
PROJEKT, IMENOVAN SLOVENSKI ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ

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IZVLEČEK

V besedilu z naslovom Projekt, imenovan Slovenski etnografski muzej je z nekaterimi bistvenimi sestavinami podan prerez skozi dogajanje z muzejem in v muzeju od njegovih začetkov do danes; upodobljeni so načrti arhitekture in namembnosti njegovih bodočih prostorov v stavbnem sestavu na Metelkovi; predstavljeni so osnutki in druge zamisli za stalno razstavo v bodoči muzejski razstavnici palači in pojasnjena je pot, ki je do njih pripeljala.

ABSTRACT

The article entitled "The project called the Slovene Ethnographic Museum" discusses some of the museum's essential constituents and provides a cross-section of what occurred to the museum and in it from its beginnings to the present day; it illustrates the architectural plans and the envisaged functions of its future halls in the complex of buildings situated in Metelkova Street; it also presents proposals and other ideas concerning the permanent exhibition in the museum's future exhibition palace and explains the road that led to them.

UVODNA BESEDA

Osnovni namen besedila, zraslega pod gornjim naslovom, je bil enovita predstavitev osnutkov in nekaterih drugih zamisli, nastalih in porojenih v okviru enoletnega snovanja stalne muzejske razstave, ki jo bodo delovna skupina Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja in njeni zunanji sodelavci postavljali v bodoči razstavnici hiši v stavbnem sestavu na Metelkovi.

Ker se je zdelo smiselno omenjeno predstavitev umestiti v širši kontekst celostne zasnove prenovljenega muzeja in z njo končati prerez skozi dogajanje z muzejem in v muzeju od njegovih začetkov, upodobiti arhitekturo in namembnost njegovih bodočih prostorov ter pojasniti pot do nastanka vsebinskih osnutkov za stalno muzejsko razstavo, je pričujoče besedilo širše, sestavljeno iz ustreznih poglavij. Oblikovala in ubesedila sem ga na osnovi nekaterih etnoloških in muzeoloških člankov in razprav, vidnih razstav, predavanj, zamisli in premnogih neformalnih diskusij.

USTANOVA, PROSTOR, DENAR

Prezrez skozi dogajanje z etnografskim muzejem in v njem je na tem mestu skop, omejen na bistvene premike, ponekod le na začetna in sedanja stanja, saj so razvoj muzeja od ustanovitve do danes v zadnjih nekaj letih osvetlila poglobljena besedila (zlasti Rogelj-Škafar, 1993, 1995), ki bi jih bilo nesmiselno v celoti obnavljati.

Ustanova Slovenski etnografski muzej je dobila svoje današnje ime v šestdesetih letih. Ustanovitveno ime Kraljevi etnografski muzej iz leta 1923 je po 2. svetovni vojni zamenjalo ime Etnografski muzej, temu pa so leta 1964 (na pobudo tedanjega ravnatelja Borisa Kuharja) dodali še pridevnik slovenski, z namenom, "da bi bilo že iz imena razvidno, da gre za osrednjo slovensko etnološko muzejsko ustanovo" (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993). To desetletja uveljavljeno ime nacionalne muzejske institucije smo zaradi njegove tradicije ohranili. Zaradi tradicije in zaradi različnih zgodovinskih, prostorskih in teoretičnih pojmovanj *etnografskega* smo ohranili tudi ta temeljni vsebinski pridevnik v imenu muzeja, čeprav bi ga lahko na osnovi opravljenega dela, delovnih ambicij in vsebine zbirk nadomestili s širšim vsebinskim pridevnikom, *etnološki* muzej, ali pa ga označili celo kot antropološki muzej.

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Zametek etnografskega muzeja so pomenile "etnografske" in/oziroma "narodopisne zbirke" Kranjskega deželne muzeja v Ljubljani, ustanovljenega leta 1821. Začetek etnografskega muzeja kot ustanove pa je bil sad prizadevanj enega človeka, Nika Županiča, prvega akademsko izobraženega slovenskega etnologa in antropologa (svetovljana in diplomata), kateremu je leta 1923 uspelo dobiti privoljenje Ministrstva za prosveto Kraljevine Jugoslavije za ustanovitev Kraljevega etnografskega muzeja v Ljubljani. V naslednjem letu je ta dokaj netipična "institucija enega", zamudnica v toku sočasnega dogajanja z večino in v večini evropskih etnografskih muzejev, dobila prvega zaposlenega, asistenta, umetnostnega zgodovinarja Stanka Vurnika. Človek, ki je postal glavni in poleg Županiča edini strokovni in znanstveni delavec v muzeju, je leta 1926 (v kroniki z naslovom Kr. etnografski muzej v Ljubljani, njega zgodovina, delo, načrti in potrebe, objavljeni v prvem letniku muzejske znanstvene revije *Etnolog*) zapisal nekaj besed o prostoru etnografskega muzeja, ki so tako značilne in povedne za skoraj vsa obdobja ustanove, da so - sicer s kasnejšimi različicami in njihovimi morda drugačnimi otenki - ostajale sodobne skozi vseh muzejevih sedemdeset let: "*...prostor za (stalno) razstavo. Glede tega prostora, ki je zaenkrat ena izmed najnujnejših potreb etnografskega muzeja, so se storili v zadnjih treh letih mnogi koraki pri pokrajinski in centralni vladi. Narodni muzej (glavni naslednik Kranjskega deželne muzeja) je odločno premajhen postal i sam za svoje ambicije, v njega posloplju se etnografski muzej ne more dovoljno razširiti.... Točka budgetne dotacije, iz katere bi bilo nujno treba zidati za etnografski muzej v Ljubljani novo, posebno stavbo, pa je zaenkrat še mrtva točka, preko katere ni mogoče dalje, dokler vlada ne bo našla poti, da z višjo dotacijo bolje podpre delo etnografskega muzeja.*"

Niti tri razstavne dvorane, pridobljene v stavbi Narodnega muzeja leta 1947, niti odpiranje razpršenih dislociranih muzejskih razstavnih prostorov v šestdesetih letih in niti pridobitev novih delovnih prostorov na podstrešju stavbe Narodnega muzeja v osemdesetih letih niso pomenili zadostnih in dokončnejših prostorskih rešitev za etnografski muzej. V iskanju slednjih so se zdaj s te, zdaj z one strani pojavljale vse mogoče zamisli; tja do devetdesetih let, do politično ugodnega časa pred, med in po osamosvojitvi države Slovenije, ko so se prizadevanja ustanove za lastno stavbo zgostila. Simbolno jih označuje Mladika, mestni dekliški licej in potem vojaška bolnica, stavba (funkcionalistična arhitektura Maksa Fabianija), ki je po odhodu vojaščine nekdanje Jugoslavije

ostala prazna in se je zdela tako zelo ustrezna za etnografski muzej. Kljub nelagodju zaradi morebitne politične manipulacije, ki v etnološkem zgodovinskem spominu ni neznan pojav, smo etnologi v etnografskem muzeju v tem obdobju, nabitem s čustvi in s politiko, pri svojih pisnih in ustnih nastopih zavestno uporabljali tudi politične odenke; čeprav smo bili sami prepričani, da si za lastno, dovolj prostorno muzejsko hišo prizadevamo z vso legitimnostjo suverene znanstvene discipline in nacionalne kulturne inštitucije (Smerdel, 1995). In kaže, da je šele spolitizirano vrenje okrog Mladike, politična pozornost zaradi izjemne naklonjenosti javnosti in dela političnega prostora na eni strani ter odklonilnega odnosa nasprotnega dela tega prostora na drugi strani Slovenski etnografski muzej končno uzavestilo kot kulturno ustanovo nacionalnega pomena, ki za svoje poslanstvo, za uresničevanje temeljnih družbenih vlog po "abecedi muzejske dejavnosti" (Duclos, 1996) nedvomno potrebuje ustrezen prostor.

Tudi v ta namen je vlada Republike Slovenije sklenila odpreti kulturi južni del kompleksa nekdanje vojašnice na Metelkovi. V juliju leta 1994 ga je dodelila Ministrstvu za kulturo: za Slovenski etnografski muzej in za druge potrebe v kulturi. S pogodbo, ki jo je 29. marca 1995 podpisal tedanji ravnatelj muzeja Ivan Sedej, je ministrstvo dalo etnografskemu muzeju v rabo dve izmed šestih stavb na jugu Metelkove (s površinama 3500 in 1900m²), za razstavno in skoraj vso drugo muzejsko dejavnost, ter nam kmalu za tem v okviru istega stavbnega sestava zagotovilo še površino za muzejski depo (2000m²). V sodelovanju med ljubljansko Mestno občino in Ministrstvom za kulturo je bil potem v juliju 1995 razpisan javni arhitekturno-urbanistični natečaj za južni del kompleksa nekdanje vojašnice 4. julij na Metelkovi in anketni urbanistični natečaj za njegov severni del; natečaj za urbanistično ureditev, stavbno prenovu in morebitno dozidavo objektov tako imenovane Belgijske kasarne iz časa Avstro-Ogrske, historičnih stavb s konca 19. stoletja, ki naj bi elegantno sprejele prerazne muzejske in druge vsebine in ki naj bi sestavljale nov, živahen ljubljanski kulturni center, mikaven v svoji multikulturalnosti (z ustanovami: Slovenski etnografski muzej, Narodni muzej, Moderna galerija; z Akademijo za gledališče, radio, film in televizijo, z neinstitucionalno kulturno ustvarjalnostjo...).

S temi dejanji verjetno lahko sklenemo tako negativno zgodbo o prostoru etnografskega muzeja, ki jo je začel Vurnik v prvih letih obstoja ustanove z besedami o prostoru za razstavo kot o "eni izmed najnujnejših potreb etnografskega muzeja", kot negativno zgodbo o denarju, o "mrtvi točki budgetne dotacije glede gradnje novega muzeja" (Vurnik, 1926/27). Med naložbami v kulturi je od leta 1995 odprta proračunska postavka "Metelkova - Slovenski etnografski muzej", ki je v letu 1996 muzeju omogočila začetek notranje prenove prve, manjše, gradbeno manj zahtevne stavbe, izvzete iz natečaja, vendar obravnavane kot del celote. Cena prenove te stavbe: gradbenih, obrtniških in inštalacijskih del je bila brez opreme 241.000.000 tolarjev (2.680.000 DEM). Glede na oceno naložbe za dokončanje večjega, gradbeno zahtevnejšega objekta etnografskega muzeja in pripadajočih podzemnih depojskih prostorov, ki znaša skoraj 1.183.000.000 tolarjev (13.252.000 DEM), in glede na vse tisto, kar naj bi se še udejanilo v stavbnem sestavu na Metelkovi, v tem novem ljubljanskem kulturnem središču, ki nedvomno pomeni izziv, je upati, da bodo političnim in kulturnim odločitvam, ki so botrovale začetku del na Metelkovi, sledile takšne odločitve, ki bodo vztrajno vodile k njihovemu uspešnemu in korektnemu koncu.

Ko smo v ustanovi sestavljali program celostne zasnove etnografskega muzeja na Metelkovi, osnovo za arhitekturno-urbanistični natečaj, smo imeli v mislih vizijo muzeja,

kakršnega v muzejskih krogih zadnje čase označuje sicer modna, a pomensko bogata in zahtevna sintagma "prijazen muzej". Imeli smo svojo predstavo o sodobnem, mednarodno primerljivem etnografskem muzeju, živahni kulturni, znanstveni in pedagoški ustanovi, ki bi morala svojim obiskovalcem nuditi ne le privlačne razstave, druge prireditve in muzejske delavnice; ne le možnosti odkrivanja, učenja, uživanja, sodelovanja, ustvarjanja, sanjarjenja in premišljanja, temveč tudi vse tisto, kar je potrebno za njihovo dobro telesno počutje. Načrtovali smo muzej, v katerem bi moralo biti v skladu z mednarodnimi standardi poskrbljeno za muzealije: za njihovo varnost, pogoje hranjenja in razstavljanja; in snovali smo ustanovo, ki bi svojemu osebju omogočala smiselno povezavo med različnimi procesi muzejskega dela in jim nudila prijetne, vzpodbudne delovne prostore.

Tako smo domislili delitev na tri med sabo povezane enote:

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1. na razstavno palačo, največjo in najbolj reprezentančno hišo na jugu stavbnega sestava, vso namenjeno javnostim (s prostori za stalno razstavo, za občasne razstave, muzejske delavnice, muzejsko trgovino, muzejsko okrepčevalnico...);

2. na njej sosednjo, pogojno imenovano upravno hišo, manjšo stavbo, namenjeno upravnim, informacijskim, raziskovalnim, avdiovizualnim, založniškimi, konservatorsko-restavratorski in drugim dejavnostim (z javno čitalnico, predavalnico, manjšim razstaviščem) in

3. na med obema hišama ležeč in z obema povezan podzemni muzejski depo. (Za podobno delitev so se na primer odločili načrtovalci novega Kanadskega muzeja civilizacije v Hullu, odprtega leta 1989 (Hushion, 1992): ena stavba je namenjena upravi, konservaciji in depojem, druga pa v celoti razstavam.)

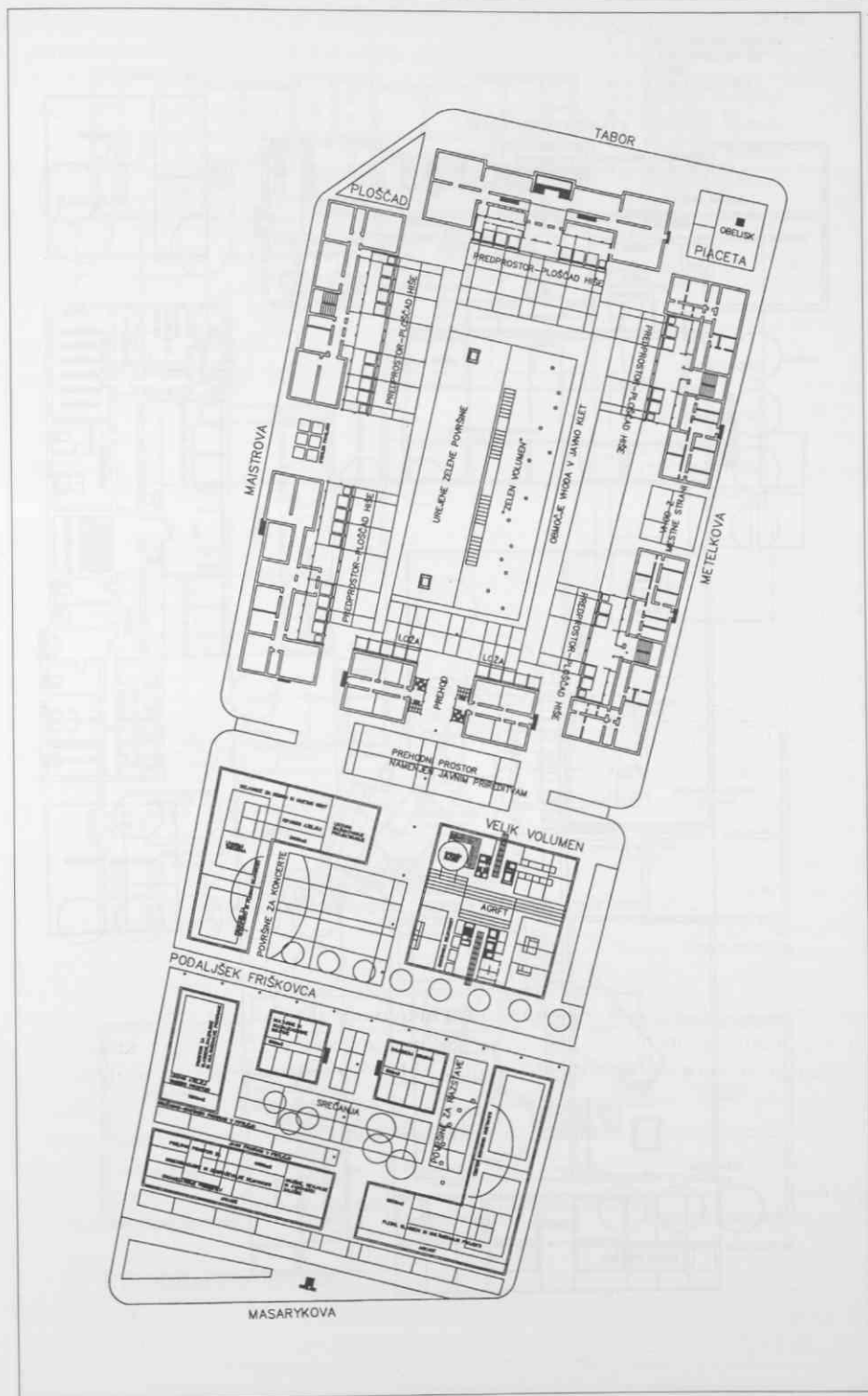
Programsko zasnovu muzeja so udeleženci arhitekturno-urbanističnega natečaja v glavnem upoštevali. Zaželeno shemo namembnosti bodočih prostorov razstavne palače etnografskega muzeja in njihovo povezanost z depojem in z upravno hišo tako najbolj povedno predstavlja podoba, načrti v marcu 1996 nagrajene natečajne rešitve z oznako Forum, arhitektov Sama in Gorazda Grolegerja, Miroslava Kvasa in Maje Štefula.

