of archaeology or of museums in general, and of the Provincial Museum of Carniola in the narrower sense. In all these roles, the objects were to provide new findings to the visitor regarding previous periods.

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50 – Žagar 2003: 167–168.

51 – Exhibition *Coptic Textiles from the Collection of the National Museum of Slovenia*, National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019–21. 6. 2020. Url: <https://www.nms.si/en/exhibitions/past/676-Coptic-Textiles-from-the-Collection-of-the-National-Museum-of-Slovenia> (accessed August, 20, 2020)

52 – Ciglencečki, Jan; Kajfež, Tomislav; Knez, Darko; Pflaum, Miran. *Koptske tkanine iz zbirke Narodnega muzeja Slovenije*. Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2019.

Kao što su naglasili znanstvenici koji se bave odjećom ili modom, one imaju dvije funkcije u svom životnom okruženju—izražavanje istovjetnosti ili raznolikosti u sinkronijskom i dijakronijskom smislu.<sup>54</sup> Zbog toga na prvi pogled njihova složena funkcija u muzejskom kontekstu jednostavno izgleda kao posljedica ove karakteristike. No, kako se pokazalo, konceptualizacija muzeja, njegove svrhe i, naravno, priroda muzejskog predmeta mnogo su presudniji čimbenici za muzealizaciju mode od njene funkcionalnosti u životnom okruženju. Kao što sam pokazala u ovom radu, rane univerzalne muzeje karakterizira istodobna prezentacija dviju stvarnosti: prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Stoga su njihove zbirke istodobno imale nekoliko funkcija: uspostavljanje pamćenja povijesti i identiteta te promicanje društvenog i gospodarskog razvoja. S tim su u vezi pojedini odjevni predmeti i cjelokupne odjevne ili tekstilne zbirke u univerzalnim muzejima imali različite svrhe: svjedočenje o prethodnim, davno minulim i potpuno različitim razdobljima (evolucija nošnje pojedinih zajednica; razvoj tekstilne industrije); odražavanje obilježja nekog prostora i vremena (promicanje identiteta zajednice); poticanje kreativnog suoblikovanja budućnosti (daljnji razvoj industrije i obrta). Kako su se muzeji specijalizirali, ta je situacija postala još složenija; u pojedinim su vrstama muzeja ove funkcije, bilo u nepromijenjenom ili izmijenjenom obliku, ili barem u ažuriranom obliku ili opsegu i u raznim kombinacijama, pružale različite mogućnosti za konstrukciju različitih novih stvarnosti, kako prošlih, tako i sadašnjih. Drugim riječima, element nošnje ili komad tekstila u zbirci povijesnog muzeja nema istu funkciju kao onaj (ili identičan) element nošnje ili komad tekstila muzeju za umjetnost i obrt ili u etnografskom muzeju.



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54 – Usp. npr. Baš, Angelos. “Moda,” *Traditiones. Zbornik Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje* 13, 1984: 72.



Considering this essential function of the objects on display, which was unambiguously highlighted in the accompanying texts, the accompanying exhibition, KOPTI.TEX, set up alongside the main one is that much more interesting. It was an exhibition of contemporary textile and clothing products (Fig. 7)<sup>53</sup> designed and made by students of the Chair of Textile and Fashion Design at the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Engineering, University of Ljubljana, based on their study of Coptic textiles. Arts-and-crafts collections or individual objects can once again or still be a challenge for the creativity of contemporary authors, although that is no longer the main reason for their existence within a museum.

As has been demonstrated in the discussion of the historical development of clothing collections at the former Provincial Museum of Carniola, the research of the musealization of fashion, same as the research of the musealization of any other area of material culture, must be approached as an analysis of a complex, conceptually conditioned and historically changeable process. Even if we agree that this process “merely” involves the transitioning of objects from their living environment to the museum institution, this transition is never arbitrary. If we stem from the hypothesis that musealization is a process during which an object transitions from everyday life to a museum, thus acquiring a new function, i.e. the function of presenting the reality outside of the museum, we must also be aware that this reality is always a construct. As such, it is (can be) subject to change. When researching the conceptualization of the musealization of fashion, we must ask ourselves over and over again which reality the objects are to represent in the museum, and what that reality is to represent. And we must do that separately for each period of the development of museums.

As emphasized by researchers of clothing or fashion, it is characterized by simultaneously enabling two functions in its living environment—the expression of identicalness or diversity in the synchronic

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53 –Exhibition KOPTI.TEX, Narodni muzej Slovenije / National Museum of Slovenia, 10. 10. 2019 – 21. 6. 2020 Url: <https://www.nms.si/si/razstave/pretekle/676-Koptske-tkanine-iz-zbirke-Narodnega-muzeja-Slovenije> (accessed August, 21, 2020)

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and diachronic sense.<sup>54</sup> That is why at first glance, its complex function within the museum context simply looks like a consequence of this characteristic. However, as it turns out, the conceptualization of the museum, of its mission, and, of course, of the nature of the museum object is a much more decisive factor for the musealization of fashion than its functionality in the living environment. As I have shown, the early, universal museums are characterized by a simultaneous presentation of two realities: the past and the present. Hence, their collections served several functions simultaneously: establishing a historical memory and identity, and at the same time promoting social and economic development. In this regard, individual items of clothing and of the entire clothing or textile collection within universal museums performed different functions: testifying to previous, long-gone and completely different periods (evolution of the costumes of individual communities; development of the textile industry); reflecting the characteristics of their space and time (promoting community identity); encouraging a creative co-shaping of the future (further development of the industry and crafts). When museums became specialized, this situation became even more complex; in individual types of museums these functions, either in an unaltered or altered form, or at least in an updated form or volume and in various combinations, provided diverse possibilities for the construction of different new realities, both past and present. In other words, an element of a costume or a piece of textile in a history museum collection does not have the same function as would that (or an identical) element of a costume or a piece of textile within the fonds of an arts-and-crafts or ethnographic museum.

54 – Cf. e.g. Baš, Angelos. "Moda," *Traditiones. Zbornik Inštituta za slovensko narodopisje* 13, 1984: 72.

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FASHION MUSEOLOGY / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE

KATJA MAHNIČ / NEKOLIKO POVIJESNO MUZEOLŠKIH I TEORIJSKO MUZEOLŠKIH NAPOMENA O PROUČAVANJU MUZEALIZACIJA MODE  
NA PRIMJERU ZBIRKI TEKSTILA I ODIJEĆE U SLOVENIJI / A FEW HISTORICAL MUSEOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL MUSEOLOGICAL REMARKS ON THE STUDY  
OF THE MUSEALISATION OF FASHION ON THE EXAMPLE OF TEXTILE AND CLOTHING COLLECTIONS IN SLOVENIA

**FROM THE  
1980s VARTEKS  
FASHION  
GARMENT  
TO ITS  
MUSEALIZATION**

**OD VARTEKSOVA  
MODNOG  
PREDMETA 80-ih  
GODINA  
20. STOLJEĆA  
DO NJEGOVE  
MUZEALIZACIJE**



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## SUMMARY

In order to document and present the work of one of the biggest Croatian and Yugoslav textile companies whose operations are closely tied to Varaždin and its inhabitants, we started preparing a thematic exhibition towards the end of 2015 which was to showcase 100 years of Varteks d.d., a former textile giant in this region. The preparation consisted of researching the material in the factory, at State Archives in Varaždin and Varaždin City Museum, as well as materials provided by the public who responded to our advertisement. Results of the teamwork were presented at the *One Hundred Years of Textiles (Stoljeće tekstila)* exhibition held at the Herzer Palace of the Varaždin City Museum from November 28, 2018 until March 31, 2019. The exhibition consisted of six thematic units, one of which was Fashion Style. It presented garments and fashion advertisements and garnered a lot of public interest. As a result, its fashion segment was adapted and presented at the *Tailor-made stories (Priče koje kroje Varteks)* of Varteks at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb in September of 2019.

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Hrvatska

## SAŽETAK

U želji dokumentiranja i prezentacije djelovanja jedne od najvećih hrvatskih i jugoslavenskih tekstilnih industrija, čiji rad i poslovanje je usko vezano uz Varaždin i njegove stanovnike, krenuli smo krajem 2015. godine u pripremu tematske izložbe koja je trebala predstaviti 100 godina rada i djelovanja Varteksa d.d., nekadašnjeg tekstilnog diva na našem području. Sama priprema obuhvaćala je istraživanje građe u tvornici, Državnom arhivu u Varaždinu, Gradskome muzeju Varaždin te, nakon upućenog poziva preko medija, i građe koju su nam na uvid dali građani. Rezultati istraživanja tinskog rada predočeni su na izložbi *Stoljeće tekstila*, održanoj u palači Herzer GMV-a od 28. 11. 2018. do 31. 3. 2019., na kojoj su kroz šest tematskih cjelina, a jedna od njih bila je Modni izričaj, predstavljeni odjevni predmeti, ali i modni oglasi. Izložba je pobudila veliki interes u široj javnosti te je njezin modni dio predočen i na izložbi *Priče koje kroje Varteks* u zagrebačkome Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u rujnu 2019. godine.

— Various garments sold in Croatia under the brand name Varteks in order to revive the textile company are part of the late 2010s fashion. Women's and men's winter coats, hubertus coats, men's suits, women's suits are just a segment of Varaždin's textile industry's production that dates back to 1918 when the public limited company named Tekstilna industrija Varaždin was established with the majority Czech capital. It first started producing fabric for civilian and military suits towards the end of 1922 followed by garment production as well as military and railway uniforms in 1926.

The company survived various social and political changes during its hundred years long existence when governments intervened into production in various ways such as deferring it to meet war time needs in the period of the Independent State of Croatia, expropriation of the factory and conducting planned production in the period of socialist Yugoslavia, and losing its business premises throughout the former Yugoslavia after the Homeland War.

We chose to discuss the musealisation of Varteks' 1980s production of textiles and clothing as it was the most productive decade. In this paper, we are dealing with the current state of affairs, musealisation at the turn of 2020. It is a process by which the curator's decision changes the status of a garment from an item of fashion to a museum exhibit bringing its history and the context of making and using, the reasons it was chosen and a projection of future use in order to identify its mark on society<sup>1</sup>.

1 — Compare Ivo Maroević, *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije Odsjeka za informacijske znanosti, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu,

— Različiti odjevni predmeti koji se danas prodaju u Hrvatskoj pod modnom markom Varteksa s ciljem oživljavanja nekadašnje varaždinske tekstilne tvrtke dio su modnog izričaja kraja drugog desetljeća 21. stoljeća. Ženski i muški zimski kaput, hubertus, muško odijelo, ženski kostim samo su dio proizvodnje varaždinske tekstilne industrije koja svoje korijene vuče iz 1918. kada je osnovano dioničko društvo s većinskim češkim kapitalom pod imenom Tekstilna industrija Varaždin. Prvo je krajem 1922. počela s proizvodnjom tkanina za građanska i vojna odijela, a od 1926. i s proizvodnjom modne robe i odora za vojsku i željeznicu.

Tijekom nešto više od deset desetljeća tvornica je sa svojom proizvodnjom preživjela različite društvene i političke okolnosti u kojima se često politička vlast na različite načine uplitala u samu proizvodnju—od usmjerenosti na proizvodnju za ratne potrebe tijekom razdoblja Nezavisne države Hrvatske, izvlaštenja tvornice i provođenja planske proizvodnje u vrijeme socijalističke Jugoslavije do gubitka poslovnih prostora na području bivše Jugoslavije nakon Domovinskog rata.

Budući da je proizvodnja Varteksovih tekstilnih i odjavnih predmeta 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća bila najveća, u ovome radu bavimo se problemom njihove muzealizacije danas, na razmeđu drugog i trećeg desetljeća 21. stoljeća. To je proces kojim na odabir kustosa do danas odjevni modni predmet ulazi u muzej i postaje muzejski predmet donoseći sa sobom svoju povijest i kontekst nastanka i uporabe, razloge zašto je odabran, ali i projekciju za buduće korištenje da bi se identificirao trag koji je ostavio na društvo.<sup>1</sup> Slijedeći principe

1 — Usporedi Ivo Maroević, *Uvod u muzeologiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za informacijske studije Odsjeka za informacijske znanosti, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1993:

The principles of museology are the main criteria for this type of items collection at Varaždin City Museum which holds its Textiles Collection in two museum departments: Culture and History and Ethnography. It also presents fashion as part of its permanent display in the Fashion Culture from the 18th to the Middle of the 20th Century exhibition<sup>2</sup>.

The items from the 1980s were chosen because Varteks is the manufacturer of the item, and the wearer and owner, or a member of their family, is connected to its usage or creation. The information brought to us by the chosen garments as the smallest elements of material cultural heritage, upon entry into the museum, enable their transfer from the past into the present and the future. This is their museality, that is, the ability to transfer information about the regional, temporal, cultural and social reality of the garment which was until recently used in an individuals' everyday life.

## THE PRODUCTION OF TEXTILES AND GARMENTS WITH THE EMPHASIS ON THE 1980s

Varaždin Company Varteks d.d. was the country's leading textiles manufacturer for years, even decades, producing woollen yarn, woven fabrics, and finished garments which greatly influenced the development of fashion in the country. It has also expanded into the global market by emphasizing unquestionable quality of its fabrics and men's suits at fashion fairs in Cologne, London, and Paris, as well as by selling its products in twenty countries on four different continents<sup>3</sup>. The production was a process encompassing every step from fibre manufacturing to making a finished garment. The peak of production occurred in the

1993: 137.; Maroević, Ivo. „Uloga muzealnosti u zaštiti memorije,“ *Informatica museologica* 27, 3–4, 1998: 56–59.; Kolveshi, Željka. „Povijest povijesnog predmeta,“ *Informatica museologica* 27, 1–2, 1996: 31–33.

2 – The permanent exhibition Fashion Culture at Varaždin City Museum is accompanied by a guidebook of the same name written by Šimunić, Ljerka. *Kultura odijevanja*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin, vodič stalnim postavom, 2015.

3 – *Varteks Varaždinski tekstilni kombinat*, monografija povodom 70. godišnjice djelovanja. Varaždin: Varteks RO Tiskara, 1988.

muzeologije, to je glavni izvor za prikupljanje ove vrste predmeta za Gradski muzej Varaždin, koji u svojem sastavu ima Zbirku tekstila na dva muzejska odjela, Kulturno-povijesnom i Etnografskom, a u stalnom postavu i prezentaciju mode temom *Kultura odijevanja od 18. do sredine 20. stoljeća*.<sup>2</sup>

Odabrani predmeti iz 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća birani su po utvrđenoj činjenici da je Varteks proizvođač predmeta, a korisnik i vlasnik, odnosno član njegove obitelji, vezan je za njegovu uporabu ili pak nastanak. Informacije koje nam pojedini odabrani odjevni predmet, kao najmanji element materijalne kulturne baštine, nakon ulaska u muzejsku zbirku nosi kroz svoju muzealnost, omogućavaju njihov prijenos iz prošlosti u sadašnjost i budućnost. Njihova muzealnost, odnosno svojstvo prijenosa poruka ovisi o prostornoj, vremenskoj, kulturnoj i društvenoj realnosti odjevnog predmeta koji se do prije nekog vremena upotrebljavao u svakodnevnom životu pojedinaca.

## PROIZVODNJA TEKSTILNIH I ODJEVNIH PREDMETA S NAGLASKOM NA 80-e GODINE 20. STOLJEĆA

Varaždinska tvornica Varteks d.d. godinama, pa i desetljećima, bila je vodeća tekstilna industrija u regiji i državi proizvođač vuneno predivo, tkanine i modne odjevne predmete koji su u velikoj mjeri utjecali i na razvoj mode u zemlji, ali se također svojim proizvodima, tkaninama i muškim odijelima probijala i na svjetska tržišta ističući neupitnu kvalitetu nastupima na modnim sajmovima u Kölnu, Londonu, Parizu te prodajom svojih proizvoda u dvadeset zemalja svijeta na četiri kontinenta.<sup>3</sup> Sama je proizvodnja obuhvaćala proces od proizvodnje vlakna do izrade gotovog odjevnog predmeta. Vrhunac proizvodnje doživjela je 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća, 1981. proizvedeno je najviše tkanina (5 000 000 m), 1987. proizvedeno je najviše odjevnih predmeta (70 000 komada); te je godine zabilježen i najveći izvoz u Veliku

137.; Maroević, Ivo. „Uloga muzealnosti u zaštiti memorije,“ *Informatica museologica* 27, 3–4, 1998: 56–59.; Kolveshi, Željka. „Povijest povijesnog predmeta,“ *Informatica museologica* 27, 1–2, 1996: 31–33.

2 – Stalni postav *Kultura odijevanja* u Gradskom muzeju Varaždin prati vodič: Šimunić, Ljerka. *Kultura odijevanja*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin, vodič stalnim postavom, 2015.

3 – *Varteks Varaždinski tekstilni kombinat*, monografija povodom 70. godišnjice djelovanja. Varaždin: Varteks RO Tiskara, 1988.

1980s. The biggest amount of fabric was produced in 1981 (5 million metres) and the largest number of garments was produced in 1987 (70 000 pieces). That same year marked the largest volume of exports to the United Kingdom. The factory employed the biggest number of workers in 1989. On average, the company offered 200 models of menswear, womenswear, and childrenswear in the summer/spring and autumn/winter collections. The already existing fashion brands Varteks International and Phillippe Vartin, established in 1972 and 1977 respectively, known for their classic, sophisticated menswear made of the finest fibres and highest quality fabrics, were further developed in the 1980s. New brands were established as well: Young in 1982 and Louis Fabre in 1987. Varteks' other brands were established after 1991. Young focused on sportswear for men, women, and children, in particular sports jackets, corduroy and denim trousers. Children's collections were designed by Željka Sačić<sup>4</sup>. The Phillippe Vartin brand was matched in its exclusivity by womenswear brand Louis Fabre<sup>5</sup>. In 1977, Varteks started producing denim clothing brand (Var)TEX in its factory in Bednja but it did not achieve great market recognition. However, excellent business results were achieved by securing the contract for licensed Levi Strauss collections. The first Varteks' Levi's jeans were produced in 1983 and yearly production amounted to a million pieces for domestic and foreign markets<sup>6</sup>. Three years later, the production of denim jackets began followed by denim shirt production in 1987. The production of uniforms, primarily for Yugoslav National Army, expanded into other areas such as aviation, hospitality industry, tourism, music, etc.

For a number of years, Varteks based their production on their own wovens mostly made of Australian sheep worsted yarn although fabric was produced by semi-worsted and woollen spinning as well. As the fabric production technology developed, the share of synthetic fibres

4 – Suhić, Nevenka. „Varteks za mlade—Young program,“ *Varaždinske vijesti*, rujan 23., 1982: 9.

5 – Simončić, Katarina Nina. „Modni oglas - memorijski zapis tekstilne i odjevne produkcije Varteksa.“ In *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum—Varteks d.d., katalog izložbe, 2018: 45–73.; H(erceg), I(vica). „Louis Fabre—kostimi,“ *Varaždinske vijesti*, studeni 12., 1987: 1.

6 – Negotiations had begun in 1979, and the contract was signed in 1980. Compare Kruljac, Krunoslav. „Znatna ušteda deviza,“ *Varaždinske vijesti* 34, kolovoz 27., 1981

Britaniju, a tvornica je i 1989. imala najveći broj zaposlenih. U prosjeku je tvornica za sezonu proljeće/ljeto ili pak jesen/zima na tržištu nudila 200 modela muške, ženske i dječje mode. Osamdesete su u Varteks donijele razvoj već postojećih modnih marki poput međunarodno prihvaćene Varteks International (1972.) i Phillippe Vartin (1977.), koja se odlikovala proizvodnjom klasične, profinjene i elegantne muške odjeće od najfinijih vlakana i najkvalitetnijih tkanina vlastite proizvodnje, ali i od uvoznih tkanina. Nastaju i nove—Young (1982.) i Louis Fabre (1987.), dok ostale nastaju nakon 1991. Modna marka Young usmjerena je modelima sportskog asortimana koji obuhvaća muške, ženske i dječje sportske jakne i hlače od kord samta i džinsa. Kreatorica dječjih modela bila je Željka Sačić.<sup>4</sup> Ekskluzivni program muške mode Phillippe Vartin dobio je ženski oblik u ekskluzivnoj modnoj marki Louis Fabre.<sup>5</sup> U Varteksovu pogonu u Bednji od 1977. počela je proizvodnja odjeće od džinsa modne marke (Var)TEX koja u većoj mjeri nije bila prepoznata na tržištu. Izvrstan poslovni rezultat tvornica je doživjela i sklapanjem ugovora za proizvodnju licenciranog Levi Strauss programa. Prve Varteksove Levisice nastale su 1983., a godišnje se za domaće i vanjsko tržište proizvodilo milijun komada.<sup>6</sup> Tri godine kasnije počele su se proizvoditi jakne od džinsa, a 1987. i košulje. Proizvodnja uniforma, prvotno za JNA, širi se i na druge djelatnosti kao što su zrakoplovstvo, ugostiteljstvo, turizam, glazba i sl.

Dugi niz godina proizvodnju su temeljili na vlastitoj izradi vunениh tkanina, većinom od češljane pređe (kamgarn tkanine) od australske vune, iako su se tkanine proizvodile i polučešljanim i grebenanim postupkom pređenja. S razvojem tehnologije proizvodnje tekstilnih tkanina u proizvodnom programu sve su više povećavali udio sintetičkih vlakana.<sup>7</sup> Uz tkanine iz vlastite

4 – Suhić, Nevenka. „Varteks za mlade—Young program,“ *Varaždinske vijesti*, rujan 23., 1982: 9.

5 – Simončić, Katarina Nina. „Modni oglas - memorijski zapis tekstilne i odjevne produkcije Varteksa.“ U *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin—Varteks d.d., katalog izložbe, 2018: 45–73.; H(erceg), I(vica). „Louis Fabre—kostimi,“ *Varaždinske vijesti*, studeni 12., 1987: 1.

6 – Pregovori su počeli 1979., a ugovor je potpisan 1980., usporedi Kruljac, Krunoslav. „Znatna ušteda deviza,“ *Varaždinske vijesti* 34, kolovoz 27., 1981: 4.

7 – Šimunić, Josip. „Industrijski razvoj grada Varaždina s osvrtom na tekstilnu i metalnu industriju.“ U *800 godina slobodnog kraljevskog grada Varaždina 1209.–2009*, *Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad Varaždin*, ur. Miroslav Šicel i Slobodan Kaštela. Zagreb: Intergrafika, 2009: 390–391.



in their production increased<sup>7</sup>. In addition, Varteks started to use various imported wovens produced especially for them, such as premium quality English fabric Dormeuil which was used from 1977 and specifically marked on the garments.

Economic and political problems in the country at the end of the 1980s were reflected in Varteks by a number of workers' strikes and privatization of the company in July 1991 which created Varteks Holding. The Homeland war period resulted in the loss of business premises outside Croatia and damage to premises in war-torn areas. The 1990s were marked by new fashion brands and minimal profit. The beginning of the new century brought new problems for Varteks, such as the spread of cheap garments from eastern countries. The company's restructuring ended in a pre-insolvency settlement resulting in the closing of all production facilities, except the one in Varaždin, as well as dismissing a large number of employees. We hope that better times are ahead of Varteks after the change that occurred in business policies in 2018<sup>8</sup>.

## MUSEALIZATION OF VARTEKS' PRODUCTION UP TO 2018

The intention to create a museum on company premises has existed for a long time. As early as 1950s, newspaper articles speak of the need to present the manufacturing process and its results. The public understands the need to preserve Varaždin's biggest industrial production in a museum, various preliminary talks have been held, but the road to the realization of the idea is long.

The musealization of the first Varteks, that is Tivar, items at the Varaždin City Museum connects documents, photographs, and various objects to one of the biggest strikes in the textile industry in the

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7 – Šimunić, Josip. „Industrijski razvoj grada Varaždina s osvrtom na tekstilnu i metalnu industriju.“ In *800 godina slobodnog kraljevskog grada Varaždina 1209.–2009*, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za znanstveni rad Varaždin, ur. Miroslav Šicel i Slobodan Kaštela. Zagreb: Intergrafika, 2009: 390–391.

8 – Težak, Spomenka. „Usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije.“ In *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum–Varteks d.d., 2018: 40–41.

proizvodnje za izradu odjevnih predmeta počinju se upotrebljavati i različite uvozne tkanine posebno proizvedene za njihove potrebe poput vrhunske engleske tkanine Dormeuil koja se koristila od 1977. što je i na odjevnom predmetu bilo istaknuto oznakom.

Kraj 80-ih Varteksu je donio i niz problema. Gospodarski i politički problemi u državi odrazit će se i na Varteks gdje na samom završetku desetljeća dolazi do serije radničkih štrajkova, ali i privatizacije tvornice. Njezinom privatizacijom početkom srpnja 1991. nastaje Varteks Holding. Razdoblje Domovinskog rata rezultirat će gubitkom poslovnih prostora izvan Hrvatske i oštećenja dijela poslovnih prostora na ratom zahvaćenom prostoru. Devedesete će obilježiti nastanak novih modnih marki, ali i poslovanje s minimalnom dobiti. Početak novog stoljeća Varteksu će donijeti nove probleme –od širenja jeftine odjevne robe iz istočnih zemalja do procesa restrukturiranja koji će završiti procesom predstečajne nagodbe. Ona će rezultirati zatvaranjem svih pogona osim u Varaždinu i otpuštanja velikog broja radnika. Promjenom poslovne politike u 2018. nadamo se da za Varteks dolaze bolja vremena.<sup>8</sup>

## O MUZEALIZACIJE VARTEKSOVE PROIZVODNJE DO 2018.

Želja za organiziranjem muzeja u samoj tvornici ima dugačku povijest. Već se 50-ih godina u novinskim napisima nalaze podaci o potrebi prezentacije proizvodnog procesa i njegovih rezultata. Sama ideja o potrebi muzealizacije najveće varaždinske industrijske proizvodnje i njenih proizvoda prisutna je u javnosti, obavljani su različit preliminarni razgovori, no put do njene realizacije je dugotrajan.

Muzealizacija prvih predmeta vezanih za Varteks odnosno Tivar u Gradskom muzeju Varaždin povezuje dokumente, fotografije i različite predmete s povijesnim kontekstom jednog od najvećih štrajkova u tekstilnoj industriji Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Kustosica Gradskog muzeja Varaždin, Ivanka Štager, 1986. u Gradskom muzeju Varaždin pripremila je izložbu Veliki štrajk u Tivaru 1936. povodom obilježavanja 50. godišnjice Varteksa te je za tu

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8 – Težak, Spomenka. „Usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije.“ U *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin–Varteks d.d., 2018: 40–41.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In 1986, the curator of the Varaždin City Museum Ivanka Štagar prepared the exhibition entitled *The Great Strike of 1936 at Tivar* marking Varteks' 50th anniversary. She used the museum materials gathered thus far which became a part of museum's collections<sup>9</sup>. Various objects have been collected by the Varaždin City Museum during the decades, mostly fashion advertisements and photographs relating to either production or certain events. When it comes to garments, Yugoslav National Army uniforms, Croatian Air Force uniforms, and Croatian Army uniforms were entered into the Military Collection inventory<sup>10</sup>.

Members of the "TEKSTILAC" organization (an association of workers and students of Varaždin Secondary School for Textiles) initiated the preparation of the monograph about this school which was closely connected to Varteks by educating its textile workers.<sup>11</sup>

Athena plus digital repository shows that several items pertaining to Varteks are inventoried at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb: Tivar's autumn/winter promotional catalogue from 1937<sup>12</sup>, two documents from the Graphic Design collection, a photograph of Varteks' headquarters, and a pair of early 1990s jeans<sup>13</sup>.

The permanent exhibition Uniforms of the Maribor Regional Museum holds Josip Broz Tito's marshal uniform made by Varteks. The uniform is an integral part of the Military Museum of Belgrade's holdings.

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9 – Štagar, Ivanka. *Veliki štrajk u Tivaru 1936*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum (Varaždin: leaflet of the exhibition held from April 25 until May 25, 1986 at the Museum of people's revolution, now Varaždin City Museum), 1986.

10 – Prior to exhibition preparation, 160 different Varteks related items were inventoried in Varaždin City Museum's collections.

11 – *Tekstilno školstvo u Varaždinu 1945.–2006.*, ed. Katarina Bačani. Varaždin: Društvo djelatnika i učenika Tekstilne škole Varaždin „Tekstilac“, Modernist, 2006.

12 – Url: <http://athena.muio.hr/?object=list&find=tivar> (accessed October, 27, 2018)

13 – Url: <http://athena.muio.hr/?object=list&find=varteks> (accessed October, 27, 2018)

priliku iskoristila građu koja je prikupljena, a koja je ušla u muzejske zbirke.<sup>9</sup> Tijekom desetljeća u Gradskom muzeju Varaždin prikupljeni su različiti predmeti, u velikoj mjeri reklame modnih proizvoda te fotografije vezane za samu proizvodnju ili pak događanja. Od odjevnih predmeta u Zbirci militarije bile su inventarizirane uniforme JNA, Hrvatskog ratnog zrakoplovstva te uniforme Hrvatske vojske.<sup>10</sup>

Članovi Društva djelatnika i učenika Tekstilne škole Varaždin „TEKSTILAC“ pokrenuli su inicijativu pripreme monografije o ovoj školi koja je obrazovanjem tekstilaca bila usko povezana s Varteksom.<sup>11</sup>

U digitalnom repozitoriju Athena plus vidimo da su u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt inventarizirani predmeti poput promotivnog kataloga Tivara za jesen/zimu 1937.,<sup>12</sup> 2 dokumenta iz Zbirke grafičkog dizajna, fotografija Varteksove poslovne zgrade i traperice iz razdoblja ranih 90-ih.<sup>13</sup>

U Pokrajinskom muzeju Maribor u stalnom postavu Zbirke uniforma nalazi se maršalska uniforma Josipa Broza Tita koja je proizvedena u Varteksu, a sastavni je dio fundusa Vojnog muzeja u Beogradu.

## STANJE ISTRAŽENOSTI, OBRAĐENOSTI I SAČUVANOSTI VARTEKSOVIH MODNIH TEKSTILNIH I ODJEVNIH PREDMETA

U studenom 2018. Gradski muzej Varaždin otvorio je izložbu Stoljeće tekstila koja se bavila stogodišnjim djelovanjem najveće varaždinske tekstilne tvrtke koja je svojim proizvodima u velikoj mjeri obilježila način odijevanja Varaždinaca, ljudi s područja nekadašnje Jugoslavije, ali

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8 – Težak, Spomenka. „Usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije.“ U *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin–Varteks d.d., 2018: 40–41.

9 – Štagar, Ivanka. *Veliki štrajk u Tivaru 1936*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin (Varaždin: presavitak izložbe održane od 25. 4. do 25. 5. 1986. u Muzeju narodne revolucije GMV), 1986.

10 – Prije početka pripreme izložbe u zbirka GMV-a bilo je inventarizirano 160 različitih predmeta vezanih uz Varteks.

11 – *Tekstilno školstvo u Varaždinu 1945.–2006.*, ur. Katarina Bačani. Varaždin: Društvo djelatnika i učenika Tekstilne škole Varaždin „Tekstilac“, Modernist, 2006.

12 – Url: <http://athena.muio.hr/?object=list&find=tivar> (pristupljeno 27. 10. 2018.)

13 – Url: <http://athena.muio.hr/?object=list&find=varteks> (pristupljeno 27. 10. 2018.)

# THE STATE OF VARTEKS' TEXTILES AND GARMENT RESEARCH, PROCESSING, AND PRESERVATION

In November 2018, Varaždin City Museum opened the exhibition *A Century of Textiles* which presented the hundred years of Varteks' manufacturing history during which the company greatly influenced the dressing style of people from Varaždin and the former Yugoslavia as well as Europe and the world. In addition, it employed a large number of inhabitants of the Varaždin region and enabled the region's overall development. The exhibition was prepared jointly by the Varaždin City Museum and Varteks d.d. to mark this important anniversary. Six thematic areas, namely, architectural development of the industrial complex, the ups and downs of Varaždin's textile industry, fashion, the workers and their workplace, support services, and workers' free time, present the relationship between company management and workers as well as company products. This is achieved through garments, textiles, and fashion advertisements which serve as memory records. The exhibition was prepared after researching the items related to production organization, factory products, and various accompanying documents. The research focused on Varaždin City Museum collections, State Archives in Varaždin holdings, other museums that hold items produced by Varteks, and Varteks factory itself. Preliminary research results showed that the abovementioned institutions kept documents about the factory, its employees and various advertisements for garments. The number of preserved textile and fashion items was small.

