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## Kako tradiciju izložiti *in situ*: projektni zadatak Rossini i Matavulj u Šibeniku

*Rossini i Matavulj su dvije zgrade u središtu Šibenika za koje se vezuju mogućnosti etnografskog izlaganja u uskoj vezi s njihovom društvenom sredinom. Nakon ocrtanja pripadnog muzejskog posla, prostora i urbanog ambijenta, izloženi su obrisi projektnog zadatka s istaknutim udjelom zainteresiranih civilnih skupina. U zaključnom dijelu ističu se prednosti i otežice inkluzivnog muzejskog korištenja ovih prostora, te teorijske implikacije po današnji stručni, kulturni i društveni status muzeja.*

**Ključne riječi:** društvena uloga muzeja, nematerijalna kulturna baština, muzejska politika, etnografski muzeji

Društvena uloga i namjene muzeja se mijenjaju, a zanimljiv primjer onoga što se od muzeja očekuje može biti baratanje s kulturnim praksama čije materijalne rezultate čuvamo u fundusima. Može se doimati kako se među muzejskim predmetima nalazimo usred romantičarske tradicijske šume od koje se ne daju razabrati stabla kulturnih dobara, ljudi, zajednica i njihovih odvijajućih kulturnih praksi. “Čak se i [arheološki] materijalni ostatci, neovisno o njihovoj starosti, poimaju i koriste u sadašnjici i time su – paradoksalno – bez starosti, neprestano se preobražavajući kako se društvo oko njih mijenja” (Molyneaux 1994: 2). Etnografske predmete ne autentificira status drevnosti ili izvornosti već izbor korištenja i recepcije, jer mnogi “stariji” i “izvorniji” predmeti padaju u drugi plan pred onima kakvi su po aktualnim nazorima zajednicu kadri razlikovati i istaknuti.<sup>1</sup> “Baština” nikad i nije postojala kao neupitni skup predmeta, već kao društveni odnos prema nekima među njima (Smith 2006: 11-43).

Takvi doživljaji tradicijske kulture sežu do krajnosti počasti ili poniženja. Na jednoj je strani sposobnost stvaranja ambijenta produhovljene svečanosti čije vrijednosti dijele i izvođači i gledatelji, o kakvoj su svjedočili pojedini odgovori na anketno pitanje folklornim plesačima “kako se osjećaju kad odjenu narodne nošnje” (Saliklis 1999: 225-

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<sup>1</sup> Na tom bi mjestu mnogo mogla reći analiza likovnih motiva korištenih za naslovnice stručnih izdanja, glazbeni motivi isticani u najavama stručno vođenih javnih priredbi poput folklornih smotri i sl.

227).<sup>2</sup> S druge strane muzejski teoretičar na globalnoj razini drži kako “u današnjem svijetu naglašavanje ‘tradicijske kulture’ ne predstavlja nešto odgovorno ili konstruktivno, ma koliko bi to privlačno moglo biti s gledišta sceničnosti” (Hudson 1991: 460).<sup>3</sup> Etnografski nas ni jedna pojedinačna kultura više ne može zateći netaknutom izvornošću svoje življene kulture.<sup>4</sup> Jednako tako više ne postoji ni naselje vlastite kulture čijim se ulicama hoda odjeven u birane narodne nošnje, muzejski verificirane da po načelu *pars pro toto* posvjedoče o estetici i integritetu čitave svoje kulture. Od 1960-tih naovamo postaje jasnijim da takvi izolati nisu nikad niti postojali. U rasponu od zabačenih naroda pa do vlastitih izdvojenih otočnih ili planinskih sredina, izolati nedotaknuti kulturnim interakcijama u kakvima promatrač može prepoznavati predcivilizacijske iskone, evolucijska polazišta, vrela ili riznice, neiskvarene plemenite divljačke ili ekološki održive tradicionalce predstavljali su fotorobot nastao za potrebe vlastitih kulturnih propitivanja.<sup>5</sup>

U zgradama etnografskih muzeja gdje se čuvaju narodne tradicije, kakve su se po zasadima duhovnih previranja iz XIX. st. gradile u središtima glavnih gradova,<sup>6</sup> aktualna generacija etnologa bilježi promjene u potrebama svojih posjetitelja kakve

<sup>2</sup> Autorica je anketu provela 1993. godine za potrebe svoje doktorske teze, i to među dvjesto članova u deset litavskih folklornih skupina s ukupno 153 popunjena i vraćena lista (Saliklis 1999: 232).

<sup>3</sup> “Utučen sam kad gledam televizijske vijesti posjeta kraljeva, predsjednika ili drugih istaknutih odličnika afričkim zemljama s prizorima crnaca koji pred tim stranim gostima plešu ‘plemenske’ plesove. Tada se upitam zašto se drži potrebnim ili poželjnim iskazivati ove već dugo neživljene običaje, koji mi se uvijek čine kao etnografski muzeji uskršli u život? Čiji svijet fantazija oni predstavljaju – zamišljen od predstavljača ili od gledatelja? To držim ponižavajućim, i pitam se da li se to tako doima i plesačima i pjevačima. (...) To je moja glavna pokuda etnografskih muzeja: prekomjernim usredotočavanjem na ‘tradicijske kulture’ ohrabruju patronizirajući i eskapistički stav prema uključenim narodima” (Hudson 1991: 463 i 464). U domaćim okolnostima usp. javne rasprave u kakvima se upozorava da pri preraspodjeli društvenih resursa lokalnim zajednicama ostaje tek uloga folklornih animatora unutar nećijih novih, tuđih tržišnih proizvoda (npr. “Naš će prostor tako preuzeti velike korporacije a stranci će ubirati profit, dok ćemo mi plesati folklor”, u članku “Hrvatski turizam ne može oponašati Karibe!” koji je internetski portal ezadar.hr objavio 17. lipnja 2011. na adresi [www.ezadar.hr/clanak/hrvatski-turizam-ne-moze-oponasati-karibe](http://www.ezadar.hr/clanak/hrvatski-turizam-ne-moze-oponasati-karibe)).

<sup>4</sup> “U nećemu smo sigurni. Došli smo do točke povijesti kad je sve nevjerovatnije da bi etnografski opis nekog osobitog naroda ili kulture ikoga mogao začuditi zaprepašujućom jedinstvenošću ili svojom egzotičnom naravi” (Barret 2002: 16).

<sup>5</sup> “Povijest teorije primitivnog društva je povijest jedne iluzije. To je flogiston ili eter našeg doba, ili, ne toliko veličajno, naš ekvivalent pojmu hysterije. (...) Teorija primitivnog društva barata s nećim čega nema niti ga je ikad bilo. (...) Više od kriticizma zanima me nastanak te iluzije, a još i više njena neuništivost. Ustrajnost tog modela je napose problematična jer je više njenih temeljnih pretpostavki izravno proturječno etnografskim očitostima i logici same evolucionističke teorije. Te su teškoće bile jasno istaknute od nekih među vodećim istraživaćima (to su ponajprije bili Westermarck, Boas i Malinowski). Ipak su se socijalni antropolozi preko stotinu godina zaokupili manipulacijom jedne fantazije konstruirane od nagađajućih pravnikâ koncem XIX. st. To je činjenica kakva mora potaknuti razmišljanje, i to ne samo među antropolozima” (Kuper 1988: 8).

<sup>6</sup> “Sve to učinjeno je u gradovima i za građane. Seljaci, ‘tamo negdje’, ionako nisu bili ni dovoljno dobri ni originalni u usporedbi s ovim muzejskim projekcijama. Gradski svijet je i dalje nastavljao prezirati ili ignorirati stvarne seljake. Zbog toga je, muzeološkim rječnikom rećeno, rad na terenu bio više nalik na znanstvenu pljačku, ali opravdanu ozbiljnošću znanstvenog interesa koji je, neovisno o svemu ostalom, oduvijek istinski postojao. Muzeji su promatrali, analizirali i – prikupljali. Kustosima je rijetko palo na pamet promatrati svoju instituciju kao išta više no mjesto gdje se bave svojim znanstvenim interesima.” (Šola 2003: 92)

su bez presedana sve od vremena ustanovljavanja disciplinarnog interesa za narodnu kulturu (Brstilo i Jelavić 2010.). Muzejska etnografija kao imperijalna znanost, čedo evolucionarne antropologije (Shelton 2000.), sve je jasnija kao povijesni artefakt a ne radni okvir. U muzejima uopće, a među etnografskim mjestima na prvom mjestu, posjetitelji se preobražavaju u korisnike i dalje u sudionike evociranih kulturnih praksi (Šola 1998., Karp 1992: 12),<sup>7</sup> a pasivna publika dobija autoritativni glas sudjelujuće zajednice (Karp 1992a: 13).<sup>8</sup> Poprište na kakvom se kontinuirano zbivaju takve kulturne suradnje i konfrontacije su izložbe (Karp 1992a: 21-22). Za izložbe koje tvrde da predstavljaju istinitu i autentičnu sliku naroda i njegove kulture izvjesno je samo to da predstavljaju “hegemonijske prakse kakve reproduciraju vrijednosti i privilegije [društvenog] centra”, jer tvrdnje vezane za preskriptivno shvaćene kulturne autentičnosti u isti mah mogu biti strategije društvenog pritiska (Karp 1992a: 26).

Kada je Antun Bauer sažimao raspravu muzeološkog seminara iz Brna 1969. godine, pri definiranju muzeja kao društvenih ustanova istaknuo je važnost sredine u kojoj muzej djeluje (Bauer 1970: 27). Stasavanje ustanova je vidio u pridržavanju širih stručnih standardizacija kakve izmiču uskim interesima zajednice (ibid., 30 i 32). Doživljavanje muzeja je ranije često ovisilo o njihovim neposrednim voditeljima, no nakon toga je ustanove trebalo depersonificirati i objektivizirati njihove funkcije (ibid., 27 i 35). Promijenjen pogled na život muzeja u svojim zajednicama i veze sa zajednicama iz kojih potječu muzejski predmeti efektno je prikazan na skupu “Muzeji i zajednice” koji je 1990. godine održan u Smithsonianu (Karp et al. 1992.). U raspravama koje su trajale od početka 1970-tih pojavili su se i glasovi lokalnih zajednica, bilo među “Prvim narodima” vlastitih zemalja ili iz prekooceanskih sredina, i bespovratno izmijenile muzejski pogled na provenijencijske kulture njihovih muzejskih predmeta (Hallam i Street 2000., Peers i Brown 2003.). “Zahtjevi zajednice se ne odnose na nalaženje mjesta u otprije prihvaćenoj shemi, već na promjenu same sheme”, oni “propituju tvrdnje o istini i ljepoti postavljene od muzeja i njihovih osoblja” a de-arbitrirani dijalog postaje višestruk, pa i kontradiktoran (Karp 1992: 2 i 11, 1992a: 29). Kroz isto razdoblje uobličili su se kulturni, ekonomski i pravni nazori o nematerijalnim kulturnim dobrima kakvima su kolektivni vlasnici njihove lokalne zajednice, shvaćene kao ambijenti stvaranja prilagođavajuće i dinamične kulture gdje mještani nisu samo “nositelji” vrijedni respekta kulturnih istraživača već i stvaratelji i vlasnici u kojih se mora pitati dozvola za korištenje resursa zajednice (Gibson 2005: 287).

Na ovom mjestu pokušat će se izložiti i obrazložiti jedna takva situacija nastanka inkluzivnog i razvojnog etnografskog muzeja kojem se u lokalnoj zajednici nametnuo projektni zadatak muzejskog izlaganja tradicije *in situ*, na licu mjesta njenog dokumentiranog

<sup>7</sup> “Svoje posjetitelje trebamo vidjeti kao korisnike, što želi reći da se uspjeh više ne može mjeriti brojem posjeta već ponavljanom i time održavanom akcijom” (Bradburne 2001: 77).