Pridobljeni prostori, ta tako dolgo čakana osnova za normalen razvoj in delovanje ustanove, so v etnografskem muzeju oživili zlasti etnološka in muzeografska razglabljanja o stalni muzejski razstavi (o tem v naslednjih poglavjih). Z njimi pa se je pojavila tudi možnost in potreba po načrtovanju nekaterih novih muzejskih služb, v urejenih muzejskih inštitucijah podobnega pomena in velikosti drugače povsem vsakdanjih, in novega muzejskega osebja, kakršno je na primer: receptor, prodajalec muzejskih vstopnic, vzdrževalec objektov, muzejski fotograf, oseba za odnose z javnostmi ipd.

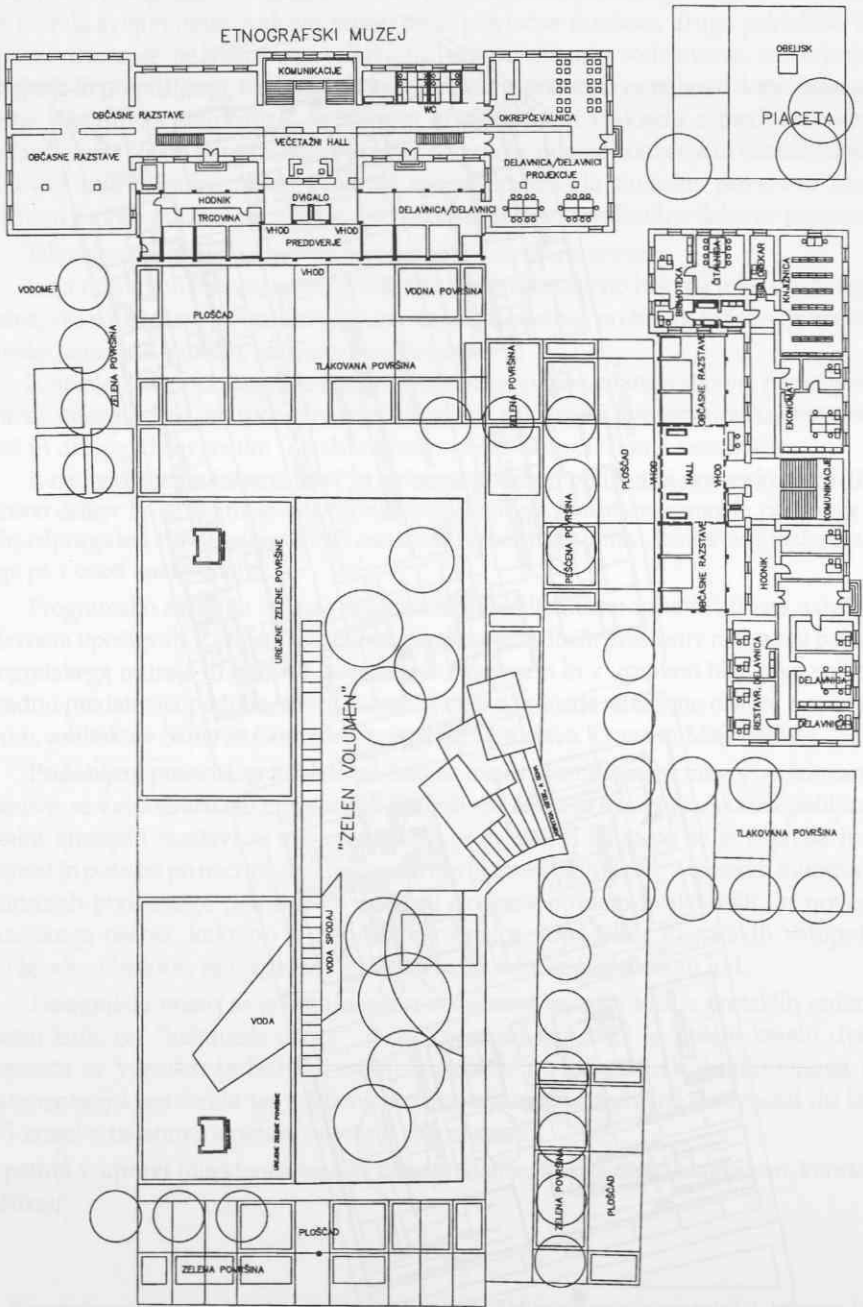
Etnografski muzej se je kot ustanova nedvomno razvijal tudi v preteklih sedemdesetih letih; od "inštitucije enega" (Nika Županiča) leta 1923 in potem kmalu dveh (Županiča in Vurnika) je bolj ali manj v skladu z rastjo zbirk, knjižničnega in dokumentacijskega fonda ter s širjenjem raziskovalne in razstavne dejavnosti do leta 1995 zrasel v ustanovo s petindvajsetimi zaposlenimi:

- s petimi v upravi (direktorico, tajnico, računovodkinjo, blagajničarko, ekonomom, kurirko/snažilko);

Namembnost bodočih prostorov razstavne palače SEM in njihova povezanost z depojem in z upravno hišo. Natečajna rešitev arhitektov Sama in Gorazda Grolegerja, Miroslava Kvasa in Maje Štefula. ♦ Functional arrangement of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's future exhibition halls and their connections with the depository and management building. Proposal submitted by architects Samo and Gorazd Groleger, Miroslav Kvas and Maja Štefula. ►

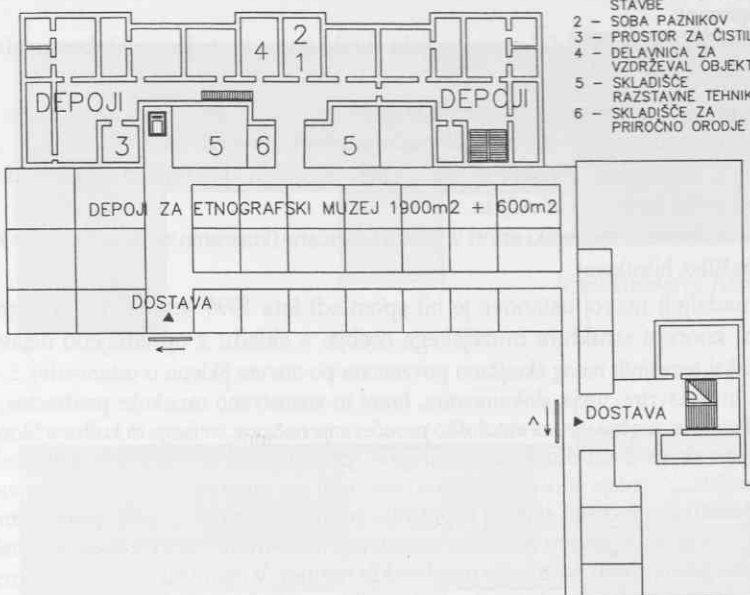


ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ

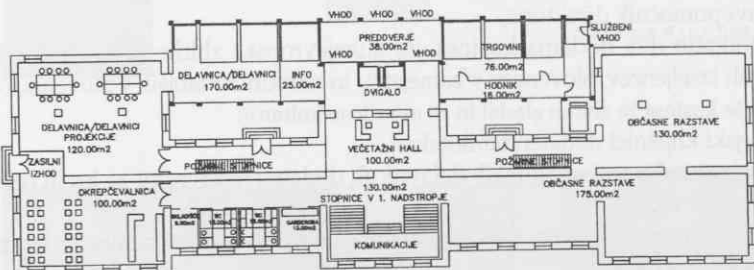


Projekt, imenovan Slovenski etnografski muzej

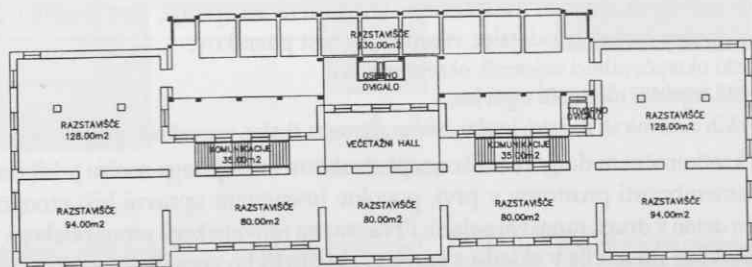
- 1 - SOBA VARNOSTNIKOV Z RAČ. NADZOROM STAVBE
- 2 - SOBA PAZNIKOV
- 3 - PROSTOR ZA ČISTILA
- 4 - DELAVNICA ZA VZDRŽEVANJE OBJEKTA
- 5 - SKLADIŠČE RAZSTAVNE TEHNIKE
- 6 - SKLADIŠČE ZA PRIROČNO ORODJE



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TLORIS PRITLIČJA



TLORIS NADSTROPJA

ETNOGRAFSKI MUZEJ

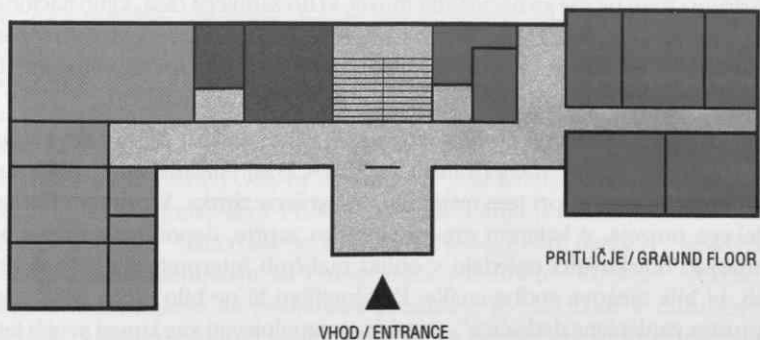
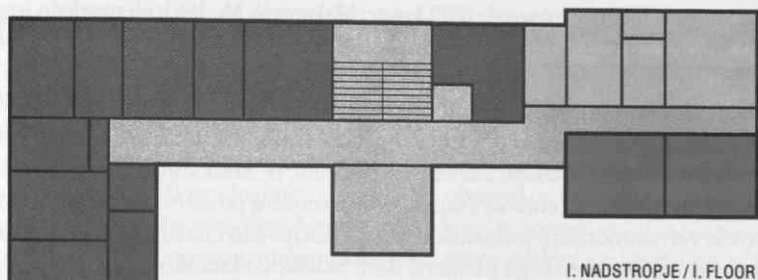
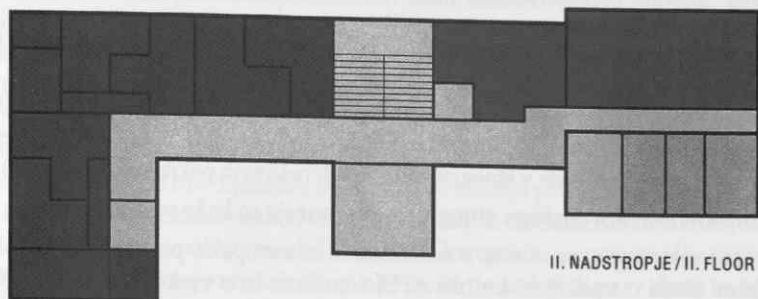
- s šestimi kustosi in raziskovalci (v kustodiatih za ljudsko umetnost, socialno kulturo in šege, ruralno gospodarstvo, obrti in trgovino, oblačilno kulturo in tekstilno opremo, stavbarstvo in notranjo opremo);
- s štirimi v informacijsko-dokumentacijski službi (trema kustodinjami dokumentalistkami, računalničarjem);
- s kustodinjo bibliotekarko v muzejski knjižnici;
- s kustodinjo pedagoginjo v muzejski pedagoško-andragoški službi;
- s štirimi v muzejskih konservatorsko-restavratorskih delavnicah (vodjem delavnic, restavratorji za les, kovino in tekstil) in
- s tremi v dislocirani muzejski enoti v gradu Goričane (kustosom za zunajevropske kulture, kurirko/snažilko, hišnikom).

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Za nadaljnji razvoj ustanove je bil spomladi leta 1995 sestavljen kratkoročni in dolgoročni koncept strukture muzejskega osebja, v skladu z opredeljeno dejavnostjo muzeja (nekaj temeljnih nalog skrajšano povzemam po novem Sklepu o ustanovitvi...: - zbira, konservira in restavrira, ureja, dokumentira, hrani in znanstveno raziskuje: predmetne, pisne, tiskane, slikovne in zvočne vire za etnološko proučevanje načinov življenja in kultur v Sloveniji in zamejstvu ter v okviru danih možnosti tudi drugod; - pripravlja razstave in druge oblike izsledkov muzejskega dela...; - izdaja strokovne, znanstvene in druge publikacije...; - sodeluje z vzgojno-izobraževalnimi organizacijami, skrbi za popularizacijo svoje dejavnosti...; - vodi osrednjo etnološko knjižnico...; - izvaja in organizira etnološko znanstveno raziskovalno dejavnost na Slovenskem in drugod...) in s predvideno ureditvijo prostorskih razmer. V osnutku je z vsemi ustreznimi utemeljitvami predvideno odpiranje naslednjih novih muzejskih služb (do leta 2000), oziroma širjenje obstoječih, in naslednje dodatno osebje:

- v upravi pomočnik direktorja;
- v kustodiatih dva dodatna kustosa, za zunajevropske zbirke in za (bodoče) zbirke slovenskih izseljencev, Slovencev v zamejstvu in narodnih manjšin v Sloveniji; (zaželena pa bi bila še kustosa za zbirko glasbil in za množično kulturo);
- v muzejski knjižnici dodaten bibliotekar;
- v konservatorsko-restavratorskih delavnicah dodaten restavrator za les in restavrator za tekstil;
- v novi službi za avdiovizualno dokumentacijo vodja avdiovizualnega laboratorija, muzejski fotograf in risar;
- v novi službi za odnose z javnostmi ustrezna oseba;
- v novih servisnih službah vzdrževalec stavb, dva receptorja, dve snažilki (oziroma snažilka in garderoberka), prodajalec vstopnic in šest paznikov.
- v muzejski okrepčevalnici najemnik okrepčevalnice;
- v muzejski trgovini najemnik trgovine;
- v muzejskih delavnicah mojstri: lončar, rezbar/strugar, tkalec, uporabniki posameznih delavnic.

Ta kratkoročni in dolgoročni koncept strukture muzejskega osebja je bil osnova za shemo namembnosti prostorov v prvi, pogojno imenovani upravni hiši etnografskega muzeja (in delno v drugi, razstavni palači). Prva stavba Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja na Metelkovi se prenavlja v skladu s sprejeto shemo in bo spomladi leta 1997 vseljena.



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|---|---|--|
| Uprava in odnosi z javnostmi /
Management and public relations | Muzejska knjižnica /
Museum's library | Avdiovizualna dokumentacija /
Audio-visual documentation |
| Informacijsko-dokumentacijska služba /
Information and documentation | Konservatorsko-restavratorske delavnice /
Conservation and restoration workshops | Predavalnica z razstaviščem /
Lecture and exhibition hall |
| Kustosi in raziskovalci /
Curators and researchers | Pedagoško-andragoška služba /
Educational service | |

POGLED NA ZBIRKE, POMEN PREDMETOV IN NEKATERE OPREDELITVE MUZEJA TER STALNE RAZSTAVE

Slovenski etnografski muzej je bil kot nacionalna ustanova vsa leta svojega obstoja precej protisloven muzej; še posebej v primerjavi z večino drugih nacionalnih in celo pokrajinskih muzejev, ki so bili prepoznavni tako s svojimi stavbami kot s stalnimi razstavami (pri čemer je ironija, da je prav Etnografski muzej s terenskimi raziskovanji v petdesetih letih poskrbel za prve predmete v etnografskih zbirkah nekaterih pokrajinskih muzejev).

Protislovnost Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja se kaže v naslednjem:

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Po eni strani gre za muzej z nacionalno in evropsko pomembnimi zbirkami, pričevalnimi zlasti o tradicijski kulturi na Slovenskem in o vsakdanjem življenju zlasti kmečkega prebivalstva; za zbirke, med katerimi je potrebno omeniti vsaj: orna orodja, "najpomembnejšo zadevno zbirko v jugovzhodni Evropi" (po sodbi prof.dr. Hansa Korena; Smerdel, 1983); edinstveno, vseslovensko in najštevilnejšo zbirko noš, vezenin in čipk (po vpisih v inventarne knjige je leta 1983 obsegala 8572 kosov; Makarovič, M., 1983; ob pregledu leta 1995 je štela 10071 kosov); zbirko ljudske umetnosti, "daleč največjo in najbolj reprezentativno te vrste" in "edino vseslovensko zbirko te vrste" (Makarovič, G., 1983); zbirke bloških smuč, poljših pasti, mask, skrinj... Gre tudi za muzej z nekaterimi podobno pomembnimi zunajevropskimi zbirkami, pričevalnimi o posameznih kulturnih sestavinah nekaterih "ljudstev sveta" in o slovenskem odnosu do slednjih, o "srečevanjih z drugačnostjo"; za zbirke, med katerimi kaže omeniti vsaj (zvečine imenovane po darovalcih): Baragovo zbirko predmetov severnoameriških indijanskih plemen Očipva in Otava; Knoblarjevo zbirko predmetov vzhodnosudanskega plemena Bari; Skuškovovo kitajsko zbirko, "eno največjih" po obsegu; "izredno obsežno, izvorno in načrtno zbrano" Beblerjevo indonezijsko zbirko (Štrukelj, 1983) in zbirko Paula Schebeste (darovalec je bil dr. Lambert Ehrlich), etnologa, znanega preučevalca Pigmejcev.