The factory held a little more than twenty Levi's garments, among which the oldest pair of jeans manufactured in the Novi Marof factory in 1983<sup>14</sup>. The workers organized an old-for-new swap meet as part of the events marking the 90th anniversary of the factory. They collected more than 40 garments, mostly men's suits, blazers, trousers, winter coats, and rain-coats dating from 1960 to 2000, the majority being from the 1980s. These items somewhat replaced the nonexistence of Varteks garments' archives (the exception being Levi's garments). The reasons can be traced to the

14 – Težak, Spomenka. „Usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije.“ In *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum–Vartekst d.d., 2018: 38.

i Europe i svijeta, a ujedno je zapošljavala velik broj stanovnika varaždinske regije te omogućila cjelokupni razvoj ovoga područja. Izložbu su zajednički pripremili Gradski muzej Varaždin i Varteks d. d. povodom obilježavanja ove velike godišnjice. Kroz šest tematskih cjelina: arhitektonski razvoj industrijskog kompleksa, usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije, modni izričaj, radnik i njegovo radno mjesto, prateće službe i slobodno vrijeme radnika, prikazan je međusobni odnos dionika uprave tvornice i njegovih radnika, ali i rezultati proizvodnje kroz izložene odjevne i tekstilne predmete te modne oglase kao primjere memorijskog zapisa i odjevne produkcije Varteksa. Samoj pripremi izložbe prethodilo je istraživanje predmeta vezanih za organizaciju proizvodnje, tvorničkih proizvoda, ali i različitih dokumenata vezanih za ove teme. Istraživanje je bilo usmjereno na zbirke Gradskog muzeja Varaždin, Državnog arhiva u Varaždinu, muzejske ustanove izvan Varaždina u kojima se čuvaju predmeti iz Varteksove proizvodnje te na samu tvornicu Varteks. Rezultati prvotnih istraživanja pokazali su da su u muzejskim zbirkama, arhivskim fondovima i samoj tvornici sačuvani dokumenti o djelovanju tvornice, njenim radnicima, i različite reklame odjevnih predmeta. Broj sačuvanih modnih tekstilnih i odjevnih predmeta bio je malen.

U samoj tvornici od sačuvanih proizvodnih produkata imali su dvadesetak odjevnih predmeta vezanih za proizvodnju Levis programa među kojima i najstarije traperice proizvedene u tvornici u Novom Marofu 1983. godine.<sup>14</sup> Sami djelatnici su prilikom obilježavanja 90. godišnjice djelovanja u tvornici i njenim trgovinama proveli akciju mijenjam staro za novo u kojoj su kupci mogli za Varteksov stari proizvod dobiti nov proizvod. Tako je prikupljeno četrdesetak odjevnih predmeta, najviše muških odijela, sakoa i hlača te zimskih kaputa i balonera. Vremensko razdoblje koje predmeti obuhvaćaju je od 1960. do 2000. godine, no najbrojniji su oni iz razdoblja osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Ovi su predmeti malim dijelom nadomjestili nedostatak postojanja arhiva odjevnih predmeta Varteksove proizvodnje. Izuzetak je Levisov program. Razloge možemo tražiti u različitim činjenicama, od nedostatka inicijative ili pak razumijevanja da se sačuvaju najznačajniji tvornički proizvodi, do problema čuvanja tekstilnih predmeta koje je teško zadovoljiti u tvornici koja proživljava teške trenutke u pitanju opstanka.<sup>15</sup>

14 – Težak, Spomenka. „Usponi i padovi varaždinske tekstilne industrije.“ U *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin–Vartekst d.d., 2018: 38.

15 – Čukman, Iva. „Zaštita tekstilnih predmeta.“ *Informatica Museologica*, 3–4, 1992: 33–34.



lack of initiative, not understanding the importance of preserving the company's most important products or the conditions for holding textiles which are difficult to maintain in the factory barely surviving as it is<sup>15</sup>.

Some fabrics, manufactured during the last few years of operations closed in 2013, were kept on factory premises. However, this was for internal sale and not for preservation and future musealisation. We believe fabrics are the least preserved segment of Varteks' production. Since the interwar period, the company maintained a policy of gifting the employees and their children fabrics for Christmas and New Year<sup>16</sup>. People living in Varaždin used a lot of Varteks' fabrics for bespoke tailoring or making garments at home due to their affordable prices. Still, the percentage of preserved fabrics with described properties and often specific names is small.

We have found only a few Varteks' products in other museums, namely, the previously mentioned items from the Museum of Arts and Crafts and the Maribor Regional Museum as well as Zagreb City Museum's new acquisitions<sup>17</sup>.

Poor preservation of garments was the reason that Varaždin City Museum and Varteks d.d. reached out to public via advertisement asking them to join in the exhibition preparation by lending garments and memorabilia.

The process of item collection was planned for July 2019 but was extended to September due to an overwhelming response by the public. Senior restorer for textiles Melita Krnoul and museum advisor Spomenka Težak of Varaždin City Museum and Vesna Loparić of Varteks d.d. visited more than 50 homes in Varaždin county, talked to several dozen interested citizens in the museum, at Varteks, and over the telephone in order to give the historical items their context. Due to lack of time, some people were not visited<sup>18</sup>. More than 150 different garments were collected from former

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15 – Čukman, Iva. „Zaštita tekstilnih predmeta,” *Informatica Museologica*, 3–4, 1992: 33–34.

16 – Interviews with employees and their family members.

17 – Varteks' women's suit designed by Žuži Jelinek which is a part of Zagreb City Museum's holdings was an exhibit at *Priče koje kroje Varteks* exhibition at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in September 2019.

18 – Varaždin City Museum's advisor Ljerka Šimunić and curator Nataša Mihinjač occasionally participated in of collecting the items.

Dijelom su u prostorima tvornice ostale sačuvane tkanine proizvedene posljednjih nekoliko godina rada ovog dijela tvornice koji je ugašen 2013., no ne s ciljem trajnog čuvanja i njihove muzealizacije u budućnosti, nego interne prodaje. Iz tog razloga nedostaju sačuvani odjevni predmeti. U samoj tvornici, još iz razdoblja između dva svjetska rata, postojao je običaj darivanja zaposlenika, a i djece zaposlenika, tkaninama za božićne i novogodišnje praznike.<sup>16</sup> Iako možemo reći da su Varaždinci u velikoj mjeri koristili Varteksove tkanine i zbog pristupačne cijene i šivali ih po mjeri u različitim obrtničkim radnjama ili pak u vlastitoj radinosti, postotak sačuvanih tkanina s opisanim svojstvima i često specifičnim imenom je malen.

U muzejskim ustanovama našli smo tek nekoliko proizvoda iz ove tvornice, i to već spomenute predmete iz Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt i Pokrajinskog muzeja Maribor te nove akvizicije iz Muzeja grada Zagreba.<sup>17</sup>

Mala očuvanost odjevnih predmeta bila je razlogom da su Gradski muzej Varaždin i Varteks d. d. oglasom u medijima uputili poziv građanima da se pridruže pripremi izložbe te posude odjevne predmete i različite memorabilije.

Iako se sama akcija prikupljanja predmeta prema planu trebala odvijati tijekom srpnja 2019., zbog golemog odaziva građana produljili smo je i na rujana. Viša restauratorica za tekstil Melita Krnoul i muzejska savjetnica Spomenka Težak iz Gradskog muzeja Varaždin te Vesna Loparić iz Varteksa d. d. obišle su domove više od 50 građana s područja Varaždinske županije, razgovarale u muzeju, u Varteksu i telefonom s nekoliko desetaka zainteresiranih građana s ciljem da povijesne predmete stavimo u njihov kontekst, a neke nismo ni uspjeli posjetiti zbog nedostatka vremena.<sup>18</sup> Akcijom je prikupljeno više od 150 različitih odjevnih predmeta te mnoštvo memorabilija bivših djelatnika Varteksa (različitih dokumenata, fotografija, odličja, plaketa i sl.). Kriteriji koji su nas vodili u odabiru predmeta bili su: stanje odjevnog predmeta, oznaka modne marke, jedinstvenost i važnost predmeta za Varteksovu proizvodnju. Muzejska restauratorica za tekstil, Melita Krnoul, obavila je preventivnu zaštitu svih prikupljenih predmeta (prikupljenih od

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16 – Razgovor sa zaposlenicima i članovima njihove obitelji.

17 – Na izložbi *Priče koje kroje Varteks*, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, rujana 2019., bio je izložen Varteksov ženski kostim koji je dizajnirala Žuži Jelinek, a nalazi se u fondusu Muzeja grada Zagreba.

18 – Iz Gradskog muzeja Varaždin u akciji prikupljanja povremeno su sudjelovale muzejska savjetnica Ljerka Šimunić te kustosica Nataša Mihinjač.



Varteks employees as well as a lot of memorabilia (various documents, photographs, medals, plaques, etc.). The criteria for item selection were: the condition of the garment, brand label, uniqueness, the importance of the item in Varteks' production. The museum's restorer for textiles Melita Krnoul conducted preventive protection of the items collected from the public and Varteks d.d., some 50 items were dry cleaned, and chosen items were prepared for the exhibition. The selection and cataloguing of items was conducted by the museum advisor Ljerka Šimunić<sup>19</sup>.

During item collection, some citizens decided to donate their items to Varaždin City Museum which was documented on site by filling out the museum's donation form. A total of 100 items were donated. Other citizens, as well as Varteks d.d., decided to lend their items for the duration of the exhibition which was properly documented with a return form and a note in the entry book. Some donated their items during the exhibition and some on return of their items.

Analysis of the items collected from the public shows they date from 1940 to 2010, the majority from 1980s. Most of the garments were bought by individuals and a smaller number was made by tailors from Varteks' fabrics or made to measure at Varteks. Only 10 different fabrics were collected. The collected brands are evidence of a wide range of Varteks products as seen by six different brands: Varteks Exclusive, Varteks International, Tex, Phillippe Vartin, LouisFabre, Levi's, Earl Casuals, Edora, Bumble Bee, Di Caprio, fashion brands for the English department stores House of Fraser. According to the type of garments, the collected items are men's and women's overcoats, blazers, trousers, raincoats, men's and women's suits, denim garments, and childrenswear.

It is possible to criticize the number of collected items because Varteks produces more models in a season. However, it is necessary to be modest and think about the conditions of temporary or permanent exhibitions as well as holding the items in museum depots. The relevance of collected items can also be criticized as Varteks did not save their most interesting items. As we did not target distinguished people's garments, all of them belonged to "regular" people with the exception of the recently deceased

19 – Ljerka Šimunić, catalogue entries 155–187, 192–195, In *Stoljeće tekstila*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum – Varteks d. d., 2018: 108–113.

**GRADSKI MUZEJ PRIPREMA IZLOŽBU "STOLJEĆE TEKSTILA"**

**U tijeku potraga za memorabilijama Tivara i Varteksa**

Pronadete li neki odjevni predmet proizveden u ovoj tvornici stariji od 1993. godine, svakako se javite varaždinskim muzealima

**Vi svakodnevno provjeravate svoj ogrtač**

**TRAŽE SE KAPUTI, ODIJELA, SAKOI, HALJINE... dokumenti i fotografije**

Sl. 1. – Poziv Gradskog muzeja Varaždin i Varteks d. d. za sabiranje građe o Varteksu, *7 Plus Regionalni tjednik*, 17. 7. 2018, 13. / Fig. 1 – Invitation of the City Museum of Varaždin and Varteks d. d. for collecting fashion garments of Varteks, source. *7 Plus Regionalni tjednik*, 17. 7. 2018, 13.

maestro Vladimir Kranjčević's tailcoat. However, we have still managed to collect a significant number of garments which tell us what Varteks produced, what the fashion trends were in this region, what the citizens' financial situation was, and what the workers in this region produced.

Towards the end of *A Century of Textiles* exhibition in Varaždin where it was held until March 31, 2019, an agreement was concluded between the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Varteks d.d., and Varaždin City Museum to adapt it and present it at the Arts and Crafts Museum in September, 2019. Varteks' initiative shows their intention to present not only the most important historical items important for the company's development, but the company's present and future by promoting new collections in one of the exhibition's stories. Such concept of the exhibition follows fashion industries' contemporary trends where fashion houses such as Fendi in Rome and Yves Saint Laurent in Paris promote their collections in temporary exhibitions. The new exhibition showcased items from the Varaždin exhibition with the addition of Josip Broz Tito's and Franjo Tuđman's uniforms and the previously mentioned item from the Zagreb City Museum. The exhibition centred around 14 stories presenting Varteks' most important aspects. The last story was about the oldest item of the exhibition, a bespoke women's blazer manufactured in a tailor's shop in Varaždin from Tivar's fabric produced around 1940 and gifted to the owner's mother for Christmas.

What is next? Varaždin City Museum's exhibition is presented this autumn in Nova Gradiška and Slavonski Brod. The collecting of garments should be continued as some brands are missing and the public holds many interesting possible acquisitions in their homes. The last garment acquired in September 2019, the upper part of a woman's ski suit and a photograph of the suit taken in 1937, was a gift from Ms Ana Peranić.

## MUSEALIZATION OF VARTEKS' GARMENTS FROM THE 1980s

This acquisition provided Varaždin City Museum's collections with 120 new garments, several pieces of different fabrics manufactured by Varteks, many photographs, various documents, medals, and promotional items. The acquisition of 1980s garments makes for over a half of collected items. By donating these items, the public enabled

građana i posuđenih iz Varteksa d. d.), 50-ak predmeta dali smo očistiti u kemijskoj čistionici te pripremili odabrane predmete za izlaganje. Odabir i katalogizaciju odabranih predmeta odradila je muzejska savjetnica Ljerka Šimunić.<sup>19</sup>

Kod prikupljanja predmeta dio se građana odredio da svoje predmete žele darovati Gradskom muzeju Varaždin, što je i dokumentirano na licu mjesta obrascem Gradskog muzeja Varaždin o darivanju predmeta, a riječ je o 100 predmeta. Drugi dio građana i Varteks d. d. su svoje predmete posudili za vrijeme trajanja izložbe što je isto tako dokumentirano potrebnom dokumentacijom, reversom i upisom u knjigu ulaska. Dio građana svoje predmete darovao je tijekom trajanja izložbe, a neki i kod povrata.

Analizom predmeta prikupljenih od građana možemo zaključiti da je vremenski raspon kojem pripadaju između 1940. i 2010., a da najviše odjevnih predmeta ima iz 80-ih. Većina je odjevnih predmeta koje su građani kupovali, manji broj govori o radovima krojačkih obrtnika koji su nastali iz Varteksovih tkanina, ali i o šivanju po mjeri iz Varteksovih tkanina u samoj tvornici. Prikupljeno je tek 10 različitih vrsta Varteksovih tkanina. Modne marke koje su prikupljene govore o velikom asortimanu proizvoda i razvoju modne marke Varteks koja je zastupljena u 6 inačica. To su: Varteks Exclusive, Varteks International, Tex, Phillippe Vartin, Louis Fabre, Levi's, Earl Casuals, Edora, Bumble Bee, Di Caprio, modne marke za engleske robne kuće House of Fraser. Prema vrsti odjevnih predmeta riječ je o muškim i ženskim kaputima, sakovima, hlačama i balonerima, muškim odijelima, ženskim kostimima, odjevnim predmetima iz džinsa i dječjoj odjeći.

Možemo kritički promatrati ovu brojku prikupljenih predmeta jer za jednu sezonu Varteks proizvede više različitih modela, no moramo biti skromni i razmišljati o uvjetima za izlaganje na povremenim izložbama, ili pak u stalnom postavu, ali i uvjetima čuvanja u muzejskim čuvaonicama. Po pitanju važnosti pojedinih odjevnih predmeta isto tako možemo biti kritični. Naime, u Varteksu nisu sačuvani njihovi najatraktivniji proizvodi, a ciljana skupina sabiranja nam nisu bili važni ljudi pa tako odjevni predmeti iz naše akvizicije, uz izuzetak nekoliko predmeta poput fraka nedavno preminulog maestra Vladimira Kranjčevića, pripadaju „običnim“ građanima. S druge strane, moramo biti zadovoljni jer uspjeli smo skupiti znatan broj odjevnih

19 – Ljerka Šimunić, kataloške jedinice 155–187, 192–195. U Stoljeće tekstila. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin–Varteks d. d., 2018: 108–113.



Sl. 2. – Gornji dio ski-odijela Tivar d. d. (prednja strana), kraj 1936. (Fotografija Andrej Švogler) / Fig. 2 – The upper part of the ski suit (front size), made by Tivar d. d., cca 1936. (Photo by Andrej Švogler)



Sl. 3. – Gornji dio ski-odijela Tivar d. d. (stražnja strana), kraj 1936. (Fotografija Andrej Švogler) / Fig. 3 – The upper part of the ski suit, made by Tivar d. d. (back side), cca 1936. (Photo by Andrej Švogler)



their separation from their primary purpose, that of a garment, although majority of the items had already lost it as they were kept in wardrobes as a memory, a reminder of times past. By becoming a part of a museum collection, the items become heritage objects with the purpose of transmitting the message of the temporal, political, social, economic, and cultural context in which the garment was produced<sup>20</sup>. The analysis of garments as memory records, carriers of social and cultural circumstances and considering the place of origin, provides us with two groups of items: those manufactured in the factory and those manufactured in tailor's shops from Varteks's fabrics.

#### **Garments manufactured in Varteks:**

The donation encompasses the following garments classified by brand name; Varteks brand: six men's suits, four men's coats, one women's coat, one women's suit, two men's raincoats, men's blazer, a pair of women's trousers, and a skirt; Varteks International: three men's suits, one men's and two women's coats, and a pair of men's trousers; Varteks Exclusive: a man's suit, a men's coat, and a women's blazer; Louis Fabre: two women's coats and two women's suits; Phillipe Vartin: two men's suits and two pairs of men's trousers; Varteks—sponsor of the Universiade: a men's suit, two women's suits, a made to measure men's coat and a women's suit made in the Varteks factory.

#### **Bespoke garments manufactured at tailor's shops:**

The garments belonging to this group were manufactured in Varaždin's tailor's shops. They stand out because of the context in which they were created, especially a men's suit designed by Wanda Tudja Strahonja. This item's memory leads us to Mrs. Wanda, an artist from Varaždin and the then employee of Varteks, as the designer, to the product of Varteks, a fabric produced in the 1980s, to the tailor's shop in Varaždin, and Mrs. Wanda's husband who used this garment as a citizen of Varaždin. The majority of the remaining garments were manufactured by the tailor Katica Seglin who designed and sew the garments from Varteks' fabrics inspired by fashion magazines<sup>21</sup>.

20 — Maroević, Ivo. „Razine muzealizacije vezane za kulturnu baštinu,“ *Informatica museologica* 36, 3–4, 2007: 44–49.

21 — More about Katica Seglin in Simončić, Katarina Nina. *Modnim tragovima Varaždina—modna krojačica Katica Seglin*. Varaždin: Varaždin City Museum's exhibition catalogue, 2017.

predmeta koji nam u svojem kontekstu govore što se proizvodilo u Varteksu, modnim trendovima na našem području, mogućnostima građana, ali i rezultatima proizvodnje radnika s našeg područja.

Pred sam završetak izložbe *Stoljeće tekstila* u Varaždinu, gdje je bila postavljena do 31. ožujka 2019., dogovoreno je između Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, Varteksa d. d. i Gradskog muzeja Varaždin da izložba u novoj redakciji i postavu gostuje u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt tijekom rujna 2019. U samoj inicijativi Varteksa d. d. bila je vidljiva namjera da se uz najvažnije povijesne predmete koji su važni za nacionalni razvoj tvornice predstavi sadašnjost tvornice, a i njena budućnost, kroz promociju nove Varteksove kolekcije koja je bila prezentirana u jednoj od priča. Tim pristupom u samoj koncepciji izložbe Varteks d. d. slijedi suvremene trendove modne industrije gdje modne kuće poput Fendija u Rimu i Yves Saint Laurent u Parizu svoje kolekcije promoviraju kroz povremene izložbe. U ovom postavu korišteni su predmeti s varaždinske izložbe uz nekoliko novih, poput uniforma Josipa Broza Tita i Franje Tuđmana te već spomenutog kostima iz Muzeja grada Zagreba. Ova izložba se temeljila na 14 priča koje su nam predstavile ono najznačajnije za Varteks, a posljednjom pričom je prezentiran najstariji predmet na izložbi—ženski sako koji je sašiven po mjeri u varaždinskoj krojačkoj radionici iz Tivarove tkanine proizvedene oko 1940., a koji je majka vlasnice sako dobila kao dar za Božić.

Što dalje? Varaždinsku redakciju izložbe i postav u smanjenom obliku ove jeseni očekuju gostovanja u Novoj Gradiški i Slavanskom Brodu. Treba nastaviti i sa sabiranjem odjevnih predmeta jer je vidljivo da nedostaje nekih modnih marki, a građani u svojim domovima čuvaju još mnogo zanimljivih akvizicija. Posljednja, dar gospođe Ane Peranić iz rujna 2019., je gornji dio ženskog skijaškog odijela koji dokumentira i fotografija nastala u veljači 1937.

## **MUZEALIZACIJA VARTEKSOVIH ODJEVNIH PREDMETA IZ 80-ih**

Ovom akvizicijom zbirke Gradskog muzeja Varaždin nadopunjene su sa 120 novih modnih odjevnih predmeta i nekoliko komada različitih tkanina proizvedenih u Varteksu te mnoštvom fotografija, dokumenata, odličja i promidžbenih predmeta. Akvizicija modnih odjevnih predmeta iz 80-ih čini nešto više od polovice prikupljenih predmeta. Odazivajući se na poziv i darujući ove predmete, građani su omogućili njihovo odjeljivanje od primarne svrhe



There is an interesting garment in the group of borrowed items which is categorized as a future gift.<sup>22</sup> It is a bespoke women's winter overcoat, owned by Ms Renata Poljak, made from Varteks' brown fabric at the Paladinić tailor salon in Karlovac. The original design idea was Mrs. Poljak's, whose maiden name was Paladinić.

The documentary value of the fashion items as heritage items was the object of research by Varaždin City Museum's experts. In the process of cataloguing, they documented their basic properties and in the process of preventive protection, they prepared the items for holding and exhibiting in the museum.

The properties of the fabrics speak of the raw materials used in their manufacturing as well as the technology employed, and the fashion trends that appeared in the 1980s which greatly influenced their form. The authorship can be attributed according to several levels, from the first, which includes the term Varteks<sup>23</sup>, to determining authorship of the design of each individual garment. Furthermore, authorship can be correlated with the historical context of the item's creation. The designers that left the biggest mark in the 1980s are Deziderija Željka Puhalović, menswear and uniform designer, Đurđa Koščec, womenswear designer, and Željka Sačić, childrenswear designer.

Looking into historical context in which these items were created, it can be observed that all were manufactured by Varteks: womenswear in the factory in Ludbreg, childrenswear and sportswear in Bednja, mostly men's trousers, and part of casualwear in Ivanec, denim garments in Novi Marof, garments for the upper body, men's suits, made to measure garments and uniforms in Varaždin.

Historical context of the garments' purpose and use is Croatia, predominantly Varaždin County, namely the town of Varaždin, Ludbreg, Črešnjevo, and other places. However, some of the donated garments were used in Virovitica, Zagreb, Slavonski Brod. In most of the cases,

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22 – The majority of lenders expressed interest to gift their items if a permanent exhibition is set up at a future date.

23 – During the 1980s, the factory is called SOUR Varteks. This name was in use from 1977 until the factory's privatization. During this period, the name Tekstilni kombinat Varteks was also used.

odjevnog predmeta iako ju je većina tih odjevnih predmeta izgubila i nalazila se u ormarima građana služeći im kao privatna memorija odnosno podsjetnik na neka prošla vremena. Ulaskom artefakta u muzejsku zbirku on postaje predmet baštine kojem je svrha prenositi osnovnu poruku u kontekstu vremena, političkih, društvenih, gospodarskih i kulturnih prilika u kojima je sam odjevni predmet nastao.<sup>20</sup> Analizirajući modne predmete kao predmete baštine i prenositelja društvenog i kulturnog kruženja s obzirom na mjesto nastanka možemo izdvojiti dvije grupe predmeta: one nastale u tvornici i one nastale u obrtničkim radionicama, a šivane iz Varteksovih tkanina.

### Odjevni predmeti nastali u Varteksu:

U kontekstu vrste i naziva predmeta, donacija obuhvaća odjevne predmete označene modnom markom Varteks: šest muških odjela, četiri muška i jedan ženski kaput, ženski kostim, dva muška balonera, muški sako, ženske hlače i suknju; Varteks International: tri muška odijela, jedan muški i dva ženska kaputa i muške hlače; Varteks Exclusive: muško odijelo, muški kaput i ženski sako; Luis Fabre: dva ženska kaputa i dva ženska kostima; Phillipe Vartin: dva muška odijela i dvoje muške hlače; pod oznakom Varteks sponzor Univerzijade: muško odijelo i dva ženska kostima te muški kaput i ženski kostim šivani po mjeri u samoj tvornici.

### Odjevni predmeti šivani po mjeri u obrtničkim, krojačkim radionicama:

Odjevni predmeti u ovoj skupini nastali su u varaždinskim obrtničkim radionicama. Riječ je o desetak predmeta koji se ističu svojim kontekstom nastanka. Svojim se značenjem ističe muško odijelo koje je iz Varteksove tkanine dizajnirala Wanda Tudja Strahonja za svog supruga, a izrađen je u varaždinskoj obrtničkoj radionici. Memorijski zapis ovog predmeta nas upućuje na gđu Wandu (varaždinsku umjetnicu—tadašnju zaposlenicu Varteksa, kao autoricu dizajna), na Varteksov proizvod (tkaninu koja se 80-ih proizvodila), na varaždinsku obrtničku radionicu te na njena supruga, koji je kao stanovnik Varaždina koristio ovaj odjevni predmet. Većina ostalih odjevnih predmeta nastala je kao doprinos varaždinske modne krojačice Katice Seglin koja je iz Varteksovih tkanina pomoću modnih časopisa sama dizajnirala i šivala odjevne predmete prvenstveno za vlastitu upotrebu.<sup>21</sup>

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20 – Maroević, Ivo. „Razine muzealizacije vezane za kulturnu baštinu,“ *Informatica museologica* 36, 3-4, 2007: 44-49.

21 – Više o Katici Seglin u Simončić, Katarina Nina. Modnim tragovima Varaždina—modna krojačica Katica Seglin. Varaždin: Gradski muzej Varaždin, 2017.



Sl. 4. – Postav izložbe Stojljeće tekstila u palači Herzer Gradskog muzeja Varaždin, 2018. (Fotografija Andrej Švoger)  
/ Fig. 4. – One Hundred Years of Textiles (Stojljeće tekstila) exhibition held at the Herzer Palace of the Varaždin City Museum, 2018.  
(Photo by Andrej Švoger)



Sl. 5. – Postav izložbe Priče koje kroje Varteks u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt Zagreb, 2019./ Fig. 5. – Tailor-made stories (Priče koje kroje Varteks) exhibition held in Museum of Arts and Crafts, Zagreb, 2019.



the garments were used by “regular” people with the exception of the previously mentioned ones. Still, this is valuable data for historical context as it speaks of the citizens’ ability to supplement their wardrobe with these items.

The emotional and psychological messages the items carry reflect the item’s character which is extremely important for its understanding. When speaking of the reasons the items were selected, the primary reason has to be emphasised: the items were produced by Varteks, in Varaždin County, and a great number was used in this region as well. The items were selected according to Varaždin City Museum’s mission, vision, and holdings expansion policy while observing the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums<sup>24</sup> as well as laws governing museums’ operations. The number of garments is in line with their importance in production and several similar garments bear witness to their state after exiting the store. They further speak of Varteks’s workers upon them becoming independent entrepreneurs.

The projection of future use of the collected items from the 1980s demands identification of the traces these garments left on the society together with the items still held at Varteks. A comprehensive presentation of all the varieties of collected materials should include the musealization of the most important Varteks’ facilities that still exist, but are not in use nowadays and are dilapidating due to the elements and lack of care. As museum experts, we can patiently wait for the solution of this problem and prepare periodical exhibitions to present the collected materials, protecting them in accordance with the rules of the museum profession, and enabling access to interested members of the public. However, I believe that these materials, the most important Varteks’ facilities as industrial heritage, the saved machinery, and Varaždin’s importance, should be reasons for Varaždin’s cultural and textile workers to work together with the town’s and the county’s politicians, as well as Varteks d.d., to reach a decision about the need of a permanent presentation of the mentioned materials.

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24 – “Etički kodeks za muzeje”, translated to Croatian by Damodar Frlan: Sarajevo—National committee in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Zagreb—Croatian national committee, 2007.

Zanimljiv je i predmet koji se nalazi u skupini posuđenih predmeta, ali pripada u kategoriju budućeg dara.<sup>22</sup> Riječ je o ženskom zimskom kaputu gospođe Renate Poljak sašivenom po mjeri od Varteksove smeđe tkanine u karlovačkom krojačkom salonu Paladinić, prema izvornoj ideji gospođe Poljak, rođ. Paladinić.

Muzejski stručnjaci Gradskog muzeja Varaždin istraživali su dokumentarnu vrijednost ovih modnih odjevnih predmeta kao predmeta baštine, kroz katalogizaciju su dokumentirali njihova osnovna svojstva, a kroz proces primarne zaštite pripremali ih za čuvanje i izlaganje u muzejskoj ustanovi.

Sama svojstva materijala od kojeg su predmeti napravljeni nose poruku o upotrijebljenim sirovinama za njihov nastanak, tehnologiji izrade i modnim trendovima koji se javljaju 80-ih, a koji su u velikoj mjeri utjecali na njihov oblik. Autorstvo možemo stupnjevati u nekoliko razina—od prve razine koja obuhvaća pojam Varteks<sup>23</sup> do utvrđivanja autorstva dizajna pojedinog odjavnog predmeta. Isto tako, autorstvo možemo staviti u suodnos s povijesnim kontekstom nastanka predmeta. Ovo su desetljeće obilježile Deziderija Željka Puhalović, dizajnerica muške mode i uniformi, Đurđa Koščec, dizajnerica ženske mode, te Željka Sačić, dizajnerica dječje mode.

Govoreći o povijesnom kontekstu nastanka ovih predmeta vidimo da su svi proizvedeni u Varteksu—proizvodi ženske mode u Varteksovim pogonima u Ludbregu, u Bednji dječji i sportski program, u Ivancu program donje odjeće, u velikoj mjeri muških hlača i dio *casual* programa, u Novom Marofu proizvodi od džinsa, a u pogonima u Varaždinu gornja odjeća, muška odijela, šivanje po mjeri i uniforme.

Povijesni kontekst namjene i uporabe ovih odjevnih predmeta u većini sabranih predmeta upućuje nas na prostor Hrvatske. U najvećem broju riječ je o uporabi na području Varaždinske županije, odnosno Varaždina, Ludbrega, Črešnjeva i drugih mjesta. No dio darovanih predmeta svojom je uporabom vezan za Viroviticu, Zagreb i Slavonski Brod. U velikom broju slučajeva upotrebljavali su ih „obični“ ljudi s izuzetkom već prezentiranih odjevnih

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22 – Velik dio posuditelja ima interes darovati svoje predmete u slučaju neke buduće trajne prezentacije.

23 – Tijekom 80-ih tvornica se spominje pod imenom SOUR Varteks, ovo se ime koristi od 1977. do privatizacije tvornice. U ovom periodu koristi se i ime Tekstilni kombinat Varteks.



Varaždin City Museum and Varteks d.d. collected a substantial number of Varteks-produced garments in preparing the exhibition. As the items are made of textiles and require special care in holding, they undertook the process of preventive protection and preparation for the exhibition. Experts are taking care of the items held at Varaždin City Museum, and I am hoping for a better solution for the ones returned to Varteks as they were properly prepared for holding. After the garments enter the museum collections and their permanent safekeeping is ensured, their periodic exhibiting continues the process of musealisation. A need exists for the musealization of the items returned to Varteks, as well as other items, especially the garments that were not represented in this acquisition, such as the brand Young or the garments made to measure for the dignitaries at the time. The future of the items raises the question of the unification of the heritage in a future museum exhibition.

The majority of the experts, as well as interested public, speak of the need to establish a new museum which would encompass the entire textile industry in Varaždin, not only Varteks. Textile industry defined Varaždin's development in the 20th century and was based on sole proprietorships and manufacturing silk. It is necessary to think about the presentation, but also about the activities which would make that collection an important segment of Varaždin's and Croatia's cultural life, as well as an educational centre for the youth. In particular, for the students of textile and fashion design who should embrace the future museum as a stakeholder in their learning process. In addition, it is necessary to keep in mind other groups, especially former textile workers, who can actively participate in the museum's operations by volunteering for several decades to come.



predmeta. No, i ovo su vrijedni podaci za povijesni kontekst jer nam daju sliku o mogućnostima građana 80-ih da svoju garderobu nadopune ovim proizvodima.

Emotivne i psihološke poruke koje predmeti nose upućuju nas na karakter predmeta koji je izuzetno važan za razumijevanje artefakta. Govoreći o razlozima zašto su odabrani moramo istaknuti da je osnovni razlog to što su proizvedeni u Varteksu i nastali na području Varaždinske županije, a velik je broj bio u uporabi na ovom području. U procesu odabira djelovali smo na principima koje je Gradski muzej Varaždin odredio svojom misijom i vizijom te politikom popune fundusa te poštovali ICOM Etički kodeks za muzeje<sup>24</sup> te zakonske okvire muzejske struke. Broj odjevnih predmeta u skladu je s važnošću u proizvodnji, a nekoliko sličnih predmeta govori nam i o njihovom stanju nakon što su napustili trgovinu te Varteksovima radnicima kad prelaze u privatnike.