<sup>8</sup> U području zaštite prirode usp. “collaborative and community-controlled research”: “suradničko istraživanje uključuje partnerstvo ravnopravnih strana u kakvom se do lokalnih zajednica drži kao do stručnih suradnika” (Posey i Dutfield 1996: 140). Usp. muzej koje su lokalne zajednice ustanovile u Parku krumpira (“El Parque de la Papa”) u Peru, gdje se unutar biodiverzitetškog rezervata vodi muzej i biokulturni registar (pravno pomagalo za utvrđivanje kolektivnog vlasništva nad genetskom baštinom, potrebno pri provjeravanju biotehnoloških patenata).

oblikovanja i zaživljavanja.<sup>9</sup> Riječ je o zgradama Rossini i Matavulj, jedne usred povijesne jezgre Šibenika a druge onkraj njenog ruba. Članak završava rekapitulacijom izložbenih i uopće muzejskih perspektiva tog projektnog zadatka, te naznakama stručnih i teorijskih implikacija.

U Šibeniku je povijesni interes za narodne tradicije već usvojena udžbenička konstatacija. Među Hrvatima se ovdje koncem srednjeg vijeka prvi put hvalilo pučke ekspresije i uspoređivalo s antičkim uzorima (Šižgorić 1981. [1899.]), prvi rječnik hrvatskog jezika zagrabio je među lokalizme koje kao takve razaznajemo i dan-danas (Vrančić 1971. [1595.]),<sup>10</sup> o narodnoj kulturi ovoga kraja dojmjljive je stranice po prosvjetiteljskom viđenju ispisao Alberto Fortis a po romantičarskom Nikola Tommaseo,<sup>11</sup> dok su se u XX. st. ovdje prakticirala istraživanja kakva su definirala klasični korpus etnološkog predmetnog interesa i metodološkog vokabulara. Napose je zanimljivo kako pred gradom provedeno i naše jedino kompleksno istraživanje kulture lokalne zajednice koje su etnolozi vodili uz prisustvo pomoćnih znanstvenih disciplina, okrunjeno monografijom i nizom manjih studija u časopisima (Rihtman-Auguštin 1982.). Prvi muzej je kao arheološki lapidarij građanskom inicijativom šibenskog kanonika don Krste Stošića osnovan 1925. godine povodom obilježavanja tisućegodišnjice hrvatskog kraljevstva. Otkupi etnografske građe zbivali su se ovisno o sporadičnim ponudama građana, dok se sustavan etnološki interes kao potreba među muzejskim djelatnostima dogodio nakon proširenja raspoloživog prostora i uređenja povijesne Kneževe palače 1975. godine za potrebe izložbenog stalnog postava, otvorenog u etapama 1979. i 1986. godine te u ratu zatvorenog 1991. godine, kao i uslijed pokretanja etnografskog knjižnog niza od konca 1970-tih godina naovamo.<sup>12</sup> Usporedno s pripremom stalnog izložbenog postava o povijesti Šibenika za muzejsku se namjenu osiguravala i susjedna palača Rossini.

<sup>9</sup> "Razvojni" muzej ovdje terminološki slijedi "tradicijske resurse" kakve umjesto "folklor" ili "tradicijskog znanja" preferira Gibson (2005: 29-31).

<sup>10</sup> Npr. pridivak, lakomica ili lupeščina. Etnografsku primjenu v. kod Kale 2008: 115.

<sup>11</sup> Počevši od 1840. godine prikupio je tristotinjak narodnih pjesama. Glavni kazivač mu je bio Šibenčanin Nikola Blaće (Drndarski 1989: 162).

<sup>12</sup> Otočni svezak "Narodnog stvaralaštva šibenskog područja" objavljen je 1980., obalni svezak 1984. a za ledni svezak 1988. godine. Po napatku recenzenata Milovana Gavazzija, Božidara Finke, Jerka Bezića i Lovre Županovića, niz je koncipiran kao petoknjžje u kojem bi četiri etnografska sveska (s etnografijom grada Šibenika kao četvrtom knjigom) bila popraćena završnim analitičkim sveskom etnoloških studija. Inicijativu i osnovni etnografski ton je zadao autor Ivo Furčić, učitelj Glazbene škole, melograf i glazbeni autor, za kojim su u muzejskoj dokumentaciji ostali snimljeni razgovori, kazivanja, pjevanja i vlastiti folklorni prikaz za radiofoniju. Ilustrativnosti svezaka su snažno doprinijele fotografije folklornih inscenacija nastalih u prigodama najavljenih etnografskih obilazaka sela, kojima su fotografski negativi također sačuvani. Furčić je 1997. dovršio etnografsko gradivo za četvrti svezak, za koji su se nastavila arhivska istraživanja.

## Unutar gradske jezgre: Palača Rossini

Palača Rossini je stambena trokatnica čija stilska obilježja počinju s romaničkim biljezima iz XIII. st.<sup>13</sup> Naziv joj je vezan za zadnjeg vlasnika, a ne za starije obitavatelje. Istraživač srednjovjekovne gradske jezgre Šibenika drži je početkom reprezentativne stambene izgradnje u gradu, nakon karakteristične epohe gradskih insularnih kula među uličnim reperima tadašnje drvene arhitekture (Zelić 1999: 117, 193). Danas je to zadnja preostala integralno posjedovana veća srednjovjekovna stambena cjelina u Šibeniku, s nekim sačuvanim pojedinostima povijesne kulture stanovanja poput kamenih klupčica pred prozorima, profilima unutrašnjih vrata itd.

U palaču vodi nekoliko ulaza, a oplošje je uz postojeće otvore zasićeno i naknadno zazidanim vratima i prozorima. Os stepeništa koje vodi od povijesnih Novih vrata obalnih gradskih zidina dovodi nas pred portal palače na južnom pročelju zgrade, a prostor malog trga kojem drugu stranicu čini pročelje crkvice sv. Barbare u stvari je nepopunjena posljedica zračnih bombardiranja Šibenika s konca 2. sv. rata.<sup>14</sup> Penjući se glavnom ulicom povijesne jezgre od katedrale naviše, ovo južno lice palače Rossini smjenjuje se njenim istočnim licem koje je upečatljivo ukotvljeno u uličnoj perspektivi. Ugibanje Kalelarge oko ovog kuta palače Rossini rječito svjedoči o kronološkom prvenstvu zdanja pri formiranju žile kucavice starog Šibenika, transverzale strmog gradskog središta i jedine ulice bez stepenica. Stoga je pri pješačkom prilaznju katedrali istaknut frontalni doživljaj palače s ove njene strane nemoguće izbjeći, također i zahvaljujući tomu što je i pred ovim pročeljem "trg" nastao neobnavljanjem kuće srušene u bombardiranju 1944. godine pa se pješakov vidik širi upravo pred palačom Rossini. Treća slobodna stranica ove palače leži u sporednoj uličici koja Kalelargu prečicom povezuje s Ložom, gradskom vijećnicom. S ove se strane ulazi u dvorište s kamenom krunom ponad cisterne, gdje se manji dio palače sljubljuje s ostatkom stambenog bloka pred šibenskom katedralom.

Kao i čitav ovaj dio grada, palača se nalazi na strmom kamenom fundamentu. Razlika u visini dvorišnog ulaza i portala, kroz koji se pred crkvicom sv. Barbare ulazi u prostor ispod prizemlja u perspektivi Kalelarge, iznosi oko četiri metra. Kao prostorni rezultat postoji ukupno pet katova različitih površina, dvorište i izdvojeni volumen cisterne čija je podnica u visini prizemlja na istočnom pročelju. Kada bi šetač Kalelargom produžio svoju putanju u osi ulice, kroza zid bi završio u cisterni s karakteri-

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<sup>13</sup> S tim vremenom neobičnu korelaciju ima često isticana povjesnica najstarijeg samorodno hrvatskog grada na obali. Trogirani Ivan Lucić u XVII. st. za Šibenčane piše: "Godine 1263. još je vladao običaj da se saziva sav narod pred crkvom sv. Jakova i taj se sastanak nazivalo *skupštinom*, te se živjelo prema hrvatskoj navadi" (po: Vrandečić 2002: 23). Luciću je ovaj narodni običaj bio vrijedan spomena jer se radilo o sklapanju mira s Trogiranima 7. veljače 1263. godine (Codex diplomaticus V: 749). To je ujedno i prvi spomen javnog okupljanja na ovom mjestu uz nekadašnju crkvu sv. Jakova, ponad stare javne cisterne uz liticu, a u blizini palače koju danas poznajemo kao palaču Rossini (Zelić 1999: 123). Za ovdašnju narodnu tradiciju pučkih okupljanja v. Kale 2009: 240, bilješke 17 i 24). Rijedak prizor lokalnog pučanina iz istog vremena postoji na fresci nedaleke crkvice Gospe Srimske.

<sup>14</sup> To je bio dio kompleksa Kneževe palače, u kojoj je smješten Muzej Grada Šibenika. S malog neinterpoliranog trga pruža se pogled na natkriveni atrij u sastavu prostora stalnog izložbenog postava.

stičnim svodnim lukovima. Ukupna korisna površina zgrade obasiže oko 700 metara četvornih. Nakon iseljavanja gradskih službi u praktičnije prostore 1975. godine Muzej je više katove palače počeo koristiti kao spremišni prostor, i postupno je zaokružio vlasništvo nad čitavom zgradom.<sup>15</sup> U samom Muzeju je stručno osoblje uz prostorno kapacitiranje ustanove širenjem u prostoru Kneževe palače po prvi put prošireno početkom 1970-tih godina, tako da su se uz povjesničare tada na projektnom zadatku stalnog izložbenog postava povijesti Šibenika našli i arheolozi, povjesničar umjetnosti i restaurator.

U stalnom izložbenom postavu u zgradi Kneževe palače je etnografska baština bila prisutna tek jednom vitrinom s odjećom gradskih pučana, a zadatku trajnog izlaganja etnografskog fundusa bila je u perspektivi namijenjena palača Rossini. Do vremena kada je postalo moguće primaknuti se ostvarivanju ove zadaće promijenilo se više bitnih okolnosti. Ponajprije, uslijed sporog povratka prijašnjeg stalnog izložbenog postava i prorijeđivanja kapitalnih investicija u kulturi postalo je posve jasno kako se novi stalni izložbeni postav ne će moći izgraditi na način na koji je za takvu svrhu adaptirana zgrada Kneževe palače.<sup>16</sup> To je podstaklo mogućnost etapnih izvedbi projekta i tematizacija katova, te umanjilo izgled integralnog statičnog stalnog postava.

Ovakvo je sricanje muzejske zadaće otvorilo vrata profiliranju posjetiteljskih i korisničkih skupina. Uz glavnu determinantu prihvaćanja posjetitelja, pravac pristupa namjernika na putu ka katedrali iz smjera gradskog središta, to je značilo kako bi ulaz u palaču iz osi Kalelarge u konačnici vodio k izlazu iz palače niže ulicom prema katedrali, a s druge strane bi bio različit od načina prihvata posjetitelja kroz dvorišni ulaz. Stoga je u etapno razlučenoj pripremi projekta glavni ulaz, koji u osi vodi k akustičnom prostoru cisterne, po konceptu pisca ovih redaka viđen kao početak muzejske cjeline posvećene usmenim i pjevanim sadržajima s kolekcijama usmene povijesti i klapskih snimki kao tematskim digitaliziranim sadržajima. Na ovom mjestu usmenu povijest razumijemo i kao sredstvo sudioništva lokalne zajednice pri redefiniranju autoriteta muzejske naracije (Adair et. al. 2011.). Dokumentacijsku osnovicu mu predstavlja etnografska fonoteka Ive Furčića, zajedno s kasnijim snimcima.<sup>17</sup> Sabiranje građe za četvrti, gradski svezak knjižnog niza "Narodno stvaralaštvo šibenskog područja", s karakterističnim dionicama posvećenim autorskim doradama i oponašanjima

<sup>15</sup> Danas je van muzejskog vlasništva još istočni pročelni dio prizemlja, kojem manji segment u vlasništvu Grada koristi Filatelistički klub a veći je dućan u privatnom vlasništvu. Zbog uvrštenosti u Registar kulturnih dobara lokalna samouprava ima pravo prvokupa. Ovom se zaključnom otkupljivanju prostora u palači još nije pristupilo zbog nedostatka sredstava.