Po drugi strani pa gre za nacionalni muzej, ki do zadnjega časa, kljub nacionalnemu in širšemu pomenu svojih zbirk, brez lastne hiše (razen prostorov dislocirane enote za zunajevropske kulture v gradu Goričane), brez primerne in dovolj velikega stalnega razstavnega prostora sploh ni ustrezal polni vsebini besede muzej.

"Zbirka ni muzej. Muzej postane šele takrat, ko se oblikuje kot živ del kulture, ki ji pripada," je naprimer izrekel Michel Van-Praët (EMYA, 1996), eden izmed vodilnih sodobnih evropskih muzeologov, in pri tem mislil na razstavljenе zbirke. V primeru Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja, v katerem gre za povečini zaprte, deponirane zbirke, ki si jih lahko muzejski obiskovalci ogledajo v obliki različnih interpretacij zgolj na občasnih razstavah, bi bila njegova sodba enaka. Presenetljivo bi ne bilo niti mnenje, da je tak muzej "prostor zaplenjene dediščine", saj ne more izpolnjevati ene izmed svojih temeljnih družbenih vlog, "vračanja" (Duclos, 1996). V "muzejih o ljudeh", kakršen je nedvomno tudi Slovenski etnografski muzej, "človek vrača človeku, kar mu je vzel", je tako poetično in obvezujoče dejal Georges Henri Rivièrè (Duclos, 1996).

Slovenci smo s svojim nacionalnim etnografskim muzejem veliki evropski zamudniki; toda le glede stavbe - prostora - in nikakor glede zbirk.

Vzpodbuda za nastanek večih osrednjih evropskih etnografskih muzejev so bile svetovne razstave v drugi polovici 19. stoletja. Pariška svetovna razstava leta 1867 je naprimer predvidela poseben oddelek, namenjen "ljudskim nošam iz različnih pokrajin"

v Franciji in iz drugih dežel; še posebej opaženi sta bili tedaj predstavitvi Norveške in Švedske. Stockholmski Nordiska Museet je bil ustanovljen leta 1873; v pariškem Trocadéru, odprtem leta 1884 (kot paleoantropološkem in zlasti zunajevropskem muzeju), kasnejšem Musée de l'homme, pa so na osnovi takih in drugačnih vzpodbud leta 1888 uredili "francosko dvorano" (Duclos, 1996), zameetek kasnejšega Musée des arts et traditions populaires. Podobno vzpodbujeni z dunajsko svetovno razstavo leta 1873 so na Dunaju leta 1895 ustanovili Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, ki je ob koncu 1. svetovne vojne zamenjal začasne prostore Dunajske borze z današnjo hišo, vrtno palačo Schönborn (Beitl, Tschofen, 1994). Če bi v Ljubljani ob koncu 19. stoletja prisluhnili "naukom" Matije Murka, ki je leta 1895 obiskal veliko Narodopisno razstavo Češkoslovensko v Pragi, leto za tem o njej poročal, objavil znamenite Nauke za Slovence in se zavzemal za ustanovitev slovenskega narodopisnega muzeja (Keršič, 1993), bi ne zamujali prav dosti za tedanjim porajanjem evropskih etnografskih muzejev. A Murko je bil žal presliščan. Tako smo Slovenci šele leta 1923 (na osnovi čisto drugačnih vzpodbud) dobili vsaj ustanovo Kraljevi etnografski muzej. Stavbo je inštitucija dobila dvainsedemdeset let za tem.

Vse drugače je bilo z zbirkami.

Leta 1821 je bila sprejeta odločitev o ustanovitvi Kranjskega deželnega muzeja v Ljubljani (predhodnika tudi Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja). Se pred oblikovanjem muzejskih zbirk petih vsebinskih področij: zgodovine, statistike, prirodoslovja, tehnologije in fizike so odborniki načrtovali poseben etnografski oddelek (v okviru vsebinskega področja zgodovina) po vzoru graškega Joanneuma, ki naj bi obsegal opise in slike narodnih noš in stavb, ljudske pripovedke, pravljice, ženitovanijske šege, narodne pesmi in napeve (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993,1995). Sodobno romantično usmeritev etnografskega oddelka pa je prehitel odmev razsvetljenstva (z na fiziokratskih načelih temelječem zanimanju za gospodarsko, agrikulturno), v obliki predmetov, ki veljajo za *najstarejše pridobitve* v zbirkah današnjega Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja: voza za prevažanje žita in sladkorja med Ljubljano in Trstom, pluga in brane, s Planine pri Rakeku, iz leta 1833 (Golob, 1996/97); majhnih modelov "na Krainskim navadniga kmetouškiga orodia", tudi s Planine pri Rakeku, iz leta 1835 (Smerdel, 1994) in modela dvojnega pluga iz leta 1836 (Deschmann, 1888). Prve noše, "figurinice" z nošami iz Bele krajine, iz Črnomlja, Vinice in Bojancev, so zabeležene šele leta 1839 (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995). Prva, najstarejša zbirka današnjega Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja pa je nedvomno zbirka "etnografskih predmetov" iz Severne Amerike, indijanskih plemen Očipva in Otava, ki jo je Kranjskemu deželnemu muzeju leta 1836 daroval misijonar škof Friderik Baraga. Zanj je bil naprošen. Predsednik "muzejskega kuratorija" naravoslovec Hohenwart je nagovoril Baragovo sestro Amalijo, da je pisala bratu misijonarju za etnografske predmete "*divjakov*" (Golob, 1996). Hohenwartovo zanimanje za indijanske predmete je bilo tako v duhu evropskih naravoslovnih "kabinetov čudes", katerih pridih je na začetku zaznamoval tudi nastajajoče antropološke muzeje (ti so bili pod imeni etnološki ali folklorni muzeji sredi 19. stoletja omejeni na zunajevropske kulture; Rivière, 1989).

Med zametkom zbirk etnografskega muzeja in današnjim dnem je obdobje sto enainšestdesetih let. V tem času so zunajevropske zbirke do leta 1953, ko je njihovo število ugotavljal Boris Orel, narasle na 1242 predmetov (kar naj bi ne bilo povsem stvarno, saj naj bi nekateri že "prevzeti" in inventarizirani predmeti še naprej ostajali v Narodnem muzeju; Orel, 1954) in potem do leta 1983, ko je o njih pisala Pavla Štrukelj, na "več kakor 9500 predmetov".

Zbirke so urejene po celinah in po darovalcih oziroma prodajalcih, med katerimi so: raziskovalci, svetovni popotniki, misijonarji, pomorščaki, trgovci, diplomati... Iz leta 1843 je naprimer seznam egipčanskih predmetov, ki jih je muzeju daroval konzul Laurin; leta 1850 je misijonar Ignacij Knoblehar poslal v Ljubljano zbirko predmetov vzhodnosudanskega plemena Bari; Codellijeva zbirka iz Toga, Nigerije in Kameruna je iz let 1912-1914; zbirka predmetov, "ki jih je med Pigmejci v Centralni Afriki nabral Paul Schebesta, znani etnolog in raziskovalec Pigmejcev", je bila vpisana v inventarno knjigo Etnografskega muzeja leta 1941; iz let 1912, 1913 je naprimer "izredno kvalitetna" kitajska zbirka misijonarja Petra Turka; leta 1963 je muzej prevzel (od Narodnega muzeja) reprezentančno zbirko Japonke Tsuneko Kondo-Kavase, poročene Skušek; iz 1964 leta je indonezijska zbirka Vere in Aleša Beblerja in leta 1978 je muzej dobil v dar mehiško zbirko Vere in Ignaca Goloba (Orel, 1954, Štrukelj, 1983).

Pomembnejša od naštevanja nekaterih upoštevanja vrednih ali najbolj obsežnih zbirk in njihovih darovalcev ali prodajalcev (zadnja je bila leta 1990 pridobljena afriška zbirka 336 predmetov, ki jo je muzeju prodal Anton Petkovšek) je nedvomno pričevalnost zbranih zunajevropskih predmetov. Pozorno branje pregleda zadevnih zbirk, ki ga je ob šestdesetletnici Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja napisala Pavla Štrukelj (1983), omogoča spoznanje, da je v njih največ: lovskega in drugega orožja, nakita in drugih oblačilnih dodatkov (pip, torb, glavnikov...), ženskih in moških oblačil ter obuval, mask in glasbil; predmetov, ki so zbiralce pritegovali zlasti s svojo nenavadnostjo, drugačnostjo, eksotičnostjo.

Ti predmeti so nedvomno zgovorne priče o nekaterih zunajevropskih kulturah in o posameznih segmentih tamkajšnjega vsakdanjega življenja. Vidik, na osnovi katerega so bili zbrani: njihova nenavadnost, eksotičnost, pa je poveden zlasti o odnosu zbiralcev do teh kultur. Ob tem "Muzej neevropskih kultur ni in nima namena biti zbirka eksotičnih preostankov, ...temveč namerava čimbolj kompleksno predstaviti neevropske kulture, s katerimi smo Slovenci prihajali, še prihajamo ali bomo prihajali v stike" (Čeplak, 1991). Navedena opredelitev svojčas načrtovanega ločenega "Muzeja neevropskih kultur" (namesto enote Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja v gradu Goričane) in njegove stalne razstave, zapisana leta 1991, je bila tako glede na vsebino zbirk dokaj nestvarna in nedorečena.

V istih sto enainšestdesetih letih so se slovenske zbirke oblikovale malce drugače. Namesto zbiranja predmetov "divjakov", iskanja nenavadnosti in eksotičnosti je šlo tu sprva za zbiranje "narodnega blaga", "narodovih dragotin", "izdelkov duha in roke, ki so nastali v narodu samem" (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993, Smerdel, 1983). Po pokrajinskem izvoru so bile zbirke večinoma iz nekdanje dežele Kranjske oziroma še ožje, iz Gorenjske in Bele krajine, tematsko pa zlasti tekstilije in ljudska umetnost (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

Bolj ali manj enaki kriteriji so prevladovali tudi v obdobju leta 1923 ustanovljenega Kraljevega etnografskega muzeja, pri dopolnjevanju zbirateljske dediščine nekdanjega Kranjskega deželne muzeja Rudolfinum. (Od njegovega glavnega naslednika Narodnega muzeja je bilo prevzetih 3502 predmetov etnografske zbirke.) Za etnografski muzej so bili zanimivi čim starejši predmeti, ki naj bi skupaj z vsemi posebnostmi in značilnostmi dokazovali "starost malega naroda". Pridobljene muzealije povečini niso bile starejše od dveh stoletij; med pokrajini, od koder so bile prinesene v muzej, sta še vedno prevladovali Gorenjska in Bela krajina in po tematiki še posebej tekstil in ljudska umetnost. Bistven kriterij za izbor je bil tipološki, kmečko pa so pojmovali kot konstanto brez upoštevanja socialnega razlikovanja (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

Do vsebinskega premika pri zbiranju je prišlo šele v prvih dveh desetletjih po 2. svetovni vojni. Ambicija tedanjega ravnatelja Borisa Orla, da naj bi muzej predstavljal popolno podobo "ljudskega življenja na našem podeželju", in njegova opredelitev etnologije kot vede, ki zbira in preučuje "raznovrstno gradivo iz slovenskega ljudskega življenja" oziroma kot znanosti "o kulturnih tvorbah slovenskega ljudstva in o zakonih njihovega razvoja" (Orel, 1948), sta bili vodili monumentalnega zbirateljskega dela tako imenovanih Orlovih terenskih ekip. (Do leta 1962 se jih je v različnih slovenskih pokrajinah zvrstilo osemnajst.) Posledica njihovega dela: raziskovanja, zbiranja in dokumentiranja kulturnih sestavin v okviru uveljavljene delitve na materialno, socialno in duhovno kulturo je bila naposled tematska in krajevna raznolikost zbirk. V njih so se v večjem številu pojavili: orna orodja, drugo poljedelsko orodje, naprave in stroji za čiščenje in predelavo pridelkov, orodja za lov in ribolov, vprega, prometna sredstva, pohištvo, gospodinjski predmeti in naprave, orodja domačih obrtnikov, izdelki domačih obrti... Predmeti so izvirali iz ljubljanske okolice, Dolenjske, Primorske, Notranjske, Štajerske in Koroške (poleg Gorenjske in Bele krajine).

V naslednjih desetletjih so postale zbirke še bolj raznolike - tako tematsko in krajevno kot socialno; tudi zaradi večjega števila muzejskih kustosov. Njihovo raziskovalno, zbirateljsko in živahno razstavno delo je bilo organizirano bolj ali manj v skladu z etnološko sistematiko, po kustodiatih za ljudsko gospodarstvo (promet in hrano), obrti in trgovino, naselja, stavbarstvo in notranjo opremo, nošo in druge tekstilije, družbeno kulturo (sege) in ljudsko umetnost. Še posebej pomemben vpliv je imelo uveljavljanje sodobnih teoretičnih pogledov; odmik od študija razvoja kulturnih sestavin k obravnavi njihovih nosilcev oziroma njihovem odnosu do kulturnih sestavin (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993). V središče zanimanja je bil (tudi v muzeju) postavljen "človek kot nosilec kulture, vpeljan s konceptom način življenja kot razmerjem med človekom in njegovim kulturnim in naravnim okoljem, kakor se kaže v vsakdanjih rutinah" (Slavec Gradišnik, 1995). Etnologija je bila opredeljena kot "specializirana disciplina historiografskega značaja, ki se posveča raziskovanju vsakdanjih, običajnih, tipičnih kulturnih oblik in vsebine vsakdanjega življenja tistih družbenih slojev in skupin, ki dajejo neki etnični ali nacionalni enoti njen specifičen značaj" (Kremenšek, 1960/61).

V zbirkah je mogoče videti odsev te opredelitve zlasti v naslednjem: v manjšem številu so se pojavili predmeti, pričevalni o vsakdanjiku pripadnikov posameznih poklicnih skupin (naprimer gozdnih in žagarskih delavcev) in drugih družbenih slojev (naprimer meščanov). Kljub deklarativni širitvi pa so glavnina muzejskega thesaurusa ostajale zbirke virov kmečke kulture, priče o vsakdanjem življenju kmečkega prebivalstva, o slovenskem človeku arhaične, tradicionalne družbe. (Vse slovenske zbirke etnografskega muzeja štejejo danes več kot 30000 predmetov; 22904 je inventariziranih, ostalim je mogoče slediti po dohodnih knjigah.)

Predmeti v teh zbirkah, nekdanji "dokazi ljudske ustvarjalnosti" in "inventar narodnega zaklada", so zvečine še vedno isti. Drugačen pa je današnji pogled nanje. Postali so zlasti večpomenski nosilci informacij: materialne priče o vsakdanjiku kmečkega prebivalstva in zgodbonosci o ustvarjalnosti, inventivnosti, znanjih, modrostih, idealih lepote, sožitju z naravo...

Včasih jih je vse zaobjelo sicer sporno, a še vedno uveljavljeno ime *ljudska kultura*. Slovenska etnološka veda je za ljudsko kulturo do šestdesetih let štela "kmečko kulturo iz predindustrijske dobe in poznejše prežitke te kulture" (po Baševi opredelitvi; Kremenšek,

1983), kar naj bi bila sprejemljiva oznaka. Kasneje je bil pojem ljudska kultura povezan s "kulturo podložniškega razreda obdobja fevdalizma" (Kremenšek, 1983), kar naj bi njeno opredelitev še bolj natančno zgodovinsko in socialno zamejilo. Po nekaterih mlajših premišljanjih (Mursič, 1995) pa naj bi ne bilo mogoče ljudske kulture "locirati niti v dejanski čas niti v družbeni prostor - tudi v predindustrijsko dobo ne". Za etnološko vedo naj bi bila "transcendentalna" kategorija.