Projekcija za buduće korištenje ovih sabranih odjevnih predmeta iz 80-ih nameće i identificiranje tragova koje su ovi odjevni predmeti ostavili na društvo zajedno s predmetima koji se i dalje čuvaju u Varteksu. Cjelovita prezentacija, uz obuhvaćanje sve razlikovne vrste građe koja je prikupljena, trebala bi obuhvatiti i muzealizaciju najvažnijih prostora očuvanih dijelova Varteksove industrijske baštine koja se danas ne koristi i izložena je propadanju zbog utjecaja vremena i nebrige za prostor. Kao muzejski stručnjaci možemo strpljivo čekati rješenje ovog problema i pripremati povremene izložbe na kojima bismo prezentirali sakupljenu građu, brinući i štiteći sabrano u skladu s pravilima muzejske struke te omogućavajući uvid zainteresiranim građanima. Interes za izlaganje izložbe *Stoljeće tekstila* koja je bila pokretač sabiranja ove baštine postoji u široj zajednici. No, smatram da ova građa, najznačajniji prostori Varteksove industrijske baštine, sačuvani strojevi i značaj Varaždina trebaju biti razlozi da varaždinski kulturni i tekstilni djelatnici zajedno s političkim strukturama grada i županije te Varteksom d.d. donesu odluku o potrebi stalne prezentacije ove građe.

Gradski muzej Varaždin i Varteks d. d. tijekom pripreme izložbe sabrali su znatan broj odjevnih predmeta proizvedenih u Varteksu. Budući da se radi o tekstilnim predmetima koji zahtijevaju posebnu brigu kod čuvanja, predmeti su prošli proces preventivne zaštite i pripreme za izlaganje. Za dio modne baštine

24 – *Etički kodeks za muzeje*, prijevod na hrvatski Damodar Frlan: Sarajevo—Nacionalni komitet Bosne i Hercegovine: Zagreb—Hrvatski nacionalni komitet, 2007.

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koja se čuva u Gradskom muzeju Varaždin brinu se stručnjaci, a za dio koji je vraćen u Varteks uredno spremljen za čuvanje, nadam se boljem rješenju u skoroj budućnosti. Ulaskom odjavnih predmeta u muzejske zbirke i osiguravanja brige oko njihova trajnog čuvanja, njihovo povremeno izlaganje ukazuje na kontinuitet procesa muzealizacije. Potreba za muzealizacijom predmeta vraćenih u Varteks, ali i ostalih predmeta, traje i dalje i trebala bi biti usmjerena na dio odjavnih predmeta koji nisu zastupljeni u akviziciji poput modne marke Young, ali i dijelu proizvodnje koja je bila usmjerena prema šivanju po mjeri za tadašnje uglednike. Budućnost predmeta otvara pitanja kao što je objedinjavanje baštine u nekom budućem muzejskom postavu.

Većina stručnjaka, a i zainteresirane javnosti, govori o potrebi nastanka novog muzeja koji bi se bavio cjelokupnom varaždinskom tekstilnom industrijom, a ne samo Varteksom. Tekstilna industrija obilježila je razvoj grada Varaždina u 20. stoljeću, a temeljila se na obrtima i manufakturi proizvodnje svile. Potrebno je razmišljati, ali i raditi, ne samo na prezentaciji nego i na aktivnostima koje bi taj postav činile važnim dionikom varaždinskog i hrvatskog kulturnog života te središtem obrazovanja mladih. Ovdje mislimo prvenstveno na dio studentske populacije koja se bavi tekstilom i koja bi prostor budućeg muzeja trebala prihvatiti kao dionika svojeg obrazovanja. No, treba razmišljati i o ostalim ciljnim skupinama, posebice bivšim tekstilnim radnicima koji još nekoliko desetljeća mogu aktivnim volontiranjem sudjelovati u radu ove ustanove.



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FASHION MUSEOLOGY / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE

SPOMENKA TEŽAK / FROM THE 1960s VARTEKS FASHION GARMENT TO ITS MUSEALIZATION  
/ OD VARTEKSOVA MODNOG PREDMETA 80-ih GODINA 20. STOLJEĆA DO NIEGOVE MUZEALIZACIJE

**THE FASHION,  
ACCESSORIES  
AND TEXTILES  
COLLECTION  
IN THE CONTEXT  
OF THE COLLECT-  
ING POLICY OF  
THE ZAGREB  
CITY MUSEUM**

**ZBIRKA MODE,  
MODNOG PRIBORA  
I TEKSTILA U  
KONTEKSTU  
SAKUPLJAČKE  
POLITIKE MUZEJA  
GRADA ZAGREBA**



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Manager of the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection  
Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb, Croatia

## SUMMARY

Zagreb City Museum, as the city's historical museum, collects various items which fulfil aesthetic, cultural, and historic criteria and illustrate the history and everyday life of the city.

The museum's Fashion and accessories collection holds garments and accessories from all social classes from the 19th and 20th centuries. Alongside actual fashion and clothing items, we collect items which illustrate the creation and production of a specific item, its placement on the market, as well as "the life" of an item from the moment it reaches the end user. Fashion and clothing items cannot be separated from the history of the persons who created them, produced them, bought them, and wore them—they witness the history of the person, community, and society.

A special challenge for any researcher is the elevation of the garment above the traditional status of a museum artefact and its interpretation in relation to society, customs, cultural, and political circumstances. Accordingly, at Zagreb City Museum, we treat the garment as a record of time sublimating all political, economic, and social changes.

**Maja Arčabić**, viša kustosica  
Voditeljica Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila  
Muzej grada Zagreba, Zagreb, Hrvatska

## SAŽETAK

Muzej grada Zagreba kao gradski povijesni muzej sakuplja različite vrste predmeta, koji osim što zadovoljavaju estetske, kulturološke i povijesne kriterije, ilustriraju povijest i svakodnevni život grada.

Danas, Zbirka mode i modnoga pribora Muzeja grada Zagreba u svojem fondusu čuva odjevne predmete i modni pribor 19. i 20. stoljeća svih društvenih slojeva. Uz konkretne modne i odjevne predmete, prikupljamo i predmete koji ilustriraju kreaciju i produkciju pojedinoga predmeta, način njegova plasiranja na tržište, te "život" predmeta od trenutka kada on dođe do krajnjega konzumenta. Modni i odjevni predmeti neodvojivi su od povijesti osoba koje su ih kreirale, proizvodele, kupovale, odnosno nosile—oni svjedoče o povijesti osobe, sredine i društva.

Poseban izazov za svakoga istraživača izdizanje je odjavnoga predmeta iznad tradicionalnoga muzejskog artefakta i njegovo interpretiranje u relaciji s društvom, običajima, kulturnim i političkim prilikama. Sukladno tome, u Muzeju grada Zagreba odijelo tretiramo kao dokument vremena koji sublimira sve političke, ekonomske i društvene promjene.

## ABOUT THE COLLECTION

Zagreb City Museum's Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection was established in 2004. Until then, garments, accessories, and textile items, collected by the museum for almost a century, were part of the Cultural and Historical Collection. By employing a curator for the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection, systematic collection of items began and space for their keeping and presentation was secured.

Today, despite its name, the collection consists of garments, accessories, dance cards, carpets, flags, and furnishings, creating a heterogeneous unit.

## HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

The first garments entered into Zagreb City Museum's inventory ledgers are the Ilyrian red cap and military headdress čako. These items, as well as several dresses and accessories mostly from the 19th century, were part of the museum's first permanent exhibition in 1925, at that time located at the current Art pavilion building.

The first significant donation of garments came from the family of Ljudevit Gaj, the leader of the Croatian national revival. It was in accordance with the museum's collecting policy at the time which focused on dress uniforms and uniforms worn by people who left a mark in the city's politics and culture.

In the Zagreb City Museum's current permanent exhibition dating from the 1990s, there is a separate unit dedicated to clothing. In addition, the authors of individual themes within the exhibition included garments to show clothing as part of everyday life.

## O ZBIRCI

Zbirka mode, modnog pribora i tekstila Muzeja grada Zagreba utemeljena je 2004. godine. Do osnutka zasebne kolekcije odjevni su predmeti, modni pribor i predmeti od tekstila—prikupljeni u Muzeju gotovo čitavo stoljeće—bili dijelom fundusa Kulturno-povijesne zbirke. Zapošljavanjem kustosa Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila započelo je sustavno prikupljanje građe, osiguran je prostor za njezino čuvanje i prezentaciju.

Danas u fundus zbirke koja se unatoč nazivu primarno bavi odijevanjem ulaze: odjevni predmeti, modni pribor, plesni redovi, tepisi, zastave i posoblje čineći heterogenu cjelinu.

## POVIJEST ZBIRKE

Prvi odjevni predmeti upisani u inventarne knjige Muzeja grada Zagreba ilirska su crvenkapa i čako (oglavlje) gradske straže. Ti predmeti, uz nekolicinu haljina i modnog pribora mahom iz 19. stoljeća, bili su izloženi 1925. u prvom stalnom postavu Muzeja koji se nalazio u današnjoj zgradi Umjetničkog paviljona.

Prva značajnija donacija odjavnih predmeta bila je ona obitelji prvaka hrvatskog narodnog preporoda Ljudevita Gaja 1910. godine. Ta je donacija bila sukladna tadašnjoj sakupljačkoj politici muzeja čiji je fokus bio na prikupljanju svečanih odora i uniformi osoba koje su obilježile političku i kulturnu povijest grada.

U aktualnom stalnom postavu Muzeja grada Zagreba, koji datira u sredinu 1990-ih godina, ne postoji zasebna cjelina posvećena odijevanju, no autori pojedinih tema postava uvrstili su i odjevne predmete prikazujući odijevanje kao dio svakodnevnog života.

For example, the theme illustrating the development of Ilica as the main city street, holds a woman's dress from the beginning of the 20th century, a tailcoat, and hats manufactured by factory owner and salesman Ljudevit Gerersdorfer. The "House and Life" theme, dealing with everyday life between world wars, presents gowns made in Zagreb as well as Vienna, and Budapest—cities towards which wealthier women gravitated.

Zagreb after WWII and its rapid expansion is represented by a traditional costume from Šestine and a Dior dress bought in Paris by a renowned Zagreb hairdresser Vesna Kincl. These items are exhibited next to each other and suggest a coexistence of the two clothing styles in the post-war period in Zagreb. The intention of the permanent exhibition's author, Nada Premerl, was to illustrate the atmosphere on Zagreb's streets in the period of economic growth and rapid expansion of the city. At that time, on Zagreb's streets, one could still see the traditional national costumes from the Zagreb region as well as dresses worn by fashionable women living in Zagreb.

The development of the current permanent exhibition provided an incentive to intensify the acquisition of garments and accessories through donations and purchases. Colleague Nada Premerl collected garments created in tailor's shops, boutiques, clothing industry, and those bought abroad. Individual items often found their way to the museum through landfills. Such is the case with a 1930s gown which is now part of the permanent exhibition.

Legacies of persons who were directly involved in the development of the fashion scene through their professions are an inexhaustible source of information for the study of fashion history and clothing as well as for the collection's holdings. Such is the legacy of journalist and translator Mila Mirković who also worked as a fashion model and Zdenko Krpan, a long-time designer at Kamensko factory, as well as the legacy of the boutique Nataša, one of the first boutiques in Zagreb, whose owners were involved in professional and entrepreneurial associations during the 1970s.

Tako se u temi koja ilustrira razvoj Ilice, kao glavne gradske ulice, nalazi damska haljina s početka 20. stoljeća, muški frak i šeširi tvorničara i trgovca Ljudevita Gerersdorfera. U temi „Kuća i život“, koja se bavi svakodnevicom između dva svjetska rata, izložene su svečane haljine izrađene u Zagrebu te u Beču i Budimpešti—gradovima kojima su gravitirale imućnije pripadnice građanskog društva.

Poslijeratni Zagreb i njegov nagli razvoj ilustriraju šestinska nošnja i Diorova haljina koju je u Parizu kupila ugledna zagrebačka obrtnica Vesna Kincl. Ta dva odjevna predmeta izloženi jedan uz drugi sugeriraju supostojanje dvaju odjernih izričaja u poratnom Zagrebu. Namjera autorice stalnog postava Nade Premerl bila je na takav način izloženim odjervim predmetima ilustrirati atmosferu zagrebačkih ulica u vrijeme gospodarskog rasta i naglog razvoja grada. U to vrijeme na zagrebačkim ulicama još su se uvijek istodobno mogle vidjeti tradicionalne nošnje zagrebačke okolice i haljine modno osviještenih Zagrepčanki.

Izrada aktualnog stalnog postava muzeja bila je poticaj intenziviranju nabave odjernih predmeta i modnog pribora darovanjem i otkupima. Kolegica Nada Premerl prikupljala je odjevne predmete nastale u obrtničkim radionicama, buticima, industriji konfekcije, ali i one kupljene u inozemstvu. Nerijetko su pojedini predmeti našli svoj put do muzeja preko odlagališta otpada kao što je slučaj sa svečanom haljinom iz 1930-ih godina danas izloženom u stalnom postavu.

Za fundus Zbirke i izučavanje povijesti mode i odijevanja u Zagrebu neiscrpan izvor informacija su ostavštine osoba koje su svojim profesionalnim angažmanom bile direktno involvirane u razvoj modne scene. Takve su ostavštine novinarka i prevoditeljice Mile Mirković, koja je dio života radila kao manekenka, Zdenka Krpana, dugogodišnjeg dizajnera Tvornice Kamen-sko, te ostavština butika Nataša, jednoga od prvih zagrebačkih butika čiji su vlasnici od 1970-ih godina bili angažirani i u strukovnim i obrtničkim udruženjima.

## COLLECTING POLICY

The Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection is one of the fastest growing collections in Zagreb City Museum due to its active collecting policy. An exclusively aesthetic criterion for item selection has long been abandoned.

Since the collection's establishment as a separate unit within the museum, which is primarily the museum of the city's history, its guiding idea was that "fashion and clothing are a product of time, social, political, economic, and cultural events and that no item can be observed without this framework". The aim is to collect garments and accessories belonging to people of different social identities, used in different circumstances and situations. By collecting items solely based on aesthetic criteria, collecting policy is limited and expresses a warped and incomplete picture of a complex clothing system.

Collection of items in the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection influenced the formation of separate units which encompass artefacts from tailoring salons, boutiques, textile, clothing, and footwear industry, such as men's and women's daywear and eveningwear, wedding dresses, underwear, pyjamas and nightgowns, bathing suits, as well as accessories: shoes, bags, hats, gloves, fans, and wallets. A separate unit consists of altered clothing and knitwear, children's clothing and footwear, street fashion, sportswear, worker and civilian uniforms.

The items become part of the collection by donating and purchasing. However, due to the current economic situation, the public more often offers the garments for purchasing which we considered an important information for future research of the collection's history.

Apart from direct acquisition from the owners, the items are acquired by purchasing at antique fairs and second hand fairs as well as through advertisements on the Internet. In these indirect acquisitions, important information is missing relating to the persons who acquired and used the items which makes it difficult to contextualize the items and impossible to create full metadata.

The collection holds a large number of industrial uniforms and coat overalls acquired at the popular second-hand fair Hrelić worn by employees of various companies in Zagreb. Only one coat overalls was

## PRIKUPLJAČKA POLITIKA

Zahvaljujući aktivnoj prikupljačkoj politici Zbirka mode, modnog pribora i tekstila jedna je od najbrže rastućih zbirki u Muzeju grada Zagreba. Isključivo estetski kriterij odabira predmeta za zbirku odavno je napušten.

Od formiranja Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila kao zasebne cjeline unutar muzeja, koji je svojim profilom primarno muzej gradske povijesti, ideja je vodilja da su „moda i odijevanje produkt vremena, društvenih, političkih, gospodarskih i kulturnih događanja te niti jedan predmet nije moguće promatrati izvan tog okvira“. Cilj je prikupiti odjevne predmete i modni pribor osoba različitih socijalnih identiteta, korištenih u različitim životnim prilikama i situacijama. Prikupljajući predmete vodeći se isključivo estetskim kriterijima prikupljačka politika je sužena te odražava iskrivljenu i nepotpunu sliku kompleksnog odjevnog sustava.

Prikupljanje predmeta unutar Zbirke mode, modnoga pribora i tekstila utjecalo je na formiranje zasebnih cjelina koje čine sačuvani artefakti krojačkih salona, butika, tekstilne industrije, industrije konfekcije i industrije obuće. Unutar tih cjelina izdvajaju se muška i ženska dnevna i svečana odjeća, vjenčane haljine, donje rublje, pidžame i spavačice, kupaći kostimi te modni pribor: cipele, torbice, šeširi, rukavice, lepeze i novčanici. Zasebnu cjelinu čini prekrajana i pletena odjeća, dječja odjeća i obuća te ulična moda, sportska i radnička odjeća i civilne uniforme.

Predmeti u fundus zbirke ulaze darovanjem i kupnjom, no s obzirom na aktualnu ekonomsku situaciju sugrađani sve češće odjevne predmete nude na otkup što smatramo važnim podatkom za buduća istraživanja povijesti zbirke.

Osim direktnim akvizicijama od vlasnika, predmeti se nabavljaju kupnjom. Dna sajmovina starina i predmeta rabljene robe te putem internetskih oglasnika. Kod takvih neizravnih nabava čest je izostanak važnih informacija koje se odnose na podatke o osobama koje su predmete nabavljale i koristile, što otežava kontekstualizaciju i uzrokuje nemogućnost stvaranja potpunih metapodataka o muzejskim predmetima.

U fundusu zbirke danas čuvamo velik broj radničkih uniformi i kuta nabavljenih na popularnom sajmu rabljene robe Hreliću koje su nosili zaposlenici zagrebačkih firmi. Samo smo jednu radnu kutu dobili direktno od vlasnika. Sve ostale uniforme i kute su „anonimne“, no u muzejski fundus uvrštene su kao artefakti koji svjedoče o gospodarskom prosperitetu i razvoju





Sl. 1. – Dio stalnog postava, Muzej grada Zagreba, Hrvatska. / Fig. 1. – Part of the permanent exhibition in the Zagreb City Museum, Croatia.

acquired directly from its owner. All the other uniforms and coat overalls are “anonymous”. Still, they were included in the museum holdings as artefacts bearing witness to economic prosperity and development of the city’s industry. This leads to a conclusion that clothing, especially everyday clothing, is merely a utility item and expendable goods in the minds of majority of people.

The most common way of collecting items and adding them to the collection is still by direct contact with the owners enabling the curator access to numerous microhistories of families and individuals, interesting both culturally and anthropologically. The reasons for holding items in family legacies are diverse and are recorded to take future research and presentation into account. Items are often left behind in wardrobes, some are kept for sentimental reasons, and a surprising number of items are used by two generations of family members.

An example of items bearing witness to popular and sporting events important for Zagreb are the official uniforms and accessories used during the Universiade or a dress worn by TV host and editor Helga Vlahović Brnobić worn while hosting the 1990 Eurovision song contest. This telegenic dress made of synthetic plush and decorated by multi-coloured beads, bought abroad, became a part of museum’s holdings in 2010 solely due to the connection with the person and the event and not for aesthetic qualities.

Some items become part of the museum’s holdings despite ever being used by their owners. However, this fact offers information on the item’s importance for the owners as well as their relationship. An example of such an item are a pair of tights bought at the beginning of the 1960s in the USA. A product of such quality and price was so precious to the owner that she, according to her daughter, waited for an occasion “special enough” to wear them. Such an occasion never came and the tights, in their original packaging, became a valuable exhibit in 2009 illustrating the beginning of consumer society in Croatia.

Examples of items kept for sentimental reasons is a men’s shirt manufactured by Kamensko factory and a suit manufactured by Mura at the beginning of the 1970s which the donor kept as a memento of the first date with her future husband. She gifted the items to the museum in 2009 and several years later she gifted her wedding dress and her husband’s wedding suit.

industrije grada iz čega shvaćamo da je odjeća, osobito svakodnevna, u svijesti većine građana isključivo uporabni predmet i potrošna roba.

Najčešći način prikupljanja predmeta i popunjavanja zbirke ipak je izravan kontakt s vlasnicima pri čemu se kustosu otvaraju brojne mikropovijesti obitelji i osoba, zanimljive kako kulturološki tako i antropološki. Razlozi čuvanja predmeta u obiteljskim ostavštinama su različiti, a nastoje se zabilježiti vodeći računa o budućim istraživanjima i prezentacijama. Često predmeti ostaju zaboravljeni u ormarima, neki se čuvaju iz emotivnih i sentimentalnih razloga, a iznenađujući broj predmeta koriste dvije generacije članova obitelji.

Primjer predmeta koji svjedoče o popularnim i sportskim događajima važnim za grad Zagreb su službene uniforme i modni pribor korišteni u vrijeme održavanja Univerzijade ili haljina koju je nosila televizijska voditeljica i urednica Helga Vlahović Brnobić prilikom vođenja izbora za europsku pjesmu 1990. godine. Ta je „televizična“ haljina šivana od sintetičkog pliša i ukrašena šarenim perlama, kupljena u inozemstvu, postala dijelom muzejskog fundusa 2010. godine isključivo zbog veze s događajem i osobom, a ne zbog estetskih kvaliteta.

Neki predmeti postaju dijelom muzejskog fundusa premda ih vlasnici nikada nisu koristili, ali i ta činjenica nudi informacije o značaju nekih predmeta za njihove vlasnike kao i odnosu prema njima. Tako su za Zbirku mode, modnog pribora i tekstila prikupljene hulahupke kupljene u SAD-u početkom 1960-ih. Proizvod takve kvalitete i cijene vlasnici je bio toliko dragocjen da je, prema riječima njezine kćeri, donatorice, čekala „dovoljno posebnu“ priliku da ih odjene. Ta se prilika nikada nije realizirala, a čarape u originalnom pakiranju od 2009. vrijedan su muzejski artefakt i svjedočanstvo početka stvaranja potrošačkog društva u Hrvatskoj.

Primjer predmeta čuvanih iz sentimentalnih razloga je muška košulja proizvedena u tvornici Kamensko i odijelo proizvedeno u tvornici Mura početkom 1970-ih godina, koje je donatorica sačuvala kao uspomenu na prvi izlazak s budućim suprugom. Predmete je darovala muzeju 2009. godine, a nekoliko godina kasnije darovala je i svoju vjenčanu haljinu te suprugovo vjenčano odijelo.

Projekt izrade aktualnog stalnog postava, koji je počeo ranih 1990-ih godina, ukazao je na manjak predmeta koji datiraju u drugu polovicu 20. stoljeća. Taj problem bio je izražen vezano za predmete svakodnevne upotrebe, a osobito za odjevne predmete. Stoga je fokus aktivne prikupljačke politike





Sl. 2. – Plakat za izložbu *Žuži Jelinek—ambasador mode*, Muzej grada Zagreba, 2008. / Fig. 2 – Poster for the exhibition *Žuži Jelinek—fashion ambassador*, Zagreb City Museum, 2008.



Sl. 3. – Plakat za izložbu *Moda i odijevanje u Zagrebu 1960-ih*, Muzej grada Zagreba, 2019. / Fig. 3 – Poster for the exhibition *Fashion and clothing in the 1960s Zagreb*, Zagreb City Museum, 2019.

The project of building the current permanent exhibition started in the early 1990s showed a lack of items dating from the second half of the 20th century. This problem was significant when it comes to everyday items, especially garments. As a consequence, the focus of active collecting policy shifted to items that were least represented in the museum's depots due to the relatively small lapse of time. This primarily refers to the last quarter of the 20th century.

One of the basic problems of historical museums today is contemporary collecting of items related to current events, processes, institutions, and persons and simultaneously anticipating interests of future museum employees and visitors. The abundance of clothing styles, their fast change, and decreasing tendency for keeping garments are an additional incentive to collect contemporary artefacts. Collecting items today for the future is central in ensuring museum collections stay relevant to their communities and the cooperation with visitors and experts in finding items is paramount.

Considering current events as well as events in recent history, "collecting today for tomorrow" was never so relevant. Following ICOM recommendations, the intention is to supplement the museum's holdings with items related to the March, 2020 earthquake in Zagreb as well as the Covid-19 pandemic. One of the last acquisitions for the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection is a protective suit such as used by intensive care workers at the University Hospital for Infectious Diseases "Dr. Fran Mihaljević" in Zagreb.

## PRESENTATION

The first exhibition at the Zagreb City Museum to deal with fashion and clothing was *Žuži Jelinek—fashion ambassador* case study exhibition held in 2008. It was developed after the legacy of the tailor Žuži Jelinek was acquired encompassing photographs, a collection of newspapers and magazines, archival documents. The exhibition presented the history of the renowned tailor salon and its importance in the context of specific social and economic circumstances from the 1950s until the 1980s.

Conceptually, it had two thematic units. The first presented work organization in the salon, garment production, rapport with clients, different ways of adopting fashion styles and their placement on the market. The

usmjeren na predmete koji su zbog relativno male vremenske distance bili najslabije zastupljeni u muzejskim čuvaonicama. Prvenstveno se to odnosi na posljednju četvrtinu 20. stoljeća.

Jedan od temeljnih problema današnjih povijesnih muzeja je suvremeno prikupljanje predmeta vezanih za aktualna događanja, procese, institucije i osobe nastojeći pri tome predvidjeti interese budućih muzejskih djelatnika i muzejskih posjetitelja. Brojnost odjernih stilova, njihove brze promjene kao i sve rjeđa sklonost čuvanju odjernih predmeta dodatni su poticaj za prikupljanje suvremenih artefakata. Prikupljanje predmeta danas za sutra ključno je kako bi se osiguralo da muzejske zbirke ostanu relevantne za njihove zajednice, a suradnja s posjetiteljima i stručnjacima prilikom pronalaženja predmeta radi popunjavanja zbirke, neizostavna je.

S obzirom na aktualne događaje kao i događaje iz bliske prošlosti, „prikupljanje danas za sutra“ nikada nije bilo tako aktualno. Slijedeći preporuke ICOM-a nastoji se muzejski fundus upotpuniti predmetima vezanim za potres koji je pogodio Zagreb u ožujku 2020. i za pandemiju bolesti Covid-19. Jedna od posljednjih akvizicija za fundus Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila zaštitno je odijelo kakvo koriste zaposlenici odjela intenzivne skrbi Zarazne bolnice Fran Mihaljević u Zagrebu pri kontaktu s oboljelima.

## PREZENTACIJA

Prva izložba u Muzeju grada Zagreba koja se bavila modom i odijevanjem bila je studijska izložba *Žuži Jelinek—ambasador mode*, realizirana 2008. godine. Izložba je nastala nakon preuzimanja ostavštine krojačke obrtnice Žuži Jelinek koju čine fotografije, hemeroteka, arhivski dokumenti. Izložba se bavila poviješću ovoga renomiranog krojačkog salona i njegovim značajem u kontekstu specifičnih društvenih i gospodarskih prilika od 1950-ih do 1980-ih godina.

Koncepcijski je izložba bila podijeljena na dvije tematske cjeline. Prva se odnosila na organizaciju rada u krojačkom salonu, produkciju odjernih predmeta, odnos prema klijentima, načine usvajanja modnih stilova i njihovo plasiranje na tržište. Druga cjelina odnosila se na suradnju Žuži Jelinek s domaćom industrijom tekstila i konfekcije koja je počela sredinom 1950-ih godina, u vrijeme nagloga razvoja te industrijske grane. Kreacije Žuži Jelinek za velike tvorničke serije neosporno su utjecale na demokratizaciju mode i nepovratno su izmijenile modnu scenu, jer su modeli jednoga renomiranoga salona tada po povoljnijim cijenama postali dostupni širem krugu potrošača.



second unit referred to Žuži Jelinek's cooperation with the domestic textile and garment industry which began in the mid-1950s during the industry's rapid development. Žuži Jelinek's designs for large factory production irrefutably influenced the democratization of fashion and irreversibly changed the fashion scene as designs of a renowned salon became affordable to a wider number of customers.

Considering the appeal of this type of exhibition and the media presence of Žuži Jelinek, we made a deliberate effort to present the theme in the museum in order to encourage the public to donate garments they keep in their homes.

The case study exhibition *Fashion and clothing in the 1960s Zagreb*, held at the beginning of 2019, was the result of carefully planned acquisition for the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection at the Zagreb City Museum focused on the second half of the 20th century.

The exhibition presented fashion phenomena and clothing production of the 1960s in Zagreb as well as the wider historical context of this very important decade. The 1960s are a decade of great changes in clothing style subject to technological advancement, prosperity, development of consumer culture and welfare state as well as pop culture and the new worldview of the post-war generation. Research conducted during the exhibition's preparation leads us to conclude that the 1960s are a period of prosperity, reaffirmation of civic culture in clothing, fast changes in clothing production, spreading of fashion information and influences, as well as their implementation in consumer society.

The intention was to familiarize the visitors with the 1960s influences on the local production and market, with the design and production process of garments, the ways of their placement on the market as well as circumstances and means of their use from the moment they reached the consumer.

The Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection holds items which bear witness to tragic historical events. In 2012, Milica Veselić donated a children's outfit consisting of socks and a dress which she wore in 1942 as a two-year-old when she was rescued from the concentration camp in Jasenovac. Her adoptive family kept the outfit as a memento of the donor's tragic childhood and the only connection to her biological family. In 2017, Mirna Kostović Srzentić, PhD, donated a jacket which she wore when wounded during the May, 1995 missile strike on Zagreb

Imajući na umu atraktivnost ove vrste izložaba i prisutnost krojačice Žuži Jelinek u medijskom prostoru svjesno smo se odlučili za muzejsku prezentaciju teme kako bismo potaknuli sugrađane na darovanje odjevnih predmeta koje čuvaju u svojim domovima.

Studijska izložba *Moda i odijevanje u Zagrebu 1960-ih*, realizirana početkom 2019., bila je rezultat planiranog prikupljanja građe za Zbirku mode, modnog pribora i tekstila Muzeja grada Zagreba, usmjerenog na drugu polovinu 20. stoljeća.

Izložbom su prezentirani modni fenomeni i odjevna produkcija 1960-ih godina u Zagrebu te širi povijesni kontekst toga umnogome značajnog desetljeća druge polovine 20. stoljeća.

Šezdesete su godine velikih promjena u stilu odijevanja, uvjetovanih tehnološkim napretkom, prosperitetom, razvojem potrošačke kulture i države blagostanja te utjecajima pop-kulture i novim svjetonazorom poratne generacije. Istraživanje provedeno tijekom priprema izložbe navodi nas na zaključak da su 1960. razdoblje prosperiteta, reafirmacije građanske kulture u odijevanju te vrijeme brzih promjena u produkciji odjeće, širenja modnih informacija i utjecaja te njihove implementacije u potrošačkom društvu.

Izložbenim cjelinama nastojali su se posjetiteljima približiti modni utjecaji 1960-ih na lokalnu produkciju i tržište, procesi kreacije i proizvodnje odjevnih predmeta, načini plasmana na tržište te okolnosti i načini uporabe odjevnih predmeta od trenutka njihova dolaska do konzumenta.

U fundusu Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila nalaze se i predmeti koji svjedoče o tragičnim povijesnim događajima. Godine 2012. Milica Veselić darovala je Muzeju dječji komplet, čarapice i haljinicu koju je nosila 1942. godine, u vrijeme kada je kao dvogodišnje dijete spašena iz jasenovačkog logora. Naime, usvojiteljska obitelj sačuvala je ovaj komplet kao sjećanje na tragično djetinjstvo donatorice te jedinu vezu s njezinom biološkom obitelji.

Godine 2017. dr. sc. Mirna Kostović Srzentić darovala je Muzeju grada Zagreba jaknu koju je nosila prilikom ranjavanja u vrijeme raketiranja Zagreba u svibnju 1995., na kojoj su vidljivi tragovi gelera. Tom je prilikom prvi put javno govorila o svom traumatičnom iskustvu. Oba su predmeta konzervirana te će biti izloženi u budućem stalnom postavu muzeja.



Sl. 4. – Dio postava izložbe *Moda i odijevanje u Zagrebu 1960-ih*, Muzej grada Zagreba, 2019. / Fig. 4. – Part of the exhibition *Fashion and clothing in the 1960s Zagreb*, Zagreb City Museum, 2019.

with visible shrapnel marks. When donating the jacket, she spoke of her traumatic experience for the first time. Both items are preserved and will be exhibited in the future permanent exhibition.

## PERSPECTIVE

Alongside well-defined collecting policy and curators' personal affinities –managing a collection in largely authorial work—interinstitutional cooperation is very important for the development of the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles collection of the Zagreb City Museum. Quality cooperation and exchange of information is established with the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, and the most significant professional cooperation in the field of fashion research is established with the Center for Research of Fashion and Clothing (CIMO) founded by Tonči Vladislavić, a retired lecturer at the Faculty of Textile Technology. Vladislavić is credited with ensuring a significant number of valuable new donations for the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection in the last dozen years.

Media interest for this type of museum exhibits and exhibitions expectedly exists as visitors easily identify with the garments. Everyday items, garments included, convey the impressions and the “aura” of time most easily and with the most credibility. Printed and electronic media accompany the exhibitions and related events with a significant number of texts. Unfortunately, after the late Ana Ledvaj, a new journalist who could follow and comment on the museological concepts of the exhibitions presenting fashion and clothing with insight and argument still has not emerged.

Despite the intention and effort invested in the emergence of the Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection as a benchmark museum collection, objective circumstances in which the museum operates present a challenge for the museum profession and the desire to intensify collecting, presenting, and digitalization. Numerous technical issues in managing the collection's holdings are caused by an insufficient number of employees and the increase in intensity and quantity of administrative work. In addition, the museum does not employ a specialist in textile preparation and restoration. As a consequence, restoration work is conducted by external associates and the preparation work is

## PERSPEKTIVA

Uz definiranu sakupljačku politiku muzeja i osobne afinitete kustosa—jer voditeljstvo zbirke u velikoj je mjeri autorski rad—za razvoj Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila Muzeja grada Zagreba značajna je međuinstitucionalna suradnja. Kvalitetna suradnja i razmjena informacija ostvarena je s Muzejom za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu, a najznačajnija stručna suradnja na polju istraživanja mode realizirana je s Centrom za istraživanje mode (CIMO), čiji je osnivač umirovljeni predavač na Tekstilno-tehnološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu Tonči Vladislavić. Vladislavićevom zaslugom u fundus Muzeja grada Zagreba u proteklih desetak godina ušao je i značajan broj vrijednih donacija za Zbirku mode, modnog pribora i tekstila.