<sup>16</sup> Osim postupnog otkupa, jedina investicija u palači Rossini bilo je interventno popravljjanje krovne konstrukcije početkom 1986. godine.

<sup>17</sup> Furčićeva fonoteka obasiže oko 150 sati zvučnim snimaka. Među kasnijim etnografskim snimcima su cjeline poput 12-satnog intervjua s jednim od posljednjih šibenskih težaka Ivom Ercegovićem-Kutličem poslužile kao uvod u druga snimanja činjena na način *life story*-kazivanja, zadnjih godina i video-tehnikom. Snimanja kolegice Marije Krnčević u lokalnoj zajednici postižu prepoznatljivost i širenje kruga kazivača posredstvom njene tjedne novinske rubrike "Kazivanja izgubljenog vremena" (od 2009. godine) i selekcije ulomaka na internetskom kanalu youtube.com/kazivanja. Zasebnu kolekciju kazivanja čine ovdašnji snimci evociranja ratnodobne kulture življenja za istraživački projekt Instituta za etnologiju i folkloristiku "Domovinski rat i ratne žrtve u 20. stoljeću: etnografski aspekti" vođen od 2002. do 2006. godine.



narodnog melosa, pružila je temelja za stvaranje javno pristupnog dokumentacijskog fonda o povijesti klapskog pjevanja u Šibeniku. U tom smislu se gotovo kao naručeni civilni partner oformila Zajednica udruga *a capella* klapa Šibensko-kninske županije, osnovana 2003. godine u jeku povratka šireg zanimanja za klapski način pjevanja, i nanovo obnovljenog rada u proljeće 2011. godine.<sup>18</sup> Kako se pokazalo, važna zajednička potreba klapskih skupina je bila prostorija za uvježbavanje – čemu bi iz akustičkih razloga mogla poslužiti povijesna cisterna palače Rossini – i mjesto gdje bi bilo moguće konzultirati notne zapise i kolekcionirati raznovrsnu dokumentacijsku građu vezanu za klapski pokret kakva je nastajala od 1970. godine naovamo.

Gledano s etnološke strane, klapski način pjevanja je karakteristično urbani fenomen čije je kolektivno pamćenje praktično omeđeno na živuće naraštaje. Muzejsko izlaženje u susret klapskim skupinama stoga je značilo osiguravanje prostora za generiranje karakteristično urbanog sadržaja kakav se drži za jedno od najprepoznatljivijih kulturnih obilježja Dalmacije. U tom smislu muzejska interakcija korisnika, izvođača i posjetitelja ne bi iznevjerila urbano tkivo povijesne palače u kojoj su kulturne promjene očite posredstvom raznih stilskih obilježja epoha utkanih u zide čitavog zdanja, zadržavajući se na kulturnim dobrima još uvijek jasnog etnografskog predznaka. Pjevani etnografski sadržaji bi se u prostoru prizemlja imali nadovezati na oralnu povijest i usmena svjedočanstva kulture življenja. U tom smislu je koincidentno širenje etnografskih bilježenja sjećanja na ratove i periode političkih zlostavljanja koje je i u ovom dijelu Hrvatske 2011. godine poduzela zagrebačka udruga Documenta.<sup>19</sup> U Šibeniku ratna prisjećanja imaju važnu ulogu, jer se u okolici grada 17. kolovoza 1990. godine zbio početak oružane pobune a sam grad se na početku rata 1991. djelotvorno obranio od napada odmetnute vojske. Usporedimo li stariju ideju etnografskog stalnog postava s obrisom muzeja kao mjesta gdje se kulturni sadržaji ne samo izlažu već i stvaraju, jasno je kako tektonika novog projektnog zadatka sročenog po potrebama zainteresiranih skupina koje ističu važne kulturne prakse redefinira posao koji u svojoj lokalnoj zajednici, pred posjetiteljima i društvom, muzej uopće ima za obaviti.

Preostatak prizemno pristupačnih sadržaja u palači Rossini vezan je za dvorište i sporedni ulaz u zgradu. Vezujući se za povoljni učinak “Baštionice”, edukativnog dijela izložbe sjevernodalmatinskih narodnih nošnji i kulture odijevanja iz 2002. godine, ovaj je prostor namijenjen djeci predškolskog i školskog uzrasta.<sup>20</sup> U tom smislu poseban performativni potencijal ima dvorište veliko oko 50 četvornih metara, a povezano prostorije u unutrašnjosti palače možda je moguće kombinirati i s polukatom. Civilni oslonac za projektiranje i korištenje ovog dijela palače predstavlja kontinuirana

<sup>18</sup> Broj klapa je u porastu, i u vrijeme predaje ovog članka na prostoru Grada Šibenika kao udruga ih je registrirano 15 (od toga ih je aktivnih 14). Na podatku zahvaljujem Filianu Vuletiću iz Zajednice udruga *a capella* klapa Šibensko-kninske županije.

<sup>19</sup> Projekt je u Šibeniku predstavljen 12. svibnja 2011. godine.

<sup>20</sup> Izložba “Od robe do odore: nošnje i kultura odijevanja u sjevernoj Dalmaciji” postavljena je u Zadru od travnja do srpnja 2001. u Zadru i u Šibeniku od 29. siječnja do 1. listopada 2002. (s 9820 posjetitelja), dok je njena popratna igraonica “Baštionica” s ukupno 7 igara, stripom i dječjim legendama u postavu izložbe imala 30 skupnih posjeta s 800 djece. Hrvatsko etnološko društvo je “Baštionicu” godišnjom nagradom “Milovan Gavazzi” nagradilo kao najbolji etnološki događaj u Hrvatskoj 2002. godine.

suradnja s odgojiteljicama, učiteljima, učiteljicama, profesorima i profesoricama koji su se tijekom višegodišnjih samoinicijativnih dolazaka s dječjim skupinama u Muzej profilirali kao jasna korisnička skupina.<sup>21</sup> Njihovim potrebama je bio prilagođen program predstavljanja povijesti u prvom licu pripovijedanja, s konstruiranim kompozitnim likovima šibenskog para iz 1895. godine za čije je prezentacijske potrebe replcirana odjeća iz muzejskog fundusa,<sup>22</sup> no u poblížem dogovoru i didaktički komplet u obliku preuveličane šibenske kape koji se s raznim nastavnim pomagalicama (replikama, maketama, odljevima, lutkama i dr.) posuđuje za korištenje u šibenskim vrtićima i školama.<sup>23</sup> U konzultacijama s odgojiteljicama i voditeljicom privatnog zabavnog prostora za proslavljanje dječjih rođendana na temelju njihovih iskustava se pokazalo kako bi za ovaj dio palače kroz prijedpodneva radnih dana u tjednu najbolje bilo posvetiti se školskim i vrtićkim skupinama, navečer bi bilo vrijeme prikladno za dječje radionice s dobrodošlim sudjelovanjem roditelja, dok bi vikendi nudili mogućnosti za baštinski profilirane proslave dječjih rođendana i slična okupljanja. Prikladno organiziran prostor poduprt profesionalnim osobljem omogućio bi i profilirane aktivnosti asocirane uz dječja noćenja u muzeju.<sup>24</sup>

I jedan i drugi sadržaj iz prizemlja poslužili bi kao uvod u ostatak muzejskih sadržaja zgrade, s polivalentnom dvoranom na višem katu, izložbenom jezgrom stalnog postava i studijskim kabinetom s otvorenim depoom gradskih obrta i rukotvorstava na najvišem katu. I ovdje se važnima dokazuju suradnje s različitim skupinama promicatelja kulturnih praksi, jer su muzejske obrade tehnika karakterističnih za gradske interakcije dovele do uvrštavanja tradicije šivane čipke šibenskog kraja među nematerijalna kulturna dobra Registra kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske,<sup>25</sup> kao i do pripremnih radnji za prijedlog istog uvrštavanja umijeće izradnje šibenskog puceta,<sup>26</sup> dok se širi napor za uvrštavanje sjevernodalmatinskog polikromnog veza na "građi" vodi iz Narodnog muzeja u Zadru (Žuvanić 2011.). Jedno drugo rješenje iste vrste, donešeno u proceduri nakon obrtničke prijave, bilo je znakom povećanog interesa lokalne zajednice za ovdašnju inačicu narodne crvene kape – za "šibensku kapu". Kod puceta i kape u prvom su planu obrtnici, po pravilu vrlo zainteresirani za detaljne preglede

<sup>21</sup> Osim odgojiteljskih i nastavnčkih inicijativa zanimljiva se situacija dogodila pred proslavu gradskog praznika 2010. godine, kada je baštinska tema koju je županijsko tijelo nadležno za nastavu zadalo za školski rad na posjet Muzeju u isti mah podstakla nekoliko školskih razreda.

<sup>22</sup> To je godina dolaska električne struje i rasvjete u Šibenik, kao prvog grada sa zaokruženim sustavom proizvodnje i distribucije izmjenične električne energije. Ovakvo datiranje glumačkog nastupa zajednički je probrano na sastanku muzejskih kustosa. Program predstavljanja povijesti u prvom licu otpočeo je 1999. godine, i glavna mu je boljša nemogućnost školskog ugošćivanja honoriranih glumaca. Najbolji rezultati ostvareni su u integriranoj nastavi.

<sup>23</sup> Izradi i prepuštanju na korištenje prethodile su prezentacije i rasprave s odgojiteljima u gradskom i privatnom vrtiću, te na predmetnim aktivnima nastavnika hrvatskog jezika i književnosti, likovnog odgoja, povijesti i informatike. Didaktički komplet izrađen je 2009. godine; v. [www.sibenskakapa.hr](http://www.sibenskakapa.hr) (datum zadnjeg posjeta 1. VI. 2011.).

<sup>24</sup> Sastanak s dotadašnjom vlasnicom dječjeg igrališta Boženom Bačelić i voditeljicom pedagoškog programa u igralištu, odgojiteljicom Marijom Burazer, od 20. travnja 2010. godine.

<sup>25</sup> Posredstvom Ogranka Matice hrvatske u Primoštenu.

<sup>26</sup> Na poticaj istaknutih zlatara i njihovog ceha u Šibeniku.



predmeta iz fundusa, kakvi bi najviše koristi imali od depoa otvorenog tipa kombiniranog sa studijskim zbirkama i stručnom knjižnicom.

## Izvan gradske jezgre: kuća Matavulj

Šibenska kapa je amalgam veće crvene kape iz šibenskog zaleđa s nižom i karakteristično navezenom crvenom kapom obalnih mjesta i puka samoga Šibenika. Ubrzavanje proizvodnje bojanjem lakše raspoloživom narančastom bojom, pojednostavljenje kroja bez stožastog vrška, ukrašavanje šivaćim strojem umjesto ručnog vezenja, razrjeđivanje vezenih ukrasa na mjeru danas poznatih “boula” lišenih daljnjeg vezenog popunjavanja i, iznad svega, odgovarajuća organizacija djevojačke poduke te snadbijevanje materijalom i plasman proizvoda žena-kooperantica bila su zbivanja koja su se u krilu “Industrije narodnog veziva” obitelji Matavulj dogodila početkom XX. stoljeća. Tekstilna, odjevna i destilerijska obrtna i industrijska aktivnost ove obitelji u kontinuitetu je trajala od 1844. do 1943. godine.<sup>27</sup> Od raznovrsnih proizvoda na znanan je glas došla šibenska kapa, koja svoju tržišnu konjukturu duguje talijanskoj aneksiji Zadra i zaživljavanjem novog oblika kape, rado prigrljenog od težaka koji su došli u vlasništvo zemalja koje su prije obrađivali za feudalce, kao simbola slavenskog otpora spram nasrtljivog tuđina. Lako primjenljiv likovni program kape (boja i ornament) među najprepoznatljivijim su elementima današnjeg šibenskog kulturnog identiteta.