Termin "ljudska" je nedvomno teoretsko sporen, ne dovolj določen; po drugi strani pa so reči, muzejski predmeti, ki jih je zaobjemal pojem ljudska kultura prav neverjetno stvarne: izdelalo ali uporabljalo jih je zlasti kmečko prebivalstvo; večinoma gre za predmete, povedne o ročnem delu in o izročnem znanju (o pred-strojnih delovnih opravilih in predindustrijskih delovnih načinih), izvirajoče največ iz 19., manj iz 18. (ter v posameznih primerih iz stoletij pred tem) in iz 20. stoletja, pogosto pričevalne o kulturnih sestavinah "dolgega trajanja". Pomensko ustreznješa se zato zdi sintagma *tradicijska kultura*. Pojem "tradicija" sporoča preteklo, historično, prenašanje iz roda v rod, "dolgo trajanje"; in v preteklosti, do prvih desetletij 20. stoletja, je bilo večinsko prebivalstvo na Slovenskem kmečko (v vsej svoji razslojenosti). Sintagma *tradicijska kultura* tako nosi v sebi historično in socialno.

Bolj ali manj z zbirkami v mislih so skozi zgodovino muzeja nastajale različne opredelitve muzeja in stalne razstave ter njene redke uresničitve. Kot prvo tako udejanjenje je treba omeniti razstavitev zbirk "narodopisnega" oddelka Kranjskega deželnege muzeja Rudolfinum leta 1906, v osmih omarah (vitrinah) in z naslednjo opredelitvijo muzejskega kustosa Walterja Šmida: "...da se jasno vidi slika lokalne kulture Kranjske dežele v zaokroženih skupinah" (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995).

Kustos Kraljevega etnografskega muzeja Stanko Vurnik je načrtoval stalno razstavo kot odraz cilja "ponazoriti slovenski in jugoslovanski živelj v etnografskem, antropološkem in ljudskoumetnostnem pogledu". Postavitev je predvidel v zamišljenih bodočih prostorih po jasni shemi: šest dvoran za kmečko arhitekturo s tipičnimi interiereri sob, kamer in kuhinj; dve dvorani za razstavo pohištva in lesene, železne keramične ter tekstilne kmečke obrti; dve dvorani za poljedelsko in obrtno orodje; tri dvorane za razstavo noš in vezenin; ena dvorana za plastiko in slikarstvo; ena dvorana za ljudsko glasbo; ena dvorana za razstavo šeg in dve dvorani za predmete eksotičnih narodov (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

Leta 1947 so Etnografskemu muzeju v stavbi Narodnega muzeja dodelili tri razstavne dvorane in del hodnika v pritličju. Ravnatelj Boris Orel si je zamislil *predstavitev celotne slovenske ljudske kulture z zgodovinsko razvojnih vidikov*, kar pa v omenjenih treh dvoranah še ni bilo mogoče. Šlo je za ekskluziven izbor komaj desetine vseh muzejskih predmetov. Prvo dvorano so namenili predstavitvi slovenske kmečke hiše, njenega gospodarstva in gospodinjstva ter obrti; drugo dvorano so napolnile slovenske ljudske noše in tretjo predmeti slovenske ljudske umetnosti in šeg (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995).

Od polovice šestdesetih let Slovenski etnografski muzej ni imel več stalne razstave. Začelo se je obdobje prerasnih občasnih razstav, ki naj bi bile vse "osnova za pripravo, za postavitve stalne zbirke" (Kuhar, 1983). Ravnatelj Boris Kuhar jo je opredelil z naslednjimi besedami (1983): "To naj bi bila razstava, ki bi predstavila po vseh sodobnih muzeoloških pravilih in v skladu z razvojem etnološke stroke, v svetu in doma, *življenje Slovencev od njegove naselitve do včeraj, ali celo do danes. Prostorsko naj bi prikaz zajel Slovence to in onstran meje pa tudi naše izseljence in zdomce. Tematsko pa naj bi ta prikaz zajel sloje prebivalstva, socialne, poklicne in druge skupine na podeželju in v mestih, ki so bili v posameznih zgodovinskih*

obdobjih značilni za našo narodno skupnost." V opredelitev, ki ni izhajala iz muzejske stvarnosti, iz zbirk, in ki je temeljila na dveh uveljavljenih definicijah etnologije: na tisti Slavka Kremenška, navedeni na prejšnjih straneh, in na oni Angelosa Baša, da je etnologija "veda o načinu življenja ali, natančneje, o zgodovini načina življenja posameznih narodov" (1968), je sam Kuhar podvomil v stavkih, ki so ji sledili: "Ker je na žalost v naši dosedanji etnološki literaturi velik manjko, ker nimamo temeljnih del, bo tu potrebno še veliko raziskovalnega znanstvenega dela, pa tudi sodelovanje ostalih etnoloških ustanov in sorodnih strok."

Opredelitev se je ohranila v spominu muzeja kot "način življenja od paleolita do Tita" in še so ji sledili. Sledili so namreč zlasti obema navedenima metodološkima obrazcema. Kustodinja Irena Keršič je naprimer zapisala (1983): "Temeljna naloga Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja ostaja postavitve stalne razstave *Načina življenja Slovencev v zgodovinskih obdobjih vse do danes.*"

Ta dolgo deklarirana kompleksnost: način življenja vseh časov, vseh slojev in poklicnih skupin, ki jo zdaj tu zdaj tam sestavljamo s posameznim in ki je zaradi mnogočesa neulovljiv, izmikljiv cilj, je bila v zadnjem času (Muršič, 1995) dokaj stvarno označena kot "predimenzioniran modernistični cilj".

V Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju se po preudarku vračamo k svojemu jedru: k zbirkam; *k predmetu in tako vedno znova k človeku*, o katerem nam reči, ki jih je nosil in ki so ga obdajale, toliko povedo. K zbirkam pa se ne vračamo zato, da bi postavili stalno razstavo, ki bi bila "muzej predmetov", temveč zato, da bi s predmeti ustvarili "muzej idej" (po Van-Praëtu) bivanja, *muzej o ljudeh za ljudi*. Verjetno ni potrebno poudariti, da nas tak pristop k stalni razstavi oddaljuje od starih konceptov postavitve "ljudske kulture nekega naroda", a tudi od neulovljive kompleksnosti, ki jo je še mogoče zaznati v leta 1995 napisanem besedilu kustodinje Bojane Rogelj-Škafar: "Stalna razstava bo skušala s svetom predmetov razkriti značilne dejavnosti, ki so oblikovale in vplivale na način življenja, na procese in odnose med in znotraj *značilnih slojev slovenskega naroda v različnih obdobjih do danes.*" Zbirkam predmetov, pričevalnih o tradicijski kulturi, o vsakdanjem življenju zlasti kmečkega prebivalstva na Slovenskem, ne moremo ubežati, saj so posebnost Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja in pomenijo pomemben del ne le slovenske, temveč evropske kulturne dediščine (kakršno v nekaterih deželah, še posebej v Franciji, označuje sintagma "kmečka civilizacija"). Podobno ne moremo ubežati vidiku eksotičnosti oziroma nenavadnosti, ki je tako povedno navzoč v zunajevropskih zbirkah. Zato bi bilo razumno, da bi se končno znebili frustracije kompleksnih definicij; vsaj kar se stalne razstave tiče.

Prenovljeni Slovenski etnografski muzej v stavbnem sestavu na Metelkovi namreč ne bo omejen le na pripoved relativno stalne razstave. Tu so še neizčrpne tematske in izrazne možnosti občasnih razstav: lastnih, gostujočih domačih in tujih; slovenskih, evropskih, zunajevropskih. Tu je (poleg izpopolnjevanja obstoječih zbirk in dokumentacijskega fonda) nuja oblikovanja nekaterih novih zbirk in vzporednih raziskav: naprimer zbirke predmetnih prič o vsakdanjem življenju slovenskih izseljencev; dopolnjevanje zamejskega gradiva; zbiranje predmetov, pričevalnih o življenju pripadnikov drugih etnij v Sloveniji in osnovanje oziroma dopolnjevanje zbirk predmetov, povednih o sodobni množični kulturi. (Slednja je za sodobnost - podobno kot tradicijska kultura za preteklost - kulturna podoba vsakdanjega življenja premnogih, morda celo večine slovenskega prebivalstva.) *Cilj je sodoben evropski muzej kulturnih identitet, ki je z vso svojo vsebino del nacionalne kulturne identitete.* Poleg drugih osnovnih družbenih vlog bodo njegova bistvena sporočila: *ponosna,*

dostojanstvena ljubezen do lastne tradicijske kulture, do izročene dediščine; razkritje kulturne raznoterosti, sožitje z drugačnostjo, strpnost do tujih narodov, tujih etnij in modrost življenja v sobivanju z naravo. O prenovljenem Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju, kulturni, znanstveni in pedagoški ustanovi, tako premišljam kot o celostnem etnološkem, antropološkem muzeju, ki bo za svoje obiskovalce vez med preteklim in sedanjim, med tradicijsko in sodobno kulturo, med naravo in civilizacijo, med svojo in tujimi kulturami; med človekom in med podobo, ki jo bomo o njem umetno ustvarili - s predmeti, ki so resnični.

POT PROTI STALNI RAZSTAVI

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S snovanjem stalne razstave smo v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju začeli spomladi leta 1995. Takrat prostori bodočega muzeja niso bili več nestvarni. Začelo se je s pogovori o možnih pristopih k delu, naprimer o takojšnji ali poznejši pritegnitvi sodelavcev iz drugih etnoloških inštitucij, o zadolžitvi skupine ali posameznikov in podobnem. Ob koncu pomladi smo na Ministrstvu za znanost in tehnologijo prijaviteli triletni uporabni projekt s področja ohranjanja naravne in kulturne dediščine, z naslovom Stalna razstava v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju. Projekt poteka od januarja 1996. V njegovem okviru bo nastal zbir besedil, ki bodo imela na razstavi temeljni razlagalni, povezovalni oziroma dopolnilni pomen (legend, besedil zloženek in vodnika po razstavi); izvedeni bosta priprava muzeoloških vidikov razstavljanja (muzeografije, mikroklima, razsvetljave) in priprava pedagoško-andragoškega dela razstave.

V jesenskih mesecih leta 1995 se je potem izoblikovalo mnenje, da mora vsebinski osnutek za stalno razstavo nastati v muzeju, v krogu kustosov etnologov, ki združujejo muzeološki in etnološki znanstven pristop in ki najbolje poznajo temeljno gradivo za razstavo, zbirke muzealij. Izbrana zasnova naj bi bila šele za tem dana v presojo drugim, vendar ne le etnologom, temveč še posebej širši javnosti, muzejskim obiskovalcem.

Glede na smiselno delitev dela v skupini muzejskih kustosov in zaradi misli, da naj bodo prvi osnutki plod individualnega snovanja, so bili za izdelavo slednjih naprošeni Gorazd Makarovič, Andrej Dular in Janja Žagar. Spomladi leta 1996 smo že prebirali nastale zasnove za stalno razstavo ter jim ob rob zapisovali ali ustno izrekli morebitne pripombe in sugestije.

Makarovič je predlagal organiziranje razstave v štiri sklope: 1. Prostor, čas in družba - orientacijski okvir, 2. Viri in načini preživljanja (poljedelstvo, živinoreja, lov, nabiralništvo, obrti...), 3. Potrošnja (hrana, obleka, stanovanje) in 4. Odnos do sveta (verovanja, šege, umetnosti, znanja...). Prvi sklop bi bil uvodni, drugi trije pa bi bili utemeljeni "na pogledu 'od spodaj', na vidikih in odnosih do stvarnosti, kot si jih oblikuje prebivalstvo, ki se mora preživeti, trošiti in se samouresničevati". Postavitev naj bi bila - kjer je le mogoče - historična in razvojna, s poudarkom na obdobju od sredine 18. stoletja naprej. Razčlenjeni vzorci posameznih podpoglavij osnovnih sklopov so nakazovali izrazito znanstveno obliko stalne razstave.

Dularjev osnutek je obsegal tri glavne sklope: 1. Generalije, 2. Življenjske zgodbe in 3. Slovenci in svet. Prvi sklop, v katerem bi bili predstavljeni osnovni podatki o Slovencih kot narodu (naselitev, zgodovinski razvoj, jezik, demografsko relevantni podatki...), bi težil od splošnega k posameznemu in se končal s primeri psiho-fizičnih značilnosti Slovencev, z namišljenim posameznikom, ki bi uvedel sklop Življenjske zgodbe. Ta bi potekal na ravni dveh pripovedi: življenjskih šeg od rojstva do smrti, kjer bi bilo človekovo življenje

postavljeno v osebni časovni kontekst, in na ravni koledarskih, letnih šeg, kjer bi bilo umeščeno v širši, splošni, družbeni časovni kontekst. Tretji sklop, Slovenci in svet, pa bi težil od posameznega k splošnemu in bi prikazoval povezanost Slovencev z Evropo in ostalim svetom. Poudarek bi bil na prikazu poznavanja in odkrivanja tujih kultur in na izseljenstvu Slovencev.

Tako Dularjev kot Makarovičev koncept sta predvidela enovito obliko stalne razstave z notranjo zgradbo navedenih sklopov. Osnutek Janje Žagar pa je vseboval delitev na dve temeljni razstavni obliki (od treh - po eni izmed možnih razvrstitev - pogosto imenovanih pedagoška, kulturna in znanstvena, glede na to, ali so namenjene zlasti otrokom, najširši javnosti ali strokovnjakom; Desvallées, 1976), na obliko tako imenovane kulturne razstave, namenjene najširši javnosti, z naslovom Podobe neke kulture ali predmet o ljudeh, in na obliko znanstvene razstave z naslovom Študijske zbirke ali predmet o sebi. V okviru prve razstavne oblike je predvidela uvodni del, "orientacijski oris kulture" (geografsko-historični in historično-družbeni) in za tem postavitev, ki "naj bi obiskovalcu ponujala več možnih načinov sprejemanja posredovanih informacij", in sicer: kot življenjska "zgodba o posamezniku in njegovih družbenih vlogah" (ki so se v skladu z njegovimi življenjskimi dobami "širile" ali "krčile"); kot "širjenje" in "ciklično ponavljanje" (ki se odraža na nivojih človeka, družbe, drugih razsežnosti, narave, dela) in kot *ogled povprečnega inventarja predmetov* (orodja, notranje opreme, oblačil), *opravi in odnosov med ljudmi*. (Razstavna zasnova v celoti in izbran izsek iz scenarija bosta predstavljena posebej.) Ob tem je zapisala, da se zdi, "da so - če izvzamemo geografsko specifične razmere in predmete, hkrati pa tudi glede na sestavo zbirk SEM - najlaže opredmetene razmere v osrednji Sloveniji sredi 19. stoletja". Razstava se tako začne okoli 1830 ali 1840, konča pa v prvih desetletjih 20. stoletja. V okviru druge razstavne oblike si je Žagarjeva zamislila prikaz zbirk Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja, večinoma v skladu z uveljavljeno etnološko sistematiko. Tu bi bil poudarek na predmetu, zaradi njegove "oblike, izdelave in deloma zaradi uporabe", oziroma tehnološkega vidika, in razviden bi bil "časovno-geografski kontekst razvoja predmeta".

O delitvi na vsaj dve temeljni razstavni obliki smo že dlje časa premišljali pod vtisom tako imenovanega "ATP stila", tipa predstavitve, ki ga je zasnoval predvsem Georges Henri Rivière in ga izpeljal v obliki Študijske in Kulturne galerije v pariškem Musée des arts et traditions populaires (Desvallées, 1976). Čeprav smo si v času svojih snovanj širili poglede s primerjalnim branjem nekaterih dostopnih vodnikov po stalnih razstavah etnografskih muzejev, z drugim branjem (naprimer kritik relativno zastarele postavitve v ATP-ju) in z ogledi nekaterih novejših zadevnih evropskih razstav (naprimer konceptualno izvirne, vizualno pa ne dovolj sporočilne postavitve iz leta 1994 v dunajskem Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde in dokaj klasične postavitve iz začetka devetdesetih let v budimpeštanskem Néprajzi múzeumu), smo se vedno znova vračali k omenjenemu "ATP stilu", vendar zlasti zaradi misli o ustreznosti delitve na dve oziroma na tri razstavne oblike. (Rivière je namreč načrtoval tudi tretjo, Pedagoško galerijo, ki bi bila namenjena samo otrokom; Desvallées, 1976.)

Kot temeljno zasnovo stalne razstave Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja smo spomladi izbrali zamisel Janje Žagar. Pri nadaljnji organizaciji dela je Žagarjeva prevzela dokončno izoblikovanje razstavne zgodbe sklopa Podobe neke kulture ali predmet o ljudeh, prikaza tradicijske kulture, "njenih sprememb in novosti" skozi pripoved o življenju namišljenega posameznika oziroma para. Andrej Dular je prevzel oblikovanje scenarija študijske razstave zbirk in Gorazd Makarovič snovanje uvodne razstavne pripovedi, "orientacijskega orisa kulture" oziroma "temeljnih okvirjev slovenskega

etnosa". Študiju pedagoško-andragoških vidikov stalne razstave se je že pred tem posvetila Sonja Kogej-Rus, Marjeta Mikuž pa je sredi leta prevzela izvedbo raziskave potencialnih obiskovalcev Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja in njihovih pričakovanj glede stalne razstave. V dialogu z zunanjim sodelavcem Borutom Rovšnikom, muzeologom Mestnega muzeja Ljubljana, je bil sestavljen vprašalnik, s katerim bo januarja 1997 izvedeno poskusno anketiranje. Po dokončni redakciji vprašalnika bo v februarju steklo anketiranje, ki bo zajelo okrog šeststo vzorčnih posameznikov.