Medijski interes za ovu vrstu muzejskih predmeta i izložaba očekivano postoji jer se posjetitelji lako identificiraju s odjevnim predmetima. Predmeti svakodnevne upotrebe među koje spadaju i odjevni predmeti najlakše i najverodostojnije posjetiteljima prenose dojam i „auru“ vremena. Tiskani i elektronički mediji značajnim brojem objava prate modne izložbe i događanja koja su za njih vezana. Nažalost, nakon pokojne novinarkе Ane Ledvaj nije se profilirao novinar koji bi znalacki i argumentirano pratio i komentirao muzeološke koncepcije izložbi koje tematiziraju modu i odijevanje.

Unatoč namjerama i trudu da se Zbirka mode, modnog pribora i tekstila profilira kao važna i referentna muzejska zbirka, objektivne okolnosti u kojima Muzej posluje izazov su htijenjima muzejske struke i želji da se poslovi prikupljanja, prezentacije i digitalizacije intenziviraju u kratkom roku. Brojni su tehnički problemi upravljanja fundusom Zbirke uzrokovani nedovoljnim brojem zaposlenika i porastom intenziteta i količine zahtjeva za administrativnim poslovima. Također, Muzej nema zaposlenog restauratora niti preparatora za tekstil pa restauratorske zahvate na predmetima obavljaju vanjski suradnici ovisno o prilivu financijskih sredstava, dok poslove preparatora često obavlja sam kustos. Utoliko su otežani digitalizacija kolekcije te njezina javna dostupnost, kao i prezentacija putem izložbi čija produkcija zahtijeva znatna sredstva.

Unatoč izazovima, u planu je nastavak obrade Zbirke, digitalizacija i približavanje fundusa javnosti te prezentacija prikupljene građe studentskim izložbama i kroz pripreme za budući stalni postav.



often done by the curator. This exacerbates the collection's digitalization and public access as well as presentation through exhibitions whose production requires significant resources.

Despite these challenges, the work on the collection as well as the digitalization of its holdings and better public access is planned alongside presentation of the acquired items in case study exhibitions and preparation for the future permanent collection.





**THE MUSEALI-  
ZATION OF FASHION  
IN THE SPLIT  
CITY MUSEUM'S  
COLLECTION  
OF TEXTILE  
AND FASHION  
ACCESSORIES**

**MUZEALIZACIJA  
MODE U ZBIRCI  
TEKSTILA I MODNOG  
PRIBORA MUZEJA  
GRADA SPLITA**

## **Darka Perko Kerum**

Curator

City Museum of Split, Croatia

## **SUMMARY**

Since its establishment in 1946 to the present day, Split City Museum has been dedicated to collecting, preserving and exhibiting the cultural heritage of the city of Split and its outskirts. One of the first formed collections was precisely the Collection of textiles and fashion accessories, since its formation started early on when the Museum was still located on the premises of City Library. Most contributions to the collection came from citizens' donations. In the 1950s, the Museum made a valuable purchase of one of the oldest preserved women's jackets in Croatia from the first half of the 18th century from the Kasandric family from the Island of Hvar. Besides historical clothing, the collection is now enriched with contemporary designs. Most notable are fashion designs inspired by Croatian, especially Dalmatian and Dinara ethno motifs by Split fashion designer Božena Martinčević. The exhibition was opened at the beginning of 2020 as a significant contribution to the valorization of fashion as a spiritual testimony to the city's history.

## **Darka Perko Kerum**

Kustosica

Muzej grada Splita, Croatia

## **SAŽETAK**

Muzej grada Splita je povijesni muzej koji prikuplja, čuva i prezentira kulturnu baštinu grada Splita i okolice od svog osnutka 1946. godine do danas. Jedna od prvih oformljenih zbirki bila je i Zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora, jer je prikupljanje tekstilne građe kao kulturnog blaga zaživjelo još dok se muzej nalazio u okviru Gradske biblioteke. Zbirka se najviše dopunjavala darovanjima građana, ali valja izdvojiti vrlo vrijedan otkup iz 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća kada je Muzej otkupio od obitelji Kasandrić s Hvara jedan od najstariji sačuvanih ženskih haljetaka u Hrvatskoj iz 1. polovice 18. stoljeća. Osim prikupljanja povijesne odjeće, zbirka se u novije vrijeme profilirala prikupljanjem i čuvanjem suvremene mode, pa tako se u Zbirci ističu modne kreacije nadahnute hrvatskim, a posebice dalmatinskim i dinarskim etno motivima, splitske modne kreatorice Božene Martinčević. Izložba je upriličena početkom 2020. godine i doprinosi valoriziranju mode kao vrijednog materijalnog i duhovnog svjedočanstva o povijesti jednog grada.

## INTRODUCTION – ABOUT THE SPLIT CITY MUSEUM'S COLLECTION OF TEXTILE

The Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories at the Split City Museum was formed after the foundation of the City Museum in 1946. However, the collection of historical textiles for the future museum started even earlier, in 1915, when the then City Library organized a collection of various materials related to the history of the city and its surroundings. The old inventory ledger of the Split City Museum offers a valuable insight into the collection dynamics and methodology of acquiring historical textiles at the then City Library's Museo-Historical Department. At the very beginning of the inventory ledger chapter titled "Textile" there are records of donations of the then City Library to the newly founded City Museum. Alongside the Museum's foundation and independence, the archives reveal that the newly founded Museum did not only rely on the donated material from the City Library, but that it continued to acquire objects through gifts and, to a smaller degree, purchases. In 1957<sup>1</sup> Ms. Nada Gogala was employed as curator at the Museum. For ten years after, Ms. Gogala and Mr. Duško Kečkemet were the only employed curators. Ms Gogala was in charge of the Collection of Textile and other museum collections. She remained curator of the Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories until her death in 1986. From 1952 until 1984 the Museum had a temporary display on the ground floor and the Gothic Hall of the Papalić Palace, where the public could see objects from the period of the city's autonomous status and also the later period when it was under Venetian rule.<sup>2</sup> No item from the

1 – Secondary documentation of the Split City Museum, 1957.

2 – *The Split City Museum Guide*, ed. Elvira Šarić Kostić. Split: Split City Museum, 2003.

## UVOD – O ZBIRCI TEKSTILA MUZEJA GRADA SPLITA

Zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora Muzeja grada Splita oformljena je nakon osnivanja Gradskog muzeja 1946. godine, međutim prikupljanje povijesnog tekstila za budući muzej zaživjelo je od 1915. godine kada se u okviru Gradske biblioteke započelo sa skupljanjem raznovrsne građe vezane uz povijest grada i okolice. O sakupljačkoj dinamici i načinu prikupljanja povijesne tekstilne građe Muzejsko historijskog odjeljenja Gradske biblioteke svjedoči nam *stara inventarna knjiga* Muzeja grada Splita. U inventaru se pod poglavljem *Tekstil* na samom početku navode donacije Gradske biblioteke novoosnovanom Gradskom muzeju. Ukorač s osnivanjem i osamostaljanjem Muzeja, dokumentacija nam otkriva da se novoosnovani Muzej nije oslonio samo na naslijeđenu građu iz Gradske biblioteke već da je nastavio prikupljati građu darovanjima, ali i manjim dijelom otkupima. Godine 1957. na mjesto kustosa zapošljava se Nada Gogala koja je prvih deset godina rada, uz Duška Kečkemeta, bila jedina zaposlena kustosica te je osim Zbirke tekstila vodila i druge muzejske zbirke<sup>1</sup>. Na mjestu kustosa Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora ostala je sve do svoje smrti 1986. godine. Od 1952. do 1984. godine Muzej je imao privremeni stalni postav u prizemlju i u svečanoj gotičkoj dvorani Papalićeve palače gdje je javnosti bila prezentirana građa iz vremena autonomne, a kasnije i mletačke uprave grada<sup>2</sup>. U tom privremenom stalnom postavu, a vrlo vjerojatno zbog nedovoljno adekvatnih uvjeta, nije bio izložen ni jedan predmet iz Zbirke tekstila. Ni mnogobrojne izložbe koje su upriličene u razdoblju od privremenog stalnog postava 1952. pa sve

1 – Sekundarna dokumentacija Muzeja grada Splita, 1957.

2 – *Muzej grada Splita: vodič*, ur. Elvira Šarić Kostić. Split: Muzej grada Splita, 2003.

Collection of Textile was exhibited in the temporary display, most probably due to inadequate conditions. The period between the temporary display in 1952 and the beginning of the general reconstruction of the Papalić Palace in 1984, which was undertaken for the purpose of the new permanent display, saw many exhibitions put on by the Museum. However, none of these exhibitions addressed the history of fashion, which is understandable considering the unfavorable circumstances in the Museum. Namely, up until the great reconstruction which took place from 1984 until 1992, the Museum had to share space with residents who lived in flats inside Papalić Palace. Under these circumstances the priority was to collect, protect, and document the textile material. Even after the opening of the permanent display in 1992, the circumstances were still not favorable for a more extensive display of textile. A single display case on the second floor of the permanent exhibit was the only place reserved for the history of dress (Fig. 1). During that time the Collection grew steadily, while various types of objects were collected, not only those related to the history of dress, but also objects belonging to the church interior furnishings, liturgical vestments, household furnishings such as carpets, tablecloths, bed linens, and even memorial ribbons from the funerals of well-known, renowned citizens of Split, as well as flags, jewelry, and fashion accessories. The oldest objects date from the 16th century and belong to a group of decorative jewelry. Clothes and fashion accessories belonging to the city's nobility date from the 18th century. Highlighted pieces of the collection are a woman's silk damask caraco jacket, dating from the first half of the 18th century when it was owned by the Kasandrić family, and a late 18th century dress suit owned by Ivan Luka Garagnin. The Museum also keeps complete women's outfits, that is, two dresses from the Kasandrić family, dating from the early 19th century.

The successor of the Museum's long-time curator Ms. Nada Gogala, was the Museum advisor Ms. Vjekoslava Sokol, who was in this function from 1992 until 2010. Without a restoration workshop, which was founded only in 2004, Ms. Sokol managed to organize two exhibitions in the Museum which showed a part of the textile collection. These two exhibitions were called "A Woman's Reflections" and "In Honor of the Split City Museum."

More than two decades after these last exhibitions, whose goal was not as much to address the history of dress culture in Split and its surroundings as it was to present a part of the highly valuable Collection of Textile, the conditions were ripe for a more extensive analysis of the collection

FASHION MUSEOLOGY / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE

DARKA PERKO KERUM / THE MUSEALIZATION OF FASHION IN THE SPLIT CITY MUSEUM'S COLLECTION OF TEXTILE AND FASHION ACCESSORIES / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE U ZBIRCI TEKSTILA I MODNOG PRIBORA MUZEJA GRADA SPLITA

do početka radova na generalnoj rekonstrukciji Papalićeve palače za novi stalni postav 1984. godine nisu se bavile temom povijesti odijevanja što nije nerazumljivo ako se uzmu u obzir uvjeti u kojima je Muzej tada djelovao. Sve do velike sanacije koja je trajala od 1984. do 1992. Muzej je dijelio prostor sa stanovnicima koji su živjeli u stanovima unutar Papalićeve palače. U tim okolnostima prioritet je bio prikupljati, zaštititi i dokumentirati tekstilnu građu. Ni po otvorenju stalnog postava 1992. godine, prilike nisu dozvolile opširnije izlaganje tekstilne građe. Tek je na drugom katu stalnog postava bila i ostala jedna vitrina namijenjena za izlaganje povijesti odijevanja (Sl. 1). Za to vrijeme u Zbirci se prikupljala raznovrsna građa, koja se nije ticala samo povijesti odijevanja, već je obuhvaćala i predmete poput opreme crkvenog interijera, liturgijskog ruha, opreme građanskih interijera poput tepiha, stolnjaka, posteljine, pa čak i pogrebne trake sa sprovoda poznatih i znamenitih Splitskana, zastave, nakit te modni pribor. Najranije datirani predmeti su iz 16. stoljeća i pripadaju grupi nakita. Iz 18. stoljeća potječe odjeća i pribor za odijevanje koji su pripadali plemićkom staležu, a posebno se izdvaja ženski haljetak od svilenog damasta iz prve polovice 18. stoljeća koji je pripadao obitelji Kasandrić i svečano odijelo Ivana Luke Garagnina s kraja 18. stoljeća. S početka 19. stoljeća čuva se i cjelovita ženska oprava, odnosno dvije haljine iz obitelji Kasandrić.

Nasljednica Nade Gogale na mjestu kustosice Zbirke tekstila bila je muzejska savjetnica Vjekoslava Sokol od 1992. do 2010. godine. Bez restauratorske radionice, osnovane tek 2004. godine, kolegica Sokol je u Muzeju uspjela organizirati dvije izložbe na kojima je djelomično prezentirana građa iz Zbirke tekstila: „Odbljesci žene“ (1995.) i „Muzeju grada u čast“ (1996.). Nakon više od dva desetljeća od posljednjih izložbi, koje su za cilj imale više prezentaciju dijela bogate građe iz fundusa Zbirke negoli tematiziranje povijest odijevanja u Splitu i okolici, ukazali su se uvjeti i potreba za opsežnijom obrade građe, izlaganja, odnosno prezentiranja javnosti. Izložbom „Od rokoka do secesije—odijevanje i modni pribor—izbor iz fundusa Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora“ otvorenoj 19. svibnja 2017., a koja je popraćena opsežnim katalogom, prvi put je u Muzeju cjelovito prezentirana povijest odijevanja u Splitu i okolici u razdoblju od dva stoljeća<sup>3</sup>. Cilj ove izložbe nije bio samo prezentirati fundus Zbirke, već analizirati odjeću i modni pribor

3 — *Od rokoka do secesije—odijevanje i modni pribor—izbor iz fundusa Muzeja grada Splita*, ur. Darka Perko Kerum. Split: Muzej grada Splita, 2017.





Sl. 1. – Vitrina s izloženom haljinom u stalnom postavu Muzeja grada Splita, 2020. (Fotografija Zlatko Sunko) / Fig. 1. – A display case with a dress, permanent display of the Split City Museum, 2020. (Photo by Zlatko Sunko)

and its preparation for public preparation. The exhibition titled "From Rococo to Art Nouveau—The Culture of Dress and Fashion Accessories—A Selection from the Holdings of the Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories" opened on May 19th, 2017.<sup>3</sup> The exhibition was accompanied by an extensive catalogue, and for the first time the history of fashion in Split and its surroundings was presented in its entirety, spanning a period of two centuries. The goals of the exhibition were not only to present the holdings in the collection but to also analyze clothes and fashion accessories in order to interpret objects through the lenses of the stylistic era to which they belonged through their design and materials<sup>4</sup> and to also contextualize them historically and sociologically, as items of a certain space and time. The exhibition was noticed by the wider public, garnering positive reviews by the audience which visited it in great numbers in the period between May 2017 and January 2018. In 2018 the following exhibition was organized, titled *Koraci, susreti i splitske mijene* (Footsteps, Encounters and the Shifting Seasons of the City of Split) and from November of 2019 until March of 2020 the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek is hosting the exhibition "From Rococo to Art Nouveau."

## A NEW MOMENTUM — FROM THE MUSEALIZATION OF CLOTHES TO THE MUSEALIZATION OF FASHION

When Ms. Božena Martinčević, a fashion designer, decided to donate one of her fashion creations called "Traditional Costume from the Old Town of Split" to the Split City Museum in 2011, no one could foresee that this would be the beginning of our musealization of fashion (Fig. 2). The Museum's Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories had been mainly focused on acquiring historical clothes, fashion accessories, and jewelry dating from

3 — *From Rococo to Art Nouveau—The Culture of Dress and Fashion Accessories—A Selection from the Holdings of the Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories*, ed. Darka Perko Kerum. Split: Split City Museum, 2017.

4 — Simončić, Katarina Nina. "Uvod u povijest mode: Induktivna, deduktivna i mnemotehnička metoda." *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*, ed. Žarko Paić and Krešimir Purgar. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet, 2018: 35–57.

tako da se predmet interpretira kroz stilsko razdoblje kojem po svojoj konstrukciji i materijalima pripada<sup>4</sup> te da ga se sagleda kroz povijesni i sociološki kontekst vremena i prostora. Izložba je vrlo lijepo odjeknula u javnosti jer ju je za vrijeme trajanja od svibnja 2017. do siječnja 2018. godine posjetio znatan broj posjetitelja. Godine 2018. organizirana je sljedeća izložba o odijevanju *Koraci, susreti i splitske mijene*, a od studenog 2019. do ožujka 2020. Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku ugostio je izložbu „Od rokoka do secesije.“

## NOVI ZAMAH — OD MUZEALIZACIJE ODJEĆE DO MUZEALIZACIJE MODE

Kada je u ljeto 2011. godine modna kreatorica Božena Martinčević odlučila Muzeju pokloniti jednu svoju modnu kreaciju pod nazivom *Starogradska splitska nošnja* nitko nije ni slutio da će to biti samo uvertira u muzealizaciju mode (Sl. 2). Do tog trenutka Zbirka tekstila i modnog pribora uglavnom je bila usmjerena na prikupljanje povijesne odjeće, modnog pribora i nakita od početka 18. stoljeća do danas, a u svrhu čuvanja, proučavanja, preispitivanja društvenih, političkih i ekonomskih prilika u Splitu i okolici. Odijevanje je za Zbirku tekstila i Muzej grada Splita do tada proučavano kao kulturološki fenomen, a čija su se istraživanja oslanjala na klasičnu metodu istraživanja, odnosno na povijesno umjetničku analizu odjevnog predmeta, proširenu arhivskom, fotografskom i hemerotečnom građom Muzeja<sup>5</sup>. Puni osam godina kasnije, u ljeto 2019. godine Božena Martinčević ponudila je Muzeju grada Splita donaciju ostale dvadeset i tri modne kreacije. Uz povremene modne revije održavane zadnjih dvanaest godina, one su nakon zatvaranja modnog salona *Nostalgija* bile pohranjene u njenom domu. Uz ovu vrijednu građu Božena Martinčević je također donirala i bogatu dokumentaciju: dva fotoalbuma, jedan s fotografijama tapiserija, a drugi s modnim fotografijama iz *Nostalgije* u Marmontovoj ulici; dva fascikla s novinskim člancima, osvrtima i intervjuima od 1995. do 2009. godine te jedan fascikl s priznanjima i zahvalama koje je primila za svoj dugogodišnji rad.

4 — Simončić, Katarina Nina. „Uvod u povijest mode. Induktivna, deduktivna i mnemotehnička metoda.“ *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*, ur. Krešimir Purgar, Žarko Paić. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet, 2018: 35–57.

5 — Ibid.





Sl. 2. – Presentacija donacije Starogradske splitske nošnje u Muzeju grada Splita 2011. godine, 2011. (Fotografija Zlatko Sunko) /  
Fig. 2. – Presentation of the donation of the "Traditional Costume from the Old Town of Split" to the Split City Museum, 2011. (Photo  
by Zlatko Sunko)

the early 18th century onwards, while its main aim is to preserve, study, and analyze the social, political, and economic contexts in Split and its surroundings. The Museum's traditional approach to the culture of dress had been to address it as a cultural phenomenon, while relying on the classical research methodology of conducting a historical and artistic analysis of each clothing item, which included the Museum's photo and newspaper archives.<sup>5</sup> Some eight years later, in the summer of 2019, Božena Martinčević offered her remaining twenty-three fashion creations to the Split City Museum. When she decided to close her renowned Nostalgija fashion store in 2007, she took these pieces of artistic fashion to her home, where they had been stored for the previous twelve years, with the exception of an occasional display at fashion shows. In addition to this highly valuable collection, Božena Martinčević has also donated her immensely precious private archival records: two photo albums, one containing photographs of her tapestries and another with fashion photographs from the Nostalgija store on Marmontova Street in Split; two folders with newspaper articles, reviews, and interviews dating from 1995 to 2009; and one folder with recognitions and acknowledgments she received for a lifetime of devoted work.

As the collection's curator I quickly realized that this donation was an opportunity to modernize the Museum's approach and mission in the collection of material for the Collection of Textile. This modernization also opens up the possibility of a future reorganization of the Collection. The Collection of Textile, as was mentioned earlier, contains a wide variety of textile materials, but not enough actual items to form an additional, independent collection, resulting in a discrepancy of data within the same collection.

What is more important, however, is that Božena Martinčević's donation of her fashion creations created an opportunity for the Split City Museum to adopt contemporary theoretical approaches in the study of material culture in fashion, where fashion, according to the fashion historian Aileen Ribeiro, comes closest to art.<sup>6</sup> As a gesture of gratitude for this valuable donation, the Split City Museum organized a public presentation of the donation in December 2019, and then for the Night of the Museums

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5 – Ibid.

6 – Ibid.

Kao kustosica Zbirke vrlo brzo sam shvatila da je ova donacija prilika da se osuvremeni pristup i misija prikupljanja muzejske građe u Zbirci tekstila. Osuvremenjivanje pristupa u daljnjem razvoju i formiranju Zbirke Muzeju također omogućuje da se barem odškrinu vrata mogućoj, budućoj reorganizaciji Zbirke. Zbirka tekstila, kao što je već ranije navedeno, u svom fundusu ima raznorodnu tekstilnu građu koja brojčano nije toliko opširna da bi se formirale nove zbirke, ali stvara nesklad podataka unutar iste zbirke.

Ono što je pak važnije, ovom donacijom modnih kreacija splitske i hrvatske modne dizajnerice Božene Martinčević, Muzej grada Splita dobio je priliku da bude ukorak sa suvremenim teorijskim pristupima u izučavanju materijalne kulture u modi gdje se moda, prema povjesničarki odjeće i mode Aileen Ribeiro, najviše približava umjetnosti<sup>6</sup>. Za zahvalnost na ovoj vrijednoj donaciji Muzej grada Splita upriličio je tijekom prosinca prezentaciju donacije javnosti, a za Noć muzeja 31. siječnja 2020. otvorena je izložba pod nazivom *Nostalgija u novom ruhu*. Izložba je popraćena istoimenim katalogom. Kao autorica izložbe i kustosica Muzeja odlučila sam se za početak ipak na jedan klasičniji pristup prezentiranju modnih kreacija. S obzirom na to da je Božena Martinčević tijekom svog stvaralačkog rada u modnom dizajnu od početka 80-ih godina pa praktički do danas sudjelovala na brojnim modnim revijama, smatrala sam kako je sazrelo vrijeme da se njen umjetnički pristup modi prezentira kao fenomen koji je ostavio pečat u povijesti modnog dizajna na tlu Hrvatske. Cilj ove izložbe stoga je bio da opus umjetnice i modne kreatorice Božene Martinčević predstavimo kao njen nemjerljivi doprinos u brisanju granica između modnog dizajna i umjetnosti. Modne kreacije, ukupno njih 23, prezentirane su na modnim lutkama. Izložba je bila postavljena u galeriji Muzeja grada Splita u Dioklecijanovoj ulici i nastavljala se kroz stalni postav Muzeja. U galeriji su uz lutke bila izložena razna muzeografska i likovno zanimljiva rješenja, poput runa i češljeva za runo, velikih fotografija Božene Martinčević uz tkalački stan gdje je radila svoje tapiserije, te informativni panoi preko kojih su posjetitelji mogli više saznati o razdobljima njenog stvaralaštva te o njenom kulturnom modnom salonu *Nostalgija* po čemu je i izložba dobila naziv *Nostalgija u novom ruhu*. U tom prvom dijelu izložbe posjetitelji su mogli steći bitne informacije o njenom radu te im je prezentirana po jedna ili dvije modne kreacije iz svih razdoblja njenog stvaralaštva, počevši od kaputa nastalih od njenih tkanih tapiserija do suvremene Spličanke, *Spličanke iz 2090.* godine. Nastavak izložbe slijedio je zatim kroz stalni

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6 – Ibid.



on January 31, 2020, the Museum opened an exhibition titled *Nostalgija u novom ruhu* (*New Garments of Nostalgia*). The exhibition was accompanied by a catalogue of the same name. As the creator of this exhibition and the Museum's curator I opted for a more classical approach to the presentation of these fashion creations. Since Ms. Božena Martinčević took part in a large number of fashion shows throughout her fruitful fashion designing career since the early 1980s, I thought the time was ripe to present her artistic approach to fashion as a phenomenon which has left a significant mark on the history of fashion design in Croatia. The purpose of the exhibition therefore was to present the opus of the artist and fashion designer Božena Martinčević as her immeasurable contribution to the breaking down of borders between fashion design and art. The fashion creations, a total of 23, were presented on mannequins. The exhibition was set up in the Split City Museum's gallery in Diocletian Street, as well as throughout the Museum's permanent display. Next to the mannequins in the gallery, various museographical and visually interesting elements were displayed, such as wool and wool combs, large photographs depicting Božena Martinčević next to her weaving loom where she worked on her tapestries, and information panels where the public could find out more about the different phases of her creativity and about her renowned store *Nostalgija*, after which the exhibition was titled—*New Garments of Nostalgia*. In this first part of the exhibition, visitors could learn relevant information about her work, while having on display one or two fashion creations from each phase of her creative work, spanning from coats made from her tapestries to the modern woman of Split, "A Woman from Split's Far Future, AD 2090." The rest of the exhibition was interspersed throughout the Museum's permanent display. Since Božena Martinčević sought her inspiration from the inexhaustible springs of tradition found in the Dalmatian hinterland, along the coast, in the city of Split, as well as among the plains of Slavonia, it was a challenge to incorporate the fashion creations into the permanent museum display which chronologically follows the city's development from the times of Diocletian until the beginning of the 20th century. In addition to the visual aspect of the display, we used a method of suggestion: a contemporary shepherd and shepherdess were displayed in the rural ambience of a Pre-Romanesque house, White and Black Female Equestrians were displayed next to holdings thematizing the city's defense system, and a fashion creation with motifs from Bosnia and Herzegovina was displayed next to weapons from the Ottoman era (Fig. 3).

postav Muzeja. S obzirom na to da se Božena Martinčević za cijelog svog stvaralaštva više ili manje napajala iz neiscrpnog vrela tradicije Dalmatinske zagore, priobalja, Splita, pa i Slavonije, izazov je bio inkorporirati modne kreacije kroz muzejski postav koji kronološki prati povijesni razvoj grada od Dioklecijana do početka 20. stoljeća. Osim likovnog aspekta postava, koristili smo se metodom sugestije: suvremeni pastir i pastirica izloženi su u rustikalnom ambijentu predromaničke kućice, Bijela i Crna Alkarica izložene su uz dio postava koji govori o obrani grada, modna kreacija s bosanskohercegovačkim motivima izložena je uz oružje iz Osmanskog Carstva (Sl. 3).

Katalog koji je tiskan uz izložbu podijeljen je na dva dijela<sup>7</sup>. Prvi dio bavi se radom Božene Martinčević, njenim početcima s vunanim tkanjem i vunanim tapiserijama, govori o modnom salonu *Nostalgija* i njegovom značaju za grad Split u ratnim vremenima te daje razvojni pregled stvaralaštva Božene Martinčević. Drugi dio kataloga analizira modne kreacije koristeći pristup gdje se modni predmet analizira kao primarni izvor materijalne kulture<sup>8</sup>. Koristeći se sustavom povijesno umjetničke analize i deskripcije opisuju se modne kreacije i materijali, a zatim se metodom dedukcije interpretira interaktivnost predmeta između tradicije i suvremenosti.

Donacija modnih kreacija Božene Martinčević značajan je zaokret u smjeru prikupljanja, proučavanja i prezentiranja predmeta iz Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora. To svakako ne znači da ćemo se odreći dosadašnjeg pristupa u prezentaciji i obradi povijesne odjeće, jer Muzej grada Splita je prvenstveno povijesni muzej. Ipak, ovom donacijom i njenom prezentacijom kroz izložbu i katalog Muzej je pokazao javnosti da želi ići u korak sa suvremenim pristupima u obradi građe i njenoj prezentaciji. Osim toga Muzej, kao mjesto sabiranja znanja, dužan je prikupljati, čuvati i prezentirati suvremene predmete kao nosioce sadašnjih znanja i time poticati kreativnu i stvaralačku energiju sredine u kojoj djeluje, a po mogućnosti i doprinijeti ekonomskom prosperitetu lokalne zajednice potičući je na nove i drugačije kreacije kao što su to bile i ostaju kreacije Božene Martinčević.



7 – *Nostalgija u novom ruhu: donacija modnih kreacija Božene Martinčević Muzeju grada Splita*, ur. Darka Perko Kerum. Split: Muzej grada Splita, 2020.

8 – Vene, Lea. "Muzealizacija mode, između kulturne i komercijalne proizvodnje." *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*, ur. Krešimir Purgar, Žarko Pačić, Zagreb: Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet, 2018: 163–181.



Sl. 3. – Postav izložbe Nostalgiya u novom ruhu, 2020. (Fotografija Zlatko Sunko) / Fig. 3. – Exhibiton New Garments of Nostalgiya, 2020. (Photo by Zlatko Sunko)

The accompanying catalogue is divided into two parts<sup>7</sup>. The first part focuses on Božena Martinčević's work, her beginnings in wool weaving and woollen tapestries, her fashion store Nostalgija and its significance for the city of Split during the Homeland War, and a chronological overview of her creative work. The second part of the catalogue analyzes the fashion creations using the methodological approach in which the fashion object is analyzed as a primary source of material culture.<sup>8</sup> The fashion creations and materials are described using the system of historical and artistic analysis, and the deductive method is then used to interpret the interactivity of an object between tradition and modernity.

The donation of Božena Martinčević's fashion creations marks an important turn in the Museum's approach to collecting, analyzing, and presenting of objects in the Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories. This certainly does not mean that we will give up our traditional approach of exhibiting and primarily analyzing historical clothes, because the Split City Museum is primarily a historical museum. Nonetheless, with this donation, and its presentation through an organized exhibition and publishing of an accompanying catalogue, the Museum has shown to the public that it aspires to follow contemporary methodology in the analysis and presentation of museum items. Besides, the Museum, as a place dedicated to the collection of knowledge, is also required to collect, preserve, and present contemporary items as vessels of present-day knowledge and thus inspire the creative energy of its surroundings and possibly contribute to the economic prosperity of the local community, fostering it to bring forth new and different creations such as these by Božena Martinčević.

7 – *Nostalgija u novom ruhu: donacija modnih kreacija Božene Martinčević Muzeju grada Splita*, ed. Darka Perko Kerum. Split: Split City Museum, 2020.

8 – Vene, Lea. "Muzealizacija mode: Između kulturne i komercijalne proizvodnje." *Teorija i kultura mode. Discipline, pristupi, interpretacije*. Ed. Žarko Pačić and Krešimir Purgar. Zagreb: Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet, 2018: 163–181.

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**TYRANNY  
OR DEMOCRACY  
OF FASHION  
IN MUSEUMS?  
CENTENNIAL  
EXPERIENCE OF  
THE ETHNOGRAPHIC  
MUSEUM  
IN ZAGREB**

**TIRANIJA  
ILI DEMOKRACIJA  
MODE U  
MUZEJIMA?  
STOGODIŠNJE  
ISKUSTVO  
ETNOGRAFSKOG  
MUZEJA  
U ZAGREBU**



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## SUMMARY

Folklore costumes in the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum are among most collected, interpreted and exhibited artefacts. Ethnographic collectables are still predominantly associated with rural culture as the embodiment of national heritage. Over the course of Croatian history, fashion was often perceived as the tyrant who undermines features of national heritage. Therefore we wonder whether there is room for fashion in the ethnographic museum. By analysing the collections, we can observe changes in folklore costumes under the influence of different style eras and urban fashion. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the government stimulated the production based on traditional rural craftsmanship. The Museum also played a significant role in encouraging this production, whereas the Museum's collections were a source of inspiration for designing the clothes for urban population. The connection between the collections and creative industries was again reinforced with the Museum's mission in 2015 and the setup of the collection of contemporary clothing. Placing the artefacts in a new context and their reinterpreting them within new collections and fashion related practices increases their significance; a reflexive approach behind these practices lies in the core of ethnographic methods.

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## SAŽETAK

Narodne nošnje u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu najčešće su sabirani, interpretirani i izlagani predmeti. Mnogi i danas etnografsku građu prvenstveno povezuju sa seljačkom kulturom koja utjelovljuje nacionalnu baštinu. Moda se pak u različitim momentima hrvatske povijesti prikazivala kao tiranka koja potkopava ta nacionalna obilježja. Stoga se pitamo: ima li mjesta modi u etnografskom muzeju? Analizom građe otkrivamo kako su se nošnje mijenjale pod utjecajima stilova različitih epoha i građanske mode. S druge strane, vlasti su u 19. i 20. st. poticale gospodarsku proizvodnju temeljenu na tradicionalnom seljačkom i obrtničkom umijeću, pri čemu je muzejska građa bila inspiracija za izradu modnih predmeta namijenjenih građanskom sloju, a jedna od zadaća Muzeja je poticanje te aktivnosti. Veza između zbirki i kreativnih industrija potvrđena je i misijom Muzeja iz 2015. otkad postoji i Zbirka suvremene odjeće. Stavljanjem predmeta iz starih zbirki u novi kontekst te njihovim povezivanjem s novom zbirkom i praksama u kontekstu mode širi se i obogaćuje njihov značaj, a reflektivni pristup takvim aktivnostima u samoj je srži etnografske metode.