Iz ovih je razloga prvi posjet potomaka i nasljednika obitelji Matavulj iz SAD 18.-24. siječnja 2010., potaknut očevom i stričevom smrću te propadanjem krovišta zgrade Matavulj, doveo do zanimljivog razvoja događaja.<sup>28</sup> Riječ je o dvokatnom zdanju u pučkom, vanzidinskom “Varoškom” dijelu grada nastalome od XVII. st., koja je nadograđivana koncem XIX. i početkom XX. st. Ukupna unutrašnja površina je oko tisuću četvornih metara, a uz kuću se nalazi jednokatni industrijski aneks iz 1924. godine u čijem je prizemlju danas dio vrtića “Građa” dok su na katu stanovi. Uz dozvolu vlasnika potom je vrt iza kuće, zadnji hortikulturni prostor ove vrste u gradskom središtu

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<sup>27</sup> Na samoj kuće se nalazi spomen-ploča postavljena povodom stote obljetnice rođenja Sime Matavulja, međutim je za poslovnu povijest obitelji presudna bila njegova majka Simeona (Šima) rođ. Triva i brat Đuro čiji su i današnji raseljeni potomci šibenskih Matavulja. Njihov djed Georgije Matavulj je iz Grbavaca kod Bosanske Gradiške doselio u Kosovo Polje, a Georgijev sin Stevan je u XIX. st. odatle u Šibenik doselio uslijed ženidbe. U Grbavcima se pamti predaja o doseljavanju dva brata Matavulj, od kojih je jedan zasnovao zaselak a drugi odselio u Dalmaciju. Na ovim podatcima zahvaljujem g. Mladenu Matavulju iz Velike Gorice (pismo od 10. veljače 2011.). Po konzultiranom mišljenju onomastičara Vladimira Skračića, dočetak “-ulj” upućuje na posvojni pridjev romanskog podrijetla (“-ul” se u rumunjskom jeziku odnosi na muški rod); zahvaljujem na pismu od 4. srpnja 2011. godine. Usp. starije šibensko prezime Kožul.

<sup>28</sup> Zbog teškoća s održavanjem zgrada je i oglašena na prodaju. Prilikom primanja g. i gđe. Matavulj Gradonačelniku Šibenika dr. Anti Županoviću 21. siječnja 2010. godine. gradska se uprava nije mogla prihvatiti ponuđenog prvokupa. Zakonsko pravo prvokupa ne postoji, jer zgrada nije u Registru kulturnih dobara (u ponovljenom postupku konzervatorsko povjerenstvo je 21. siječnja 2010. godine zaključilo kako je “kuća izgubila izvornost u odnosu na elemente pučke stambene arhitekture koju je nekoć imala”, te da “nema stilskih odlika”).

Šibenika, u više navrata bio okupljalištem ljubitelja tradicija vezanih za kapu.<sup>29</sup> Iz više donacija koje su iz svojeg dijela nasljedstva ovi nasljednici namijenili za šibenski Arhiv, Gradsku knjižnicu i Muzej za izložbu 30. lipnja 2011. je povodom njihovog ponovnog posjeta izdvojena kolekcija otkanih završnih radova učenica ženske stručne škole koja je nakon 1945. godine radila u ovoj zgradi. Zahvaljujući interesu odgojiteljica dječjeg vrtića koji se nalazi u tvorničkom aneksu iz 1920-tih, već godinama senzibiliziranih za baštinske teme i suradujućih s Muzejom Grada Šibenika, izložbeni postav je slijedio edukacijski koncept likovne radionice nadahnute izloženim predmetima.<sup>30</sup>

S druge strane je uspostavljena komunikacija s vlasnicima zgrade otvorila raspravu o njejoj budućnosti. U njoj se održala prva šibenska etnografska izložba.<sup>31</sup> Za Muzej je ona zanimljiva i stoga jer su u fundusima više muzejskih odjela akvizicije kulture stanovanja, glazbala, obrtne naprave itd. što potječu odatle. Također, zanimljivo je i to što zgrada Matavulj predstavlja zadnji znatniji očuvani prostor prvih gradskih industrijskih pogona koji radikalno optaču kopneni pojas povijesnih gradskih zidina srušenih u više navrata kroz drugu polovicu XIX. st. (Marković 2009: 91). Kao izvorno tvornički prostor, s očitim mjestima nekadašnje kotlovnice i instalacija u više prostora, ovakvo mjesto nudi i mogućnosti izlaganja protoindustrijske i industrijske baštine Šibenika,<sup>32</sup> od posebnog značaja za razvoj grada uslijed ranog uspostavljanja električnog napajanja strojeva.<sup>33</sup>

Iz etnološkog kuta, zanimljivo je bilo utvrditi i to da su se u dijelu dućana na povišenom podiju nalazile manekenske lutke obučene u narodne nošnje iz vlastite izrade.<sup>34</sup> Dokumentarno potvrđena dizajnerska aktivnost na modnim prilagodbama, modifikacijama i parafrazama tkanja i vezova za moderne prilike, koja se također odvijala u ovoj zgradi, autenticira je i za nove ateljerske i radioničke sadržaje. Svi su ovi povodi bili razlogom konzultiranja voditelja istaknutih projekata građanskih udruga koji su

<sup>29</sup> To je bila dječja igraonica na teme vezane uz šibensku kapu s voditeljstvom odgojiteljica 5. lipnja 2010., projekcija dokumentarnih filmova o šibenskoj kapi 12. listopada iste godine, te "Čija je kapa starija?" 30. ožujka 2011. godine. Budući da se kuća i vrt nalaze na strmini, staro hortikulturno uređenje po kaskadama nudi i mogućnost amfiteatralnog razmještanja posjetitelja.

<sup>30</sup> Voditeljica vrtića je Mila Kovač, a pedagoginja zadužena za vrtić je Anka Barbača. Sastanak sa svim odgojiteljicama vrtića održan je u samom vrtiću "Građa" 4. svibnja 2011. godine.

<sup>31</sup> "Prigodom proslave 500. godišnjice katedrale i euharistijskog kongresa u Šibeniku priređena je kulturna izložba ili bolje rečeno više izložbi. Poznata tvrtka Matavulja priredila je etnografsku izložbu svih mogućih narodnih odijela sjeverne Dalmacije na kopnu i moru te sitnih kućnih predmeta s narodnim ornamentima. (...)" (Stošić 1931: 221) Članak u novinama pronašla je kolegica kustosica Marija Krnčević.

<sup>32</sup> Iz jednog od karakterističnih gradskih obrta, svjećarskog, prostor Matavuljevih nudi i praktično jedinu mogućnost trajnog izlaganja pogona dvije raspoložive voštarnice, "cerarije". Teško je pretpostaviti da bi se dvoetažnu gradsku cerariju moglo igdje drugdje postaviti osim u dijelu ovog prostora. Cerarijama karakteristična društvena interakcija tiče se manjinskih zajednica u gradu, jer su obrt uobičajeno donosile talijanske obitelji (jedna od njih je bila Gavazzi, iz koje potječe čuveni hrvatski etnolog Milovan Gavazzi – v. Šestan 1995.) a uz obične potrebe hrvatskog življa istaknuti su potrošači bili Srbi, pravoslavni vjernici, zbog karakterističnih liturgijskih potreba.

<sup>33</sup> Prva električna distribucija 1895. vodila je od elektrane na Skradinskom buku do ulične rasvjete, komunalnih zgrada i postrojenja u Šibeniku; u vrijeme proširenja mreže 1904. godine radilo se o najjačem prijenosnom sustavu električne energije u Europi (Marković 2009: 94-96).

<sup>34</sup> Na temelju predmeta i dokumentacije akvizitiranih za Muzej Grada Šibenika 2010. godine.

bili posvećeni baštinskim i kulturnim temama. Polazni predložak za razgovor predstavljao je razvojni projekt koji je pratio izložbu sjevernodalmatinskih nošnji iz 2002. godine. Tada se u partnerstvu s humanitarnim organizacijama pokrenulo tkalačke poduke za žene iz šibenskog kraja, a cilj je trebala biti domaća izrada tkalačkih stanova za njihova kućna rukotvorstva i zadružnu kooperaciju pred suvenirskim tržištem.<sup>35</sup>

## Rasprava: dijalog, inkluzija, konflikt i muzej

Iz dosadašnjeg pojašnjavanja muzejske vrijednosti obje lokacije jasno je kako se na prvom mjestu nije moglo naći pitanje “koje muzejske predmete izložiti?” već “kako izložiti tradiciju?”, i to, napose istaknuto u kući Matavulj, na samome mjestu geneze npr. šibenske kape – bukvalno *in situ*. U tom smislu su oba opisana prostora komplementarna i mogu činiti integralni muzejski projekt. Umjesto materijalnih kulturnih dobara, u njima zahvalnije izgleda izlaganja dobijaju nematerijalna kulturna dobra kadra nanovno generirati predmete – kako ponovljene, tako i preoblikovane (poput amalgama šibenske kape) ili parafrazirane.<sup>36</sup>

“Ovaj zadatak ne uključuje samo potragu za predmetima i kulturnim materijalima koji su reprezentativni ili važni. On također sadrži i stupanje u dijalog s ljudima koji u svojim zajednicama stoje postrani ili koji tvore posebne zajednice, i uključuje traganje za predmetima i znanjima kakvi mogu uzeti udjela u pobijanju esencijalizirajućih obrazlaganja identiteta.” (Karp 1992a: 31)

Već po definiciji višekratno spominjane kategorije nematerijalnog kulturnog dobra, etnografski se muzeji na ovakvome poslu nalaze u interakcijskom vršku. Važni se naputci nalaze u međunarodnoj Konvenciji o čuvanju nematerijalne kulturne baštine iz 2003. godine:

“Jedan od najvažnijih aspekata ove Konvencije (...) je središnja uloga koju daje kulturnim zajednicama (i grupama, a u nekim slučajevima i pojedincima) povezanima s nematerijalnom kulturnom baštinom - što je bez presedana u tom području međunarodnog prava. To je izričaj vrlo karakterističnog karaktera nematerijalne kulturne baštine da živi samo u svojim izvođenjima od činiteља i, stoga, čija kontinuirana praksa posve ovisi o sposobnosti i želji kulturne grupe i/ili zajednice o kojoj se radi. (...) Identifikacija bilo kakve nematerijalne kulturne baštine kao takve ovisi o utvrđivanju ‘zajednica, grupa i pojedinaca’ koji je kontinuirano iznova stvaraju i kojima ona pridaje značenje zajednice.” (Blake 2009: 45-47)

<sup>35</sup> Ostvarene su poduke u Šibeniku, Kninu te kasnije u Drnišu. Naknadni učinak ovih poduka bila su osnivanja zadruge “Tkanica” u Kninu i udruge “Žena” u Drnišu.

<sup>36</sup> Kako je Đuro Matavulj uveo šivaće mašine prikladne za vezeno popunjavanje boula na kapi, tako je i, stoljeće nakon njega, obrtnica Nelica Knežević u vezenje ukrasa na kapi uvela računalno. Usp. i “digitalne kaparice” Anu Udovičić i Mariju Stojić, autorice originalnih digitalnih djela vezanih za šibensku kapu (Kale 2010: 16).