Obiskovalce kot aktivne sopotnike muzeja nameravamo (po opravljeni pripravljalni raziskavi) še intenzivneje pritegniti k snovanju stalne razstave s postavitvijo "razstave - testa". Ob tej bomo izvedli tako imenovano formativno oziroma oblikovalno raziskavo (prim. Van-Praët). Dva izseka zamišljene celote na osnovi scenarijev razstavne zgodbe in študijskih zbirk bosta od junija 1997 razstavljena v prvi muzejski hiši v stavbnem sestavu na Metelkovi. Oblikovana bosta tako, da ju bo mogoče na osnovi analize odzivnosti različnih skupin obiskovalcev in njihovih mnenj ustrezno preoblikovati. Pričakujemo, da nam bosta tako obe raziskavi, pripravljalna in oblikovalna, kot izidi pogovorov, na katere bomo ob "razstavi - testu" vabili krog etnologov, pomagali do končnega scenarija za stalno razstavo. Za slednjo si namreč želimo, da bi jo sprejel za svojo kar najširši krog v muzeje zahajajočega občinstva in da bi pritegnila premnoge nove obiskovalce.

Besedilo Projekt, imenovan Slovenski etnografski muzej, ki mu sledita zadnja osnutka Janje Žagar in Andreja Dularja, končujem z namišljenim obiskom muzeja in s sprehodom po stalni razstavi; z izmišljijo, v katero sem poskusila strniti nekaj spoznanj iz razpravljanih in ogledov ter kup zamisli, porojenih v preteklih mesecih.

Vrnila sem se s potovanja. Ko se začnem uživljati v ljubljanski vsakdan s prebiranjem nakopičenih časopisov, se zazrem v številne objave dolgo pričakovane novice: končno so odprli stalno postavitev v razstavni palači Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja! Od radovednosti me kar privzdigne. Zadnja leta, odkar so se preselili v prvo izmed obeh hiš na Metelkovi, sem pogosto in rada zahajala v ta muzej. V njem je bilo vedno prijetno vzdušje, tu in tam manjša razstava, živahna predavanja, ogledi etnoloških filmov, predstavitev knjig, komorni glasbeni dogodki in ustvarjalne muzejske delavnice. Vsi, ki smo se tam srečevali, smo s pričakovanjem in z nestrpnostjo pogledovali proti drugi, večji stavbi, za katero smo že iz načrtov vedeli, da raste v zanimivo razstavno hišo. In zdaj je odprta. Danes sicer nimam časa v izobilju, a z mlajšim, osemletnim, sinom se vseeno odpraviva do muzeja. Ustvariti si želim vsaj prvi vtis o novi stalni razstavi.

Že ob vstopu v prostorno večnadstropno avlo sva prijetno presenečena. Prostor, ki mu dajejo toplino naravni materiali, je sodobno oblikovan, in vendar na tak način, da te v njem preplavi duh vsebine muzeja. Tudi muzejski vstopnici sta oblikovalsko ubrani z vsebino; shranitva ju za spomin na najin prvi obisk. Na levi strani zagledava mikavno muzejsko trgovino. Zavem se, da po ogledu ne bom mogla iz muzeja, ne da bi stopila vanjo. V avli je kar dosti ljudi: eni posedajo, drugi odhajajo proti stopnicam, tretji zavijajo proti pritličnim dvoranam k ogledu občasne razstave ali pa na drugo stran, k mojstrom v muzejske delavnice, četrte zagledava med spuščanjem v kabini steklenega dvigala. Potem na vidnem mestu uzreva jasen, zelo razumljiv načrt muzeja in shema stalne razstave.

Iz sheme je mogoče razbrati, da stalno postavitev sestavlja več celot, ki so vsaka razstava zase in ki jih je mogoče obiskati ločeno ali pa si jih ogledati v zamišljenem zaporedju. Naslovi posameznih razstavnih celot so jezikovno prijazni, razumljivi nosilci nekaterih

idej, vendar obenem malce skrivnostni, tako da prav vabijo k ogledu vsebin, ki jih nosijo besede:

1. **Podobe preteklosti - "Noč časa"**
2. **Zgodba o preživetju in o razkošju - "Kontrapunkt življenja"**
3. **Urejeni svet predmetov - "Enciklopedija stvari"**
4. **Etno-AbecedaŽ**
5. **Naj-reči:**
 - Čupa, najdaljši, najenovitejši muzejski predmet
 - Čanca, najnenavadnejši, najskrivnostnejši muzejski predmet

Stopiva do prvega nadstropja in se znajdeva na začetku poti ogleda, pred vhodom v kinodvorano. Povsod visijo plakati, ki napovedujejo napet zgodovinski film z naslovom "Noč časa". Je to začetek razstave? Uniformiran biljeter pregleda najini vstopnici in naju spusti v temo dvorane, kjer se zatopiva v nenavadno posnet film, kombinacijo stvarnih podob in animacije, ki naju kot pripoved posameznika o življenju prednikov vodi skozi slovenski prostor, skozi njegovo gospodarsko in družbeno zgodovino, skozi razvoj posameznih kulturnih sestavin, od naselitve do prvih desetletij 19. stoletja. Šele ko je filma konec, se zavem, kako uspešno so naju z domačim, sodobnim medijem, z gibljivimi filmskimi podobami potegnili iz vsakdana z začetka 21. stoletja v nek drug čas, v pretekle življenjske zgodbe. Neboleče sva izkusila muzejski "rite de passage", obred prehoda in tako pripravljena vstopiva v prvi razstavni prostor, na začetek Zgodbe o preživetju in o razkošju. Ko sva odhajala iz kinodvorane, sva vzdolž leve strani prehoda opazila svetleč časovni trak z besedili in podobami, ki je na drug vizualen način sporočal v bistvenem enako vsebino kot film; za tiste obiskovalce, ki dvorano le prehodijo in si ne vzamejo časa za njegov ogled. Nama vsekakor ni žal, da sva se - presenečena nad takim začetkom ogleda stalne razstave in nad prijaznim likom biljeterja - kar pogreznila v mehko dvorano in v uvodno zgodbo "Noči časa".

Ob vstopu v "Kontrapunkt življenja" oziroma v Zgodbo o preživetju in o razkošju se najprej srečava s človekom; z namišljenima žensko in moškim, s posameznikoma, s fizično-antropološkimi in značajskimi značilnostmi Slovencev, kot so jih opisovali in zaznali Valvasor, Hacquet, Linhart. Prostor s to predstavitevijo naju posrka, kot da sva ujeta med stene maternice. Potem izstopiva in se znajdeva v pomladnem jutru v okolju dveh kmečkih domov: premožnega kmeta in kajžarja, gostača. Od tod skozi scene življenja spremljava namišljena dekle in fanta, ženo in moža, od tridesetih let 19. stoletja do let med svetovnima vojnama; skozi koledarsko leto od pomladi do zime, od jutra do noči, od rojstva do smrti; v okviru rodbine in družine v domu, na dvorišču, v gospodarskih poslopijih, ob delu; v okviru vaške skupnosti na vaškem trgu ob žeganju, o pustu in poroki; v okviru regije na poti v mesto, v trg, na živilski trg, na romanje; skozi srečanje s posvetno in cerkveno oblastjo; skozi odhajanje v svet in srečevanje s tujimi kulturami in v okviru drugih razsežnosti, kot so spominjanje, izročanje znanj, pripovedovanje pravljič, zgodovinskih in popotnih doživetij.

Presenečena sem, kakšno razstavo so domislili. Sredi nje se vseskozi zavedaš, da si v etnološkem muzeju; stopiš v tok življenja in skozenj spremljaš človeka, sporočenega s predmeti, ki označujejo njegovo socialno okolje, opredeljujejo čas, v katerem je živel, in prostor. Človek je tu in tam tudi vizualno prisoten, vendar ne kot realistična lutka. Tem so se na srečo izognili. (Spomnim se jih iz nekaterih angleških in škotskih muzejev pa tudi iz pariškega Musée de l'homme. Kako odbijajoče, groteskno so delovale name! Vzbujale so mi asociacijo na vzušje cenjenih zabavišč in hiš strahov. Pariška znanka mi je pravila, kako so se zaradi pretiravanja z realističnimi scenami in lutkami mediji kritično razpisali o nekaterih razstavah v Musée de l'homme; slednjega naj bi bili zaradi

njih označili kot muzej, "qui se moque des hommes", ki se norčuje iz ljudi.) Izognili so se tudi pretiranemu scenskemu koketiranju z resničnostjo. **Stvarna okolja so upodobljena na simbolni ravni, a so vseeno nedvoumno prepoznavna.** Z razstavo, s tem samostojnim medijem, so zavestno ustvarili novo - muzejsko resničnost, vendar takšno, ki obiskovalcem prijazno približa v predmetih in v nekaterih drugih virih sporočena minula bivanja.

Skozi postavitev je prepoznavna tudi **igra nasprotja med preživetjem in razkošjem**, ki jo nosi naslov te celote **stalne razstave; še posebej pa je mogoče premišljati o njeni temeljni ideji, o cikličnosti življenja.** Delamo od sobote do naslednje sobote, koprismo od poletja do poletja, se gibljemo od božiča do božiča... Zavem se, kako vsakdanje prisotno, kako blizu mi je z razstavo sporočeno kroženje. Pa tudi širjenje; od mikro-nivoja doma do odhajanja v svet, celo v prostranstva tujih svetov. Ta del razstave me je spet presenetil. **Srečevanja z nekaterimi zunajevropskimi kulturami so prikazali skozi upodobitev slovenskih predstav o prebivalcih tujih dežel in o njihovem življenju** (naprimer med potomci primorskih izseljencev zabeležene predstave, da v Braziliji balinajo s pomarančami in podobnih), **ki so jo soočili s predmetnim gradivom, pričevalnem o izsekih stvarnega življenja v nekaterih izmed teh dežel.**

Tako zamišljena kar naenkrat opazim, da sin ni več ob meni. Najdem ga, ko zapušča enega izmed ne preštevilnih dotikalnih ekranov, na katerem je odkrival dodatne informacije, in odhaja proti skupinici otrok, ki sredi prostora z muzejsko pedagoginjo vneto preizkušajo delovanje replike neke naprave. Spomnim se, da sva že prej sledila besednim in vizualnim dodatkom, ki so se nevsiljivo pojavljali poleg vodilnih legend in posamezne vsebine jedrnato umeščali v zgodovinsko dogajanje ter ponujali socialne in regionalne primerjave. Všeč mi je tak muzejev odnos do obiskovalca. Razstavo lahko doživi že ob sprehodu skoznjo; a če želi, lahko raziskuje, se izobražuje. **Po več znanja o posameznih predmetih in kulturnih sestavinah ga napotijo še v Urejeni svet predmetov ali "Enciklopedijo stvari".**

Midva to razstavno celoto tokrat le prehodiva. Ne da bi si kaj dosti ogledovala, jo zapuščava z vtisom o čudoviti raznolikosti razstavljenega, o preraznih oblikah, vzorcih, funkcijah, znanjih, h katerim se bom sama še večkrat vračala. Sin hiti v **Etno-AbecedaŽ** in kot je pravilno presodil, gre za **prav poseben, otrokom namenjen razstavni prostor, ki so ga umestili v zadnje, tretje nadstropje med študijski razstavi slovenskega in drugega, zlasti zunajevropskega Urejenega sveta predmetov.**

V prostoru je razburljivo živahno. Pod vsako črko abecede zagledava razstavljen posamezen predmet - kot muzejsko seme - ob njem pa se na podestu in na policah nabirajo nove prerazne reči, ki jih prinašajo in urejajo otroci. V **AbecedaŽu** sva ravno ob Dnevu za mlade zbiratelje. Prinešeni predmeti so od vsepovsod: z vasi, iz mesta, iz drugih dežel. Z otroki so muzejski kustosi, ki jim pomagajo pri urejanju kartotek, pri vnašanju podatkov v računalnik. Sin mi takoj šepne, da bo naslednjič tudi on prišel v muzej s pridobitvijo za **Etno-AbecedaŽ**. Potem zagledava pri vsaki črki kup predalov in vrat. Moj radovednež jih začne odpirati in presenečen odkrije, da se v nekaterih skrivajo manjši predmeti, v drugih pa le fotografije ali risbe predmetov z imeni, z osnovnimi podatki in z napotki, kje v muzeju je o njih mogoče izvedeti še kaj več. V posameznih predalih odkrije le besede; naprimer pod črko L besedo lončar in napotek, naj obiše mojstra lončarja v muzejski delavnici v pritličju. Sin kar ne more odnehati. Potegne me še k črki Č. Izvlečeva ravno predala, v katerih najdeva fotografiji čupe in čance, predmetov, ki se ju spomniva iz sheme stalne razstave kot dveh Naj-reči. Napotek, ki se skriva v predalu, naju usmeri prav k ogledu te razstavne celote. Čeprav uživam, se tokrat nisem nameravala tako dolgo zadržati v muzeju; sinu zato predlagam, da **Naj-reči** prihraniva za naslednji obisk. A moj poskus je zaman; čupa in čanca sta ga preveč vznemirili, morava še do njiju.

Najprej naju prevzame čupa. Potopiva se v modrino razstavnega prostora z zgodbo o ogromnem, sedem metrov dolgem ribiškem drevaku, v kakršnem so stoletja odhajali na morje slovenski ribiči iz vasi od Trsta do Timave. Sin ima o njem sto vprašanj in na razstavi radovedno odkriva odgovore.

Potem stopiva še v prostor druge naj-reči, čance. V trepetajočem mraku, ki vzbuja občutje tropskega pragozda, jo odkrijeva kot zares najnenavadnejši, najskrivnostnejši predmet: trofejo iz kože človeške glave z ohranjenimi lasmi, umetno skrčeno na velikost jabolka. Njena magična zgodba povzema utrinke iz življenja južnoameriškega indijanskega plemena Jivaro.

Polna čudenja zapuščava Naj-reči. Tako razstavno izpostavljeni nama bosta ostali še posebej v spominu. Ob tem pomislim, kako mikavni za muzejske obiskovalce so prav zaradi česar koli izjemni muzejski predmeti. Nekateri zgolj z njimi povezujejo spomin na obisk posameznega muzeja. Tako smo se otroci spominjali ljubljanskega Prirodoslovnega muzeja kot tistega, kjer imajo mamuta; a je v njem še toliko drugih zanimivosti.

Slovenski etnografski muzej nama kot kaže ne bo ostal v spominu samo zaradi čupe in čance, temveč kot muzej, ki ga kar nisva mogla zapustiti. Kljub časovni stiski tega dne, ki jo najino dolgo raziskovalno potepanje le poveča, se prepustiva dobremu razpoloženju ter se z mapo nabranih zložen in reklamnih muzejskih tiskovin za konec usedeva še v vrt prijazne muzejske kavarne, v senčni objem dveh stoletnih platan.

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THE PROJECT CALLED "THE SLOVENE ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM"

INTRODUCTION

The basic aim of the article written under the above mentioned title is a uniform presentation of the proposals and some other ideas that originated or were brought up during the one-year process of planning the museum's future permanent exhibition. The exhibition will be set up in the new exhibition halls that are part of a complex of buildings known as "Metelkova" by a team of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum assisted by external collaborators.

Considering it sensible to set this presentation in the broader context of the comprehensive project for the renovated museum; to make it the conclusion of a cross-section of what occurred to the museum and in it from its beginnings; to present the architecture and functions of its future halls; and to explain the road that led to the proposals for the contents of the museum's permanent exhibition, the present article has a broader range and consists of separate chapters, corresponding with themes listed above. Its composition and final wording draw on a number of ethnological and museological articles and discussions, from exhibitions I had the privilege to visit, to lectures, ideas and an abundance of informal discussions.

THE INSTITUTION, ITS PREMISES AND RESOURCES

The here presented cross-section of what happened to the Ethnographic Museum and in it, is terse, limited to essential changes, and occasionally merely refers to the initial and present conditions since the development of the museum from its foundation until today has in recent years been the subject of several in-depth studies (see, especially, Rogelj-Škafar, 1993,1995), and it would therefore make little or no sense to repeat their findings in their entirety.

As an institution the Slovene Ethnographic Museum received its present name in the 1960s. It was founded (in 1923) as The Royal Ethnographic Museum, changed its name into Ethnographic Museum after the Second World War, and the adjective Slovene was added in 1964 (following an initiative of the museum's then director Boris Kuhar), in order to have the name point out "that it is the central Slovene ethnological museum and institution" (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993). The present name has been preserved because of its tradition as a national museum institution.