## MODERN VS. TRADITIONAL

Economic, social and cultural changes brought on by the French and Industrial revolutions introduced mechanization in manufacturing processes, which led to the expansion of market and capital, and the availability and hence consequential higher consumption of products. Progress and modernization became global goals. The concepts of technological progress and novel practices in arts and crafts gained prominence with the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in 1851, and the establishment of the Victoria and Albert Museum the following year, which was also marked by the opening of Le Bon Marché, the first department store in Paris. The invention of photography in 1839 enabled a fast reproduction of visual information.

World fairs and international expositions in the second half of the 19th century became a stage for a sort of an international competition. However, the need to emphasize the differences and specific features and to define national culture came along with the demonstration of national power and achievements. The Age of Enlightenment fostered beliefs that a nation's rural culture should be perceived as authentic, autochthonous and different from the culture of all other nations, and should therefore be valued as the foundation of national identity. Such notions lead to the exposition of ethnographic material at the Parisian Exposition Universelle in 1867, which would soon grow into a trend in other expositions of that kind. The representation of the rural lifestyle through the staging of the so-called "peasant rooms" equipped with furniture and mannequins in folklore costumes exerted great influence on the establishment of first national and open-air museums.

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1 – Stoklund, Bjarne. "The role of the International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century," *Ethnologia Europaea* 24, 1994: 35–44.

## MODERNO-TRADICIJSKO

Gospodarske, društvene i kulturne promjene započete industrijskom i Francuskom revolucijom dovele su do strojne proizvodnje, širenja tržišta i kapitala, dostupnosti proizvoda, a samim tim i njihove potrošnje. Glavni je cilj postao progres i modernizacija. Velikom izložbom 1851. u londonskoj Kristalnoj palači i otvaranjem Victoria i Albert muzeja naredne godine, ideje tehnološkoga napretka i novih umjetničkih praksi i zanata dobivaju istaknuto mjesto. Te iste godine otvara se i prva robna kuća u Parizu, Le Bon Marché. Ideje ubrzane reprodukcije vizualnih informacija također su se proširile otkrićem fotografije 1839. godine.

U drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća međunarodne gospodarske izložbe postale su neka vrsta utrke među nacijama. No, paralelno s dokazivanjem napretka i moći javlja se potreba za isticanjem razlika u odnosu na druge, za naglašavanjem specifičnih karakteristika, za određenjem nacionalne kulture. Prema prosvjetiteljskim shvaćanjima pretpostavljalo se da je seljačka kultura izvorna, različita od kulture svih drugih naroda te da na osnovi pučke kulture valja konstruirati nacionalni identitet. Takva su shvaćanja dovela do izlaganja etnografskoga materijala na gospodarskoj izložbi u Parizu 1867. godine, što je ubrzo postalo uobičajeno i na drugim izložbama toga tipa. Način prikaza narodnoga života pomoću tzv. seljačkih soba opremljenih namještajem i lutkama obučenim u narodnu nošnju imao je utjecaja i na postave prvih narodnih muzeja i muzeja na otvorenom.<sup>1</sup>

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1 – Stoklund, Bjarne. "The role of the International Exhibitions in the Construction of National Cultures in the 19th Century," *Ethnologia Europaea* 24, 1994: 35–44.

This era also brought the establishment of European national states and museums as modern institutions. Ethnology and cultural anthropology were constituted as sciences. The role of the museums established at that time was primarily to define dominant national values<sup>2</sup>. Although the placement of an item in a museum depends on different criteria, they still reside on the predominant ideology rooted in the museum management practices. The main criteria for the selection and placement of artifacts in ethnographic collections were the age, esthetic qualities and the rural origin of the items in question. However, it should be noted that the items in question were often contemporary, but were perceived as antique due to traditional manufacturing and decorating techniques. Folklore costumes were among the most popular collectables, regardless of the fact that they were still worn on a daily basis in many parts of Croatia until the 1950s. The presumptions of the permanent nature of the elements in traditional culture are reflections of the 19th century concepts inspired by the ideas of Romanticism. Idealized depictions of rural life, as perceived by the urban population, helped foster patriotism and a sense of national identity. In a world swirled by rapid changes, it was important to emphasize the permanence and consistency of tradition as a counterforce to modern lifestyle, extensively shaped by imperatives of fashion and a sense of modernity.

## ON FASHION (IN GENERAL)

Many authors consider fashion a universal principle and a cultural component that goes far beyond clothing and is infiltrated into all segments of human life. Fashion shapes culture as a means of expression and a regulator of social relations.<sup>3</sup> Fashion is different from both culture and style as their specific manifestation. While style implies certain persistence over a longer period, fashion is a short-lived, inconsistent and dynamic phenomenon. Robert König explains that variations and deviations from the norm that can lead to the collapse of traditional forms of contemplation, expression and

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2 – This function of museums is evident in the contemporary society, where particularly national museums are still an instrument for expanding knowledge, reinforcing power and defining national values.

3 – König, Robert. *The Restles Image, A Sociology of Fashion*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1973.

To je ujedno i vrijeme nastanka europskih nacionalnih država, ali i muzeja kao modernih institucija. U tom se istom dobu etnologija / kulturna antropologija konstituirala kao znanost. Uloga tada nastalih muzeja u prvom je redu bila odrediti i definirati dominantne nacionalne vrijednosti.<sup>2</sup> Mada kriteriji za muzealizaciju određenoga predmeta mogu biti različiti, oni ipak počivaju na prevladavajućoj ideologiji na kojoj se temelji rad muzeja. Glavni kriteriji izbora predmeta za etnografske zbirke bili su starost i estetske karakteristike, kao i ruralno podrijetlo predmeta. Ipak valja napomenuti da se često radilo o suvremenim predmetima koji su se doživljavali kao starinski zbog tradicijskih načina izrade i ukrašavanja. Nošnje, koje su u tom vremenu bile omiljeni predmet sabiranja, u mnogim su se dijelovima Hrvatske svakodnevno nosile do 1950-ih godina. Shvaćanja o nepromjenjivosti elemenata tradicijske kulture odraz su koncepcija 19. stoljeća, nadahnutih idejama romantizma. Idealizirani prikazi seljačkoga života bili su slika koju je građanski sloj imao o toj kulturi i koja je služila izgradnji patriotskih i nacionalnih osjećaja. U svijetu koji se počeo mijenjati sve većom brzinom bilo je važno naglašavati nepromjenjivost i postojanost tradicije kao opreku suvremenim načinima života čija jedna od glavnih karakteristika, kako se tada isticalo, postaje moda i svijest o modernosti.

## O MODI

Mnogi autori modu smatraju univerzalnim principom, komponentom kulture koja podrazumijeva sve segmente ljudskoga života, a ne samo odjeću. Ona oblikuje kulturu kao izražajno sredstvo i kao regulator društvenih odnosa.<sup>3</sup> Moda se razlikuje od kulture, ali i od stila kao njezine specifične pojavnosti. Dok je stilu svojstvena nepromjenjivost tijekom dužeg razdoblja, moda je kratkotrajan, nepostojan i dinamičan fenomen. Robert König objašnjava kako u nekoj zajednici ili društvu uvijek postoje varijacije i devijantna odstupanja od normi koja mogu dovesti do narušavanja tradicijskih oblika mišljenja, izražavanja i ponašanja. Nagomilane

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2 – Ta je uloga muzeja vidljiva i u suvremenom društvu gdje osobito muzeji nacionalne razine i dalje predstavljaju instrument za proizvodnju društvenoga znanja povezanog s moći i normiranjem nacionalnih vrijednosti.

3 – König, Robert. *The Restles Image, A Sociology of Fashion*. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1973.

behavior are always present in a community or a society. Piled up contradictions cause root changes, which ultimately lead to the reconstitution of order, allowing fashion to emerge with new forms and interpretations within the framework of all regulatory systems. Its compulsive character, which is also inherent to style and customs, leads to the abandonment of previous forms and acceptance of new ones over a stabilization period, necessary to its original opponents to adapt to changes. Fashion is simultaneously a unifier, and an indicator of social stratification. Fashion is hence a universal phenomenon in time and space.<sup>4</sup>

French philosopher Gilles Lipovetsky defines fashion as a typically Western invention having emerged in Europe on the decline of the medieval era for primarily philosophical and religious reasons: secularization, individualization, abandonment of feudal cults and Christian morality in the perception of corporeality and sin, along with rebellion against collective norms. According to Lipovetsky, these changes lead to the emergence of the fashion phenomenon, whose followers played a significant role in the establishment of modern democracy, glorification of modern society and promotion of individuality and hedonism. Lipovetsky believes that fashion played its historical role by conforming the society to its very self.<sup>5</sup> This author also takes credit for the widely accepted periodization of fashion and clothing, according to which the contemporary notion of fashion started to ripen after the aristocratic-artisan phase and reached its maturity in the period between mid-1850s and 1950s, with the emergence of fashion designers, fashion houses and the production of prêt-à-porter. In this period, fashion became homogenous, centralized and internationalized, reaching its peak in terms of production, consumption and communication in the present day.<sup>6</sup>

This paper will further on discuss fashion in the context of clothing. The manner in which clothing was categorized in ethnographic museums was reflective of what clothing was considered to be from the ethnographic point of view. Earlier trends in Croatian ethnology defined the subjects of

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4 – Ibid.

5 – Lipovetsky, Gilles. *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

6 – Ibid.

proturječnosti uzrokuju korjenite promjene poslije kojih slijedi ponovno uspostavljanje reda. Tad se javlja moda koja nudi nove oblike i značenja u okviru svih regulatornih sustava. Njezin prinudni karakter, svojstven također stilu i običajima, dovodi do napuštanja prethodnih oblika i usvajanja novih tijekom vremena stabiliziranja potrebnoga za prilagodbu i onima koji su prvotno bili njezini protivnici. Ona s jedne strane ujedinjuje, a s druge pridonosi obilježavanju društvene raslojenosti. Zato je ona vremenski i prostorno univerzalni fenomen.<sup>4</sup>

Gilles Lipovetsky, francuski filozof, modu definira kao tipično zapadnjački izum, koji je nastao u Europi koncem kasnoga srednjeg vijeka zbog razloga koji su prvenstveno filozofsko-religijske naravi: sekularizacija, individualizacija, napuštanje feudalnih kultova i kršćanskog morala povezanoga s tjelesnošću i grijehom, kao i suprotstavljanje podređivanju kolektivu i njegovim normama. Te su promjene po njemu dovele do stvaranja mode, koja je, kao i njezini sljedbenici, imala važnu ulogu u stvaranju moderne demokracije, veličanju društvene sadašnjosti i promoviranju individualnosti i hedonizma. Moda je, smatra Lipovetsky, obavila svoju povijesnu ulogu ustrojivši društvo prema vlastitom uzoru.<sup>5</sup> Taj je autor zaslužan i za široko prihvaćenu periodizaciju mode odijevanja po kojoj poslije aristokratsko-zanatske faze moda dostiže zrelo doba u razdoblju od sredine 1850-ih do 1950-ih pojavom modnih kreatora i modnih kuća, ali i konfekcijske proizvodnje koja imitira visoku modu. Moda u tom vremenu postaje homogena, centralizirana i internacionalizirana, a svoj vrhunac postiže načinima proizvodnje, potrošnje i komunikacije u suvremenom dobu.<sup>6</sup>

U daljnjem će se tekstu raspravljati o modi u kontekstu odijevanja. Način kako se u etnografskim muzejima kategorizirala odjeća bio je odraz onoga što se u etnološkom smislu podrazumijevalo pod tim pojmom. Starija hrvatska etnologija odredila je predmet etnoloških proučavanja pojmom naroda, što je imalo za posljedicu ograničenje proučavanja i sabiranja odjavnih predmeta na narodnu nošnju (Sl. 1). Taj je pojam označavao odjeću seljačkoga društvenog sloja, najčešće svečanu varijantu izrađenu tehnikama i materijalima iz predindustrijskog razdoblja. Kulturno-historijski pristup, koji je s vremenom

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4 – Ibid.

5 – Lipovetsky, Gilles. *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

6 – Ibid.





Sl. 1. – Prikaz narodnih nošnji dinarske kulturne zone, postav iz 1972. (EMZ, fotografija Matija Dronjić) /  
Fig. 1. – Presentation

its research as pertaining to folklore, which greatly narrowed the scope of research and reduced garment collections to solely folklore costumes (Fig. 1). This term denoted clothing of the rural social class, most commonly ceremonial varieties manufactured by employing preindustrial techniques and materials. The cultural-historical approach, which would later become predominant in the Croatian ethnology, studies folklore costumes from their functional aspect together with manufacturing techniques of both textiles and ornaments, establishing correlations with other cultural influences. After the Migration Period, Slavic culture was greatly influenced by the already present Balkan heritage, later accompanied by a variety of more recent influences from Turkey and the Orient, Pannonia, the Alps and Apennines, whereas the latest influence was exerted by urban areas.<sup>7</sup> Many changes in rural culture can be explained through the influences coming from higher social classes. These processes have been a part of each period in history; however, unlike those in the more distant past, the changes brought on by modernization were not an ethnological point of interest. Precisely at that period, rural clothing underwent a series of transformations and was threatened to become completely extinct through the influence of fashion, which was often referred to as the "tyrant" by the then press, since it undermines the economic, social and national foundations. Folklore costumes were often exploited for political purposes amidst the battle against foreign influences in economy and politics. Fashion came to represent what was considered foreign and cosmopolitan, while folklore costumes would symbolize what was domestic and our own.

The 1970s brought on the expansion of the scope of ethnographic research in chronological and spatial context to items pertaining to the culture the researchers themselves live in, hence calling for the redefinition of ethnographic artifacts. Continued research of the interrelation between rural and urban clothing styles had further emphasized this dichotomy. Folklore costume was defined as "a type of clothing worn in relatively stable segments of the society such as ethnic groups, villages and regions that are more exposed to their own internal influences, rather than to everyday impulses of the global, social and communication systems. Fashion encompasses clothing whose origin resides on the global

7 – Gavazzi, Milovan. "Etnografski sastav (hrvatskog sela)." *Zemljopis Hrvatske* 2, 1942: 639–673.

prevladao u hrvatskoj etnologiji, nošnju je proučavao s aspekta funkcije predmeta i tehnike izrade materijala i ukrasa, dovodeći ih u vezu s utjecajima iz drugih kulturnih područja. Na slavenski je kulturni sloj poslije seoba utjecala zatečena balkanska baština, a na tu osnovu izvršen je upliv kroz tursko-orijentalni, panonski, alpski i apeninski utjecaj, dok najnoviji dolazi iz gradskih sredina.<sup>7</sup> Brojne mijene seljačke kulture objašnjavale su se također utjecajima koji su dolazili iz viših slojeva društva, što su procesi koji su se odvijali u svim epohama, no za razliku od onih u prošlosti, promjene nastale dolaskom modernizacije nisu bile predmet etnološkog zanimanja. Odjeća na selu upravo je u tom razdoblju doživljavala niz transformacija i prijetila joj je opasnost da je moda, koja se u tadašnjem tisku često nazivala tirankom, jer potkopava ekonomske, moralne i nacionalne temelje, u potpunosti uništi. U duhu borbe protiv stranih utjecaja u ekonomiji i politici narodna se nošnja često instrumentalizirala u političke svrhe. Moda je predstavljala strano i kozmopolitsko, a nošnja ono što je domaće i naše.

Proširenje predmeta etnografskih istraživanja od 1970-ih godina u prostornom i vremenskom kontekstu, kao i na ona vezana za kulturu u kojoj žive sami istraživači, pokrenulo je pitanja o redefiniciji pojma *etnografski predmet*. Istraživanja međuodnosa seoskog i gradskog odijevanja i dalje su naglašavala tu dihotomiju. Nošnja se definirala na sljedeći način: „Odijevanjem u relativno stabilnim segmentima društva poput etničkih grupa, sela, regija, koji su jače izloženi vlastitim unutrašnjim pritiscima negoli svakodnevnim pritiscima globalnog društvenog i komunikacijskog sustava. Moda obuhvaća odijevanje čije je ishodište u globalnoj razini društva, u ekonomskim procesima (tržište, potrošnja); kao norma moda nailazi na različite prijeme u mikroorganizmima društva i doživljava povratne utjecaje”.<sup>8</sup> Autorica također napominje da se i u suvremenim uvjetima stvaraju nove nošnje, na primjer nošnja tinejdžera, nošnja specifičnih suburbanih populacija, umjetnika.<sup>9</sup>

Mnogi etnolozi/ kulturni antropolozi više koriste pojam *odijevanje nego moda*, jer pod njim podrazumijevaju i fiksirane i modne varijacije. Odijevanje se tako shvaća kao svi različiti vidovi realizacije ili adaptacije modnog

7 – Gavazzi, Milovan. "Etnografski sastav (hrvatskog sela)." *Zemljopis Hrvatske* 2, 1942: 639–673.

8 – Rihtman Auguštin, Dunja. *Etnologija naše svakodnevce*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988: 110.

9 – Rihtman Auguštin 1988: 117–118.

social level, in economic processes (market, consumption); as a norm, fashion finds different receptors in the microorganisms of the society and undergoes feedback influences".<sup>8</sup> This author also notes that new costumes are being created in contemporary living conditions in the form of outfits, such as outfits specific for teenagers, particular subcultural groups, artists etc.<sup>9</sup>

Many ethnologists and cultural anthropologists prefer the use of the term clothing to fashion, since the former encompasses both fixed and modish costume. Clothing is therefore observed as an encompassing term for different aspects of realization or adaptation of fashion standards within every social group, in accordance with its economic power, social, ethnic, religious, generational and gender identity, in accordance with the group's esthetic and moral values. Clothing also encompasses anti-fashion styles, which reflect past fashion trends for various reasons.<sup>10</sup>

Fashion becomes the focus of anthropological researches in the 1980s, when many ethnologists and cultural anthropologists begin to interpret social, cultural and historical processes and transformations, observed through the prism of changes in clothing styles and related practices.<sup>11</sup> The fact is that there is no absolute agreement on what is fashion exactly. Different disciplines use different interpretations of the term fashion, often leading to misunderstandings and disturbances in the communication channel. The search for an all-encompassing, non-Eurocentric definition and the appropriate analytical framework for the study of fashion resulted in establishing the subdiscipline of fashion anthropology, providing some important tools for tackling these questions. The specialty of anthropological view lies in its intercultural, inclusive, holistic and

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8 – Rihtman Auguština, Dunja. *Etnologija naše svakodnevice*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1988: 110.

9 – Rihtman Auguština 1988: 117–118.

10 – Prošić-Dvornić, Mirjana. *Odevanje u Beogradu u 19. i početkom 20. veka*. Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 2006.

11 – Three international congresses on the topic of clothing greatly contributed to this shift: IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, held in 1973 in the USA, the 1983 conference titled *Towards an Anthropology of Dress*, organized by the French National Center for Scientific Research (Centre National de La Recherche Scientifique), and another 1983 conference organized by anthropologists Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider in the state of New York (Taylor 2002).

obrasca u okviru svake društvene grupe u skladu s njenim ekonomskim mogućnostima, društvenim, etničkim, vjerskim, dobnim, spolnim i rodnim pripadnostima, kao i prema estetskim i moralnim vrijednostima. Odijevanje podrazumijeva i antimodne trendove, koji iz različitih razloga održavaju nekadašnju modu.<sup>10</sup>

Moda počinje ulaziti u fokus antropoloških istraživanja 1980-ih godina kad velik broj etnologa / kulturnih antropologa počinje razumijevati i tumačiti društvene, kulturne i povijesne procese i transformacije kroz istraživanje promjena u načinu odijevanja i praksa vezanih za njih.<sup>11</sup> Činjenica je da ne postoji suglasje oko toga što je točno moda. Razne discipline koriste različite definicije mode koje dovode do međusobnog nerazumijevanja. U potrazi za sveobuhvatnom, neeurocentričnom definicijom i odgovarajućim analitičkim okvirom za proučavanje mode nastala je poddisciplina antropologije koja se naziva antropologija mode i koja nudi neke važne alate za bavljenje tom problematikom. Posebnost antropološkog pogleda je međukulturalni, inkluzivni, holistički i relativistički pristup koji omogućava otkrivanje zajedničkih i univerzalnih karakteristika kao i cijeli niz varijacija. Prema takvim shvaćanjima odbacuju se definicije koje pod modom označavaju određeni sustav proizvodnje, marketinga, predstavljanja i nošenja odjeće koji se pojavio na modernom Zapadu, a potom se proširio diljem svijeta globalnim širenjem kapitalizma. Antropologija mode također odbacuje pretpostavku da su odjevne prakse u malim predindustrijskim društvima više simboličke nego estetske, statične i nepromjenjive, budući da takav stav reproducira neodrživu i lažnu dihotomiju između modernosti i tradicije, globalnog i lokalnog, Zapada i ostatka svijeta.<sup>12</sup> Osim toga, već je pokazano kako su različite „tradicije“ za koje mislimo da imaju podrijetlo

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10 – Prošić-Dvornić, Mirjana. *Odevanje u Beogradu u 19. i početkom 20. veka*. Beograd: Stubovi kulture, 2006.

11 – Tomu su pridonijela i tri međunarodna kongresa na temu odijevanja: Deveti međunarodni kongres antropoloških i etnoloških znanosti (IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences) održan 1973. u SAD-u, potom 1983. konferencija *Prema antropologiji odijevanja (Towards an Anthropology of Dress)* u organizaciji Francuskog nacionalnog centra za znanstvena istraživanja (Centre National de La Recherche Scientifique), te iste godine održana konferencija u organizaciji antropologinje Annette B. Weiner i Jane Schneider u državi New York (Taylor 2002).

12 – [https://www.academia.edu/13162442/Fashion\\_Anthropology\\_Challenging\\_Eurocentricity\\_in\\_Fashion\\_Studies](https://www.academia.edu/13162442/Fashion_Anthropology_Challenging_Eurocentricity_in_Fashion_Studies) (pristupljeno 23. 01. 2020.)



relativistic approach that enables the tracing of common and universal characteristics along with their countless variations. These insights inevitably lead to the dismissal of the definitions that characterize fashion as a system of production, marketing, presentation and consumption of clothing having emerged in the modern West and spread worldwide on the wings of global capitalism. Fashion anthropology also rejects the assumption that clothing practices in small preindustrial societies are static, invariable and rather symbolic than esthetic; this assumption tends to reproduce an unsustainable and false dichotomy between modernity and tradition, global and local, the West and the rest of the world.<sup>12</sup> Besides, it has been proved that various traditions, falsely believed to have been established in distant past, have actually emerged rather recently in very specific circumstances.<sup>13</sup>

Both Western and non-Western fashion changes continuously in line with social, cultural, political, religious and economic development. This means that different fashion systems operating on different logical principles and sense of time coexist simultaneously worldwide. Holism yet assumes that every culture is unique and needs to be observed as a whole.

Fashion anthropology studies a myriad of different processes, practices and perceptions of the body which consumers use to choose and define fashion, taking intricate human need to adorn and express through fashion as its starting point. If this need is truly universal, so is fashion. As opposed to dressing, which Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher define as anything a person does with their body or puts on it, Yuniya Kawamura defines fashion as an added, immaterial value that exists only as an idea. Fashion can be defined as desirable clothing in given time and place, whereby its desirability can be based on a wide range of social, political, economic or religious values, or ideas associated with nostalgia, exclusivity, creativity, modernity, beauty, youth etc. What is considered fashion in one place does not have to be valued as such elsewhere. In ethnology

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12 – Jansen, Angelika. *Fashion Anthropology: Challenging Eurocentricity in Fashion Studies*, 2015. Url: [https://www.academia.edu/13162442/Fashion\\_Anthropology\\_Challenging\\_Eurocentricity\\_in\\_Fashion\\_Studies](https://www.academia.edu/13162442/Fashion_Anthropology_Challenging_Eurocentricity_in_Fashion_Studies) (accessed January, 23, 2020)

13 – Hobsbawm, Eric. „Introduction: Inventing Traditions.“ In: *The Invention of Tradition*, ur. Eric Hobsbawm i Terence Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983: 1–14.

u dubokoj prošlosti prilično novijeg datuma nastale u vrlo određenim uvjetima.<sup>13</sup>

Zapadnjačka i nezapadnjačka moda kontinuirano se stvaraju slijedeći društveni, kulturni, politički, vjerski i gospodarski razvoj. To znači da na svijetu postoje različiti modni sustavi, koji djeluju po principima različitih logika i pojmova vezanih za vrijeme. Holizam pak polazi od pretpostavke da je svaka kultura jedinstvena i da ju treba sagledavati u cjelini.

Modna antropologija istražuje cijeli niz različitih procesa, praksi i shvaćanja tijekom u skladu s kojima ljudi odabiru i definiraju modu polazeći od ljudske potrebe za izražavanjem pomoću odjeće i ukrašavanja. Ako je ta potreba univerzalna, onda je to i moda. Suprotno odijevanju, koje Ruth Barnes i Joanne Eicher definiraju kao sve što čovjek radi s vlastitim tijelom ili stavlja na njega,<sup>14</sup> Yuniya Kawamura definira modu kao dodatnu, nematerijalnu vrijednost odijevanja koja postoji samo u ideji. Moda je željena (*desirable*) odjeća na određenom mjestu i u određenom trenutku, pri čemu se njezina poželjnost može temeljiti na širokom rasponu vrijednosti, bilo društvenih, političkih, ekonomskih, vjerskih ili na idejama povezanim s nostalgijom, ekskluzivnosti, kreativnosti, modernosti, ljepotom, mladosti i dr.<sup>15</sup> Ono što se na jednom mjestu shvaća modom, ne mora vrijediti i za druga mjesta. Za etnologiju / kulturnu antropologiju značajna je etnografska metoda promatranja sa sudjelovanjem koja istraživačima omogućuje rad i s materijalnom i nematerijalnom kulturom, otkrivanje ne samo svjesnih već i nesvjesnih oblika ponašanja. Vanjskom promatraču se odjeća neke zajednice može činiti jednoličnom, no njezini pripadnici uvijek znaju što se u određenom trenutku „nosi“.

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14 – Barnes, Ruth i Eicher, Joanne. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Context*. New York: Berg, 1992.

15 – Kawamura, Yuniya. *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies*. Oxford i New York: Berg, 2004.

16 – Tkalčić, Vladimir. „Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu,“ *Narodna starina* 1/1, 1922: 73–75.; Tkalčić, Vladimir. „Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu 1919–1929. Povodom 10-godišnjice njegovog osnutka,“ *Narodna starina* 9/22, 1930: 132–148.; Kus Nikolajev, Mirko. *Problem hrvatske kućne radinosti*. Zagreb, 1942.; Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu u povodu 70. obljetnice*. *Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989.; Eckhel, Nerina. 80 godina Etnografskog muzeja. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1999.; Muraj, Aleksandra. Tragom Antuna Jiroušeka: etnografija u kulturnim i inim praksama,“ *Etnološka tribina* 24, 2001: 35–46.; Muraj, Aleksandra. „Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje i seljačkog tekstilnog umijeća,“ *Narodna umjetnost* 43/2, 2006: 7–40.



and cultural anthropology, it is important to employ the ethnographic method of observation and participation, which enables researchers to work with both material and immaterial culture, and to recognize both conscious and unconscious behavioral patterns. Clothing of a particular community may seem monotonous to objective observers, but its members always know what is in vogue in a given moment in time.

## MUSEUM AND FASHION

In this chapter, I will attempt to apply these different understandings of folklore costumes, fashion and clothing to the analysis of textile exhibits housed in the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. I will also outline the advantages of interpretation and presentation of clothing in the Ethnographic Museum once it is set into the context of fashion.

Despite earlier initiatives by noted individuals (F. Rački, I. Kršnjavi, B. Bogišić, J. Purić, S. Berger, V. Deželić, A. Jiroušek), the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb was first established in 1919.<sup>16</sup> The Museum was opened in the building of *Croatian Museum of Commerce and Crafts* in 1904, as the youngest section of the National Museum. Salamon Berger was named the first director, and Vladimir Tkalčić the first curator.<sup>17</sup>

Salamon Berger had already been familiar to the Croatian public as a collector, wholesaler and industrialist. Before he was named the director of the Museum, he had worked on creating a collection of ethnographic objects and artifacts, while encouraging domestic manufacturing of textiles and carpentry. In his most productive business era, he employed 1600 women who manufactured luxurious clothing and other textile

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16 – Tkalčić, Vladimir. „Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu,” *Narodna starina* 1/1, 1922: 73-75.; Tkalčić, Vladimir. „Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu 1919–1929. Povodom 10-godišnjice njegovog osnutka,” *Narodna starina* 9/22, 1930: 132-148.; Kus Nikolajev, Mirko. *Problem hrvatske kućne radinosti*. Zagreb, 1942.; Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu—u povodu 70. obljetnice. Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989.; Eckhel, Nerina. *80 godina Etnografskog muzeja*. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1999.; Muraj, Aleksandra. Tragom Antuna Jirouška: etnografija u kulturnim i inim praksama, „*Etnološka tribina* 24, 2001: 35-46.; Muraj, Aleksandra. „Odnos građanstva spram narodne nošnje i seljačkog tekstilnog umijeća,” *Narodna umjetnost* 43/2, 2006: 7–40.

17 – Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu—u povodu 70. obljetnice. Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989: 15.

## MUZEJ I MODA

Te različite ideje o nošnji, modi i odijevanju pokušat ću primijeniti na analizu tekstilne građe u Etnografskom muzeju. Zatim ću pokušati pokazati kakve su prednosti u interpretaciji i prezentaciji odjeće u Etnografskom muzeju kad se ona stavi u modni kontekst.

Unatoč ranijim inicijativama pojedinaca (F. Rački, I. Kršnjavi, B. Bogišić, J. Purić, S. Berger, V. Deželić, A. Jiroušek) Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu utemeljen je tek 1919. godine.<sup>16</sup> Muzej je otvoren u zgradi Trgovačko-obrtničkoga muzeja iz 1904. kao najmlađi odjel Narodnoga muzeja. Salamon Berger imenovan je prvim ravnateljem, a Vladimir Tkalčić kustosom.<sup>17</sup>

Salamon Berger bio je već ranije poznat hrvatskoj javnosti kao kolekcionar, veletrgovac i industrijalac. Prije dolaska u Muzej on je s jedne strane radio na stvaranju zbirke etnografskih predmeta i umjetnoga obrta, a s druge na poticanju kućne industrije uglavnom vezane za tkanje i drvodjelstvo. U vrijeme najboljega poslovanja Berger je zapošljavao 1600 žena koje su izrađivale luksuznu odjeću i druge tekstilne predmete (stolnjake, podmetače, zastore, pokrivače za krevet i sl.) namijenjene građanstvu. Predmeti njegove kućne industrije uspješno su se plasirali na stranom tržištu putem 96 izložbi u Europi, Americi i Australiji.<sup>18</sup> Svi su nosili oznaku Hrvatske seljačke kućne industrije (Croatian peasant house-works) kao vrstu brenda. On je također surađivao s poznatim modnim kućama tog vremena poput Paquin i tvrtke Rejean, a modna odjeća ukrašena bordurama „Industrije Berger“ s folklornim motivima izvedenim u starinskoj tkalačkoj tehnici „u zijev“ objavljivana je početkom 20. stoljeća na naslovnicaama modnih časopisa *Wiener Mode* i *Maitre de Paris*. No, ni u doba najboljega poslovanja Berger nije uspijevaio financijski održati proizvodnju te je uzaludno tražio državne subvencije da bi je na koncu 1910. bio prisiljen zatvoriti. Njegova je moda u suvremeno doba problematizirana u kontekstu autohtonog orijentalizma.<sup>19</sup> Već na primjeru Bergera možemo zapaziti neke od problema koji se i danas vežu za modnu industriju, a to je rad bezimernih žena u često nehigijenskim uvjetima za vrlo

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17 – Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu u povodu 70. obljetnice. Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989: 15.

18 – Ibid.

19 – Simončić, Katarina Nina. *Kultura odijevanja u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće*. Zagreb: Plejada, 2012: 144–158.

products (tablecloths, mats, curtains, bed covers and alike) for the middle class. The products of his domestic industry were successfully placed on the international market through 96 exhibitions in Europe, America and Australia.<sup>18</sup> All products were branded as Croatian peasant cottage industry. He also cooperated with renowned fashion houses of the time, such as Paquin and Rejean, whereas fashion garments decorated with recognizable trimmings of the Berger Industry with folklore motifs in a specific traditional weaving technique in Croatia were published on the covers of fashion magazines Wiener Mode and Maitre de Paris at the beginning of the 20th century. Unfortunately, even in the golden age of his business, Berger could not maintain financial viability. After several unsuccessful attempts to secure government incentives, he was forced to shut down in 1910. His fashion is temporarily problematized in the context of autochthonous orientalism.<sup>19</sup> The fate of the Berger Industry addressed some of the core issues still present in the fashion industry, such as underpaid work of anonymous women in poor working conditions<sup>20</sup>, the dissociation of the creative and manufacturing processes in the fashion industry, rapid saturation of the market with a particular folklore style, calling for the launch of new motifs several times a year, which was not feasible at the time.<sup>21</sup> Contemporary fashion designers also often seek inspiration from their respective local cultural heritage. Certain anthropologists interpret this phenomenon as a form of auto-orientalism, while others believe that creation and product placement of new, hybrid designs inspired by tradition have rendered once marginalized communities significant stakeholders in global economy.<sup>22</sup>

18 – Ibid.