Kroz razradu takvog inkluzivnog muzejskog zadatka nije ni lako nabrojati koliko se profiliranih skupina s njime preprelo. Tako sročenom zadatku bez njih se niti ne bi dalo pristupiti.<sup>37</sup> Ipak, neka među njihovim obilježjima lako upadaju u oči. Na prvo se mjesto može staviti rodni ključ, jer je kulturna naracija u mnogim dijelovima pripovijedana u ženskom rodu. S palačom Rossini to su, bez izuzetka, odgajateljice i nastavnice koje su se kroz godine nametale kao korisnici u potrebi za prikladnim muzejskim sadržajima.<sup>38</sup> Kod baštine “Industrije narodnog veziva” Matavuljevih to su bile kaparice,<sup>39</sup> dok su pri civilnoj razradi udruge asociirane ideji uređivanja kuće Matavulj kao javnog dobra to bile voditeljice najuspješnijih projekata temeljenih na tradicijama i kulturi ovog dijela Hrvatske.<sup>40</sup>

Drugi je ključ etnički i manjinski. U tom se diskursu kuća Matavulj simbolički ne poistovjećuje s poduzetnikom Đurom Matavuljem već s njegovim mnogo poznatijim bratom književnikom Simom, slično kao što se nekadašnja talijanska zajednica u Šibeniku (Mattiazzi, Mazzoleni, Pelegrini, Poleti, Dominis, Kapeli i dr.) poistovjećuje s uspomenom političkog angažmana Nikole Tommasea, ministra kulture kratkotrajno obnovljene Mletačke republike iz 1848. godine. Na taj način se “Industrija narodnog veziva” iz 1844.-1943. gleda očima prve polovice 1990-tih godina.<sup>41</sup> Budući da se Šibenik našao ciljem jedne od prvih okupatorskih ofenziva 1991. godine a izvještaji s napadačke strane su koristili gotovo iste izraze kakvi se mogu naći i u proznom predstavljanju

<sup>37</sup> Usp. primjere lokalnih zajednica “kao kustosa” kod Adair 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Dok među odgojiteljicama i njihovim stručnim pedagoškim osobljem nema izuzetka, u krugu od dva-desetak zainteresiranih nastavnica samo je jedan nastavnik.

<sup>39</sup> Sve su izrađivačice šibenskih kapa bile žene, s presedanom prvog “kapara” u obitelji obrtnice koja je pokrenula opis umijeća izrade šibenske kape u Registar kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske kao nematerijalnog kulturnog dobra, gđe. Nelice Knežević iz Vodica. Također, biografski važna etapa obrta i industrije Matavulj leži u rukama majke Đure i Sime Matavulja, Simeone (Sime).

<sup>40</sup> Nakon posjeta g. i gđe. Matavulj su do 26. veljače 2010. kontaktirani voditelji najvećih ovdašnjih projekata koji su bili vezani za teme baštine i tradicija (listom također žene, njih ukupno pet) te je sa zainteresiranima za inicijativu uređenja kuće Matavulj 26. ožujka održan sastanak. U ovom su smislu zbog evaluacijskih procedura najvažniji bili europski fondovi. Kao rezultat organizacijskih propitivanja i sricanja osnivačkih dokumenata sa suradnicama iz ovog kruga je 5. lipnja 2011. kao prvi korak u smjeru osnutka zaklade za civilni razvoj locirane u kući Matavulj osnovana udruga “Težački dom”.

<sup>41</sup> “Oni previdaju vrijednost retrospekcije, umanjuju važnost naknadnog razumijevanja i posežu za prošlošću da bi je vidjeli kao sadašnjost jer su im stvari objašnjive samo u sadašnjici” (Lowenthal 1985: 23). Vrijeme razmirica u prototalijanskoj hrvatsko-srpskoj političkoj koaliciji u Šibeniku i objavljivanja npr. novele “Konte Ile Deseti i Ilija Vulinov” u Beogradu 1889. godine nosi već dovoljno napetosti vlastitog vremena. Dijalogizirana šetnja Šibenikom iz najboljih manira realističke proze, koja je u kraćim pretiscima obično izostavljana, usporedo s jednim od najljepših opisa Šibenika uzmiče u romantičarsku populacijsku matematiku u kojoj su čakavci iz dijela povijesne jezgre, njih oko jedne tisuće, narodnošću Hrvati, dok ostali netalijani govore zapadni i jugozapadni srpski govor, njih oko dvije tisuće u ostatku povijesne jezgre i oko četiri tisuće “zgošnjih Srba najčistije krvi” u tisuću kuća Varoši van zidina, no na koncu uvoda sumiranjem stotinjak kuća “starog zakona” (dakle, oko pola tisuće stanovnika) očito je kako pisac čitav nečakavski i netalijanski dio stanovništva predstavlja za Srbe ili njihove potomke (Matavulj 1964. [1889.]: 14-18). Međutim, iz raspoložive povijesti intenzivnog građanskog života u kući Matavulj nema traga promicanju velikosrpskog političkog programa. U kući je djelovao niz građanskih udruga i akcija humanitarne naravi – sve do osnutka gradskog ogranka Crvenog križa i doma za ratnu siročad od Milke Bučić rođ. Matavulj 1945. godine; v. dokumentarni fond Matavulj u Državnom arhivu Šibenik i u Muzeju Grada Šibenika. Političke napetosti bile su očite i na predstavljanju usmeno-povijesnog projekta udruge Documenta u Šibeniku.

Šibenika od Sime Matavulja,<sup>42</sup> senzibiliziranje lokalne zajednice za baštinu i naslijeđe kuće Matavulj nije jednoznačan dijalog. Ipak, odgovornost za dijalogiziranje baštine i poučavanje iz prošlosti lokalne zajednice leži na većinskoj skupini. U tom smislu lokacije autentičnih opusa sadrže važan evokacijski potencijal i “dinamično sredstvo koje zajednice koriste za usuglašavanje i ovladavanje konfliktom iznutra” (Camarena i Morales 2006: 328), s prešućivanjem kao jednako besplodnom mogućnošću poput monologa.<sup>43</sup> Jasno da se muzejsko mjesto kao prostor pasivne konzumacije neupitno predstavljenih predmeta u ovakvom procesu posve pogubilo:

“... Razdjelnica između skrivenog prostora muzeja u kojem se znanje stvara i organizira i javnog prostora gdje se nudi na pasivnu potrošnju dovodi do monološkog diskursa vođenog od autoritativnog kulturnog glasa muzeja. Da bi se ovakav diskurs oborio, neminovno je ulogu kustosa promijeniti od ekspertnog izvora pridržanog prava na znanje do posjednika tehničkih sposobnosti pri ruci vanmuzejskim skupinama da korištenjem muzejskih resursa u njemu sročite vlastite tvrdnje. (...) Ako prostor muzeja postaje posve dijaloški, i ako ovakve tvrdnje u njemu ne će biti smještene unutar – i, moguće, time okrijepljenog – službenog glasa muzeja, načelo utjelovljeno u ovakvim okušavanjima treba stoga biti uopćeno u dozvoljavanju muzeju da funkcionira kao mjesto sricanja pluralnih i diferenciranih tvrdnji, omogućujući mu da radi kao instrument javne rasprave.” (Bennett 1995: 103-104)

Muzej kao prostor stalnog izložbenog postava i prostora izmjenljivih izlaganja gdje se kulturne vrijednosti predstavljaju kao diktat harmoniziran s prevladavajućim nazorima od važnosti za političke platforme muzejskih financijera je u svojoj pedagoškoj srži poput Disneylanda – on nudi ono što publika želi (Bennett 1995: 105). Po tvrdnji istog muzejskog teoretičara, nasuprotno viđenje muzeja kao instrumenta instrukcije i unaprijeđivanja kulture i intelektualnog mnijenja zajednice (ibid.) vraća nas u vrijeme XIX-stoljetnog benetovskog “rođenja muzeja” kada se na njih gledalo kao na instrumente za postizanje pozitivne društvene promjene (Sandell 1998: 408).

“Do 1830-tih godina sve se više prihvaćala ideja da stvaranje muzeja otvorenih široj publici može polučiti povoljne društvene dobitke. (...) Nadalje, do sredine istog stoljeća sve je veći interes bio za ulogu koju muzeji trebaju odigrati u

<sup>42</sup> Kako sam tada sâm čuo, večernji radijski dnevnik Radio-televizije Srbije je 18. rujna 1991. objavio kako je JNA ušla u “srpski Šibenik”. Za predodžbom o sveštokavskim Srbima kao crvenom krpom se poseže i danas (“Na zidu kino-dvorane u četvrti Borovo Naselje crvenim sprejem ćirilničnim pismom napisano je ‘Dobro došli u Republiku Srpsku’ i ‘Svi ste vi Srbi’. U vukovarskoj policiji kažu da su taj grafit zamijetili prije desetak dana, no jučer ujutro osvanuo je još jedan grafit, također pisan crvenim sprejem, na nedalekoj zgradi pošte gdje je napisano ‘Kosovo’ uz četiri ćirilnična slova ‘S’ veličine 2x1,5 metra”, iz članka “U Vukovaru opet grafiti ‘Ovo je Srbija’, ‘Smrt Hrvatima’”, Jutarnji list 3. veljače 2009.).

<sup>43</sup> U tom smislu je zanimljiva priprema spomen-ploče za postavljanje na rodnoj kući Nikole Tommasea, s biranim retkom iz njegove pjesme u izboru hrvatskog akademika a u organizaciji šibenskog rotarijanskog kluba. Njegov brončani spomenik kojeg je postavila gradska uprava na čelu s Antom Šupukom rastavljen je u gradskoj tvornici dan nakon govora predsjednika hrvatske vlade Vladimira Nazora, 24. siječnja 1945. godine u Šibeniku održanog upravo na tom mjestu. Foto-žurnal je zabilježio trenutak kad je Nazor (s darovanom šibenskom kapom na glavi) pokazao prstom na Tommaseov spomenik, pročitavši: “Jedini talijanski optant što ga mogu vidjeti u Šibeniku starac je Nikola Tommaseo, čovjek sada od bronce, hlandan i ukočen, koji je bio veoma nadaren i učen, ali nije do kraja susjećao s narodom iz kojega je niknuo.”

ostvarivanju pozitivne društvene promjene kroz edukaciju. (...) Takvi su ideali nadahnuli mnoštvo inicijativa vezanih za pristupačnost muzeja, napose u nacionalnim muzejima, uključivo s duljim večernjim otvorenostima za posjet i besplatnim ulaznicama (...).” (Sandell 1998: 409)

Etnografski izložbeni postavi su mjesta stvaranja kulturnih autoriteta (Karp 2000: 199-207), kontaktne zone u kojima se izloženi predmeti ne kontekstualiziraju već aktualiziraju (Clifford 1997: 193). “Jezgreni proizvod’ muzeja nastavit će biti mjesto, zbirke i stručnost osoblja, no ono što se mijenja i nerazmjerno razvija je velik opseg kako materijalnih tako i nematerijalnih sastavnica kroz koje posjetitelji mogu pristupiti jezgrenom proizvodu” (Black 2005: 269-270). Tu muzeji ne slijede svoj znanstveni predmet istraživanja s potrebnim akvizicijskim programima, već zajednica u muzeju “ojačava svoju sposobnost da uopće bude zajednica, da kolektivno zamisli svoj identitet, i da svoju maštu prenese u akciju” (Camarena i Morales 2006: 328).