For reasons of tradition and other historical, spatial and theoretical conceptions of the word "ethnographic", we have also preserved this basic content-oriented adjective in the museum's name, though the work that is carried out in it, the museum's ambitions, and the contents of the collections might support its replacement with an adjective with wider associations, for instance "ethnological" or even "anthropological museum".

The beginnings of the ethnographic museum were the "ethnographic" and/or "folklore collections" of the Carniolian Provincial Museum in Ljubljana, founded in 1821. The origin of the ethnographic museum as an institution resulted from the efforts of a single person, Niko Županič, the first academically trained Slovene ethnologist and anthropologist (as well as man of the world and diplomat) who in 1923 succeeded in obtaining the permission of the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to found the Royal Ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana. One year later, this rather untypical "one-man institution and late-comer in the run of contemporary developments in and around most of Europe's ethnographic museums got its first employee, an assistant, in the person of art historian Stanko Vurnik, who was to become the main and besides Županič the only specialized scientific worker in the museum. In 1926 Vurnik wrote (in a chronicle entitled the Royal ethnographic Museum in Ljubljana, its history, activities, plans and needs, published in the first volume of the museum's scientific journal *Etnolog*) about the ethnographic museum's spatial problems in terms that are so characteristic and illustrative of nearly the entire history of the institution - with later variations and perhaps slightly different accents - that they have remained true all through the museum's seventy years of existence: "... a (permanent) *exhibition space*. Concerning this room or hall, at present **one of the museum's most urgent requirements**, many steps have been taken with the provincial and central governments in the past three years. The National Museum (the main successor of the Carniolian Provincial Museum) has become absolutely too small even for its own ambitions, and in its building the ethnographic museum cannot expand properly. But the budget item that would allow a new and special building to be built for the ethnographic museum in Ljubljana is as yet at a deadlock, beyond which there is no solution unless the government finds a way to support the work of the ethnographic museum with higher subsidies."

The three exhibition halls, acquired in the National Museum building in 1947, the opening of branch exhibition halls in the sixties, the acquisition of new work premises in the attic of the National Museum in the eighties: these changes did not amount to a satisfactory and final solution for the ethnographic museum's lack of space. In the search for better solutions many ideas emerged from various circles; this lasted until the 90s when before, during and after the process of Slovenia achieving independence more favourable times came and the museum's struggle for an own building invigorated considerably. These efforts are symbolically marked by the case of "Mladika", originally the municipal Lyzeum for girls, and later a military hospital. The building (designed by architect and functionalist Maks Fabiani) remained unoccupied after the departure of the Yugoslav Army and appeared to be quite suitable premises for the ethnographic museum. In spite of our embarrassment concerning possible political manipulations, though far from non-existent in the ethnologist's historical memory, the staff of the ethnographic museum tried to benefit from this period, charged with emotions and political agitation, and we deliberately based our written and oral actions also on political accents; we were convinced, however, that we agitated for our own, sufficiently spacious museum with the legitimacy of a sovereign scientific discipline and national cultural institution (Smerdel, 1995). Looking back, it appears that the developments had to go as far as the politicised

commotion around "Mladika", meeting with exceptional approval from the public and part of the political circles as well as rejection by others, to make the authorities aware of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum as an established, full-grown cultural institution of national importance and that in order to carry out its message and realise its fundamental social role according to "the ABC of museum activities" (Duclos,1996) the museum definitely required suitable premises.

To meet, beside other needs, also this requirement the government of the Republic of Slovenia decided to allocate the southern wing of a complex of military buildings in Metelkova Street to cultural institutions. In June of 1994 the buildings were handed over to the Ministry of Culture for the needs of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum and other cultural institutions. The agreement, signed on March 29, 1995 by the museum's then director Ivan Sedej, provides that the ministry allocates to the Ethnographic Museum two of the six buildings in the southern wing of Metelkova (areas: 3,500 and 1,900 square metres) for exhibition purposes and nearly all other museum activities; shortly afterwards and under the same agreement the museum also obtained 2,000 sq. metres of depository premises in the same complex. In co-operation with the Municipality of Ljubljana and the Ministry of Culture a competition was announced (in July 1995), inviting proposals for the architectural and town-planning renovation of the southern wing of the former complex of military buildings as well as proposals for the renovation of the northern wing from the point of view of town-planning only. The competition invited proposals for the urban arrangement, renovation of the buildings and possible extensions to the so-called Belgian barracks from the times of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy, that is historical buildings dating from the end of the 19th century. It was expected that the renovation would provide an elegant solution for a number of museums and other institutions, thus creating a new, lively cultural venue of Ljubljana that would attract people because of its multi-cultural nature (housing the following institutions or parts of them : the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, the National Museum, the Modern Gallery; the Academy of Theatre, Film and Television, as well as a range of non-institutional creative endeavours.)

It seems appropriate that the two decisions mentioned in the above paragraph conclude our negative story about resources for the ethnographic museum's spatial problems to which Vurnik referred in the first years of the museum's existence with the following words: (an exhibition space is) "one of the ethnographic museum's most urgent requirements", and, on another occasion: "the deadlock in the budget concerning the building of a new museum" (Vurnik, 1927). The 1995 budget provided among investment projects in culture an item "Metelkova - The Slovene Ethnographic Museum" thus enabling the museum to start (in 1996) the renovation of the interior of the first, smaller building. The renovation of this building is less demanding and was not included in the competition, though it is treated as part of the complex of buildings. The costs for the renovation of this building amount to 241,000,000 tolars (or 2,680,000 DM) for the building, installation and finishing works, exclusive of furnishings. Keeping in mind that an assessment of the investment necessary to renovate the second, larger and more demanding building of the ethnographic museum as well as the appertaining underground depositories, amounts to approx. 1,183,000,000 tolars (13,252,000 DM), and recalling what else is expected to happen in the complex of buildings in Metelkova, this new cultural venue of Ljubljana, which certainly is a challenge, we can only hope that the political and culture-oriented decisions that made way for the beginning of works in Metelkova will be followed by others and lead to a successful and correct realisation.

When we elaborated the program for a comprehensive project of the new ethnographic museum in Metelkova, required for the competition inviting proposals for architectural and urban-planning solutions, we had a vision of a museum which in the world of museums has become known in recent years under the perhaps fashionable but otherwise rich and meaningful concept word of a "(user-) friendly museum". We envisaged a modern ethnographic museum with high, internationally comparable standards, a lively cultural, scientific and educational institution that would offer to its visitors not only attractive exhibitions, a variety of events and museum workshops, not only opportunities for discovering, learning, enjoying, inter-action, dreaming and reflections, but also everything else that would contribute to their physical well-being. What we planned was a museum that would take care of the objects it holds in accordance with international standards, that is provide for their safety, provide the necessary conditions for keeping and exhibiting them; and we also planned it to be an institution that would enable its staff to find sensible links between the different processes of museum work, and offer them pleasant, stimulative work premises.

We thus envisaged a division into three interconnected units:

1. the exhibition palace, the largest and most representative building in the southern wing of the complex of buildings, entirely open to the public (including the halls of the permanent exhibition, those for temporary exhibitions, the museum's workshops, a museum shop and coffee shop ...);

2. the adjacent, smaller building, conditionally called the management building, would be reserved for administration, information, research, audio-visual, publishing, conservation, restoration, and other activities (with a public reading-room, lecture room and small exhibition room);

3. in between the two buildings and connected with both of them: the museum's underground depositories. (A similar division was adopted by the planners of the new Museum of Civilisation in Hull, Canada, which opened in 1989 (Hushion, 1992): one building for administration, conservation and depositories and a second one entirely for the exhibitions.)

The concept we submitted for the museum's contents was in general respected by the participants in the competition. The desired functional scheme of the future rooms in the ethnographic museum's exhibition palace and the connections with the depository and management building are best illustrated by the winning solution called Forum, the work of architects Samo and Gorazd Groleger, Miroslav Kvas and Maja Štefula. (See pp. 21-23.)

The acquired premises, this fundamental condition for a normal development and functioning of the institution that we had to wait for so long, stimulated in the ethnographic museum above all ethnological and museographical reflections on the permanent exhibition (see the following chapters). But they also brought the opportunity and requirement to plan new museum services and staff of the kind that are quite common in well-run museum institutions of similar significance and size, for instance a receptionist, ticket seller, maintenance worker, photographer and a public relations officer.

There is no doubt that in the past seventy years the ethnographic museum developed - despite its lack of space - far beyond the "one-man institution" (Niko Županič) of 1923 and, shortly afterwards, the "two-men museum" (Županič and Vurnik) and that its progress was more or less in accordance with the growing collections, library and documentation and with the expansion of research and exhibition activities. In 1995 the

institution had a staff of twenty-five including :

- five persons in management (director, secretary, accountant, cashier, bursar, courier/cleaner);
- Six curators and researchers (folk art, social culture and customs, rural economy, crafts and trade, clothing culture and textiles, architecture and home furnishings);
- four in the information and documentation service (three curators and documentalists, a computer expert);
- a curator and librarian in the museum library;
- a curator and pedagogue in the museum's pedagogic and adult education service;
- four in the museum's conservation and restoration workshops (head of the workshops, restorers of wood, metal and textiles) and
- three in the branch museum in the Goričane mansion (a curator of non-European cultures, a courier/cleaner and concierge).

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In spring 1995 a short-term and long-term concept was elaborated of the further development of the institution and its staff, in accordance with the museum's statutory tasks (some of the museum's basic tasks are listed in the new Foundation Act and summarised here: (The Slovene Ethnographic Museum) collects, conserves, restores, arranges, documents, preserves and scientifically researches objects, written, printed, pictorial and sound sources for ethnological research into different ways of life and cultures in Slovenia, the border areas and, when possible, also elsewhere; it prepares exhibitions and other forms of presenting the findings of museum work; publishes specialist, scientific and other publications...; co-operates with educational institutions, is responsible for the popularisation of its activities, manages the central ethnological library...; ... carries out and organises ethnological scientific research activities in Slovenia and elsewhere...), and in accordance with the envisaged solution of its spatial problems. The well-founded proposal foresees the following present and additional staff in the new museum (by 2000):

- in the management: an assistant director;
- two additional curators, one for the Non-European collections and one for the future collections of Slovene immigrants, the Slovenes living in the neighbouring border areas, and the national minorities in Slovenia ; (desirable are also a curator of musical instruments and one for mass culture);
- an additional librarian in the museum library;
- an additional restorer of wooden objects and restorer of textiles in the museum's conservation and restoration workshop;
- in the new services of audio-visual documentation a head of the AV laboratory, a photographer and a draughtsman;
- a suitably trained person in the new public relations service;
- in the new services : a maintenance worker, two receptionists, two cleaners (or a cleaner and a cloak-room attendant) a ticket seller and six guards;
- in the coffee shop: a licensee;
- in the museum shop: a licensee;
- in the museum workshops the following master craftsmen: a potterer, a wood-carver and turner, a weaver, all of them users of the individual workshops.

This short- and long-term concept of the structure of the museum's staff was the basis for the functional arrangement of the rooms in the first building, the one conditionally called the management building of the ethnographic museum (and partly also in the second

one, the exhibition palace). The first building of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in Metelkova is being renovated in accordance with the adopted arrangement and is expected to be put into use in spring 1997. (See p. 25.)

A VIEW OF THE COLLECTIONS, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OBJECTS AND SOME DEFINITIONS OF THE MUSEUM AND ITS PERMANENT EXHIBITION

For the entire time of its existence the Slovene Ethnographic Museum as a national institution has been a rather ambivalent museum, especially when compared with other national and even provincial museums, prominent because of their buildings and permanent exhibitions (there is some irony in the fact that it was precisely the Ethnographic Museum's field research in the 50s which gave the ethnographic collections of some provincial museums their first objects).

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The ambivalent nature of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum is shown in the following aspects:

On the one hand it is a museum holding nationally and internationally significant collections, illustrative especially of traditional culture in Slovenia and the everyday life of the primarily peasant population; of its collections at least the following deserve special mentioning: ploughing implements, the *"most important collection of its kind in South-eastern Europe"* (as evaluated by Prof. Dr. Hans Koren; Smerdel 1983); the unique, all-Slovene and most extensive collection of costumes, embroideries and laces (the entries in the inventory books amounted to 8572 items in 1983; Makarovič, M., 1983; the 1995 review counted 10,071 pieces); the collection of folk art, *"by far the largest and most representative of its kind"* and *"the only all-Slovene collection of its kind"* (Makarovič, G., 1983); the collection of Bloke skis, dormouse traps, masks, chests ... Furthermore, the museum also holds some equally important non-European collections, illustrative of individual cultural elements of some "peoples of the world" and of the Slovene attitude towards them, of encounters with "alien cultures"; among them deserve mentioning at least (most of them are known by the names of their donors): the Baraga Collection of objects from the native North-American Ojibwa and Ottawa tribes; the Knoblehar Collection of objects from the East-Sudanese tribe of the Bari; The Skušek Chinese Collection, "one of the biggest"; the *"exceptionally extensive, original and systematically collected"* Bebler Indonesian Collection (Štrukelj, 1983) and the Paul Schebesta Collection (donated by Dr. Lambert Ehrlich), an ethnologist and well-known researcher of the Pygmies.

On the other hand, however, the Slovene Ethnographic Museum is a national museum which until recently - and in spite of the national and broader significance of its collections - has remained deprived of its own premises (except for the branch museum of non-European cultures in the Goričane mansion), suitable and sufficiently large exhibition halls and thus did not meet the full meaning of the word museum.

"A collection is not a museum. It becomes a museum only when it forms a living part of the culture to which it belongs", are the words of Michel Van-Praët (EMYA, 1996), one of Europe's leading museologists, who, of course, was referring to exhibited collections. In the case of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, most of whose collections are locked up in depositories and are accessible to the public only in the form of different interpretations in merely temporary exhibitions, his opinion would be quite the same. It would not

even surprise to have such a museum judged to be the "home of confiscated heritage" because it cannot fulfil one of its basic social roles, "that of giving back" (Duclos, 1996). In museums "about people", such as the Slovene Ethnographic Museum undoubtedly is, "*man gives back to man what he has taken from him*", in the poetic and binding words of George Henri Rivière (Duclos, 1996).

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The Slovenes and their national ethnographic museum are late-comers in the European context; but only as far as an own building is concerned, not when referring to its collections. The major incentive for the origin of big central ethnographic museums in Europe were the world expositions in the second half of the 19th century. The Paris World Exposition of 1867, for instance, had a special section devoted to "folk costumes from the different provinces" of France and from other countries; especially notable were the presentations of Norway and Sweden. The Stockholm Nordiska Museet was founded in 1873; the Paris Trocadéro was opened in 1884 (as a paleo-anthropological and mainly non-European museum), in the later Musée de l'homme, deriving from similar initiatives a "French hall" was set up in 1888 (Duclos, 1996), the embryo of the later Musée des arts et traditions populaires. Similarly, the Vienna World Exposition of 1873 led to the foundation of Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, which, at the end of the First World War, exchanged its temporary halls in the stock exchange for the present garden palace in Schönborn (Beitl, Tschofen, 1994). If Ljubljana had listened to the "lessons" of Matija Murko, published towards the end of the 19th century - Murko had visited the Great Ethnological Czechoslavonic Exhibition in Prague in 1895 and one year later reported on it publishing his famous "lessons for the Slovenes" advocating the foundation of a Slovene ethnographic museum (Keršič, 1993) - the Slovenes would not have lagged quite that much behind the then European-wide boom of ethnographic museums. Unfortunately, Murko was not heard. And thus the Slovenes got their Royal Ethnographic Museum (as a result of initiatives of a completely different nature) as late as 1923. For its own premises, however, the institution had to wait another 72 years.

Quite different is the story of the collections. In 1821 the decision was adopted to found the Carniolian Provincial Museum in Ljubljana (the precursor also of the SEM). Even before they defined the five major fields of contents of the museum's collections (history, statistics, natural science, technology and physics) the trustees planned a special ethnographic section (as part of the field covered by history) after the Joanneum in Graz. The section was to include descriptions and pictures of costumes and buildings, folk and fairy tales, wedding customs, folk songs and melodies (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993, 1995). This contemporary romantic orientation of the ethnographic section was overtaken by echoes of the Enlightenment (and its interest in economy and agriculture, based on physiocratic principles) in the concrete form of some objects that are considered to be *the oldest acquisitions* in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's present collections: three models of a waggon (for carrying wheat and sugar), a plough and a harrow, originating from Planina near Rakek and *dating from 1833* (Golob, 1996/97); miniature models of "na Krainskim navadniga kmetouškiga orodia" ("peasant tools common in Carniolia") originating also from Planina near Rakek and *dating from 1835* (Smerdel, 1994) and a model of a double plough (Deschmann, 1888). The first costumes, "figurines" carrying costumes from Bela krajina (Črnomelj, Vinica and Bojanci), were registered as late as 1839 (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995). The first and oldest collection of the present Slovene Ethnographic Museum, however, is undoubtedly the collection of "ethnographic objects" from North America, i.e. from the

native tribes of the Ojibwa and Ottawa, donated to the Carniolian Provincial Museum by the missionary bishop Frederic Baraga, who had been asked to collect them. The chairman of the museum's board of trustees, natural scientist Hohenwart had persuaded Baraga's sister Amalija to write to her brother, the missionary, and ask him for ethnographic objects of the "savages" (Golob, 1996). Hohenwart's interest in native American objects was in line with the then widespread natural sciences "cabinets of curiosities", traces of which can be found in the first anthropological museums (in the mid 19th century they were known as ethnological or folklore museums and limited to non-European cultures; Rivière, 1989).