19 – Simončić, Katarina Nina. *Kultura odijevanja u Zagrebu na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće*. Zagreb: Plejada, 2012: 144–158.

20 – Some authors as Berger himself (Franić 1935; Gjetvaj 1989) emphasized the fact that he fostered the emancipation of women by including them in the production and giving them employment and earnings to support their families.

21 – Kus Nikolajev, 1942.

22 – Niessen, Sandra. "Afterword: Fashion's Fallacy." In: *Modern Fashion Traditions: Negotiating Modernity Through Fashion*, ed. Angela Jansen and Jennifer Craik. London: Bloomsbury, 2015: 209–218.

nisku cijenu<sup>20</sup>, odvojenost proizvodnje od nastanka same mode, brza zasićenost tržišta određenim folklornim stilom zbog čega je neophodno nekoliko puta godišnje plasirati nove uzorke, što je u danim uvjetima bilo nemoguće.<sup>21</sup> I suvremeni modni dizajneri često traže inspiraciju u svojoj lokalnoj kulturnoj baštini. Neki antropolozi tu pojavu tumače kao oblik autoorijentalizma, dok drugi smatraju da su nekoć marginalizirane zajednice stvaranjem, nošenjem i stavljanjem na tržište novog hibridnog dizajna inspiriranog tradicijom postale značajni akteri globalne ekonomije.<sup>22</sup>

Početni fundus EMZ-a sastojao se od 20 000 uglavnom tekstilnih predmeta iz zbirke Narodnoga muzeja i srodnih institucija. Najviše se radilo o tekstilnim fragmentima i pojedinačnim dijelovima odjeće, a u manjoj mjeri kompletima, jer u doba kad se ta građa počela sabirati pažnja nije bila usmjerena na društvenu, odnosno komunikacijsku ulogu odjeće, već su fragmenti/uzorci bogatstvom ukrasa i raznolikošću tehnika veza, tkanja i čipke trebali poslužiti kao inspiracija za izradu i ukrašavanje suvremenih predmeta. Ti su predmeti u tadašnjoj javnosti imali status narodne/nacionalne, pučke ili seljačke umjetnosti. Najznačajniji dio činila je ranije otkupljena Zemaljska zbirka Salamona Bergera koja je sadržavala i predmete „Industrije Berger“.<sup>23</sup> Tekstilna Zbirka EMZ-a postoji od osnutka 1919. godine do danas. Ona čini jezgru fundusa, najstarija je i najbrojnija, a u stalnom se postavu nalazi od samog početka muzejske izlagačke prakse. Budući da su se dijelovi zbirke oblikovali od sredine 19. stoljeća do danas, u njoj dolaze do izražaja različite koncepcije kulturnog i nacionalnog identiteta. Promjenama politika Muzeja mijenjao se i odnos prema Zbirci tekstila i odjeće u smislu novih klasifikacija, načina sabiranja, ali i interpretacije i prezentacije u skladu s različitim znanstvenim, ideološkim i muzeološkim koncepcijama.

20 – Neki su autori pišući o njemu (Franić 1935; Gjetvaj 1989), kao uostalom i on sam, isticali činjenicu da je ženama, uključivši ih u proizvodnju, omogućio zaradu kojom su mogle uzdržavati obitelji ili se emancipirati.

21 – Kus Nikolajev, 1942.

22 – Niessen, Sandra. "Afterword: Fashion's Fallacy." U: *Modern Fashion Traditions: Negotiating Modernity Through Fashion*, ed. Angela Jansen and Jennifer Craik. London: Bloomsbury, 2015: 209–218.

23 – Predmeti „Industrije Berger“ bili su poslije smrti S. Bergera 1934. izloženi u stalnom postavu Muzeja iz 1936.–1942. njemu u čast. Radilo se samo o posoblju, a ne odjvnim predmetima. Kasnije se njegova modna odjeća prikazivala na izložbi EMZ-a „Zagrebačke uspomene“ iz 1994. u kontekstu zagrebačke mode i na izložbi MUO-a „Secesija u Hrvatskoj“ iz 2003. kao secesijska stilska odjeća podrijetlom iz Hrvatske.

The initial archive of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb comprised 20 000 predominantly textile artifacts from the collections of the National Museum and akin institutions. The artifacts were mainly textile fragments and individual garments rather than ensembles, since the primary focus in the first collection was not placed on the social and communicative function of clothing but the array of weaving, embroidery and lacemaking techniques that were supposed to inspire the manufacturing and decoration of contemporary objects. The public of that time considered these objects products of national and folklore art. The artifacts for the most part came from the previously purchased National Collection by Salomon Berger, containing many items produced by the Berger Industry<sup>23</sup>. The Textile and Clothing Collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb has been a permanent part and the core of the Museum's fundus as one of the oldest and most extensive collections ever since its establishment in 1919. The collection features different conceptions of cultural and national identity, since certain parts of it have been formed from the mid-19th century to the present day. The attitude towards Textile and Clothing Collection changed together with the Museum's management policies in terms of new collection and classification methods, and manners of its interpretation and presentation in accordance with various scientific, ideological and museological concepts.

A section of objects that entered the Museum's fundus upon its establishment were products of household craft or industry, although there was no strict distinction at the time between products of household craftsmanship and objects made for personal needs. The Museum initially had a department for application of rural craftsmanship for artistic and utility purposes, which played an intermediary role between many museum collections and different professional categories, since one of the Museum's roles was the stimulation, development and promotion of household craftsmanship. In cooperation with the Ministry of Trade and Industry

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23 – The products of the Berger Industry were exhibited in the permanent exhibition of the Museum between 1936 to 1942, in the honor of Salomon Berger after his death in 1934. The exhibits in question were only furnishings, not garments. His garment designs were later showcased in the exhibition titled "Zagreb Memories" at the Ethnographic Museum in 1994, in the context of Zagreb fashion, and the exhibition "Art Nouveau in Croatia" at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in 2003, as Art Nouveau stylish clothing originally from Croatia.

Dio predmeta koji je osnutkom Muzeja ušao u njegov fundus bio je proizvod kućnog obrta ili industrije, ali u to se vrijeme još nije povlačila oštra granica između predmeta kućnog obrta i onoga kojeg seljaci izrađuju za vlastite potrebe. U prvom razdoblju djelovanja Muzeja postojao je Odsjek za primjenu seljačkoga umijeća u umjetničke i obrtne svrhe, koji je bio poveznica između postojećih muzejskih zbirki i različitih profesionalnih kategorija, pri čemu je jedna od uloga Muzeja bila poticanje, razvijanje i promoviranje kućnoga rukotvorstva kao i skrb o njegovoj kvaliteti. U suradnji s Ministarstvom trgovine i industrije Muzej je aktivno sudjelovao u organiziranju izložbi i promoviranju predmeta kućne industrije na međunarodnim izložbama i sajmovima kao i sa Zagrebačkim zborom, gdje su ti predmeti bili definirani kao narodna umjetnost ili narodno rukotvorstvo ili primijenjena narodna umjetnosti i primijenjeno narodno rukotvorstvo.<sup>24</sup>

Za opstanak etnografskih zbirki, ali i etnologije kao znanstvene discipline, bilo je važno ustanoviti razliku između umjetničkoga predmeta i artefakata. Zato je valjalo provesti rekategorizaciju predmeta „narodne umjetnosti“ u etnografske i dati im dokumentarni status, potiskujući u drugi plan njihove estetske vrijednosti.<sup>25</sup> Tijekom 1930-ih godina predmeti nastali u zanatskim radionicama, udrugama i školama počinju se u Muzeju tretirati kao primijenjena umjetnost, a oni proizvedeni u seoskoj sredini za vlastite potrebe kao izvorna narodna umjetnost. Prema mišljenju Vjere Bonifačić, koja se bavila ulogom Muzeja u kanonizaciji „izvornih“ narodnih nošnji u Hrvatskoj, kanonizacija se potkraj 1920-ih godina počela odvijati na dvjema razinama. Prva se odnosila na način proučavanja tekstila, a druga na dosljedno selektiranje materijala relevantnoga za proučavanje i prezentiranje. Odjeća i tekstil koji su se mijenjali u formi, materijalu ili funkcijama nisu bili predmet istraživanja i smatrani su „neautentičnim“.<sup>26</sup>

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24 – Bušić, Katarina. "Salomon Berger i počeci izložbene djelatnosti zagrebačkog Etnografskog muzeja," *Etnološka istraživanja* 14, 2009: 281–300.; Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu u povodu 70. obljetnice. Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989:94.

25 – Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Reconfiguring museums: an afterword." U: *Die schau des fremden: ausstellungskonzepte zwischen kunst, kommerz und wissenschaft*, ed. Cordula Grewe. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006: 362–375. Url: <https://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/web/i8%20Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.pdf> (pristupljeno 23. 09. 2018.)

26 – Bonifačić, Vjera. „Etnološka istraživanja i kanonizacija „izvornih“ narodnih nošnji u Hrvatskoj 1930-ih,“ *Etnološka istraživanja* 12–13, 2007–2008: 9–27.



and the Zagreb Council, the Museum actively participated in organization of exhibitions and promotion of household industry products on international exhibitions and fairs, where these products were defined as applied folk art and handicraft.<sup>24</sup>

In order to secure the preservation of ethnographic collections and ethnology as a scientific discipline, it was essential to establish the distinction between works of art and artifacts. It was therefore necessary to re-categorize the works of "folk art" as ethnographic and classify them as documents, pushing their esthetic values to the background.<sup>25</sup> During the 1930s, the Museum started treating objects manufactured in craft workshops, guilds and schools as applied art, while those crafted in rural communities for personal use were considered original folk art. According to Vjera Bonifačić, who discussed the role of the Museum in canonization of "autochthonous" folklore costumes in Croatia, the canonization process in the late 1920s started taking place on two levels. The first level was concerned with the study of textile materials, whereas the second referred to consistent selection of materials relevant to study and presentation. Garments and textiles that changed in their form, materials and function were considered "inauthentic" and were thus not included in the research.<sup>26</sup>

Most textile artifacts in the Museum's collection date back to the second half of the 19th century or the fin de siècle, and belonged to more affluent rural classes. This clothing was typically worn for festive occasions and ceremonial purposes. These garments were mainly collected on the Croatian territory, in particular Croatia proper, Slavonia, Ravni kotari and Bukovica, but also west Bosnia, Macedonia, Czechia, Slovakia, Romania, Albania, the Middle and Far East. The fundus comprises clothes and

24 — Bušić, Katarina. "Salamon Berger i počeci izložbene djelatnosti zagrebačkog Etnografskog muzeja," *Etnološka istraživanja* 14, 2009: 281–300.; Gjetvaj, Nada. *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu—u povodu 70. obljetnice. Etnološka istraživanja* 5. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989:94.

25 — Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Reconfiguring museums: an afterword." In: *Die schau des fremden: ausstellungskonzepte zwischen kunst, kommerz und wissenschaft*, ed. Cordula Grewe. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006: 362–375. Url: <https://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/web/18%20Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.pdf> (accessed September, 23, 2018)

26 — Bonifačić, Vjera. „Etnološka istraživanja i kanonizacija „izvornih“ narodnih nošnji u Hrvatskoj 1930-ih," *Etnološka istraživanja* 12–13, 2007–2008: 9–27.

Većina je tekstilnih predmeta u Zbirci iz druge polovice 19. ili početka 20. st., a pripadali su bogatijem seljačkom sloju. Pretežno se radilo o nošnjama za svečane ili obredne momente. Predmeta je najviše bilo s područja Hrvatske, osobito središnje, Slavonije, Ravnih kotara i Bukovice, zapadne Bosne, Makedonije te Češke, Slovačke, Rumunjske, Albanije kao i bliskoistočnih i dalekoistočnih zemalja. U fundusu su i gradska odjeća i nakit orijentalnoga tipa, kakve su nosili muslimani, Židovi i kršćani na prostoru Balkana. Često se estetski kriterij ističe kao najvažniji u oblikovanju zbirke privatnih kolekcionara koje su osnutkom Etnografskoga muzeja postale dijelom njegova inicijalnoga fundusa. Estetsko se u tom kontekstu doživljavalo kao suprotnost znanstvenim principima na kojima bi se muzejska zbirka trebala zasnivati. Pomak prema „znanstvenom“ pokušavao se ostvariti putem sustavnoga istraživanja svih regija i ciljanih akvizicijskih kampanja.

Prema statutu EMZ-a iz 1966., Muzej skuplja prvenstveno građu s područja SR Hrvatske. Do tada, osobito prije Drugoga svjetskog rata, građa se sabirala s područje cijele Jugoslavije i susjednih zemalja te izlagala u stalnim postavima i povremenim izložbama. U Muzeju su se najčešće isticala južnoslavenska, zatim panslavenska, pa starohrvatska obilježja pojedinih elemenata u skladu s aktualnom političkom ideologijom. U prvom razdoblju rada Muzeja predmeti u tekstilnoj zbirci dijele se na tekstilno posoblje i fragmente ukrasa te na dijelove nošnji i komplete. Pravilnikom o sistematizaciji radnih mjesta iz 1977. nošnje se klasificiraju po pripadnosti etnografskim zonama i tipologiji. Prema tim podjelama materijal se prikupljao i razvrstavao u zbirke, što znači da je klasifikacija na neki način prethodila sabiranju, a ne obratno.

Prikupljena građa trebala je svjedočiti o karakterističnom tipu odijevanja na određenom geografskom području. Zato se prednost davala tipičnim predmetima, a ne onima koji su odstupali od ustaljenih normi. Vrlo su se rijetko bilježili biografski podaci vezani za predmet, jer se oni nisu smatrali bitnim za njegovu interpretaciju. Pažnja se nije posvećivala ni osobi koja je izradila predmet, kao ni onoj koja ju je nosila. Cilj etnografskih istraživanja bio je utvrđivanje kulturnih sličnosti u razvoju narodnih kultura na određenom području, a ne u traženju razlikovnih elemenata pa se ni etničke, a ni vjerske karakteristike nisu posebno isticale. Nije se proučavala ni odjeća etičkih manjina na području Hrvatske, poput recimo romske. U zbirci je prevladavala ženska nošnja, dok su muška i dječja bile manje zastupljene zbog ranijeg gubljenja tradicijskih obilježja. Svakodnevna odjeća, ili ona siromašnijeg seljačkog sloja, nije bila predmet interesa. Od konca 1940-ih godina počela se isticati potreba za sabiranjem svakodnevne odjeće kao otklon prijašnjim praksama po kojima



jewelry of the oriental type worn in urban areas by Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Balkan region. Private collectors mostly gave priority to the esthetic criterion in their collections, which would later build the initial fundus of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb upon its establishment. Esthetic value in this context was considered juxtaposed to scientific principles that museum collections are supposed to be based on. The shift to the more “scientific” approach was attempted through systematic research of all regions and targeted acquisition campaigns.

According to its statute from 1966, the Museum collected primarily objects on the territory of then Socialist Republic of Croatia. Prior to the aforementioned year and World War II in particular, artifacts had been collected on the entire Yugoslavian territory and neighboring countries and presented in permanent or temporary exhibitions. The Museum collections would accentuate primarily South Slavic, then Pan-Slavic and finally old Croatian attributes of certain elements in accordance with the current political ideology. The artifacts in the Museum's textile collections were initially classified as either textile furnishings and ornamental fragments, or parts of folklore costumes and outfits. According to the ordinance on the systematization of workplaces from 1977, folklore costumes were categorized according to ethnographic zones of their origin and typology. The material was subsequently collected and categorized, which means that classification actually preceded the collection, and not vice versa.

Since collected artifacts were supposed to demonstrate typical clothing in the given geographical region, typical artifacts were chosen over those which deviated from established norms. Records of biographical data related to the artifacts were scarce, since they were considered irrelevant to their interpretation. No attention was paid to either the manufacturer or the person wearing the garment. The aim of ethnographic research was to establish cultural similarities in the development of national cultures in the given region, rather than to seek distinctive features, hence disregarding ethnical and religious peculiarities. Clothing of ethnic minorities on Croatian territory, such as Roma, was hence also not researched. The collection consisted predominantly of women's clothing, while men's and children's wear were less represented, since they would sooner lose traditional features. Everyday clothing or clothes worn by poorer rural classes was not considered of interest. This first started to change in the late 1940s, when the trend of collecting everyday clothing emerged as a deflection from former practices which considered solely folk art worthy

se vrijednim sabiranja i čuvanja smatrala samo narodna umjetnost. Premda pojam *narod* podrazumijeva po nekim definicijama sve niže slojeve stanovništva, radnička odjeća također nije bila predmet interesa. Tekstilni predmeti izvaneuropskoga podrijetla sabirali su se unutar Zbirke izvaneuropskih naroda koja je također podijeljena po geografskom principu.

Poslije Drugoga svjetskog rata o nošnji se počelo govoriti kao „znanstvenom instrumentu i kulturnom spomeniku“.<sup>27</sup> To je vrijeme kad nošnja u seoskim zajednicama počinje izlaziti iz svakodnevne uporabe i kad sve više postaje sredstvo za izražavanje odnosa zajednice prema globalnom društvu. Mnoge lokalne zajednice dokazuju svoju posebnost stvaranjem vlastitoga identiteta koji se često temelji na revalorizaciji vrednota iz predindustrijskoga vremena. Takve su aktivnosti pokrenule raspravu oko sabiranja i izlaganja „svjesno kreiranih tradicija“ poput predmeta izrađenih za folklorne nastupe koji u Hrvatskoj imaju dugu tradiciju.

Do konca 1970-ih godina, u skladu sa zahtjevima kulturno-historijske škole, muzejski stručnjaci u istraživanjima usmjeravaju interes u dva glavna pravca: u pravcu istraživanja autohtonih elemenata, polazeći od najstarijih slojeva do naših dana te u pravcu istraživanja utjecaja grada ili prohujalih stilskih razdoblja.<sup>28</sup>

Tijekom 1980-ih godina počinje se govoriti o koegzistenciji staroga i novoga, pojave se promatraju u širem društvenom kontekstu, neki se elementi, poput nošnje, počinju analizirati kao simboli lokalne kulture i lokalnoga identiteta.<sup>29</sup> Tijekom 2000-ih godina težište istraživanja u Muzeju postupno se premješta prema komparativnim i povijesnim istraživanjima (ne u smislu kulturno-historijske škole, već socijalne povijesti), koja nisu statična već prate dinamiku promjena, uključujući proces modernizacije kao i suvremene pojave.

Od 2000-ih godina za potrebe različitih izložbi također se istražuje na području cijele Hrvatske uključujući urbane sredine ne samo prošlost, već i sadašnjost. Podjela selo–grad, novo–stara, tradicijsko–suvremeno više nije ključna, već značenje predmeta koje oslikava istraživanu problematiku.

27 – Gušić, Marijana. *Tumač građe*. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1955: 8.

28 – Benc Bošković, Katica. “Narodne nošnje okolice Zagreba,” *Etnološka istraživanja* 3–4, 1987: 241–279.; Gušić 1955.; Radauš Ribarić, Jelka. *Narodne nošnje Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Spektar, 1975.

29 – FUS

of collecting and preservation. Although many definitions of the term folk imply all lower social classes, work clothes were again disregarded. Textile artifacts of non-European origin were assembled within the Collection of Non-European Nations, also divided by geographical principles.

After the World War II, folklore costumes came to be considered as “scientific instruments and cultural heritage”.<sup>27</sup> As people started abandoning the everyday use of folklore costumes in rural communities, these costumes started communicating the attitude of a community toward global society. Many local communities started building their distinctive identity based on revalorization of preindustrial values. Such practices initiated the discussion on collecting and presenting the “intentionally generated traditions” such as artifacts designed particularly for folklore performances with a long tradition in Croatia.

Until the end of 1970s, in accordance with the requirements of the School for Culture and History, museum experts started to focus their research in two main directions: either the research of autochthonous elements from the ancient times to present day, or the research on the influence of urban areas and past style periods.<sup>28</sup>

The 1980s brought discussion on the coexistence of old and new and phenomena were now observed in wider social context; certain elements such as folklore costumes are now analyzed as symbols of local culture and identity.<sup>29</sup> In the 2000s, the focus of research in the Museum shifted towards comparative and historical research in the context of social history, where research topics are not static but keep the pace with the dynamic rhythm of changes, including modernization processes and contemporary phenomena.

Since the 2000s, the staging of different exhibitions has caused the scope of research to expand to both past and present rural and urban areas throughout the country. The division of rural vs. urban, old vs. new and traditional vs. contemporary is no longer the key; the key is the significance

27 – Gušić, Marijana. Tumač građe. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1955: 8.

28 – Benc Bošković, Katica. “Narodne nošnje okolice Zagreba,” *Etnološka istraživanja* 3–4, 1987: 241–279.; Gušić 1955.; Radauš Ribarić, Jelka. *Narodne nošnje Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Spektar, 1975.

29 – Muraj, Aleksandra. Tradicijsko odijevanje na Zlarinu, “Narodna umjetnost 18, 1981: 160–219.

Zato određenje kriterija odabira postaje novi problem: kako iz suvremenoga okruženja izabrati predmete koji su najkarakterističniji za predstavljanje određenoga društvenog fenomena? Pokazalo se da se taj problem najbolje rješava u okviru rada na izložbama, jer se kroz istraživanje teme može bolje sagledati važnost određenih pojava i predmeta vezanih za njih. I prije se na izložbama prikazivala određena pojava u transformacijskim oblicima, no istraživano je razdoblje najčešće završavalo Drugim svjetskim ratom. Jedna od novosti u Muzeju postaje prikazivanje suvremenoga života suvremenim predmetima, dok se „tradicija“ počela smještati u historijsko vrijeme. U okviru pojedinih izložbi koristila se pomoć medija u prikupljanju predmeta vezanih za temu izložbe, kao što je to bio slučaj s izložbom „Koje dobre šuze“, pa su interpretacije i priče vlasnika pratile njihovu dokumentaciju. Također su i sami kustosi poklanjali vlastite predmete kao i članovi njihovih obitelji i rodbine. Budući da je ta izložba tretirala temu na način kojim se Muzej do tada nije bavio, prikupljeni se materijal nije mogao razvrstati u postojeće Zbirke, pa je rad na toj izložbi na koncu rezultirao i otvaranjem Zbirke suvremene odjeće koja sadrži modne predmete, konfekciju i predmete popularne kulture. Nove teme i pristupi ne znače da se tradicija i selo više ne istražuju, već da se pred etnologima / kulturnim antropolozima otvaraju neograničena područja bavljenja različitim temama i pristupima. Upravo tu dolazi do izražaja antropologija mode koja pomaže da se i zbirke tradicijskih nošnji reinterpretiraju u tom kontekstu.

## MODA U MUZEJU

Sagledavanjem praksi koje su postojale u Muzeju u prethodnim razdobljima možemo ispraviti one koje smatramo problematičnim u 21. stoljeću. Proučavanje načina odijevanja i ukrašavanja poseban je doprinos razumijevanju kulturnih fenomena. Kulturno-historijski pristup proučavanju tekstila kao i onaj unutar komunikacijskih orijentacija najčešći su načini interpretiranja tekstilne građe u Muzeju. Značajne doprinose proučavanju te problematike dali su antropolozi, sociolozi, povjesničari, ekonomisti, ženski studiji i različiti interdisciplinarni pristupi. No, možda se može otići i korak dalje od takvih objektivno usmjerenih pristupa pa obratiti pažnju i na nematerijalni aspekt. Na primjer, kakav je bio odnos žena prema odjeći koju su nosile, kako im je ona davala osjećaj njih samih, jesu li sebe zamišljale u njoj, na koji je način oblikovala njihova tijela, jesu li uz nju vezale uspomene? Ti nematerijalni aspekti odijevanja važni su elementi u okviru proučavanja mode.

of an artifact and the way it reflects on the subject of research. For this reason, setting the selection criteria poses the question on how to select artifacts from the contemporary environment that best reflect a social phenomenon. It has been shown that this problem is best tackled in the course of exhibition design and arrangement, while research of a topic offers a better insight into the importance of certain phenomena and related artifacts. Earlier exhibitions had also attempted to present certain phenomena in their transformational versions, but the researched period usually ended with the onset of the World War II. One of the novelties in the Museum was presentation of contemporary lifestyle with its objects, while “tradition” was being pushed back to historical periods. The Museum also used the help of media to collect objects for thematic exhibitions, as was the case with the exhibition “What a Good Pair of Shoes”, where exhibits were documented with owners' recounts and interpretations. Even curators with their friends and family donated their items for the exhibition. Since this exhibition interpreted items in a novelty manner inconsistent with the Museum's traditional practices, collected items could not be allocated to existing collections, which finally resulted in the opening of the Collection of Contemporary Clothing, containing fashion accessories, ready-to-wear garments and items pertaining to popular culture. Novelty topics and approaches do not mean that tradition and the countryside are no longer researched; these practices actually broaden the scope of topics and introduce infinite fields and new approaches for ethnologists and cultural anthropologists. This is precisely where fashion anthropology comes into play to help reinterpret traditional folklore costumes in a new context.

## FASHION IN MUSEUM

By reevaluating the common practices in the Museum over the periods past, we can attempt to amend those which have been proven inadequate for the 21st century. The research of clothing and ornamental styles makes a significant contribution to understanding cultural phenomena. The cultural-historical approach oriented on communication is most commonly employed in interpreting textile artifacts in the Museum. Anthropologists, sociologists, historians, economists, women's studies and various interdisciplinary approaches have made significant contributions in this matter. Perhaps we can take a step further from these objective approaches and

Kad se na izložbama u Muzeju odjeća stavlja u kontekst identiteta i predstavljanja Drugih, uvijek se radi o vrlo jasnim društvenim ulogama i naglašavaju se elementi koji jasno određuju status, dob, vjeru, etničku pripadnost i sl. Modni pristup mogao bi pokazati kako odjeća služi i za stvaranje fluidnih identiteta. Čin stvaranja identiteta ostvaruje se kroz svakodnevni ritual odabira i stavljanja odjeće na tijelo. Stil odijevanja pridonosi našoj prepoznatljivosti kao osobe.

Etnografska građa u muzejskim postavima i povremenim izložbama djeluje bezvremeno i statično. Stavljanje predmeta u određeni povijesni kontekst omogućuje njegovo bolje razumijevanje, ali neželjena posljedica može biti njegovo fiksiranje uz određeni stil. Pokazivanje promjena, isticanje transpovijesnog i prolaznog karaktera mode može pridonijeti dinamičnijem shvaćanju narodne kulture. Načinom izlaganja trebalo bi sugerirati da je to samo jedna od mogućih percepcija tog predmeta, kako bi se izbjeglo zamrzavanje njegovoga značenja u prošlosti. Kustosi predstavljaju povijest iz današnje perspektive i zato bi svi povijesni narativi trebali podrazumijevati autorstvo na način da se u koncipiranju prezentacije znanja, ideje i vizije kustosa povežu s vizijama i praksama dizajnera muzejskog postava.

Nošnja je u Muzeju često služila za utvrđivanje rasprostranjenosti određenog tipa kulture pa se u tom kontekstu i izlagala. Zato se predmetima s nekim individualnim karakteristikama ili odstupanjima od ustaljenih obrazaca nije posvećivala pažnja. Inovacije, kreativnost, stvaranje vlastitog stila dio su modnog ponašanja. U ovom nam slučaju moda može biti poticaj da više pozornosti posvetimo osobi koja je izradila odjeću, njenom osobnom ukusu, raskoraku između mogućnosti i želja da iskaže individualnost s obzirom na činjenicu da je u seoskim zajednicama ponašanje žena, a time i odijevanje, bilo podvrgnuto strogoj kontroli.

Distribucija i potrošnja robe dio su modnog lanca. Mnogi su predmeti putem trgovine postali dijelom seoskog odjevnog inventara. Seoske zajednice nisu nikad pasivno prihvaćale takve proizvode pa istraživanje načina njihova korištenja može pružiti zanimljive podatke o tome kad je i u kojim uvjetima nešto postalo moda.

Jednom kada odjeća uđe u muzej, ona se najčešće više nikada neće oblačiti. Nošena odjeća zadržava oblik i mirise tijela koje ju je nosilo. Zato je odjeća u muzeju simbol ljudskoga života. Privlačnost odjeće kao izložbenoga predmeta počiva upravo na toj očiglednoj bliskosti s tijelom. Odsustvo živoga tijela u Muzeju pokušavalo se nadomjestiti na različite načine, najčešće muzejskim



pay attention also on the immaterial aspect. For example: what was the relationship between women and the clothes they were wearing, how did the clothes reflect on their perception of self, how did they envision themselves in these clothes, how did the garments shape their bodies, did they associate memories with particular clothes? These immaterial aspects of clothing are considered important elements in fashion theory.

When clothing in museums is set into the context of identity and representing the Others, this is always the story about very clearly defined social roles, with the emphasis on elements that clearly determine status, age, denomination, ethnicity and alike. The approach to fashion may indicate that clothing can be used as a tool in creating fluid identities. The act of creating an identity is actualized by the ritual of selecting and wearing clothes on a daily basis. Personal style contributes to our personal identity and individuality.

The ethnographic material in permanent and temporary exhibitions may seem timeless and static. The observation of an artifact in a particular historical context enables a better understanding of it, however often with an undesired consequence of coupling the artifact with a particular style. The accentuation of changes in trends, and the trans-historical, ephemeral nature of fashion can lead to a better, more dynamic understanding of folklore and traditional culture. The manner of exhibiting the artifacts should suggest their many possible interpretations, in order to prevent the fixation and limitation of their significance in the past. Since curators always present the past from the contemporary standpoint, historical narratives should imply a joint authorship of the exhibition by fusing the ideas and visions of the curator with those of the exhibit designer.

Folklore costumes were often used to determine the prevalence of a particular culture and thus staged in this context. Many artifacts with individualistic features or deviations from standard patterns were disregarded for this reason. Innovations, creativity and the development of personal style are important aspects of fashion behavior. In this case, fashion can encourage us to pay more attention to the tailors, their personal taste, and the discord between the desires and available options to express personal identity, especially considering the fact that women's behavior and clothing were subjected to rigorous scrutiny in rural communities.

The distribution and consumption of goods are significant parts of the fashion chain. Many garments had become a part of the rural clothing

manekenima koji su varirali od realističnih do apstraktnih, reflektirajući različita historijska shvaćanja tijela i reprezentacije Drugoga. Tijelo je središte svake izložbe posvećene odjeći i modi. Moda i odjevni predmeti ne postoje bez njega, a ni obrnuto. Nadomještanje njegove odsutnosti ili dočaravanje prisutnosti pružaju mogućnosti za različita promišljanja i korištenje novih tehnologija koje omogućuju da predmet bude u prvom planu. Osvještavanje problema vezanih za predstavljanje ljudskoga tijela pridonosi kritičnijem promišljanju i kreativnijim načinima njegova prikaza na izložbama u 21. stoljeću.

Stalni postav narodnih nošnji star je preko 50 godina. Nošnje su prikazane po etnografskim zonama kako se najčešće i kategorizirala tradicijska građa u Hrvatskoj ili po zemljopisnom ključu u slučaju građe iz Zbirke izvanoeuropskih naroda. Globalna perspektiva mode mogla bi pomoći u proširenju njihova značenja izvan lokalnih, regionalnih i nacionalnih okvira, dovodeći ih u vezu s migracijama, raznolikošću, mobilnosti, razmjenama i hibridnosti. Muzej posjeduje niz tekstilnih predmeta koji mogu ilustrirati takve promjene. Tematske izložbe trebale bi prevladati podijeljenost zbirki na one s područja Hrvatske, Europe i Zbirke izvanoeuropskih naroda, prikazujući ih u kontekstu međukulturnih susreta na način da se zajedno izlažu, što donedavno nije bila praksa.

Neke od spomenutih ideja realizirane su na izložbi „Kapa dolje!“ Priča o (ne)pokrivanju glave, koja je postavljena u Muzeju povodom njegove 100. Obljetnice (Sl. 2).<sup>30</sup> Temi pokrivanja glave pristupljeno je s dva aspekta. Prvi pokazuje značenje pokrivala za glavu s muzeološke strane, dok drugi otkriva značenja koja pokrivala imaju u ljudskom životu, odnosno njihovu ulogu u zajednicama otkuda potječu. Predmeti su iz cijelog fundusa, izloženi prema funkcijama kako bi u prvi plan došla njihova univerzalna značenja. Tu se naročito uspješnom pokazala suradnja s dizajnericama izložbe koja je krenula od promišljanja uloga identiteta. Tako se na izložbi razlikuje identitet „ogoljene“ osobe (lišene karaktera, ekspresije i emocija) od „funkcionalnog“ identiteta koji joj nameće pokrivalo za glavu (mladenka, udovica, musliman, Dalmatinac, sportski navijač...). Na izložbi se koriste glave bez fizionomije čija su lica prekrivena reflektirajućom plohom, naglašavajući ulogu pokrivala kao pokazatelja različitih društvenih uloga. Ogladala posjetiteljima omogućuju da prividno „isprobaju“ izložene predmete. Stavljajući se na mjesto osobe koja je pokrivalo za glavu nosila simbolički se povezuju s njezinom/njegovom ulogom. Ekspoziti prestaju biti samo izložci i postaju „osobe“ koje

30 – Autorice izložbe bile su kustosice Aida Breno, Muzeja Mareta Kurtin i Vesna Zorić.