“(...) Utvrđivanje rubova i središta povijesno je strukturirano u dominaciji. U opsegu u kojem muzeji sebe razumiju kao interakciju sa specifičnim zajednicama preko takvih rubova a ne samo kao edukaciju i izgradnju publike, oni počinju djelovati – namjerno i katkad samokritično – u kontaktnim historijama (...), [kao] ‘kulturni tekst’ kakav se ne da čitati sa stabilne lokacije. (...) Stoga, umnožavanje konteksta manje se tiče otkrića a više procesa utvrđivanja, manje je stvar dosjetljivih kustosica, njihovih istraživanja i konzultiranja nativnih eksperata a više odgovaranja na zbivajuće pritiske i pozive na reprezentiranost u kulturno složenom civilnom društvu.” (Clifford 1997: 204, 207 i 210)

## Zaključak

Kada bi posjetitelju na zadatku sličnom onome kod tajnog dućanskog kupca vezali oči radi neprepoznavanja fizičkog ambijenta, dvojim da bi po izložbenim, pedagoškim i nakladnim programima muzeja lako mogao prepoznati kako se radi o ustanovama u nekim zajednicama čije je društveno tkivo rastrzano ratom, u drugima čiji se društveni kapital nalazi usred alokacijskih procesa bez presedana, u trećima u kojima niz prepoznatljivo profiliranih skupina ovakva mjesta drži kao zabavu imućnih ili dokonih, ili pak u zajednicama koje dijele sva ova obilježja zajedno i s mnoštvom drugih.<sup>44</sup> Takve dileme idu među “teška pitanja koja se danas postavljaju o opravdanju muzeja i

<sup>44</sup> Jedne od ustanova kakve adresiraju ovakva pitanja su i uprave zaštićenih dijelova prirode, “muzeji prirode na otvorenom”, među kojima se u zadnjem desetljeću afirmira načelo poznato pod kraticom CBNRM (*community-based natural resource management*). Autoriziranje domorodnih zajednica za upravljanje baštinom (počevši s prirodnom i nastavivši s kulturnom) se na Novom Zelandu i u Australiji zbiva već gotovo pola stoljeća (Creamer 1994: 135). Kako u upravljanju prirodom temeljenom na lokalnoj zajednici zaštititi npr. rižine terase s Balijsa za koje je Geertz konstatirao kako predstavljaju fizičko-tehnološko-društveno-religijsku jedinicu, sa svim svojim materijalnim popratnostima kakve ulaze i u muzeje? Umijeće njihovog trajnog održavanja stvar je dijalogiziranja (s ugrađenim inoviranjem) nematerijalne kulturne baštine. Za terase “*subak*” v. Geertz 1980: 79. U tom smislu su mjesta dijalogiziranja kulturne baštine ujedno i mjesta oporavljanja načelih kulturnih krajolika, daleko van granica muzejskih zidova.



njihovoj ulozi u zajednici” (Hooper-Greenhill 1997: 1, po: Sandell 1998: 403). Rekapitulirajući Hewisona (1987.), Harveya (1989.) i Walsha (1992.) na ovom mjestu Clifford u muzejima prepoznaje razorne učinke globalizacije kapitala:

“(…) Nemilosrdno rastakanje ‘mjesta’, također i lokalnih i trajnih percepcija kolektivnog vremena, te zamjenu plitkih, spektakularnih i jednostavno nostalgичnih koncepcija prošlosti. Baština zamjenjuje povijest, pridonoseći hegemonijskim uobličavanjima nacionalnih i klasnih interesa. (...) Slične neoliberalne hegemonije [su] na djelu svaki put kada mijenjajuća društva, u prožimanju s ekspanzivnim kapitalizmom, reprezentiraju i konzumiraju svoju prošlost kao baštinu. Komodifikacija lokalnih prošlosti je dio globalnog procesa kulturne ‘diferencijacije.’” (Clifford 1997: 216)

Globalizacija u isti mah satire nedjelotvorne proizvođače, ali “u rijetkim slučajevima ovim kulturama nudi mogućnost stiliziranja i širenja njihove glazbe, svečanosti i kulinarskih tradicija posredstvom transnacionalnih kompanija” (Camarena i Morales 2006: 323).<sup>45</sup> Kao pravilo, “[lokalna] zajednica treba biti zaštićena od prijetnji za lišavanje upravljanja svojim resursima (...) u korist privatne sfere isključivih monopola” (Gibson 2005: 297). Tu leži geneza koncepta nematerijalne kulturne baštine, reakcije afričkog i južnoameričkog folklor na *copyright* i primjene modela japanske konzervacije tradicija (Lucas-Schloetter 2004.). U takvom svijetu potrage za originalnostima inkluzivni muzej kolektivnih dobara je sredstvo demokratizacijskih procesa (Sandell 1998: 410), a među procesnim rezultatima su i same konotacije “baštine” i “autentičnosti”. Doživljaj autentičnosti se stvara u kontaktnoj zoni kulturnog dobra, između onih koji ga postavljaju i onih koji konzumiraju njegova značenja. “Baština” je stvar jedne takve kulturne potrošnje, bez kakve nema ni stvaranja novih kulturnih vrijednosti (Prentice 2001: 22). Prostor potrošnje značenja muzejskih predmeta je arena kulturne produkcije (Löfgren 1994: 66).<sup>46</sup> Muzej kao pogon kreativne industrije i scena participativne demokracije, to u stvari predstavlja etnografsku definiciju etnografskog muzeja. Njegovo je važno strukovno pomagalo empatijska sposobnost.<sup>47</sup> Što ga više

<sup>45</sup> “Paradoksalno, iako je globalizacija doprinijela uništenju domorodnih zajednica, ubrzano ih razvlašćujući nad njihovim teritorijima i resursima tako da ih marginalizira ili pretvara u tržna dobra, ona im također olakšava pristup novim pomagalima za utjecanje na globalno mnijenje i obranu svojeg integriteta” (Camarena i Morales 2006: 325).

<sup>46</sup> Kreativnost kroz potrošnju pripada vanekonomskej temi kulturne izgradnje potražnje (daleko van rutine istraživanja “*consumer behaviour*”), o kojoj se u sociologiji kulture govori još od Thorsteina Veblena i Waltera Benjamina. Novije su studije snažno antropologizirane, riječ je o procesnim prostorima kulture: “Stupnjevi slobode u strategijama potrošnje odražavaju stupnjeve slobode u stvaranju životnih prostora, stupanj do kojeg subjekt može imati promišljenu strategiju aroprijacije svijeta radi stvaranja svojeg vlastitog prostora postojanja, svojeg vlastitog stila života koji izražava dani ili stvoreni identitet. Stupnjevi slobode su također smješteni u okviru šireg društvenog konteksta. Kreativnost može biti shvaćena kao varijacije na danu temu, ili kao nadomještanje jedne teme drugom.” (Friedman 1994: 16)

<sup>47</sup> “Osim pružanja iscrpnog znanja o drugim mjestima i društvima, [antropologija] odaje poštovanje drugim iskustvima i jednakoj vrijednosti čitavom ljudskom životu te nam, ne na zadnjem mjestu, pomaže shvatiti same sebe. U današnjem isprepletenom svijetu antropologija bi trebala biti središnji dio svačijeg *Bildung-a*, tj. edukacije u najširem smislu. Antropologija može podučiti skromnosti i empatiji, kao i sposobnosti slušanja, zasigurno jednom od najoskudnijih resursa bogatijih dijelova planeta naših dana. Čak može biti i zabavna.” (Eriksen 2006: 130)

udaljimo od monoloških transmisija poredaka društvene moći a približimo ambijentima stvaranja novih društvenih vrijednosti – koliko društvenog kapitala, toliko i kulturnih dobara – to ćemo bliži biti ostvarenju općeg inkluzivnog i razvojnog muzeja.

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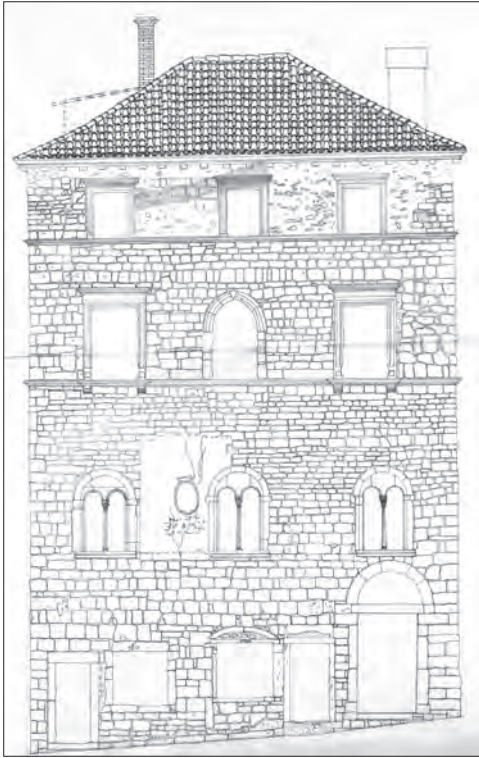
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# How to Present Tradition *in situ*: the Task of the *Rossini and Matavulj Buildings in Šibenik Project*

*The Rossini and Matavulj are two buildings in the center of Šibenik which can be connected with the possibilities of ethnographically exhibiting them in close association with their social environment. After delineating the pertinent work done in the museum, the space and the urban ambience, the author elaborates upon the contours of the project with the emphatic participation of interested civil groups. The concluding section underlines the advantages and the disadvantages of the inclusive museum use of these spaces and the theoretical implications they have for today's professional, cultural and social status of the museum.*

**Keywords:** civil role of museums, intangible cultural heritage, museum policy, oral history

The social role and the purpose of the museum undergoes changes and an interesting example of what the museum is supposed to do is the management of cultural practices whose material results are stored in its holdings. It can seem that amongst museum exhibits we find ourselves within a Romantic wood in which we cannot see the trees of cultural goods, people, communities and their unfolding cultural practices. “Even material remains, no matter how old they are, are perceived and used in the present – and so, paradoxically, they are ageless, endlessly transforming as the society around them changes” (Molyneaux, 1994: 2). The authenticity of ethnographic objects does not prove their status of being ancient or original but rather the choice of usage and reception because many “older” or “more original” objects take second place faced with those that are able to distinguish and promulgate the community according to current opinion.<sup>1</sup> “Tradition” never existed as an unquestionable assembly of objects but rather as a social relation towards some amongst them (Smith, 2006:

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning this point an analysis of pictorial motifs used for cover designs of expert publications, musical motifs in announcements of expert-led public festivities like folklore festivals etc. could be an interesting endeavour.



11-43). Such experiences of traditional culture span the extremes of homage or humiliation. On the one side is the ability to create an environment of spiritualized festivity whose values are shared by both the performers and the viewers. Certain answers to the survey question put to folk dancers - "how they feel when they are wearing their costumes" (Saliklis, 1999: 225-227)<sup>2</sup> - bear witness to this fact. On the other hand, a theoretician of music on the global level maintains that "in today's world, to emphasize 'traditional culture' is not, in my view, a particularly responsible or constructive thing to do, however attractive it may be from the point of view of showmanship" (Hudson, 1991: 460).<sup>3</sup> Ethnographically speaking, no individual culture can any longer come upon us with the untouched originality of its lived culture.<sup>4</sup> In like manner, there no longer exists a settlement with one's own culture whose streets are walked by people dressed in folk costumes of choice, verified by the museum to bear witness, according to the principle *pars pro toto*, to the aesthetic and the integrity of one's own whose culture. Since the 1960ies its has become clearer that such isolated places never even existed. Ranging from isolated peoples to one's own remote island or mountain settlements, isolated places untouched by cultural interactions, where the observer could recognize pre-civilizational beginnings, departure points of evolution, origins or treasuries, uncorrupted noble savages or ecologically-sustainable traditionalist, were no more than a composite picture made to meet the needs of one's own self-questioning.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The author carried out the survey in 1993 as part of her dissertation amongst two hundred members of ten Litvanian folk groups receiving back 153 filled forms (Saliklis, 1999: 232).