From the very beginning of the ethnographic museum's collections until the present day one hundred and sixty-one years have passed. By 1953, when Boris Orel made a survey of the non-European collections, their number of objects had risen to 1242 (though this number is not quite correct since some objects that had already been received and inventorised, continued to remain in the National Museum; Orel, 1954) and by 1983 when Pavla Štrukelj wrote about them, to more than 9500 objects.

The collections are arranged according to continents, as well as donors or sellers, among whom we find researchers, globetrotters, missionaries, seamen, merchants and diplomats. The list of Egyptian objects, donated to the museum by consul Laurin, for instance, dates from 1843; a collection of objects from the East-Sudanese tribe of the Bari was sent to Ljubljana by the missionary Ignacij Knoblehar in 1850; the Codelli Collection from Togo, Nigeria and the Cameroon dates from 1912-1914; the collection of objects "collected among the Pygmies of Central Africa by Paul Schebesta, the well-known ethnologist and researcher of the Pygmies", was entered in the Ethnographic museum's catalogue of holdings in 1941; back to 1912-1913 goes the "high-quality" Chinese collection of the missionary Peter Turk; in 1963 the museum received (from the National Museum) a representative Chinese collection from Mrs. Skušek, née Tsuneko Kondo-Kavase; Vera and Aleš Bebler's Indonesian collection dates from 1964, and in 1978 Vera and Ignac Golob donated to the museum their Mexican collection (Orel, 1954, Štrukelj, 1983).

However, more important than these references to some of the most valuable or extensive collections and their donors or sellers (the latest acquisition is a collection of 336 African objects, sold to the museum by Anton Petkovšek) is undoubtedly the information value of the collected non-European objects. Careful reading of the survey of these collections, carried out on the occasion of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's sixtieth anniversary and written by Pavla Štrukelj (1983), leads to the conclusion that the larger part consists of hunting gear and arms, jewelry and other clothing accessories (pipes, bags, combs...), men's and women's clothes, masks and musical instruments; objects - one might say - that are especially attractive to collectors because of their strange, different and exotic nature.

These objects are no doubt eloquent witnesses to some non-European cultures and to some segments of everyday life there. However, the fact that they were largely collected because of their strange and exotic nature, is quite indicative of the collectors' attitude to these cultures. "The Museum of Non-European Cultures is not a collection of exotic remnants, nor has it the intention to be one, ...but intends to present in a most comprehensive way the non-European cultures Slovenes came into contact with and are or will continue to be connected with (Čeplak, 1991). This definition of a - at one time - envisaged separate "Museum of Non-European Cultures" in the Goričane mansion (instead of being a branch

museum of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum) and of its permanent exhibition, dates from 1991, and, keeping in mind the collections' composition, must be judged as rather unrealistic and only half-way correct.

During the same period covering one hundred and sixty years, the Slovene collections were formed on quite different premises. Instead of collecting objects from "savages", searching for the strange and exotic, the collectors' efforts at first focused on "national treasures", "the nation's jewels", "crafted by the mind and the hands of the people, originating from the soul of the nation" (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993, Smerdel, 1983). Geographically, the collections originated mainly from the former province of Carniola or, even narrower, from Gorenjska and Bela krajina, thematically they included above all textiles and folk art (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

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More or less the same criteria also prevailed during the existence of the 1923 founded Royal Ethnographic Museum in its efforts to enrich the collected heritage of the former Rudolfinum, the Carniolian Provincial Museum. (From its main successor, the National Museum, the Slovene Ethnographic Museum received 3502 objects that were in the ethnographic collection). The ethnographic museum's main interest was in objects that were as old as possible because their particularities and characteristics were to prove that the Slovenes may be a small nation but one with a long history. The majority of the acquired objects were not older than two centuries; among the provinces of origin Gorenjska and Bela krajina continued to prevail and among the themes especially textiles and folk art. The essential criterion was typology, rusticity was conceived as an invariable constant and no consideration was given to social differentiation (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

An essential change in the approach to collecting occurred for the first time in the first two decades after the Second World War. It was the ambition of the then director Boris Orel that the museum should present "a complete image of life in our countryside"; he defined ethnology as the science that collects and studies "different material from Slovene folk life" or as a science "dealing with the cultural products of the Slovene people and the laws of their development" (Orel, 1948). These were the guidelines governing the monumental collection efforts of the so-called Orel field teams. (By the end of 1962 no less than 18 teams had roamed the Slovene provinces). Their efforts ranged from research and collection to documentation of cultural elements within the framework of the established division into material, social and spiritual culture, and resulted in the present variety of material and geographic origin in the collections. The collections mainly consist of the following items: ploughing implements, other agricultural tools, devices and machines for cleaning and processing crops, hunting and fishing gear, harnesses, means of transportation, furniture, household objects and implements, tools and products of domestic craftsmen... The objects originate from the environs of Ljubljana, Dolenjska, Notranjska, Primorska, Štajerska and Koroška (i.e. besides Gorenjska and Bela krajina).

In the course of the last decades the collections have become even more varied as far as themes, geographic and social origins are concerned; a development also due to the increased number of curators. Their research, collecting and lively exhibition activities were organised more or less in accordance with ethnological systematics and in departments of rural economy (transport and food), the crafts and trades, settlements, architecture and home furnishings, costumes and other textiles, social culture (customs) and folk art. An even more important influence was generated by the assertion of modern theoretical views; that is by the shift from studying the history of cultural elements to

the bearers and their attitude towards these cultural elements (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993). The interest focused (also in the museum) on "man as the representative bearer of culture, and the way of life was introduced as the relationship between man and his cultural and natural environment as expressed in everyday routine". (Slavec Gradišnik, 1995). Ethnology was defined as "a specialised discipline of historiographic nature, dedicated to the research of the everyday, common and typical cultural forms and contents of life of those social classes and groups that give to a certain ethnic or national unit its specific character" (Kremenšek, 1960/61).

The collections reflect these definitions especially in the following aspects: small numbers of objects appeared, illustrating the everyday life of members of individual occupational groups (for instance forestry and saw-mill workers) and of other social classes (for instance the bourgeoisie). In spite of this intended broadening the major part of the museum's holdings still consists of collections of peasant culture, witnesses to the everyday life of the peasant population, to Slovene people of an archaic, traditional society. (The Slovene collections of the ethnographic museum today count over 30,000 objects; 22,904 of them have been inventorised, the others can be traced in the registers of acquisitions.)

The objects in these collections, the formerly so-called "evidence of folk creativity", this "inventory of the nation's treasure", have not changed, of course. What has changed is how they are viewed today. Indeed, they have become bearers of information with multifold meanings, material witnesses to the everyday life of the peasant population, telling stories about its creativity, inventiveness, skills, wisdom, ideals of beauty, co-existence with nature.

Formerly they were all encompassed by the disputable, but still existent concept of "folk culture". Up to the 1960s the Slovene ethnological discipline considered folk culture to be "the peasant culture of the pre-industrial period and the later survivors of this culture (definition by Baš, in: Kremenšek, 1983) which is supposed to be an acceptable term. Later, the concept of folk culture became linked with "the culture of the subjected classes in the period of feudalism" (Kremenšek, 1983), a definition attempting to be more accurate in the historical and social sense. More recent reflections (Muršič, 1995) hold that it is not possible to "locate" folk culture "in a concrete time or social space - not even in the pre-industrial period". For the ethnological discipline it is supposed to be a "transcendental" category.

The concept "folk" is undoubtedly disputable from a theoretical point of view, since it is not defined well enough; on the other hand, however, the things themselves, the museum objects, encompassed by the concept of folk culture are incredibly concrete: they were made and used especially by the peasant population; most of them are objects that supply information on manual work and skills passed on (on work processes before the use of machines and before the industrial revolution); most of them originate from the 19th century, a small part from the 18th (and, in very few cases, from before the 18th century) as well as from the 20th century. They are often illustrative of cultural elements of "long standing". Therefore, a more suitable syntagm as far as meaning is concerned would be *traditional culture*. The concept "tradition" refers to what is past, historical, passed over from generation to generation, is of "long duration"; furthermore, in the past, that is up to the first decades of the 20th century, the majority of Slovenia's population were peasants (though completely differentiated). The syntagm *traditional culture* therefore encompasses both historical and social aspects.

While more or less constantly focusing on the collections, the history of the museum has seen various definitions of a museum and permanent exhibitions, but only rare exhibitions of a more permanent nature. The first one to be mentioned is the exhibition of the collections of the "ethnographic" section of the Carniolian Provincial Museum, the Rudolfinum, in 1906, displayed in eight showcases, and according to the then museum's curator Walter Schmid *"showing a clear picture of local culture in the Carniolian province in well thought-out self-contained groups"*. (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995).

Stanko Vurnik, The Royal Ethnographic Museum's curator, planned a permanent exhibition as a reflection of the goal *"to represent the Slovene and Yugoslav population from the point of view of ethnography, anthropology and folk art"*. He envisaged the collections to be displayed in the future halls according to a clear scheme: six halls for peasant architecture with typical interiors of rooms, a "kamra" and kitchens; two halls were to exhibit furniture and wooden, iron, ceramic and textile peasant crafts; two halls for agricultural implements and crafts tools; three halls to exhibit costumes and embroideries; one hall for sculptures and paintings; one hall for folk music; one hall to exhibit customs and two halls for the objects from exotic peoples (Rogelj-Škafar, 1993).

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In 1947 the Ethnographic Museum was allocated three exhibition halls and part of the ground-floor corridor in the building of the National Museum. The museum's director Boris Orel wanted a *presentation of the entire Slovene folk culture based on different historical and developmental views*, but in the three mentioned halls this was far from viable. What was exhibited was an exclusive selection of merely a tenth of the museum's holdings. The first hall was dedicated to the presentation of a Slovene peasant house, its economy, household and crafts; the second one displayed Slovene folk costumes, and the third objects of Slovene folk art and customs (Rogelj-Škafar, 1995).

From the mid 1960s onwards the Slovene Ethnographic Museum no longer set up permanent exhibitions. The last three decades saw various temporary exhibitions that were all intended to be *"basic preparations for the setting up of a permanent collection"* (Kuhar, 1983). Director Boris Kuhar described (in 1983) this (future) permanent exhibition in the following words: *"The exhibition, fully in accordance with the principles of modern museology and with the development of the ethnological discipline at home and abroad, will present the life of the Slovenes from their settlement up to yesterday or even today. In the spatial sense it is to include the Slovenes in this country and those on the other side of the border, emigrants and Slovene guest workers abroad. Thematically, the presentation is to encompass all classes of the population, social, occupational and other groups in the countryside and in towns that characterized the national community in individual historical periods."* This description (or definition) which failed to take into account the actual circumstances in the museum and the nature of its collections was based on two then prevailing definitions of ethnology: that of Slavko Kremenšek which we mentioned above, and that of Angelos Baš, stating that ethnology *"is a discipline studying the way of life, or, more accurately, the history of the way of life of individual nations (1968)*. But even Kuhar had his doubts and they are reflected in the sentence following the above quoted one: *"Unfortunately, available ethnological literature shows great deficits since we have no fundamental works; there is still a lot of scientific and research work to be done, and the co-operation of other ethnological institutions and related disciplines will be necessary."*

In the memory of the museum's staff the above quoted definition has survived as *"the way of life from the Palaeolithic to Tito"* and was often adhered to, that is both

methodological approaches were often followed. Curator Irena Keršič, for instance, wrote (in 1983): "The basic task of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum remains to set up a permanent exhibition on *The way of life of the Slovenes through the historical periods up to the present.*"

This die-hard declared complexity - the way of life of all periods, all classes and occupational groups - is something we keep on trying to compose from individual things and is for many reasons an unattainable, elusive target. In recent times it has been quite realistically assessed as being an "over-dimensional modernistic goal" (Muršič, 1995).

Rethinking our goals brought the staff of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum back to the essence, to the collections and *to the object, and thus over and again to man*, about whom the things he wore and which surrounded him can tell us so much. But this does not mean that we are returning to the objects with the aim of setting up a permanent exhibition that would be a "museum of objects", but rather to create with them a "museum of ideas" (Van-Praët), of existence, *a museum about people and for people*. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that such an approach to the permanent exhibition takes us far away from past concepts of a display of the "folk culture of a nation", but also from the unachievable complexity that still lingered in curator Bojana Rogelj-Škafar's text (1995): "The permanent exhibition will attempt to reveal with its world of objects the characteristic activities that formed and influenced the way of life, the processes and relationships between and within *the characteristic classes of the Slovene nation in the various periods up to the present.*" We cannot escape from the collections of objects, illustrative of traditional culture, of the everyday life of the primarily peasant population in Slovenia; they are the special feature of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum and are an important part not only of the Slovene cultural heritage, but also of the European heritage (such as in other countries, especially in France, is marked with the syntagm "peasant civilisation"). Similarly, we cannot escape the aspects of the exotic and strange that is so expressively present in the non-European collections. It would therefore make sense to finally rid ourselves of the frustrations brought about by complex definitions; at least as far as the permanent exhibition is concerned.

The renovated Slovene Ethnographic Museum in the complex of buildings in Metelkova will indeed not be limited to the story told by a relatively permanent exhibition. Temporary exhibitions will offer inexhaustible possibilities to treat themes in so many different ways; they will be set up by our own staff, domestic and foreign guest experts; and they will deal with Slovene, European and non-European themes. Besides enriching the existing collections and the documentation there is also the need to establish several new collections and carry out corresponding research; for instance into a collection of objects, witnesses to the everyday life of Slovene emigrants; the material on the Slovenes living in the neighbouring border areas has to be completed; objects, illustrative of the life of the national minorities in Slovenia is still scarce; and a collection of objects illustrating modern mass culture will have to be set up. (In modern times mass culture has become - as did traditional culture in the past - the cultural image of everyday life of many people, perhaps even of the majority of the Slovene population). *What we aim at is a modern European museum of cultural identities that will be embedded in the national cultural identity with the whole of its contents.* Besides its basic social tasks the museum's primary message will be a proud and dignified love of our own traditional culture, of the heritage handed down to us, of discovering cultural diversity, co-existence with differences, tolerance towards foreign

nations, minorities and the wisdom of life in co-existence with nature. Reflecting on the renovated Slovene Ethnographic Museum as a *cultural, scientific and educational institution* I therefore imagine a *comprehensive ethnological and anthropological museum that to the visitor will present a link between past and present, between traditional and modern culture, between nature and civilisation, between our culture and other ones, between man and the image about man we create artificially, though with objects that are genuine.*

THE ROAD TO THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION

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In the Slovene Ethnographic Museum we started working on the permanent exhibition in the spring of 1995. At that time it was no longer unrealistic to imagine the new premises of the future museum to become a fact. Initial discussions looked into possible approaches to the exhibition, for instance whether to involve collaborators from other ethnological institutions from the beginning or at a later stage, and into the assignments of groups and individuals. Towards the end of spring we submitted to the Ministry of Science and Technology a three-year applied research project in the field of conservation of the natural and cultural heritage, entitled "The permanent exhibition in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum." The project has been running since January 1996. As part of it a selection of texts will be written for the exhibition that will provide basic explanations, point out connections and offer additional information (legends, the texts of brochures and a guide to the exhibition); the project further includes elaboration of the exhibitions museological aspects (museography, micro-climate, lighting) and of the adult-education section.

In the autumn months of 1995 we reached the decision that the concept of the permanent exhibition's contents was to be elaborated in the museum itself, that is by the curators and ethnologists who combine a museological and ethnological scientific approach with thorough knowledge of the basic material for the exhibition - the collections of objects. At a later stage, the chosen project for the exhibition would be submitted to others, yet not only to ethnologists, but especially to a broader public, that of the museum's visitors.

The need for an efficient division of labour within the group of museum curators and the decision that the initial concepts should be the fruit of individual planning, resulted in Gorazd Makarovič, Andrej Dular in Janja Žagar being asked to elaborate their visions of the permanent exhibition. In the spring of 1996 we were already able to read their first concepts of the permanent exhibition and add our written or oral comments and suggestions.

Makarovič proposed to set up an exhibition divided into four themes: 1. Space, time and society - orientation background; 2. Resources and ways of making a living (agriculture, cattle breeding, hunting, gathering, crafts .); 3. Consumption (food, clothes, housing); and 4. The attitude to the world (beliefs, customs, arts, science, skills). The first theme would be introductory, and the other three based "on a view 'from below', on aspects and attitudes to reality as they are formed by a population that has to survive, consume and achieve self-realisation". The exhibition would be based - wherever possible - on historical and developmental aspects with special emphasis on the period from the mid 18th century onwards. Makarovič's breakdown of the three basic units into samples of individual subchapters pointed out that the permanent exhibition would have a distinctly scientific character.