Sl. 2. – Dio izložbe „Kapa dalje:“ Priča o (ne)pokrivanju glave, 2019. (EMZ, fotografija Nina Koydl) / Fig. 2. – Part of the exhibition *Hats off! A story about (un)covering the head*, 2019, Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Croatia. (Photo by Nina Koydl)

inventory through trade. Rural communities never accepted such products passively; the research on their use can offer interesting information on when and how these garments became fashion.

Once the garment is staged in a museum, it will most likely never be worn again. Worn clothes maintain the shape and scents of the person who wore them last. This is why clothing in museums represents human life. The appeal of clothing as exhibited artifact lies in its obvious relationship to the human body. There had been many attempts to compensate for the absence of a live body with either realistic or more abstract museum mannequins, staged to reflect different perceptions of the human body over different historical periods. The body is the focus of every clothing or fashion exhibition. Fashion and garments cease to exist without their direct correlation to the body, and vice versa. The attempts to compensate for its absence or create an illusion of it open up possibilities for different interpretations and the use of new technologies which allow for the artifact to be in focus. Revisiting the problem of representation of the human body stimulates critical thinking and creative approaches to its representation in the 21st century exhibitions.

The permanent exhibition of folklore costumes is over 50 years old. The costumes are displayed according to ethnographic zones, as traditional collectables from Croatia were most commonly categorized, or according to the geographical key, as in the case of the collection of non-European nations. The global perspective of fashion might help expand their relevance beyond local, regional and national framework, by associating them with migrations, diversity, mobility, exchange and hybridity. The Museum holds a series of textile artifacts which illustrate such changes. Exhibitions should be curated in a manner that transcends geographical borders between Croatia and the rest of the world, turning them into an intercultural encounter by exhibiting all artifacts together, which was not a common practice until recently.

Some of the aforementioned ideas were actualized in the exhibition titled "Hats off! A story about (un)covering the head", which was staged in the Museum for its 100th anniversary (Fig. 2).<sup>30</sup> The topic of headgear was approached from two aspects. The first one investigates the significance

30 – The exhibition authors were Aida Brenko and curators Mareta Kurtin and Vesna Zorić.

su klasno/društveno/spolno/rodno/dobno/vjerski definirane izlošcima iz različitih vremena. Premda su predmeti izloženi u vitrinama, pa je mogućnost senzornog doživljaja svedena na vid, načinom izlaganja koji potiče maštu poništen je jaz između onih koji su odjeću doživljavali osjetilno i gledatelja koji je vide kao muzejski predmet.

Muzej od samoga početka djelovanja surađuje s obrtnicima i dizajnerima, a ta je suradnja potvrđena i misijom Muzeja iz 2015., gdje je jedan od istaknutih muzejskih ciljeva povezivanje s kreativnom industrijom. Suvremeni dizajneri predstavljeni u izložbi više se ne zadovoljavaju samo aplikacijom likovnog predloška kao u slučaju „Industrije Berger“, već polaze od dekonstrukcije koja proizlazi iz sveobuhvatnog dizajnerskog istraživanja, analize i eksperimenta.<sup>31</sup>

Kao dionici fenomena kreativne industrije muzeji su jednako kao i dizajneri postali pozicionirani između kulturne i komercijalne proizvodnje. Pri postavu izložbe kustoski je odabir pod stalnim pritiskom profesionalne etike, kritike struke, ali i očekivane isplativosti. Premda etnologija i kulturna antropologija kao znanost ne postavljaju granice području svoga istraživanja, izlaganje suvremenosti u etnografskim muzejima konstantno zahtijeva opravdanja (isto). Fenomen mode danas je sve više u fokusu društvenih znanosti i gotovo da nema muzeja koji ne priređuje izložbe na tu temu. No, moda je kao i u ranijim razdobljima izvrgnuta kritikama s različitih aspekata.

Na izložbi smo osim prošlosti i predmeta iz fundusa željele pokazati i suvremene trendove. U tom smo dijelu izložbe surađivale sa Đurđom Tedeschi, za koju su šesiri dio svakodnevnoga života i odjevnoga rituala koji je (p)ostao njezin osobni izraz (Sl. 3). Uz mnoga modna priznanja dokazuje to i ovogodišnja nagrada Elle style u kategoriji ikona stila. Kao što kaže autorica izložbe Mareta Kurtin: „Ta je suradnja dobar primjer već usvojenih trendova u svjetskim muzejima, koji na taj način izlaze iz uobičajenih praksi tumačenja predmeta i društvenih pojava u komunikaciji s publikom. Njezina je želja bila da pravi protagonist izložbe bude šesir kako bi se potaknuo njegov povratak u modu, ali i očuvali tradicijski i umjetnički obrti. Impresivni šesiri na prvi pogled potvrđuju kako ih je odabirala jedna osoba, ali i činjenicu kako stil

31 – Prikaz izložbe pod nazivom „Memories Are Made Of This—Šesiri iz privatne kolekcije Đurde Tedeschi“ oslanja se na tekst iz kataloga čija je autorica Mareta Kurtin. Kurtin, Mareta. „Memories are made of this...“ U: Katalog izložbe „Kapa dolje!“ *Priča o (ne)pokrivanju glave*, ur. Mareta Kurtin. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 2019: 272–274.

of headgear from the standpoint of museology, while the other reveals the significance of headgear in people's lives, and their function in the communities of their origin. The artifacts were gathered from the entire museum, and showcased according to function to highlight their universal symbolism. The successful collaboration of the three authors started with the reflection of the role of identity. The setup of the exhibition distinguishes the identity of a person "laid bare" (devoid of character, expression and emotions) from the "functional" identity imposed on it by a particular headgear (bride, widow, Muslim, Dalmatian, sports fan...). The mannequin heads used at the exhibition lacked any physiognomic features, with the faces covered in reflective surfaces, implicating the function of headgear as an indicator of different social roles. These reflective surfaces functioned as mirrors, enabling the visitors to virtually "try these exhibits on", and thus symbolically connecting to the role of the person wearing the headgear in question. The artifacts are no longer solely exhibits, but become "persons" who are defined by class, sex, gender, age and religion in a given period in time. Even though the artifacts are exhibited in showcases, limiting the sensory experience only to vision, the manner of exhibition fuels imagination and bridges the gap between those who actually wore them and visitors who can only observe them as museum exhibits.

The Museum has fostered collaboration with artisans and designers since its beginnings, and this collaboration was once again reaffirmed with the Museum's mission from 2015, establishing stronger connections with creative industries. Contemporary designers presenting their work in exhibitions are no longer content with mere presentation of their artwork as was the case with the artifacts supplied by the Berger Industry. The designers will now go step further and start with the deconstruction which ensues from comprehensive research, analysis and experiment in the creative process.<sup>31</sup>

Museums and designers have become equally positioned stakeholders in creative industries, fluctuating between cultural and commercial production. Curators' choices in setting up an exhibition are made under constant

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31 – The description of the exhibition titled "*Memories Are Made Of This*—Đurda Tedeschi's private collection of hats" relies on the catalog text written by Mareta Kurtin. (*Katalog izložbe „Kapa dolje! Priča o (ne) pokrivanju glave*, ur. Mareta Kurtin. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 2019: 272–274.)

ne dolazi s potpisom. Gospođa Tedeschi ne odnosi se prema šeširima na strogo kolekcionarski način. Ona ih kroz život nosi, gubi u selidbama, posuđuje ili pak poklanja. Svaki šešir u njoj proustovski potiče određena sjećanja te je postao simbol i dio intimne antologije datuma, osoba, mjesta, iluzija i priča. Tijekom pripreme izložbe šeširi nisu datirani prema dizajnerskim kolekcijama, već prema sretnim, bitnim ili pak tužnim događajima u njezinom životu. Upravo stoga je kao dio naslova odabran citat pjesme Deana Martina *Memories....*<sup>32</sup>

Povezivanje etnoloških / kulturno-antropoloških teorija, istraživanja mode i kustoskih praksi pokazuje se kao kreativan i refleksivan pristup koji može pomoći Muzeju da od institucije nastale na principima modernizma postane suvremen.







Sl. 3. – Dio izložbe „Memories Are Made Of This – Šeširi iz privatne kolekcije Đurđe Tedeschi“, 2019. (EMZ, fotografija Nina Koydl) / Fig. 3. – Part of the exhibition “Memories Are Made Of This – Đurđa Tedeschi’s private collection of hats”, 2019, Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. (Photo by Nina Koydl)



pressure from professional ethics, critique and expected viability. Even though ethnology and cultural anthropology have a virtually endless scope of research, exhibitions of contemporary artifact in ethnographic museums always need a strong case. The fashion phenomenon, although still exposed to various criticisms, is becoming an ever stronger focus of social sciences, and almost all museums are now setting up exhibitions to honor the topic.

The exhibition was aimed at showcasing not only historical artifacts from the archives, but also contemporary trends. For this section of the exhibition, we collaborated with Đurđa Tedeschi, multiply awarded fashion icon, whose love of hats made them a part of her daily clothing rituals and her personal signature (Figure 3). The exhibition author Mareta Kurtin said: "This collaboration is a good example of already common trends in museums worldwide, which step outside traditional exhibition practices by establishing communication with the audience about artifacts and social phenomena. Her desire was to make the hat a true protagonist of the exhibition, in order to encourage its revival in fashion and preserve traditional craftsmanship and artisan. At the first glance, one can tell that these impressive hats were chosen by the same person, but they also speak for the fact that style is not always the product of renowned labels. To Ms. Tedeschi, hats are far more than just collectables. She wears them, loses them, lends and gifts them all the same. Every hat evokes certain memories in a Proustian fashion, becoming a symbol and a part of an intimate anthology of dates, people, places, illusions and stories. The order of the hats was not set up according to designer collections, but with regard to happy, relevant, or sad events in the owner's life. That is why we chose the line from Dean Martin's song *Memories Are Made Of This* for the exhibition's title."<sup>32</sup>

The merging of ethnological/cultural anthropological theories, fashion research and curating practices appears to be a creative and reflexive approach, which can turn museums from those founded on the principles of modernism into contemporary institutions.



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32 – Ibid.

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**YUGOSLAV  
FASHION  
PRODUCTION  
IN MUSEUM  
PRACTICE OF THE  
ETHNOGRAPHIC  
MUSEUM  
IN BELGRADE**

**JUGOSLOVENSKA  
MODNA  
PRODUKCIJA  
U MUZEJSKOJ  
PRAKSI  
ETNOGRAFSKOG  
MUZEJA  
U BEOGRADU**

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## SUMMARY

Regardless of the challenges that museums in Serbia have been addressing in their work since the 1990s, the topic of fashion and fashion research has not bypassed specific museum institutions that predominantly base their work on the concept of national identity culture. The author discusses the museum practice of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade from the mid-1990s to present, realized through implementation of several selected research and exhibition projects, or only at the Project level, dealing with topics of fashion and clothing culture from 1950s to 2000s. Due to the extensive amount of material and use of multidisciplinary research, the emphasis was placed on curator work on Yugoslav fashion productions in the second half of the 20th century.

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## SAŽETAK

Bez obzira na probleme s kojima su se muzeji u Srbiji suočili i suočavaju u svom radu od devedesetih godina prošlog veka, tema *mode* i *modnih istraživanja* nije zaobišla ni specifične muzejske institucije koje svoj rad predominantno zasnivaju na konceptu kulture nacionalnog identiteta. Autor razmatra muzejsku praksu Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu od polovine devedesetih godina XX veka do danas ostvarenu kroz realizaciju nekoliko odabranih istraživačkih i izložbenih projekata, ili samo na nivou Projekta, a koji su se bavili temom *mode* i kulturom odevanja u periodu od polovine XX do prve decenije XXI veka. Zbog velikog obima građe i preduzetih multidisciplinarnih istraživanja, naglasak je stavljen na kustoski rad na jugoslovenskoj modnoj produkciji iz druge polovine XX veka.



## NEW CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MUSEUM WORK

Through a series of lectures, symposia, congresses, individual and group trainings, the museum community in Serbia in the mid-1990s addressed some key issues for its further development: is it ready for new improvements and a new conceptualization of museum work? Regardless of all identified (and undetermined) challenges, both public and expert opinions agreed at the level of understanding the importance of preserving one's own elite expertise and training, as opposed to the main course of cultural degradation that continues today.

It is also important that in the stated period there was already a developed understanding that museums have experienced a historical shift of their missions and concepts from exhibitors and exhibition galleries to places where experiences are lived, and that the material presence of objects serves only to mediate its meaning (which is often multifaceted). Museologists in Serbia also understood that the theoretical concepts and practical elaboration of advanced Western museology are not always automatically applicable to museums in Serbia, which have a different history of their development and operate in an atmosphere of constant deprivation due to lack of state and national cultural strategy.

Nevertheless, despite all the challenges, the museums in Serbia managed to achieve a continuous process of curator training in various forms and with very different results and success levels, and to introduce, sporadically and unsystematically, new concepts of museum work. In this context, museums have shown great receptivity to topics related to fashion and culture of costume, for the first time offering their interpretations of development of fashion details, fashion eras, fashion design

## NOVA KONCEPTUALIZACIJA MUZEJSKOG RADA

Nizom predavanja, simpozijuma, kongresa, pojedinačnih i grupnih obuka, muzejska zajednica u Srbiji polovinom devedesetih godina prošlog veka otvorila je ključna pitanja za njen dalji razvoj: da li je spremna za nova usavršavanja i novu konceptualizaciju muzejskog rada? Bez obzira na sve utvrđene (i neutvrđene) teškoće, saglasnost u stručnoj i široj javnosti postignuta je na nivou razumevanja važnosti očuvanja vlastite elitne stručnosti i obučenosti, a nasuprot glavnom toku degradacije kulture koji traje i danas.

Od važnosti je i činjenica da se već tada kristalisalo shvatanje da su muzeji pretrpeli istorijsko pomeranje svojih misija i koncepcija, od izlagaonica i prikazivača predmeta, do mesta gde se doživljavaju iskustva i da materijalno prisustvo predmeta služi samo za posredovanje njegovog značenja (često višestrukog). Muzealci u Srbiji razumeli su i da teoretske koncepcije i praktična razrada napredne zapadne muzeologije nisu uvek i automatski primenjivi na muzeje u Srbiji, koji imaju drugačiju istoriju svog razvoja i deluju u atmosferi stalnog osećanja uskraćenosti usled nedostatka državne i nacionalne kulturne strategije.

Pa ipak, i uprkos svim teškoćama, muzeji u Srbiji uspeali su da na različite načine i s vrlo različitim uspehom i rezultatima, ostvare i kontinuiran proces usavršavanja kustosa i uvedu, sporadično i nesistematično, nove koncepte muzejskog rada. U tom kontekstu, veliku prijemčljivost, muzeji su iskazali za teme vezane za modu i kulturu odevanja, nudeći, po prvi put, tumačenja vezana za razvoj modnih detalja, modnih epoha, modnog dizajna i dizajnera. Ukoliko je sistematičnost u opštem radu i izostajala, teme, posebno *modne*, nisu nedostajale.

and designers. If systematic work was lacking in general work, the topics, especially those related to *fashion*, were definitively not lacking.

Based on their own curatorial experience, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade has developed a series of partnerships since the 1990s that have resulted in a long-term program of cooperation and training, primarily of professors and students of Belgrade University, Faculty of Applied Arts and Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Ethnology and Anthropology. Thus in 1994 the exhibition dedicated to the culture of urban traditional clothing already included as its integral part a large-scale exhibition by professors and students of the Faculty of Applied Arts in Belgrade, the Department of Textiles and the Department of Costume Design. The creations were based both on production of a series of individual fabrics inspired by structure and design of traditional materials used to make clothes in the late 19th and early 20th century in towns of Serbia, and the interpretation and production of fashion details based on clothing of oriental and European origin.<sup>1</sup> Regular training of students at the Faculty of Applied Arts has been improved by organizing workshops where could learn various old techniques of embroidery and ribbon-making, as well as the more modern knowledge on how to make applications, setups, etc. Within such cooperation, the specificity of ethnographic material was used to improve the level of knowledge which students and future young designers had on topic of formal and artistic characteristics of traditional clothing and the possibilities of their reinterpretation and reintegration into a modern, fashionable product of a clothing item. The role of the Museum's curator was primarily educational and, indirectly, interpretive. Interpretation of traditional fashion and design of ethnographic objects from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century was developed by students through various creations (sketches, drawings, fabrics, details, objects, accessories). Since then, no major exhibition of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade dedicated to culture of clothing was organized without an accompanying exhibition of creations by students and professors of the Faculty of Applied Arts in Belgrade.

The improvement of this type of cooperation in fashion design was achieved at the beginning of the 2000s, when the Ethnographic Museum

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1 – Menković, Mirjana. *Kostim grada i sela na razmeđu dva veka: Prizren i okolina od 1880–1918: Katalog izložbe*. Beograd: Etnografski muzej, 1994: 1–135.

Na bazi vlastitog kustoskog iskustva, Etnografski muzej u Beogradu od devedesetih godina XX veka, razvio je niz partnerskih saradnji koje su rezultirale dugoročnim programom saradnje i obuke, pre svih, profesora i studenata Beogradskog univerziteta, Fakulteta primenjenih umetnosti i Filozofskog fakulteta, Katedra za etnologiju i antropologiju. Pa se tako, već 1994. godine, uz izložbu posvećenu kulturi gradskog tradicionalnog odevanja, i kao njen sastavni deo, pojavila velika izložba profesora i studenata Fakulteta primenjenih umetnosti u Beogradu, Odsek za tekstil i Odsek za kostimografiju. Radovi su bili posvećeni, kako izradi niza pojedinačnih tkanina inspirisanih strukturom i dizajnom tradicionalnih materijala korišćenih za izradu odeće u periodu s kraja XIX i početka XX veka u varošima u Srbiji, tako i interpretaciji i izradi modnih detalja baziranih na odevnim predmetima orijentalne i evropske provenijencije istog perioda.<sup>1</sup> Redovna obuka studenata Fakulteta primenjenih umetnosti, unapređena je i organizovanjem radionica u kojima su se mogli obučiti raznim starim tehnikama veza, izradi gajtana, načinu izrade aplikacija, postava i sl. U ovako ostvarenoj saradnji, specifičnost etnografskog materijala korišćena je za unapređenje znanja studenata i budućih mladih dizajnera o formalnim i likovnim karakteristikama tradicionalnog odevnog predmeta i mogućnostima njegove reinterpretacije i reintegracije u savremeni, modni, odevni proizvod. Uloga kustosa Muzeja bila je prevashodno obrazovna i, posredno, interpretativna. Tumačenje tradicionalne mode i dizajna etnografskog predmeta iz XIX i prve polovine XX veka, studenti su razvijali kroz različite radove (skice, crteže, tkanine, detalje, predmete, aksesuar). Od tada, nijedna veća izložba Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu koja je bila posvećena kulturi odevanja nije organizovana bez prateće izložbe radova studenata i profesora Fakulteta primenjenih umetnosti u Beogradu.

Unapređenje ove vrste saradnje na modnom dizajnu, ostvareno je početkom dvehiljadite godine, kada je Etnografski muzej počeo da razvija saradnju sa mladim srpskim dizajnerima. Sticajem okolnosti, tih godina Muzej su posetili i Žan Pol Gotje (Jean-Paul Gauthier), kao i bliski saradnici Kavalija (Cavalli), u cilju interesovanja za tradicionalni odevni predmet sa balkanskih prostora. Takođe, kao odgovor na oživljavanje srpske tekstilne i modne industrije, pojavile su se i prestižne Modne agencije. Sa jednom od njih, *Modni Studio Click*, Muzej je ostvario i ostvaruje veoma bogatu saradnju u cilju promocije srpskih modnih dizajnera, ali, i promocije kulturnog nasleđa Srbije. Ovaj vid saradnje,

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1 – Menković, Mirjana. *Kostim grada i sela na razmeđu dva veka: Prizren i okolina od 1880–1918: Katalog izložbe*. Beograd: Etnografski muzej, 1994: 135.

began developing teamwork with young Serbian designers. Due to the circumstances, in those years the Museum was visited by Jean-Paul Gauthier as well as close associates of Cavalli, as they were interested in traditional clothing items from the Balkans. Prestigious fashion agencies have also appeared in response to the revival of the Serbian textile and fashion industry. The Museum has been achieving very rich cooperation with one of them, *Fashion Studio Click*, in order to promote Serbian fashion designers as well as the cultural heritage of Serbia. This type of cooperation, for example, was achieved during the realization of the curatorial exhibition dedicated to one of the impressive and important clothing items in the traditional culture of the Serbian people from the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, which is known as *zubun* or *sadak*.<sup>2</sup> This is an upper garment of the long vest type, usually sleeveless, made of white cloth. Although it is also related to men's costume, *zubun* is predominantly a women's clothing item. In the artistic and aesthetic sense, *zubun* is one of the most representative clothing items in the Serbian folk costume. In this cooperation, Serbian fashion designers and the Agency introduced a completely new fashion concept in the curatorial educational interpretation, very up-to-date at the time of realization of the exhibition: *recycling and environment* (Fig. 1, Fig. 2).

This interaction between the Museum and the young designers culminated during the organization of the regular annual meeting of the ICOM Costume Committee, which took place at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade in 2011. The largest number of exhibitions organized at that time throughout museums in Serbia (a total of 31 exhibitions) was accompanied by appropriate fashion answers to given topics.<sup>3</sup> In the context of this collaboration, it is important to note that *Modni Studio Click* (<http://click.co.rs/>) embarked on a fashion version of a number of elements related to the intangible cultural heritage of Serbia. Also, through one of the exhibitions realized at that time<sup>4</sup>

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2 – Menković, Mirjana. *Zubun Chemise : Belgrade's Ethnographic Museum's nineteenth to mid-twentieth century collection*. Belgrade: the Ethnographic Museum, 2009: 138.

3 – *In Between: culture of dress between the East and the West: proceedings of the 64th Annual Conference, September 25–30, 2011*, ed. Mirjana Menković. Belgrade: The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 2012: 149–154.

4 – Menković, Mirjana. *Dress in Serbia in the Twentieth Century: a Personal Story. The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, September–October 2011*. Belgrade: Ethnographic Museum, 2011: 6.

na primer, ostvaren je tokom realizacije kustoske izložbe posvećene jednom od upečatljivih i važnih odevnih predmeta u tradicionalnoj kulturi srpskog naroda iz XIX i prve polovine XX veka koji je poznat kao *zubun*, *sadak*.<sup>2</sup> U pitanju je gornji odevni predmet tipa dugog prsluka, najčešće bez rukava, izrađivan od sukna bele boje. Iako se vezuje i za muški odevni asortiman, *zubun* je dominantno ženski odevni predmet. U likovno estetskom smislu, *zubun* je jedan od najreprezentativnijih odevnih predmeta u srpskoj narodnoj nošnji. U ovoj saradnji srpski modni dizajneri i Agencija, u kustosku edukativnu interpretaciju uneli su potpuno nov modni koncept koji je bio aktuelan u momentu realizacije te izložbe: *reciklažu* i *ekologiju* (Sl. 1 i 2).

Ova interakcija Muzeja i mladih dizajnera kulminirala je tokom organizovanja redovnog godišnjeg sastanka ICOM-ovog Komiteta za Kostim koji je održan u Etnografskom muzeju u Beogradu 2011. godine. Najveći broj tada organizovanih izložbi širom muzeja u Srbiji (ukupno 31 izložba) pratili su prigodni modni odgovori na zadate teme.<sup>3</sup> U kontekstu ove saradnje, važno je napomenuti da se *Modni Studio Click* (<http://click.co.rs/>) upustio u modnu interpretaciju niza elemenata vezanih za nematerijalno kulturno nasleđe Srbije. Takođe, sa jednom od tada realizovanih izložbi<sup>4</sup> u Muzej je pristigla i prva veća akvizija modne odeće iz sedamdesetih godina XX veka koju je ustupila jedan od vodećih kustosa Muzeja u oblasti tradicionalne kulture odevanja. Važno je dodati da Etnografski muzej praktično od svog osnivanja baštini i elemente građanske kulture u Srbiji i to u okviru više tematskih celina (kulture stanovanja, kulture odevanja i nakita i kulture društvenog i duhovnog života). Svakako najobimnije su zbirke i kolekcije posvećene kulturi odevanja koje pored svog određenja kao „tradicionalne“, sadrže obilje modnih elemenata koji su razmatrani kroz različit kustoski rad u dužem vremenskom periodu. Takođe, od osamdesetih godina prošlog veka Muzej je sakupio znatan broj predmeta vezan za modne detalje i savremeno odevanje iz perioda između dva svetska rata. Ali, prva akvizicija vezana za savremeno modno odevanje iz druge polovine XX veka pristigla je 2011. godine iako, Muzej još nije zvanično doneo odluku o osnivanju zbirke savremenog odevanja. Jer, to su vrlo značajna pitanja vezana za misiju i viziju Muzeja u XXI veku. U tom smislu, važno je konstatovati da postoji određena trenutna dihotomija u radu na kolekcijama odevanja i mode.

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3 – *Između: kultura odevanja između Istoka i Zapada: zbornik 64. godišnje konferencije*, 25–30. septembar 2011., ur. Mirjana Menković. Beograd: Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, 2012: 149–154.

4 – Menković, Mirjana. *Odevanje u Srbiji u XX veku : jedna lična priča : Etnografski muzej u Beogradu septembar–oktobar 2011*. Beograd: Etnografski muzej, 2011: 6.





Sl. 1. – Izložba „Zubun. Kolekcija Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu iz XIX i prve polovine XX veka“, autor M. Menković, rukavice Evice Milovanov–Penezić, Srpski kulturni centar u Parizu, 2010. (Etnografski muzej u Beogradu) / Fig. 1. – Exhibition “Zubun. Collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade from 19th and the first half of 20th century”, author: M. Menković, gloves created by Evica Milovanov–Penezić, Serbian Cultural Center in Paris, 2010. (The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade).



Sl. 2. – Ljiljana Petrović, prof. Fakulteta primenjene umetnosti, kraj svog modela. Izložba „Zubun. Kolekcija Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu iz XIX i prve polovine XX veka“, autor M. Menković, Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, 2009. (Etnografski muzej u Beogradu) / Fig. 2. – Ljiljana Petrović, professor at Faculty of Applied Arts, with her creation. Exhibition “Zubun. Collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade from 19th and the first half of 20th century”, author: M. Menković, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 2009. (The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade).



the Museum received the first major acquisition of fashion clothing from the 1970s, which was donated by one of the leading curators of the Museum in the field of traditional culture of dress. It is important to add that practically since its establishment the Ethnographic Museum has been preserving heritage elements of civic culture in Serbia, within several thematic units (culture of housing, culture of clothing and jewelry and culture of social and spiritual life). Certainly the most extensive collections are those dedicated to the culture of clothes, and in addition to their definition as "traditional", they also contain an abundance of fashion elements that over a long period of time have been studied by numerous curators. Since the 1980s the Museum has also collected a significant number of items related to fashion details and modern clothing from the period between the two world wars. However, the first acquisition related to contemporary fashion clothing from the second half of the 20th century arrived in 2011, although the Museum has not yet officially made a decision to establish a collection of contemporary clothing. However these are very important issues related to the mission and vision of the Museum in the 21st century. In that sense, it is important to state that there is a certain current dichotomy in work with on collections of clothing and fashion.

## SUPPORT TO THE INTERDISCIPLINARY CURRICULUM THROUGH MATERIAL CULTURE

In 2013, further developing the partnerships aimed at *fashion and interpretation of this social phenomenon*, the Ethnographic Museum launched a special Cooperation Program together with the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade University, under the title *The Emerging Museologist*. The goal of this program was based on the developed cooperation with the Department and the long-term *Borivoje Drobnyaković Award*, which used to be awarded by the Museum for the best Bachelor's Thesis in the previous year. The program was enhanced by adding a prize for the best Master's Thesis and the Museum's offer that the awarded student, together with his professor-mentor, or a group of students, should develop an exhibition on the topic of Thesis. Another goal of the Program was that the curators of the Museum were to inform, consult and apply new theoretical concepts from development of their discipline in close cooperation with the Department. Thus the first scientific and theoretical interpretations of fashion and contemporary fashion phenomena

## PODRŠKA INTERDISCIPLINARNOM KURIKULUMU KROZ MATERIJALNU KULTURU

U daljem razvijanju partnerskih saradnji koje su usmerene ka *modi i tumačenju ovog društvenog fenomena*, Etnografski muzej je 2013. godine pokrenuo poseban Program saradnje sa Katedrom za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu koji je nazvan *Muzealac u nastanku/povoju*. Cilj ovog programa bio je na tragu razvijene saradnje sa Katedrom i višegodišnjom *Nagradom Borivoje Drobnyaković* koju je Muzej dodeljivao za najbolji diplomski rad u prethodnoj godini. Program je unapređen dodelom nagrade za najbolji *Master rad* i ponudom Muzeja da nagrađeni student, zajedno sa svojim profesorom mentorom, ili grupa studenata, realizuju izložbu na temu rada. Cilj Programa je bio i da se kustosi Muzeja u bliskoj saradnji sa Katedrom informišu, konsultuju i primene, nove teorijske koncepte iz razvoja same discipline. Tako su u Muzej stigle i prve naučne i teorijske interpretacije mode i savremenih modnih fenomena kakva je na primer bila i izložba grupe autora realizovana 2014. godine sa temom *Glamur na „srpski način“: maturski balovi (1991–2014)* (Sl. 3).

U ostvarivanju ove saradnje Muzej se rukovodio činjenicom da jeste i može da bude naučni istraživački resurs i depozitorijum materijalnih rezultata tih istraživanja kao i da su naučno obrazovne institucije prirodni partneri i saveznici Muzeja. Etnografski muzej je praktično pokazao kako može da se „koristi“ u visoko školskom obrazovanju, ali i kako stvoriti okvir za integrisanje Muzeja u fakultetski kurikulum koji je tradicionalno baziran na tekstu. Takođe, Muzej je realizovao izložbu koja je ponudila objašnjenja o novostvorenoj hiperpotrošačkoj kulturi XXI veka koja nudi sve veći broj usluga i proizvoda pomoću kojih potrošači mogu da postignu svoj zamišljeni „savršeni izgled“. Ključnu ulogu u prenošenju ovih ideja imaju mediji koji omogućavaju sve većem broju ljudi da se upoznaju sa svetom „selebritija“ čiji životi i prakse postaju novi izraz „glamuroznog“ životnog stila. *Moda* je jedan od presudnih faktora *glamura*.



Sl. 3. – Izložba „Glamur na „srpski način“: maturski balovi (1991-2014)“, Grupa autora, Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, 2014. (Etnografski muzej u Beogradu) / Fig. 3. – Exhibition “Glamour in the “Serbian way“: prom dance events (1991-2014)”, Group of authors, Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 2014. (The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade).

appeared at the Museum, including the exhibition by a group of authors realized in 2014, with the theme *Glamour in the "Serbian way": prom dance events (1991–2014)* (Fig. 3).

In order to achieve this cooperation, the Museum was guided by the fact that it is and can be a resource for scientific research and a depository of material results of these studies, while scientific-educational institutions are natural partners and allies of the Museum. The Ethnographic Museum has shown in practice how it can be "used" in higher education, but also how to create a framework for integrating the Museum into the faculty curriculum which was traditionally based on text resources. The Museum also realized an exhibition presenting clarifications about the newly-created hyper-consumer culture of the 21st century, which offers an increasing number of services and products that the consumers may use in order to achieve their imagined "perfect look". The key role in transmitting these ideas is played by the media, which enable an increasing number of people to get acquainted with the world of "celebrities" whose lives and practices are becoming a new expression of a "glamorous" lifestyle. *Fashion* is one of the crucial factors of *glamour*.

## MIRJANA MARIĆ: PRET-A-PORTER DE LUXE OF YUGOSLAV FASHION

In 2013–2014 the curators' work at the Museum included the first independent research project on the topic of Yugoslav fashion production, realized through a special exhibition and a monograph.<sup>5</sup> Together with the exhibition, Mirjana Marić's gift also arrived to the Museum—namely, the evening dresses developed for that exhibition were permanently donated to the Museum (Fig. 4). The goal of the project was, for the first time in the Serbian public but also in the region, to view and present the entire work of Mirjana Marić, one of the most important Yugoslav fashion designers in the second half of the 20th century, and at the same time determine the essential details of the development of Yugoslav fashion, textile and factory-based clothing industry. Another goal of the Project was to expose the issue of clothing culture in the socialist period, as well as the issue

5 — Menković, Mirjana. *Fashion & design Mirjana Marić*. Belgrade: Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, Mnemosyne Center, 2014: 207.