<sup>3</sup> "I am depressed when I watch television reports of the visits of royalty, presidents, or other distinguished personages to African countries and see black people performing 'tribal' dances in front of the guests from abroad. Why, I ask myself, is it felt necessary or desirable to put on these demonstrations of long-outmoded customs, which always feel to me like ethnographical museums brought to life? I find it degrading and wonder if the dancers and singers do, too. (...) This [...] is my major criticism of ethnographical museums: that by their over concentration on 'traditional cultures', they encourage a patronizing and escapist attitude toward the people involved." (Hudson, 1991: 463 i 464). In Croatian circumstances, compare the public debates which warn that in the redistribution of social resources what is left over for the local communities is onyl the role of acting as the folklore animator within someone's new, foreign market products (for example, "Our space will be taken over by the large corporations, foreigners will reap the profits while we will dance folklore.", in the article "Hrvatski turizam ne može oponašati Karibe!" (Croatian tourism cannot imitate the Caribbean) which the Internet portal ezadar.hr published on June 17, 2011 at the address [www.ezadar.hr/clanak/hrvatski-turizam-ne-moze-oponasati-karibe](http://www.ezadar.hr/clanak/hrvatski-turizam-ne-moze-oponasati-karibe)).

<sup>4</sup> "One thing is certain. We have arrived at a stage in history where it is increasingly improbable that any ethnography of a distinctive people or culture is going to surprise anyone because of its stunning uniqueness and exotic nature." (Barret, 2002: 16).

<sup>5</sup> "(...) The history of the theory of primitive society is the history of an illusion. It is our phlogiston, our aether; or, less grandly, our equivalent to the notion of hysteria. (...) The theory of primitive society is about something which does not and never has existed. (...) At the same time, criticism is not my main concern. I am more interested in accounting for the genesis of the illusion. The persistence of the model is peculiarly problematic since various of its basic assumptions were quite directly contradicted by ethnographic evidence and by the logic of evolutionary theory itself. The difficulties were clearly stated by some of the leading scholars in the field (notably Westermarck, Boas and Malinowski). Notwithstanding, social anthropologists busied themselves for over a hundred years with the manipulation of a fantasy – a fantasy which had been constructed by speculative lawyers in the late nineteenth century. This is a fact which must provoke thought, and not among anthropologists alone." (Kuper, 1988: 8).

In the halls of ethnographic museums where folk traditions are stored, which were constructed according to the principles of 19<sup>th</sup> century spiritual tenets in the centers of capital cities,<sup>6</sup> the current generation of ethnologists has recorded changes in the needs of its visitors which are without precedent since the time when the interest for folk culture was established (Brstilo and Jelavić, 2010). Museum ethnography as an imperial science – offspring of an evolutionary anthropology (Shelton 2000.), became historical artifact emptied of capacities of a working tool. Within museums in general and particularly in the ethnographic ones, visitors are being transformed into users and furthermore into participants of the evoked cultural practices (Šola, 1998; Karp, 1992: 12),<sup>7</sup> while the passive public has acquired an authoritative voice of a participating community (Karp, 1992a: 13).<sup>8</sup> The exhibition is the arena where such cultural cooperation and confrontation continuously takes place (Karp, 1992a: 21-22). As far as exhibitions, maintaining that they represent the true and authentic image of the people and their culture, are concerned it is only certain that they represent “hegemonic practices that reproduces the values and privileges of the center”, because claims connected with prescriptively perceived cultural authenticities could be strategies of oppression as well (Karp, 1992a: 26).

When in 1969 Brno, Bauer summarized the discussion of the museologist seminar in Brno, defining the museum as a social institution, he placed special emphasis on the environment in which the museum carried on its activities (Bauer, 1970: 27). He saw the development of the institutions as dependent on them adhering to broader professional standardizations that evade the narrow interest of the community (ibid., 30 and 32). Earlier the experience of the museum frequently depended on their immediate administrators but henceforth the institutions were to be depersonified and their functions objectivized (ibid., 27 and 35). The changed view of the life of the museum within their communities and the connections with the community from which the museum objects derive was effectively presented at the gathering “Museums and Communities” which was held in the Smithsonian in 1990 (Karp et al., 1992). Voices from local communities, either amongst the “First Nations” of one’s own country or from transoceanic localities, came to the fore in the discussions which lasted from the beginning of the 1970ies and irretrievably transformed the museum view of native culture (Hallam and Street, 2000; Peers and Brown 2003). “Here the community

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<sup>6</sup> “All of this was done in the cities and for its inhabitants. As it is, peasants, “living somewhere distant”, were neither good nor original enough in comparison with these museum projections. The urban people continued to despise or ignore real peasants. Because of this, museologically speaking, work in the field was more like a scientific robbery but justified by the seriousness of the scientific interest which, independently of everything else, always truly existed. Curators rarely thought to see their institution as anything more than a place where they indulge their scientific interests.” (Šola, 2003: 92).

<sup>7</sup> “We had to see our *visitors* as *users*, which is to say that our success could no longer be measured in terms of number of visits, but in terms of repeated, and thus sustained, action.” (Bradburne, 2001: 77).

<sup>8</sup> Compare concept of “collaborative and community-controlled research” in nature conservation: “collaborative research involves a partnership of equal parties in which local communities are treated as expert collaborators” (Posey i Dutfield 1996: 140). As an example one could cite “Potato Museum” established by local communities in “Potato Park” (“El Parque de la Papa”) in Peru. Biodiversity reserve is a place for the museum and biocultural register. Register is needed as a legal tool for collective property over genetic heritage, contested in biotechnological patents’ procedures.

demand is not a place in an accepted scheme, but for revision of the scheme itself (...) and these relations take the form of questioning the claims of truth and beauty made by museums and their staff”, while the unarbitrated dialogue becomes multifaceted and even contradictory (Karp, 1992: 2 i 11; 1992a: 29). The same period saw the formation of cultural, economic and legal viewpoints pertaining to intangible cultural goods whose collective owners are their local communities, conceived as environments for creating an accommodating and dynamic culture in which the locals are not only the “bearers” but also the creators and owners (Gibson 2005: 287).

In what follows an attempt will be made to present and explain one such situation of the emergence of an inclusive and developmental ethnographic museum which was assigned by the local community the project of exhibiting tradition according to museum norms *in situ*, on the very site of its documentary formation and its coming to life.<sup>9</sup> It has to do with the Rossini and Matavulj buildings, one in the very middle of the historical core of Šibenik and the other located on its edge. The article concludes with a recapitulation of the exhibition and general museum perspectives of this project and with remarks pertaining to its professional and theoretical implications.

The historical interest for the folk tradition in Šibenik is a textbook commonplace. It is in this city that Croats during the late Middle Ages for the first time celebrated folk expressions and their comparisons with antique models (Šižgorić, 1981 [1899]), that the first dictionary of the Croatian language incorporated local terms which we as such recognize up to our own times (Vrančić, 1971 [1595]).<sup>10</sup> Alberto Fortis in the spirit of the Enlightenment wrote impressive pages about the folk culture of the area while Nikola Tommaseo<sup>11</sup> did so in the Romantic manner, whilst in the XX<sup>th</sup> century explorations were conducted here which defined both the classic corpus of the ethnological field of interest and its methodological vocabulary. It is particularly interesting how the only Croatian vigorous investigation of the culture of a local community was conducted under the auspice of the city of Šibenik which ethnologists carried out with the collaboration of other auxiliary scholarly disciplines and which culminated in the publication of a monograph and a series of smaller journal articles (Rihtman-Auguštin: 1982). The first museum in the form of an archeological collection of stone monuments was founded in 1925 on the civil initiative of the Šibenik dean Rev. Krsto Stošić marking the occasion of the celebration of the millenary celebration of the historical Croatian kingdom. The buying of ethnographic material took place depending on the sporadic offers made by the populace while systematic ethnological interest, as a necessity amongst other museum activities, emerged as a consequence of the extension of available space and the refurbishing of the historical Duke's palace in 1975 to meet the needs of a permanent exhibition, which opened in stages in 1979 and 1986 and closed in 1991 due to the war, and because

<sup>9</sup> Terminologically, “developmental” museum follows “traditional resources” (used instead of “folklore” or “traditional knowledge”) in Gibson 2005: 29-31.

<sup>10</sup> For example, the terms “pridivak”, “lakomica” or “lupeščina”. For ethnographic application see Kale, 2008: 115.

<sup>11</sup> Starting in 1840 he collected some three hundred folk songs. The person who told him most of them was Nikola Blaće in Šibenik (Drndarski, 1989: 162).

of the launching of an ethnographic book series at the end of the 1970ies and lasting to the present.<sup>12</sup> Parallel to the preparations undertaken for the permanent exhibition devoted to the history of Šibenik, the neighboring palace Rossini was also being secured for museum use.

## Within the city core: the Rossini palace

The Rossini palace is a three-storey building whose stylistic trademarks begin with XIII<sup>th</sup> century Romaesque features.<sup>13</sup> Its name pertains to its last owner and not to its earlier inhabitants. A researcher of the medieval Šibenik city core considers it to be the beginning of the representative building of houses in the city, after the epoch characterized by isolated city towers standing amidst the street outlay of the then contemporary wooden architecture (Zelić, 1999: 117, 193). Today it is the last remaining integrally owned larger medieval residential whole in the city of Šibenik with some preserved elements of the historical culture of habitation such as stone sills on the windows, profiles of inner doors and etc..

A number of entrances lead into the palace while its surface area in addition to existing openings is satiated by subsequently walled in doors and windows. The axis of the stair way which leads from the historical New Gate of the waterfront city walls takes us to the portal of the palace on the southern facade of the building while the space of the small square whose other side is formed by the facade of the small church of Pp. Barbara is in reality the still visible consequence of the aerial bombardement of

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<sup>12</sup> The island tome of the series “Folk Creativity of the Šibenik Region” was published in 1980, the littoral tome in 1984 while the hinterland tome was published in 1988. On the suggestion of the reviewers Milovan Gavazzi, Božidar Finka, Jerko Bezić and Lovro Županović, the series was conceived as a series of five books in which the four ethnographic tomes (with the ethnography of the city of Šibenik as the fourth book) would be followed by a concluding analytical tome of ethnological studies. Ivo Furčić (1927-2001), teacher in the Music School, melographer and author of music initiated the project and gave it its ethnographic tone. Recorded conversations, of tellings, singing and his own folklore reviews for broadcasting remained in the museum documentation after Furčić passed away. The illustrative nature of the books were greatly enhanced by photos of folklore stagings that took place on the occasion of the ethnographic visits to the villages. The photo negatives of these have also been preserved. In 1997 Furčić completed the ethnographic material for the fourth volume for which archival investigations continued to be conducted.

<sup>13</sup> The often emphasized historical fact that Šibenik is the oldest city on the coast built by Croats has an unusual correlation with this period of time. In the XVII<sup>th</sup> century Ivan Lucić of Trogir wrote: “In 1263 the custom still reigned to summon all the people in front of the church of St. Jacob and that gathering was called the *‘skupština’* (assembly) and the people lived according to Croatian customs.” (according to: Vrandečić, 2002: 23). To Lucić this folk custom merited mention because he was referring to the conclusion of the peace treaty with the people of Trogir on February 7, 1263. (Codex diplomaticus V: 749). This is at the same time the first mention of public gatherings on this place alongside the one-time church of St. Jacob, above the public cistern on the bluff and in the vicinity of the palace which we today recognize as the Rossini palace (Zelić, 1999: 123). Concerning the folk tradition of folk gatherings in the region see Kale, 2009: 240, footnotes 17 and 24. A rare image of the local plebian from that time exists on a fresco of the not distant small church of Our Lady of Srma.