Dular's project envisaged three main units: 1. General items, 2. Life stories, and 3. The Slovenes and the World. The first unit would present the basic data on the Slovenes as a nation (settlement, historical development, geographically relevant data..), and develop from the general to the individual, ending with illustrations of psycho-physical characteristics of the Slovenes and with a fictional individual who would introduce the unit Life stories. This second unit would run on two levels of narration, with the first one to be life customs from birth to death, in which man's life would be set in a personalised context of time, and, as a second level, that of calendar or yearly customs, where man's life would be set in a wider, general context of society and period. The third unit, The Slovenes and the World, would develop from the individual to the general and present the connections of the Slovenes with Europe and the rest of the world. Major accents would be on presenting the knowledge and discovery of foreign cultures and on Slovene emigrants.

Both Dular's and Makarovič's concepts envisaged the permanent exhibition to have a uniform form, structured into the above mentioned units. Janja Žagar's concept foresaw a division into two basic exhibition forms (out of the three advocated by a well-known division and generally called the educational, cultural and scientific approaches, based on whether the exhibition is intended primarily for children, the general public or experts; Desvallées, 1976). The two approaches chosen by Žagar were a so-called cultural exhibition, intended for the general public and entitled Images of a culture or Objects about people; and, secondly, that of a scientific exhibition entitled Study Collections or Objects about themselves. The first approach envisaged an introductory part, "orientation outline of a culture" (geography-history and history-society), followed by a display that would offer "to the visitor various ways of receiving the imparted information", that is in the form of "the life story of an individual and his social roles" (which in accordance with his age "widen" or "narrow"); in the form of "widening" and "cyclical repetition" (as reflected on the levels of man, society, other dimensions, nature, work); and in the form of a survey of an average inventory of objects (tools, furnishings, clothes), jobs and relationships between people. (The concept as a whole and the chosen section of its scenario are presented in a separate article). Žagar also wrote that it appeared to her that, "if we ignore geographically specific conditions and objects and at the same time keep in mind the actual composition of the museum's collections, the most appropriate and best illustrated (by objects) conditions to feature in the exhibition are those from central Slovenia in the mid 19th century". The exhibition would therefore start around 1830 or 40 and end with first decades of the 20th century. As to the second form of exhibition, Žagar imagined a presentation of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's collections, largely in accordance with asserted ethnological systematics. The emphasis here would be on the object because of its "form, making and partly also use", that is the technological aspect and the exhibition would illustrate "the context of the objects' development in time and place".

A division into two basic forms of exhibition had been on our minds for some time already, under the impression of the so-called "ATP style" (ATP: Arts et traditions populaires), the type of presentation elaborated primarily by Georges Henri Rivière and realised in the form of the Study and Cultural Galleries in the Paris Musée des arts et traditions populaires (Desvallées, 1976). In the period of intensive involvement in elaborating concepts for the exhibition we broadened our knowledge through comparative reading of guides to permanent exhibitions in existing ethnographic museums, studying other sources (for instance, critical assessments of the relatively outdated installation in the

ATP), and by visiting some recent relevant exhibitions in Europe (for instance, the conceptually original, but visually not quite sufficiently informative exhibition set up in 1994 in Vienna's Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, and the rather classical set-up in Budapest's Néprajzi múzeum from the early 1990s). Nevertheless, we kept returning to the above mentioned "ATP style", though primarily because of its basic idea - that it is most appropriate to have two or three forms of exhibition (Rivière indeed planned a third, educational gallery, intended exclusively for children; Desvallées, 1976.)

In spring, Janja Žagar's concept was chosen as the basic concept for the permanent exhibition of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. In the course of the further organisation of work Žagar was assigned the responsibility of final design of the scenario entitled Images of a culture or Objects about people, to present traditional culture, "its changes and novelties", through the story of the life of a fictional individual or couple of individuals. Andrej Dular was made responsible for the design of the scenario of the study exhibition of the collections and Gorazd Makarovič for conceiving the exhibition's introductory story, "orientation outline of a culture" or "the basic background of the Slovene ethnos". Sonja Kogej-Rus had already earlier started to devote herself to the general and adult education aspects of the permanent exhibition, and in mid 1996 Marjeta Mikuš was assigned the execution of a research of potential visitors of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum and what they expected from the permanent exhibition. Consultations with outside co-operator Borut Rovšnik, museologist of the Municipal Museum of Ljubljana, led to the elaboration of a questionnaire that will be used for a trial survey in January 1997. It will then be re-edited and used on a sample of approximately 600 people in February 1997.

Visitors are a museum's active fellow-travellers and we therefore intend (after carrying out the survey) to engage them even more intensively in the concept of the permanent exhibition by setting up a trial exhibition, during which a so-called formative or design research (see Van-Praët) will be carried out. Two sections of the envisaged whole, based on the scenarios of the exhibitions' story and on the study collections will be exhibited from June 1997 onwards in the first museum building in the complex of buildings in Metelkova. They will be designed in a way that they can be rearranged, following analysis of the response of different groups of visitors and their opinions. We expect the two, the preparation and the design research, as well as the results of the discussions with a number of ethnologists that will take place during the trial exhibition, to help us define the final scenario of the permanent exhibition. We indeed sincerely hope that the permanent exhibition will be warmly welcomed by a wide range of museum visitors and that it will attract numerous new ones.

This article, "The project, called the Slovene Ethnographic Museum", to which the final concepts of Janja Žagar in Andrej Dular are added in separate articles, concludes with a fictional visit to the (future) museum and a stroll through its permanent exhibition; though fictional it attempts to summarise some of the findings and discussions, visits to museums and a wealth of ideas, born in the past months.

After returning from a journey I try to get in tune with Ljubljana's everyday life by working my way through a pile of newspapers, and notice among numerous other announcements something I have been looking out for for a long time: the Slovene Ethnographic Museum has finally opened its permanent exhibition on the new premises! I am so curious I get to my feet

right away. In recent years, that is since the museum moved into the first of two buildings in Metelkova, I have frequented it with delight because of its pleasant ambience, the small exhibitions here and there, the lively lectures, ethnological films, presentations of books, chamber music events, and creative museum workshops. Like the other regular visitors I often glanced, full of expectation and impatience, at the other, larger building that was being turned - as we gathered from the projects - into an interesting exhibition hall. And now it has finally opened its doors. There is not much time today but I decide to take my youngest, eight-year old son to the museum. I at least want to get a first impression of the new permanent exhibition.

The museum's spacious entrance hall with its high ceiling is the first pleasant surprise. It breathes warmth because of the natural materials it is furnished with, and its design, though modern, floods the visitor with the spirit of the museum's contents. The entrance tickets, too, are designed in the same spirit and we decide to keep them as souvenirs of our first visit. To the left there is a charming museum shop and I know I won't be able to leave the museum without visiting it. The hall is swarming with people: some are sitting about, others heading towards the staircase or towards the ground-floor halls to see the temporary exhibitions or, in the opposite direction, to pay a visit to the master craftsmen in the museum's workshops, while some are descending in a glass lift. It takes us just another instant to notice the distinct and easily comprehensible plan of the museum and a lay-out of the permanent exhibition.

The layout indicates that the permanent installation consists of several units, each of them a self-contained exhibition that can be visited separately or in the proposed order. The titles of the individual exhibition units are genial, plain bearers of ideas, but nevertheless somewhat enigmatic, inviting people to find out what contents are hidden behind the following words:

1. Images of the past - "The night of time"
2. A story of survival and affluence - The counter-point of life
3. The orderly world of objects - "Encyclopaedia of things"
4. Ethno-ABC
5. The pick of the bunch
 - Čupa (chupa) the longest museum object in one piece
 - Čanca, (chantsa) the museum's most bizarre and mysterious object

After climbing the stairs to the first floor we find ourselves at the beginning of the tour, the entrance to the cinema. Everywhere around there are posters announcing a thrilling historical movie entitled "The night of time". Shall we start here? A custodian in uniform checks our tickets and ushers us into the dark room where we are soon captured by a remarkable film, a combination of real images and animation, that guides us - in the form of a story told by an individual person about the life of our predecessors - through the Slovene territory, its economic and social history, the development of individual cultural elements from the settlement to the first decades of the 19th century. It is only when the film ends that I become aware how elegantly this familiar medium and its moving pictures have taken us from the everyday life of the 20th century to past times and life stories. This is how we experienced the museum's "rite of passage" without pain and we are now prepared to enter the first exhibition hall, the beginning of the Story of survival and affluence. Leaving the cinema we notice a highlighted time line along the corridor's left wall, featuring texts and illustration that in another visual way provide the same essential information as the film and is intended for those visitors who prefer to go directly to the exhibition halls without seeing the film. We are glad we have decided to see it -

surprised by this kind of introduction to seeing the permanent exhibition and by the amicable custodian - and are absorbed by the cinema's mellow atmosphere and the introductory story, "The night of time".

Entering "**The counter-point of life**" or "**A story of survival and affluence**", our first encounter is with people, that is with a fictional man and woman, individuals showing the physical, anthropological and character features of the Slovenes attributed to them by Valvasor, Hacquet and Linhart. The room and the presentation in it make us feel as if caught between the walls of a womb. In the next hall we are welcomed by two peasant homes on a spring morning: that of a wealthy farmer and that of a crofter. From here on scenes take us through the life of a fictional boy and girl, later man and wife, from the 1830s to the eve of the Second World War; through the calendar year from spring to winter, from morning to night, birth to death; in the family, home, courtyard, outbuildings, and at work; in gatherings of the village community on the occasion of the parish fair, the Shrovetide festival and a wedding; further afield with the couple on their way to the town and the market, or on a pilgrimage; through their encounters with secular and ecclesiastical authorities; their leaving the homeland and meeting foreign cultures. We walk in their footsteps in other dimensions too: in their reminiscences, handing on of skills, telling stories, recounting historical events or travelling adventures.

I am quite surprised by the imagination behind the exhibition. Even in the middle of the exhibition **one is constantly aware of being in an ethnological museum; one enters the flow of life and through it follows man, communicated through objects that set out his social environment, the period and place he lived in.** Here and there man is present visually too, though not as a realistic puppet. How grateful I am that they managed to do without such puppets. Here such exaggerated scenic flirting with reality has been avoided. **Real environments are shown, presented on a symbolic level, but nevertheless recognisable beyond any doubt.** With the exhibition, this autonomous medium, a new reality has been created, albeit that of a museum; in a gentle way it brings the visitor closer to the life in the past it recounts with objects and other sources.

The exhibition is also set up to emphasize **the interplay of the opposites between survival and affluence, indicated by the title of this unit of the permanent exhibition; and its other special feature is that it forces us to reflect on the unit's basic idea - the cyclical nature of life.** We work from Saturday to Saturday, as soon as one summer is over we long for the next, we progress from one Christmas to the next. I become aware how familiar this roundabout presented by the exhibition's message is. And so is the expansion: from the micro-level at home to journeying into the vast realms of foreign and distant worlds. This part of the exhibition has another surprise for me. **Encounters with non-European cultures are presented through illustrations of the Slovenes' ideas about the inhabitants of foreign countries and their life** (for instance among emigrants from Primorska it was held that in Brazil boules is played with oranges); **the illustrations are confronted with concrete material that informs us about aspects from real life in some of these countries.**

I am so wrapped up in thoughts it takes some time before I notice that my son is no longer with me. I find him on his way from one of the moderate number of touch screens that provide additional information to a group of children in the middle of the hall who are eagerly trying out a replica of an implement, aided by a museum pedagogue. I remember how we followed the **texts and graphic supplements that unobtrusively accompany the leading legends, setting individual contents in their historical context and providing social and regional comparisons.** I like the museum's attitude to its visitors. They can experience the exhibition by

merely strolling through it, but it is only if they engage in discovering that they will get better informed. If a visitor wants more knowledge about certain objects or cultural elements he is referred to "The orderly world of objects" or the "Encyclopaedia of things".

Today there is just time enough for the two of us to walk through this part of the exhibition. Though we do not manage more than a random viewing, we leave the exhibition impressed by the enchanting variety of exhibits, the wealth of forms, patterns, functions and skills to which I am certain to return on my own. My son darts into the Ethno-ABC, a name behind which he correctly imagines a very special exhibition, reserved to children. It is located on the third upper floor between the study exhibitions of the Slovene and the other, especially non-European Orderly world of objects.

The room buzzes with excitement. Under every letter of the alphabet individual objects are exhibited - like museum seed - and next to them on a platform and on shelves an almost endless variety of new things, brought and arranged by the children themselves. We have come to the Ethno-ABC's "Young gatherers' day". They have brought objects from everywhere: villages, towns and even foreign countries. The children are assisted by museum curators who help to arrange the card files, enter data into the computer. My son whispers in my ear that next time he'll bring his own contribution to the alphabet. Then we notice that every letter is accompanied by a multitude of drawers and small doors. My inquisitive companion starts pulling them out and is surprised to discover that some of them hide small objects, others only photographs or drawings of objects with their names, basic data and tips to where more about them can be learned in the museum. Some drawers contain only words: for instance under the letter P there is the word potterer and the tip to see the master potterer in the workshop on the ground-floor. My son can hardly stop his discovery tour. He drags me to the letter Č and we open the drawer that contains photographs of a čupa and a čanca, the objects we remember the scheme of the permanent exhibition mentions as the Pick of the bunch. The instructions hidden in the drawer tells us in which part of the exhibition we can find them. Though I'm fully enjoying the museum I had not planned to spend so much time here and I try to convince my son that we should reserve the Pick of the bunch for our next visit. In vain, of course: čupa and čanca are much too exciting words and he must see these things.

Our encounter with the čupa submerged in the blueness of the exhibition hall's modern design is quite thrilling: we catch sight of an enormous, seven-meter-long dug-out of the kind Slovene fishermen from the villages between Trieste and the Timava used to go out to sea in. My son has hundreds of questions and I'm grateful that the exhibition quite succeeds in answering them.

Then we meet the other object that is part of the pick of the bunch - čanca. The quivering twilight in the room conjures up the feeling of a tropical rain-forest, an ambience befitting this indeed most unusual and mysterious object: a trophy made of a human head with hair still attached, artificially shrunken to the size of an apple. Its magic story outlines moments from the life of the South-American Jivaro.

We leave the Pick of the bunch in total amazement. The way these two objects are exhibited will certainly implant them in our memories. They make me realize **how attractive exceptional objects can be for visitors**. Sometimes they are the only thing a person associates with visiting a certain museum. As children we remembered the Museum of Natural Science as the one with the mammoth, and yet there are so many other interesting things there.

The Slovene Ethnographic Museum will remain in our memory not only because of the čupa and čanca, but as a museum we found it hard to leave. There was not enough time but we managed to make the most of our long walk through the museum. Now we can afford to enjoy

the pleasant impression and, carrying a folder with brochures, find ourselves a pair of seats in the garden of the museum coffee shop, in the shadow of two centenarian planes.

Translated by Franc Smrke

SOURCES AND LITERATURE see pages 37-39.

BESEDA O AVTORICI

Inja Smerdel, mag., etnologinja, od julija 1995 direktorica Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja, je bila pred tem kustodinja za ruralno gospodarstvo v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju (od leta 1980) in glavna urednica znanstvene publikacije *Etnolog* (1991 - 95).

Po preučevanju nekaterih pojavov množične kulture (stenskega okrasja in godbe na pihala) se je v preteklem desetletju in pol posvečala zlasti raziskovanju različnih gospodarsko kulturnih prvin: soseskine gospodarske samouprave, del ob spravi lužitnega pridelka, ovčarstva s selitveno pašo, ptičjega lova, nazadnje oselnikov in košnj.

Med objavljenimi razpravami in članki, izmed katerih jih nekaj izpričuje tudi njene muzeološke poglede, sta pomembnejši deli: *Ovčarstvo na Pivki, Transhumanca od srede 19. do srede 20. stoletja ali Trije "ovčarji"* (Koper, 1989) in *Oselniki*: zbirka SEM (Ljubljana, 1994).

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Inja Smerdel, M.A., ethnologist and director of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum since July 1995. Prior to her appointment as director she was curator of rural economy in the museum (since 1980) and chief editor of the scientific periodical *Etnolog* (1991-1995).

After initial studies of mass-culture phenomena (wall decorations and brass bands) her research efforts of the past fifteen years concentrated on the cultural elements of economic activities: economic self-management of a village, harvesting jobs, sheep-farming and transhumance, bird-catching, and, most recently, whetstone holders and the hay harvest.

Noticeable among her treatises and articles, some of which also reveal her views on museum issues, are *Sheep-farming in Pivka, Transhumance from the Middle of 19th to the Middle of 20th Century* or *The Three "Sheepmasters"* (Koper, 1989) and *Whetstone Holders*, published in the series of SEM (Ljubljana, 1994).