## MIRJANA MARIĆ: DE LUX PRET-A-PORTER JUGOSLOVENSKE MODE

Tokom 2013–2014. godine kustoski rad Muzeja obezbedio je prvi nezavistan istraživački projekat na temu jugoslovenske modne produkcije realizovan kroz posebnu izložbu i monografiju.<sup>5</sup> U Muzeju je sa izložbom pristigao i poklon Mirjane Marić. Naime, večernje haljine realizovane za potrebe te izložbe, trajno su ustupljene Muzeju (Sl. 4). Cilj Projekta je bio da se, po prvi put u srpskoj javnosti, ali i u regionu, sagleda i predstavi celovit rad Mirjane Marić, jedne od najznačajnijih jugoslovenskih modnih dizajnera iz druge polovine dvadesetog veka i da se na taj način utvrde i specifičnosti razvoja jugoslovenske mode, tekstilne i konfekcijske industrije. Takođe, cilj Projekta je bio i da se otvori pitanje kulture odevanja u socijalističkom periodu, kao i pitanje kulture odevanja i muzejskih kolekcija iz druge polovine dvadesetog veka. Konačno, pored odgovora o specifičnostima jugoslovenske mode i uloge Mirjane Marić u nastanku i razvoju, izložba je trebala da ponudi odgovor i na pitanje – da li je u Srbiji moguće/potrebno formirati *Muzej mode*?

Mirjana Marić je diplomirala na Akademiji primenjenih umetnosti u Beogradu 1963. godine, a od 1966. punih deset godina radiće i kao profesor u Školi za industrijsko oblikovanje, odsek za tekstil, u Beogradu. Već 1968. godine ponudiće svoje prve modele i kolekcije jednoj od najvećih i najznačajnijih izvoznih firmi u Jugoslaviji, *Jugoexport-u*. Ali, ono što će presudno obeležiti njen način rada jeste školovanje u Engleskoj, u Mančesteru, gde je i magistrirala 1964. godine. Sa iskustvom, talentom i stvaralačkom energijom, rad Mirjane Marić pospešiće i obeležiti u najboljem smislu najznačajniji period u razvoju jugoslovenskog modnog dizajna od 1968–1991. Njeni modeli i kolekcije označeni su kao *de lux Pret-a-porter jugoslovenske mode*. Mirjana Marić je otelotvoravala prostor između umetnosti i industrije, brižljivo vodeći računa o vrednosti robne marke koju je stvarala. Ona je balansirala između imperativa očuvanja svoje umetničke osobenosti i potreba tržišta. Njena ciljna grupa bila je socijalistička srednja klasa željna prestižnih esteticizovanih proizvoda. Omogućavajući pripadnicima te klase da se razlikuju u masi zahvaljujući maštovitim modnim dodacima, smelim krojevima i upadljivim bojama i dezenima, te tekstilom i kožom vrhunskog kvaliteta, ona je realizovala davnašnje zahteve ovog društvenog sloja za usavršenom proizvodnjom i istančanim detaljima.

5 — Menković, Mirjana. *Moda i dizajn Mirjana Marić*. Beograd: Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, Centar Mnemosyne, 2014: 207.





Sl. 4. – Izložba „Mirjana Marić–Moda i dizajn“, autor M. Menković, Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, 2013. (Etnografski muzej u Beogradu) / Fig. 4. – Exhibition “Mirjana Marić –Fashion and design”, author: M. Menković, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 2013. (The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade)



Sl. 5. – Drugarica Jovanka Broz u poseti Zagrebačkom velesajmu i izložbi „Porodica i domaćinstvo“, Zagreb, 06. 09.1958. (Muzej Jugoslavije, signatura 1958\_095\_109) / Fig. 5. – Comrade Jovanka Broz visiting the Zagreb Fairgrounds and exhibition “Family and household”. Zagreb, September 06th 1958. (Museum of Yugoslavia, sig. 1958\_095\_109)



Sl. 6. – DModna revija Jugoexport-a/Mirjane Marić u čast kralja i kraljice Belgije, Bela vila, Brioni, 22.06.1973. (Muzej Jugoslavije, signatura 1973\_521\_035) / Fig. 6. – Fashion show organized by Jugoexport/Mirjana Marić in honor of King and Queen of Belgium, White Villa, Brijuni, June 22nd 1973. (Museum of Yugoslavia, sig. 1973\_521\_035)



of culture of dress and museum collections in the second half of the 20th century. Finally, in addition to the answer to the specific details of Yugoslav fashion and the role of Mirjana Marić in its creation and development, the exhibition was supposed to offer an answer to the question— is it possible/necessary to establish a *Fashion Museum* in Serbia?

Mirjana Marić graduated from the Academy of Applied Arts in Belgrade in 1963, and starting in 1966 worked for ten years as a professor at the School of Industrial Design, Department of Textiles, in Belgrade. In 1968 she already offered her first creations and collections to one of the largest and most important export companies in Yugoslavia, Jugoexport. However, her way of working was most decisively marked by her education in Manchester, England, where she received her master's degree in 1964. The experience, talent and creative energy of Mirjana Marić's work were the greatest incentive and representation of the most important period in the development of Yugoslav fashion design, from 1968 to 1991. Her models and collections were marked as "Pret-a-Porter de luxe of Yugoslav fashion". Mirjana Marić embodied the space between art and industry, carefully taking into account the value of the brand she created. She balanced between the imperatives of preserving her artistic identity and the needs of the market. Her target group was the socialist middle class, eager for prestigious aestheticized products. Enabling members of this class to stand out in crowd thanks to imaginative fashion accessories, bold cuts and striking colors and patterns, as well as top quality textiles and leather, she brought to life the long-standing demands of this social class for improved production and refined details.

## JOVANKA BROZ: FIRST LADY COLLECTION

The fact that such complex projects of *fashion musealization* are not reaching fertile ground in "thematically traditionally" designated museums in Serbia is also indicated by the last large and, unequivocally, *exclusive Project Jovanka Broz: First Lady Collection*, already launched by the Ethnographic Museum through curators' work in the early 2000s.

Every new encounter with photographs of Jovanka Broz (Pećane, Lika, Croatia 1924–Belgrade, Serbia 2013), especially from the period of the 1950s and 1960, when the state of South Slavs and all its peoples experienced rise and growth and when absolute beauty and domination of

FASHION MUSEOLOGY / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE

MIRJANA MENKOVIĆ / YUGOSLAV FASHION PRODUCTION IN MUSEUM PRACTICE OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM IN BELGRADE / JUGOSLOVENSKA MODNA PRODUKCIJA U MUZEJSKOJ PRAKSI ETNOGRAFSKOG MUZEJA U BEOGRADU

## JOVANKA BROZ: KOLEKCIJA PRVE DAME

Da ovako složeni projekti muzealizacije mode ne nailaze na plodno tlo u „tematski tradicionalno“ opredeljenim muzejima u Srbiji, pokazatelj je i poslednji veliki i, nedvosmisleno, ekskluzivni Projekat *Jovanka Broz: Kolekcija prve dame* koji je Etnografski muzej pokrenuo kroz kustoski rad još početkom dvehiljaditih godina.

Svaki novi susret sa fotografijama Jovanke Broz (Pećane, Lika, Hrvatska 1924–Beograd, Srbija 2013), posebno, iz perioda pedesetih–šezdesetih godina XX veka kada država Južnih Slovena i svih njenih naroda doživljava uspon i rast i kada se apsolutna lepota i dominacija ove neobične žene nalaze na vrhuncu, izazivaju pomešana osećanja. Razloga za takav osećaj je više, ali se čini da bi u ovom momentu dva mogla biti važna: prvi, nesporna lepota, prefinjenost i istančan modni ukus Jovanke Broz koji ničim ne ukazuju da se radi o najznačajnijoj i najuglednijoj predstavnici, na Zapadu tako omraženog komunističkog režima, i drugi, uporna i, nažalost, istrajna i do kraja dosledna višedecenijska šutnja prve dame koja je uskratila svaki, iole ozbiljniji istraživački pokušaj da se jugoslovenska modna dešavanja iz naznačenog perioda, nepobitno vezana za nju, protumače na višeslojan i sadržajan način. Jer, bez te duboke, lične, uzbudljive ljudske priče koja stoji iza svake ikada snimljene fotografije, ostao nam je samo prostor za konstrukcije (vizuelne, komunikacijske, kulturne, društvene, političke) koje počivaju na pretpostavci o njenom velikom uticaju koji je morala imati na hiljade žena u Jugoslaviji i način njihovog odevanja. Ali, i na pretpostavci o određenoj nužnoj društvenoj i političkoj simbolizaciji koju je nošenje tako odabrane modne odeće moglo imati.<sup>6</sup>

I, tek sada, nedavno, polovinom 2017. godine, četiri godine posle smrti Jovanke Broz, stekli su se uslovi za pokretanje i realizaciju sigurno jednog od najprestižnijih muzejskih modnih projekata u Srbiji i regionu: odlukom naslednika, na obradu, konzervaciju i prezentaciju ponuđeno je 669 predmeta iz zaostavštine Jovanke Broz, odevnih predmeta, obuće i aksesoara (objektivno, daleko veći broj pojedinačnih predmeta koji nisu mogli biti detaljno popisani u trenutku izlučivanja) i koje je evidentirao stručni tim Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu. Predmeti koje je preuzela porodica Jovanke Broz privremeno su ustupljeni na obradu i, pre svega, publikovanje

6 – Menković, Mirjana. "Jovanka Broz i moda: kolekcija prve dame," *Etnoantropološki problemi* 10, br. 4, 2015: 873–892.

this unusual woman was at its peak, provokes mixed feelings. There are several reasons for such a feeling, but it seems that at this moment two may be the most important: the first, the indisputable beauty, sophistication and refined fashion taste of Jovanka Broz that do not indicate that she was the most important and most prominent representative of the Communist regime, which is so hated in the West, and second, the determined and unfortunately persistent and to the very end consistent several decades of silence by the First Lady, who denied any even a bit more serious research attempt to interpret Yugoslav fashion events from that period, undeniably related to her, in a multilayered and meaningful way. Without that deep, personal, exciting human story behind every photograph ever taken, we are left only with space for constructions (visual, communication, cultural, social, and political) that are based on the assumption of her supposed great influence on thousands of women in Yugoslavia and the way they dressed. And there was also an assumption of a certain necessary social and political symbolization that wearing such carefully chosen fashionable clothes could have had.<sup>6</sup>

And, only recently, in the mid-2017, four years after the death of Jovanka Broz, the conditions have been created for the launch and realization of one of the certainly most prestigious museum fashion projects in Serbia and the region: 669 items from the legacy of Jovanka Broz, clothing, footwear and accessories (objectively, a far larger number of individual items that could not be listed in detail at the time of exclusion) and which were recorded by the expert team of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade. It was agreed that the objects taken over by Jovanka Broz's family should be processed and, more importantly, published, as they provide a good foundation for a broader interpretation of clothing culture in Serbian museology in the second half of the 20th century and, finally, provide space for defining, processing and presenting the First Lady Collection, which would be the first of its kind among the former socialist countries of Southeastern Europe. In addition, the cooperation of the descendants, the professional team and the potential partner (cultural institution, public company, private company or agency) at the presentation of the Collection would be the first public-private partnership in Serbia in the field of protection and evaluation of cultural heritage which does not necessarily have to be deposited in cultural heritage protection institutions in Serbia in its entirety.

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6 – Mirjana Menković. "Jovanka Broz i moda: kolekcija prve dame," *Etnoantropolski problemi* 10, no. 4, 2015: 873–892.

jer daju dobru osnovu za šira tumačenja kulture odevanja u srpskoj muzeologiji u drugoj polovini dvadestog veka i, konačno, daju prostor za definisanje, obradu i prezentaciju *Kolekcije prve dame*, koja bi bila i prva takve vrste u bivšim socijalističkim zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope. Takođe, saradnja naslednika, stručnog tima i potencijalnog partnera (kulturalna institucija, javno preduzeće, privatna firma ili agencija) na prezentaciji Kolekcije bila bi prva javno privatna partnerska saradnja u Srbiji na zaštiti i evaluaciji kulturnog nasleđa koje ne mora, nužno, da u celosti bude deponovano u ustanovama zaštite kulturnog nasleđa u Srbiji.

Cilj tog kustoskog rada na muzealizaciji izuzetno značajne modne Kolekcije jeste dugoročna zaštita korpusa predmeta i građe koji bi bili izlučeni i kategorizovani. Značaj tog muzejskog materijala sasvim sigurno prevazilazi i regionalne okvire, te je cilj i izložbena i edukativna prezentacija očekivanih rezultata na evropskom i svetskom nivou. Takođe, cilj je i *formiranje dugoročne operativno informacione osnove za planiranje staranja o ovom korpusu muzejskog materijala, kao i formiranje Kolekcije predmeta vezanih za prvu dame socijalističkog perioda (1948–1979)*, kasnije, i za prve dame koje pripadaju demokratskom periodu nakon promena dvehiljadite godine.

Vremenska distanca nalaže da se ova izuzetna građa vrednuje i obradi u skladu s najvišim svetskim standardima u oblasti zaštite muzejskog nasleđa jer se, nesporno, radi o kulturnom dobru najviše kategorije. U skladu s tim, cilj Projekta je i korišćenje i primena pozitivnog i najvišeg iskustva svetskih muzeja u zaštiti, očuvanju i promociji muzejske građe sličnog sadržaja (npr. iskustvo Muzeja Američke istorije u Vašingtonu, ili Danske kraljevske Kolekcije iz Kopenhagena). Istraživanja u domenu kulture odevanja u drugoj polovini dvadesetog veka, ali i proučavanja široke lepeze društvenih pojava koje prate odevanje i modu, život i aktivnosti prvih dama, spadaju u ključni cilj predloženog Projekta. To će biti i prvi put u kulturi u Srbiji (ali i u regionu) da se proceni mogućnost i učinak formiranja *Kolekcije prve dame* i da se razvije muzejska interpretacija ove(ih) važne(ih) žene(a) i njenog(ih) doprinosa kulturi u Jugoslaviji (Srbiji). Korpus muzejske građe, pored izuzetne materijalne zaostavštine, kojom ovaj Projekat može da se bavi broji još deset vrlo važnih segmenata komplementarnih materijalu i koji su deponovani u drugim muzejima u Srbiji, pre svih, Muzeju Jugoslavije. Onaj ključni, *Kolekcija prve dame* zapravo je *Kolekcija u osnivanju* i ona ka kojoj se teži u ovom istraživačkom Projektu.

Nesporan i ogroman kustoski rad na tom Projektu kao krajnji rezultat mogao bi, između ostalog, da podrazumeva:

The goal of that curatorial work on musealization of an extremely important fashion Collection is long-term protection of a corpus of objects and materials that would be separated and categorized. The significance of this museum material certainly exceeds the regional framework, and the goals include both exhibiting and educational presentation of the expected results at the European and global levels. Another goal is *creating a long-term operational information base for planning the care of this corpus of museum material, as well as formation of the Collection of objects* related to the First Lady of the Socialist period (1948–1979), and later also including the first ladies belonging to the democratic period after the changes in year 2000.

The temporal distance dictates that this exceptional material should be evaluated and processed in accordance with the highest world standards in the field of protection of museum heritage, as this is indisputably a cultural asset of the highest category. Accordingly, the Project aims to use and apply the positive and highest experiences of world museums in fields of protection, preservation and promotion of museum material of similar content (e.g. the experience of the Museum of American History in Washington, or the Danish Royal Collection in Copenhagen). Research in the field of costume culture in the second half of the 20th century, but also the studies of a wide range of social phenomena that accompany clothing and *fashion*, life and activities of the first ladies, are among the key goals of the proposed Project. This will be the first time in culture in Serbia (but also in the region) to assess the possibility and effect of forming the First Lady Collection and to develop a museum interpretation of this important woman (women) and her (their) contribution to culture in Yugoslavia (Serbia). The corpus of museum material, in addition to the exceptional material legacy that this Project can deal with, includes ten other very important segments of complementary material that have been deposited in other museums in Serbia, and particularly in the Museum of Yugoslavia. The key one, the First Lady Collection, is actually the *Collection in the making* and the one that is being pursued in this research project.

The end result of the undisputed large-scale curators' work on this Project may, among other things, include:

- ◆ Development of conservation and documentation cards for the needs of permanent, of information.
- ◆ Conservation, processing and publication of the Collection.

- ◆ Izradu konzervatorskog i dokumentacionog kartona za potrebe trajnog deponovanja informacija.
- ◆ Konzervaciju, obradu i publikovanje Kolekcije.
- ◆ Objavljivanje reprezentativne monografije *Jovanka Broz: Kolekcija prve dame*.
- ◆ Objavljivanje posebnog Zbornika radova koji bi se šire bavio epohom.
- ◆ Prateće publikacije i štampani materijal.
- ◆ Realizaciju određenog broja pratećih aktivnosti.
- ◆ Realizaciju izložbe *Jovanka Broz: Kolekcija prve dame*.
- ◆ Postavljanje virtuelenog Muzeja *Jovanka Broz: Kolekcija prve dame*.

## MUZEALIZACIJA MODE: I DALJE LIČNI IZBOR KUSTOSA?

Shodno baštinskom kapacitetu deponovanom kroz zbirke i kolekcije, kustosi Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu prepoznali su, od osamdesetih godina prošlog veka na nivou prikupljanja, a od devedesetih godina i na istraživačkom i izložbenom nivou, značaj *modnih fenomena* za muzejski rad i razvoj kolekcija uopšte. Muzeološki odgovorno, ali i spontano, razvijali su partnerske koncepte saobražene likovnom i i estetskom sadržaju zbirki iz domena kulture odevanja. Od obrazovnih i posredno interpretativnih, prihvatili su i smele modne koncepte i intervencije mladih dizajnera na odevnom etnografskom predmetu. To je rezultiralo, kako novim kvalitetom u interdisciplinarnoj saradnji, tako i boljim pozicioniranjem Muzeja u javnosti. Jer, javnost je, iz svih poznatih razloga, od početka dvehiljaditih godina predominantno fokusirana na *modne i glamurozne* događaje.

U daljem traženju vlastitog mesta u primeni novih tema i metoda, proširenje i usavršavanje kustoskog rada ostvareno je kroz partnersku saradnju sa visoko obrazovanim institucijama, posebno, Katedrom za etnologiju i antropologiju. Uzajamnost procesa saznanja i razmene iskustva i znanja donela je u Etnografski muzej 2014. godine potpuno nove teme i tumačenja na planu muzealizacije mode. Studenti i profesori Fakulteta uneli su naučni i metodološki kurikulum u muzejski materijalni predmet. Otvoreno je i pitanje osnivanja *Muzeja (kulture) mode* u Srbiji.



- ◆ Publishing a representative monograph *Jovanka Broz: First Lady Collection*.
- ◆ Publishing special Proceedings that would deal with the epoch in more detail.
- ◆ Accompanying publications and printed material.
- ◆ Implementation of a number of accompanying activities.
- ◆ Realization of the exhibition *Jovanka Broz: First Lady Collection*.
- ◆ Installation of the Virtual Museum *Jovanka Broz: First Lady Collection*.

## MUSEALIZATION OF FASHION: STILL A PERSONAL CHOICE OF THE CURATORS?

According to the heritage capacity deposited in assemblages and collections, the curators of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade have recognized, since the 1980s at the level of collection, and since the 1990s at the research and exhibition level, the importance of *fashion phenomena* for museum work and collection development in general. In a museologically responsible but still spontaneous manner, they developed partner concepts in line with the artistic and aesthetic content of collections from the domain of costume culture. In addition to educational and indirectly interpretative, they also accepted bold fashion concepts and interventions by young designers on objects of ethnographic costume. This has resulted in both new qualities in interdisciplinary cooperation and in better positioning of the Museum in the public. For all the well-known reasons, since the beginning of the 2000s the public has been predominantly focused on *fashion* and *glamorous* events.

In the further search for its own place in application of new topics and methods, the expansion and improvement of curatorial work was achieved through partnership with highly educated institutions, in particular with the Department of Ethnology and Anthropology. In 2014, the reciprocity of the process of cognition and exchange of experience and knowledge brought to the Ethnographic Museum some completely new topics and interpretations regarding the musealization of fashion. Students and professors of the Faculty have introduced the scientific and methodological curriculum into the museum material subject. The issue of founding the *Museum of fashion (culture)* in Serbia is also revisited.

I konačno, kustosi Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu i sami su ušli u vrlo složene projekte istraživanja i tumačenja mode i modnih proizvoda iz jugoslovenskog perioda. Do duše, zaobilazno i posredno, više kao primer na nivou statističke greške što i potpuno neinteresovanje za posedovanje Kolekcije Jovanke Broz, nažalost, potvrđuje. Neprilagođeni i nestandardizovani osnovni programski konceptualni dokumenti, i dalje, rigidno, ograničavaju pun kreativan rad kustosa i pokušaje da se neki od izazova savremene evropske muzeologije, ipak implementiraju u realnoj muzejskoj praksi. Stiče se utisak, tako, da je kvalitetan rad na muzealizaciji mode, više odgovor na pritisak savremene hiperpotrošačke kulture, nego projekcija dugoročnog i ozbiljnog muzejskog rada. I, naravno, to onda nikoga i ne obavezuje. Pa tako, i one koji su obavezni da za potrebe kulture i razvoja muzejske prakse u Srbiji, obezbede značajna sredstva. Ali, to je već neka druga tema.





And finally, the curators of the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade have themselves entered some very complex projects of researching and interpreting fashion and fashion products from the Yugoslav period. To be honest, this was done in a roundabout, indirect way, more as an example at the level of statistical error, as is unfortunately confirmed by the complete lack of interest in owning the Collection of Jovanka Broz. Unadjusted and non-standardized basic conceptual program documents are still rigidly limiting the full extent of creative work by the curators, as well as the attempts to implement some of the challenges of contemporary European museology in real museum practice. Therefore, one gets the impression that quality work on the musealization of fashion is more a response to the pressure of modern hyper-consumer culture than a projection of long-term and serious museum work. And, of course, then no one feels obliged, including those who are responsible for providing significant funds for the needs of culture and development of museum practice in Serbia. But that is another topic.



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**Maja Arčabić** diplomirala je povijest umjetnosti i bohemistiku. Viša je kustosica i voditeljica *Zbirke mode, modnog pribora i tekstila* te *Zbirke namještaja, satova i drugog posoblja* Muzeja grada Zagreba. Istražuje povijest mode i odijevanja 20. stoljeća. Realizirala je autorske studijske izložbe: *Moda i odijevanje u Zagrebu 1960-ih godina*, *Žuži Jelinek—ambasador mode*, *Grand Prix u kosi: Umijeće češljanja u frizerskom salonu Kincl*, *Moć cvijeća—85 godina zagrebačkog salona cvijeća Herzmansky*, te je koautorica izložbe *Milka Trnina—svjetska operna diva*. ♦ **Maja Arčabić** graduated history of art and bohemian studies. She is the senior curator and manager of the *Fashion, Accessories and Textiles Collection* and *Furniture, Clocks and other Furnishings Collection* at the Zagreb City Museum, Zagreb. She explores the history of fashion and clothing of the 20th century and she is the author of the following exhibitions: *Fashion and clothing in the 1960s Zagreb*, *Žuži Jelinek—fashion ambassador*, *Grand Pix in the hair: The art of combing in the Kincl hair salon*, *The power of flowers—85 years of the Zagreb flower salon Herzmansky* and co-author of the exhibition *Milka Trnina—world opera diva*.

Mr. Sc. **Aida Brenko** diplomirala je etnologiju i polonistiku te magistrirala s temom iz područja antropologije odijevanja. Viša je kustosica, muzejska savjetnica i voditeljica *Zbirke narodnih nošnji s područja središnje Hrvatske* (Posavine, Moslavine, Banovine i Turopolja), *Zbirke narodnih nošnji* u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu, Hrvatska. Područja interesa su antropologija tekstila i antropologija medicine. Autorica je brojnih izložbi s kojima je gostovala diljem Hrvatske i Europe te stručnih i znanstvenih tekstova. ♦ MSc. **Aida Brenko** holds a degree in ethnology and Polish studies and a master's degree in anthropology of clothing. She is the senior curator, museum advisor and manager of the *Collection of Folk Costumes from Central Croatia* (Posavina, Moslavina, Banovina and Turopolje) and the *Collection of Folk Costumes* at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Croatia. Areas of her interest are textile anthropology and medical anthropology. She is the author of numerous exhibitions which she has presented throughout Croatia and Europe, as well as a large number of professional and scientific articles

**Andrea Klobučar**, diplomirana povjesničarka umjetnosti i arheologije, viša kustosica, voditeljica *Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora* i *Zbirke devotionalija* u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu, Hrvatska. Znanstveni interes usmjeren je na istraživanje povijesti dizajna tekstila, odijevanja i mode u Hrvatskoj. Autorica je tri samostalne izložbe iz područja kulture

odijevanja i suvremene mode. Aktivno sudjeluje na domaćim i inozemnim stručnim skupovima. Članica je međunarodnog odbora *International Conference on Oriental Carpets* (ICOC). ♦ **Andrea Klobučar** graduated history of art and archeology. She is the senior curator and manager of the *Collection of Textiles and Fashion Accessories* and the *Collection of Devotionals* at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb, Croatia. Her scientific interest is focused on researching the history of textile design, history of clothing and fashion history in Croatia. She is the author of three solo exhibitions in the field of clothing culture and contemporary fashion. She is an active participant in domestic and foreign professional conferences. She is a member of the *International Conference on Oriental Carpets* (ICOC).

Dr. Sc. **Katja Mahnič** docentica je na *Odsjeku za povijest umjetnosti* Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Ljubljani. Nositeljica je kolegija iz područja povijesti umjetnosti i muzeologije. Bila je suradnica znanstveno-istraživačkog programa *Predmet kot reprezentanca: okus, ugled, moč—raziskave materialne kulture na Slovenskem* (2014.–2017.), u kojem je njezin rad bio usredotočen na istraživanje materijalne kulture. Od 2018. godine članica je na znanstveno-istraživačkom projekta *Nacionalno samozavedanje in nadnacionalna znanost: vpliv nacionalnih diskurzov na raziskovanje srednjeveške in zgodnjenovoveške umetnosti v Sloveniji*. Uz materijalnu kulturu njezina istraživačka područja su kulturna baština, povijest muzeologije, muzejske izložbe i slika kao povijesni izvor. ♦ **Katja Mahnič**, PhD is Assistant Professor at the Department of Art History, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, where she teaches introductory course on art history and two courses on museology. Between 2004 and 2017 she was a member of a joint research group formed by the researchers from the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana and National museum of Slovenia, that focused on the research of material culture in Slovenia. From 2019, she is a participant in a research project *National Self-Assertion Versus Transnational Scholarship: the Impact of National Discourses on the Medieval and Early Modern Art History in Slovenia* which focuses on Slovenian national art historiography. Her research interests are images as a historical source, interpretation of material culture, history of heritage research and preservation, especially the early development of museums in Slovenia and museum exhibitions.

**Draginja Maskareli**, diplomirana povjesničarka umjetnosti, viša kustosica, voditeljica *Zbirke tekstila i kostima* u Muzeju primenjene umjetnosti u Beogradu, Srbija. Njen znanstveni interes je usmjeren na istraživanje povijesti odijevanja i mode u Srbiji. Kustos je muzejskih izložbi među kojima su *Venčane*

*haljine u Srbiji* (2011.), *Ah, te cipele!* (2013.) *Tašnice* (2015.) i *Moda u modernoj Srbiji* (2019.). Bila je koordinatorica muzejskog tima na međunarodnom projektu digitalizacije modnog nasljeđa *Europeana Fashion* (2012.–2015.). Članica je međunarodnog odbora *ICOM Costume*. ♦ **Draginja Maskareli** graduated history of art. She is the senior curator and manager of the *Textile and costume collections* in the Museum of Applied Art in Belgrade, Serbia. Her scientific interest is focused on researching the history of clothing and fashion in Serbia. She is the author of several exhibitions in the field of clothing culture and fashion, *Wedding dresses in Serbia* (2011), *Ah, the shoes!* (2013), *Bags* (2015) and *Fashion in Modern Serbia* (2019). She coordinated the museum team on the international project of digitization of fashion heritage *Europeana Fashion* (2012–2015). She is a member of the *ICOM Costume International Committee*.

Dr. Sc. **Mirjana Menković** znanstvena suradnica, muzejska savjetnica Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu. Doktorirala je 2013. godine na Katedri za etnologiju-antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu s temom *Savremena žena. Odnos među polovima u Srbiji u 20. veku u svetlu antropoloških istraživanja odevanja i ženske štampe*. Bavi se istraživanjima kulture odijevanja balkanskog prostora u devetnaestom i dvadesetom stoljeću, zaštitom kulturne baštine i muzeologijom. Posebnu pažnju u svom radu posvetila je *muzeologiji mode* kroz razvijanje različitih partnerskih odnosa, realizaciju samostalnih istraživačkih projekata, izložbi i radionica. Autorica je znatnog broja znanstvenih i stručnih radova. ♦ **Mirjana Menković**, PhD is a scientific associate and museum advisor at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, Serbia. She received her PhD in 2013 at the Department of Ethnology-Anthropology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade with the topic *Contemporary Women. Gender relations in Serbia in the 20th century in the light of anthropological research on clothing and the women's press*. Her scientific research is focused on the clothing culture of the Balkans in the 19th and 20th centuries, the protection of cultural heritage and museology. In her work, she devoted special attention to the *fashion museology* through the development of various partnerships, the realization of independent research projects, exhibitions and workshops. She is the author of a significant number of scientific and professional papers.

**Darka Perko Kerum**, diplomirana povjesničarka umjetnosti, kustosica i voditeljica *Zbirke tekstila i modnog pribora* u Muzeju grada Splita. Osim toga vodi i *Zbirku namještaja* i *Zbirku igračaka*. Autorica izložbe *Nostalgija*

*u novom ruhu* posvećene splitskoj modnoj kreatorici Boženi Martinčević (2020.). U svom znanstvenom i stručnom radu posvetila se izučavanju povijesti mode Splita i splitskog područja. ♦ **Darka Perko Kerum** graduated history of art. She is the curator and manager of the *Collection of Textile and Fashion Accessories*, *Collection of the Furniture Collection* and *Toy Collection* at the Split City Museum. She is the author of the exhibition *New Garments of Nostalgia*, dedicated to Split fashion designer Božena Martinčević (2020). In her scientific and professional work, she dedicated herself to studying the history of fashion in Split and the Split area.

Dr. Sc. **Katarina Nina Simončić** izvanredna je profesorica na Tekstilno-tehnološkom fakultetu, Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje predaje kolegije *Povijesti tekstila i odjeće*, *Antropologija mode*, *Moda XX. stoljeća*, *Muzealizacija mode*. Njezin znanstveni rad usmjeren je na proučavanje poveznica između povijesti odijevanja i društveno-kulturalne reprezentacije odjeće u vizualnim izvorima kao što su slikarstvo, grafika i fotografija. Bavi se fenomenom odjeće kao simbola pripadnosti, povijesnim zaokretima te istraživanjem modno-odjevnih artefakata kao memorijskog zapisa duha vremena. Autorica je nekoliko publikacija posvećenih istraživanju povijesti mode, odnosu mode i tradicije te ulozu odjevnih predmeta kao muzejskih artefakata. ♦ **Katarina Nina Simončić**, PhD is an Associate Professor of *Fashion History*, *Fashion Anthropology*, *Fashion of 20th century* and *Fashion Museology* on the Faculty of Textile Technology, University of Zagreb. Her scientific research is focused on the correlation between fashion history and sociocultural representation of clothing in visual sources such as paintings, graphics and photography. She deals with the phenomenon of clothing artefacts as a symbol of belonging and as symbol of memorial inscription of past times. She is the author of several publications dedicated to the research of Croatian fashion history, the relationship between fashion and tradition, and the role of fashion artefacts as historical documents.

**Spomenka Težak**, muzejska savjetnica, zamjenica ravnateljica Gradskog muzeja Varaždin, Voditeljica je nekoliko muzejskih zbirki od kojih je i *Zbirka militaria* u kojoj se čuvaju i vojne odore. Autorica je više desetaka tematskih povijesnih izložbi, od kojih je *Narod u nevolji* izabran za najbolju izložbu 2014. godine u Hrvatskoj. U svojem radu bavi se istraživanjem različitih povijesnih tema vezanih uz Varaždin i varaždinsko područje te je tako izložba *Stoljeće tekstila* (2019.) nastala kao rezultat istraživanja 100 godišnjeg djelovanja varaždinske tekstilne industrije Varteks. ♦ **Spomenka Težak** is a museum advisor and deputy director of the Varaždin City Museum. She is the manager

of several museum collections, including the *Military Collection*. She is the author of dozens of thematic historical exhibitions, of which *The People in Need* was awarded as the best exhibition in 2014 in Croatia. In her scientific work, she researches various historical topics related to Varaždin and the Varaždin area, so the exhibition *A Century of Textiles* (2019) was created as a result of research of the 100 years of operation of the Varaždin textile industry *Varteks*.

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FASHION MUSEOLOGY / MUZEALIZACIJA MODE





# IMPRESUM / IMPRINT

**Muzealizacija mode—počeci i izazovi  
na prostoru Slovenije, Hrvatske i Srbije /  
Fashion museology—beginnings and  
challenges in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia**

## **Izdavač / Publisher**

Sveučilište u Zagrebu Tekstilno-  
tehnološki fakultet / University of Zagreb  
Faculty of Textile Technology

## **Urednica / Editor**

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## **Dizajn i prijelom / Design & layout**

Ivan Klisurić

## **Zagreb, 2020.**

Odlukom Fakultetskog vijeća Sveučilišta u Zagrebu  
Tekstilno-tehnološkog fakulteta održanog 21. 10. 2020. publikacija  
*Muzealizacija mode – počeci i izazovi na prostoru Slovenije,  
Hrvatske i Srbije / Fashion museology – beginnings and challenges  
in Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia*, prihvaćena je i kategorizirana  
kao zbirna znanstvena knjiga.



**ISBN** 978-953-7105-82-2