Šibenik at the close of WWII.<sup>14</sup> Climbing the main street of the historical city core from the cathedral upward, this southern facade of the Rossini facade is replaced by its eastern facade which is memorably ingrained into the perspective of the street. The lowering of Kalelarga street around this corner of the Rossini palace eloquently bears witness to the chronological priority of buildings in forming the main life-line of old Šibenik, to the transversal of the steep city center and the only street without steps. This is why the pedestrian approaching the cathedral cannot avoid from this side the emphatic frontal experience of the palace but also owing to the fact that the “square” in front of this facade came into being because the house destroyed in the 1944 bombardments has not been rebuilt so that the pedestrian’s view broadens exactly in front of the Rossini palace. The third free side of this palace is in the side street which connects by a shortcut Kalelarga street with the Loggia, the city hall. From this side one enters the courtyard with the stone crown over the cistern where the smaller part of the palace conjoins the remaining part of the residential bloc in front of the Šibenik cathedral.

As this whole part of the city, the palace stands on a steep stone foundation. The difference in height between the courtyard entrance and the portal, through which one enters in front of the small church of St. Barbara into the space underneath the ground floor in the perspective of Kalelarga street, is about four meters. As a spatial result there are altogether five stories of different dimensions, the courtyard and the separate volume of the cistern whose base is at the height of the ground floor on the eastern facade. If a pedestrian would extend his walk on Kalelarga street according to the axis of the street, he would end up through the walls in the cistern with its characteristic vault arches. The entire usable space of the building amounts to around 700 square meters. After city offices moved into more practical accommodations in 1975, the Museum began to use the upper stories of the palace as storage rooms, gradually taking possession of the whole building.<sup>15</sup> In the Museum itself, the professional staff, alongside the spatial extension of the institution into the spaces of the Duke’s palace, grew in number for the first time at the beginning of the 1970ies. It was then that alongside historians, archeologists, a historian of art and a restorer were engaged on the project task of creating a permanent exhibition of the history of Šibenik.

Within the permanent exhibition in the Duke’s palace building the ethnographic heritage was presented only in one show-case with clothing of city common folk, which as part of the task of permanently exhibiting the ethnographic holdings was intended for the Rossini palace. A number of essential circumstances changed before the time when it became possible to realize this task. First of all, owing to the slow return of the

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<sup>14</sup> This was part of the Duke’s palace in which is located the City of Šibenik Museum. From the small un-interpelated square one has a view of the covered atrium in the complex of the space of the permanent exhibition.

<sup>15</sup> Today the eastern facade part of the ground floor is not owned by the museum. Its smaller segment is owned by the city and used by the Philatelic Club while the larger is a privately owned shop. Because it is listed in the Registry of Cultural Goods, the local government has the right to be the first buyer. Because of a lack of money this transaction through which the last space of the palace would be bought has not yet commenced.

former permanent exhibition and to the reduction of capital investments in culture, it became clear that the new permanent exhibition could not be put up in the manner that the the Duke's palace building had been adapted for.<sup>16</sup> This encouraged the possibility of carrying out the project in stages and of thematizing the floors of the building and thusly reduced the chances of having an integral static permanent exhibition.

Such an articulation of the task of the museum opened the door for the profiling of visitor and user groups. Alongside the main determinant of accepting visitors, this being the direction taken by the visitor on his way to the cathedral from the city center, this meant that the entrance into the palace from the axis of Kalelarga street would ultimately lead to the exit from the palace downward by the street leading to the cathedral and on the other hand would be different than the manner of accepting visitors through the court-yard entrance. That is why in the preparation of the project by stages, the main entrance, which on an axis leads to the acoustic space of the cistern, on the suggestion of the author of this paper, was conceived as the beginning of a museum complex devoted to oral and singing contents with collections of oral history and recordings of Dalmatian harmony-singing groups as thematically digitalized material. On this site we also understand oral history as a means of participation for the local community in redefining the authority of museum narration (Adair et. al., 2011). Its documentation base is represented by Ivo Furčić's ethnographic record and tape library together with later recordings.<sup>17</sup> The collection of material for the fourth, city tome of the book series "Folk Heritage of the Šibenik Area", with its characteristic sequences devoted to the authorial modifications and imitations of the folk melos, provided a foundation for the creation of a publically accesible documentary fund of the history of Dalmatian group singing in Šibenik. In this sense, as if a made-to-order civil partner, the Association *a capella* of Dalmatian singing groups in the Šibenik-Knin county was formed in 2003 at the height of the renewal of interest for the Dalmatian group way of singing and afterwards revived its activities in the spring of 2011.<sup>18</sup> As it turned out, an important common need of the singing groups was a place where to rehearse – a need that could be met because of acoustic reasons by the Rossini palace historical cistern – and a place where written scores could be consulted

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<sup>16</sup> Excepting the gradual buying of space, the only investment in the Rossini palace was an intervention on the roof construction at the beginning of 1986.

<sup>17</sup> Furčić's record and tape library encompasses around 150 hours of voice recordings. Among the later ethnographic recordings are wholes such as the 12-hours interview with one of the last Šibenik field laborers Ivo Ercegović-Kutlić, which served as an introduction to other recordings which were made in the manner of *life story*-tellings. During the last years video-technique was used. The recordings done by my colleague Marija Krčević in the local community achieve a recognizability and the expansion of the circle of tellers through her weekly newspaper column "Telling of Lost Time" (since 2009) and a selection of fragments on the Internet channel [youtube.com/kazivanja](https://www.youtube.com/kazivanja). A distinct collection of tellings has been made by the local recordings and evocations of the war-time culture of life for the research project of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore entitled "Homeland War and War Victims in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: ethnographic aspects" which was conducted from 2002 to 2006..

<sup>18</sup> The number of Dalmatian groups is increasing. At the time this article was handed in 15 (14 of whom were active) of them were registered as societies. I express my thanks to Filian Vuletić from the Association of Societies *a capella* of Singing Groups of the Šibenik-Knin county.



and where various documentation material connected with the singing group movement such as had been gathered since 1970 could be collected.

Considered from the ethnological point of view, the Dalmatian group type of singing is a characteristically urban phenomenon whose collective memory is practically delimited by living generations. The museum catering to groups engaged in this kind of singing therefore meant providing a space for generating a characteristically urban content which is held to be one of the most recognizable cultural features of Dalmatia. In that sense the museum interaction of users, performers and visitors, by sticking to the cultural products that still retain a clear ethnographic marker, would not betray the urban tissue of the historical palace in which cultural changes are evident in the different stylistic features interwoven into the stonework of the entire building. The sung ethnographic contents in the space of the ground floor would have to connect with oral history and with the verbal testimonies of the culture of living. The ethnographic recording of memories of war and of periods of political maltreatment which the Zagreb association Documenta undertook in 2011 was coincidental with this development.<sup>19</sup> In Šibenik war memories continuously play an important role because an armed insurrection took place here on August 17, 1990 while at the outbreak of hostilities in 1991 the city had to defend itself against a renegade army. If we compare the older idea of an ethnographic permanent exhibition with the contours of the museum as a place where cultural products are not only exhibited but are also created, it is obvious how the tectonics of the new project task, articulated according to the needs of interested groups who emphasize important cultural practices, redefines the work that the museum as such has to do within its local community, in front of visitors and society.

The remaining part of the contents accessible on the ground floor in the Rossini palace is connected to the court-yard and the auxiliary entrance into the building. Valorizing the positive achievements of *Baštionica* ("Heritage Playground"), the educative part of the exhibition of northern Dalmatian folk costumes and culture of dressing that was held in 2002, this space is intended for preschool and school-attending children.<sup>20</sup> In this sense the court-yard whose surface is some 50 square meters has a special performative potential and perhaps it would be possible to combine the connected rooms in the interior of the palace with the mezzanine. The civic support for the design and the use of this part of the palace is founded in the continuous cooperation with nursery-school teachers, elementary and secondary school teachers who during the the years-long visits they paid the Museum on their own initiative have profiled themselves as a distinct group of users.<sup>21</sup> The program of presenting history through first person singular narration, with construed composite characters of a

<sup>19</sup> The project was presented in Šibenik at May 12, 2011.

<sup>20</sup> The exhibition was held in Zadar (April-July 2001) and Šibenik (January-October 2002, with 9820 visitors), while "Baštionica" attracted 30 group visits with 800 children with its seven games, cartoon and children exhibit labels. Croatian Ethnological Society awarded its annual "Milovan Gavazzi" award to "Baštionica" as the best ethnological achievement in 2002.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to educative initiatives, an interesting situation occurred before the celebration of the city holiday in 2010 when the theme of heritage, which the county department responsible for schools assigned as theme, motivated a number of classes to visit the Museum.

Šibenik pair from 1895 for the need of whose presentation costumes from the museum holdings were replicated,<sup>22</sup> but also the didactic ensemble in the form of an enlarged Šibenik cap which with various teaching aids (replicas, models, casts, mannequins and others) is lent out for use in Šibenik kindergartens and schools were accommodated to meet their needs.<sup>23</sup> In consultations with counselors and managers of entertainment programs for celebrating childrens birthdays, on the basis of their experience it turned that in this part of the palace during weekday mornings it would be best to target elementary school and kindergarten groups. Evenings would be the appropriate time for childrens' workshops with the welcome participation of parents while weekends would offer the opportunity for the celebration of childrens' birthdays in the traditional manner and similar gatherings. An adequately organized space supported by a professional staff would enable profiled activities associated with the children spending the night in the museum.<sup>24</sup>

Both the first and the second program from the ground floor would serve as an introduction to the remaining museum programs of the building, including the polyvalent hall on the higher story, the exhibition core of the permanent exhibition and the study cabinet with the open storeroom of city crafts and handicrafts on the uppermost floor. This additionally corroborated the importance of collaboration with various groups propagating cultural practices because the museum processing of techniques characteristic for city interactions has led to the incorporation of the tradition of sewn lacework of the Šibenik region into the intangible cultural works heritage in the Registry of the Cultural Products of the Croatian Republic,<sup>25</sup> as well as to preparations for making the proposal to incorporate in like manner the skill for making the Šibenik button,<sup>26</sup> while the broader effort for incorporating the North Dalmatian polychromatic embroidery on "material" is being made by the National Museum in Zadar (Žuvanić, 2011). Another solution of the same type that surfaced in the procedure after an application was made by a tradesman signified the growing interest of the local community for for this region's version of the the red cap – for the "Šibenik cap". As far as buttons and caps are involved those most interested are the tradesmen who as a rule are interested in close inspections of the items in the holdings and they would be the ones who would receive the greatest benefit from open-type show rooms combined with study collections and a library of professional books.

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<sup>22</sup> This being the year when electricity and street lights came to Šibenik making it the first city with an integral system of producing and distributing alternating electric energy. The setting of the date for the performance by the actors was selected by unanimous consent at the meeting of the museum curators. The program of presenting history in the first person began in 1999 and its main shortcoming was the schools' inability to host paid actors. The best results were achieved in the integrated teaching process.

<sup>23</sup> Presentations and discussions in city and private kindergartens and during consultations with teachers of Croatian language and literature, of figurative art, history and information science preceded its elaboration and handing it over to be used. The didactic full set was made in 2009; see [www.sibenskakapa.hr](http://www.sibenskakapa.hr) (last assessed 1. VI. 2011.).

<sup>24</sup> Meeting with the then-owner of the children playing yard Božena Bačelić and the woman responsible for the pedagogical program of the yard, the nursery-school teacher Marija Burazer on April 20, 2010.

<sup>25</sup> Through the branch of Matrix Croatica civil association in Primošten.

<sup>26</sup> On the initiative of the prominent jewelers and their guild in Šibenik.

## Outside the city core: the Matavulj house

The Šibenik cap is an amalgam of the larger red cap from the Šibenik hinterland and the lower-placed and the characteristically embroidered red cap of the coastal towns and the common folk of the city of Šibenik itself. The speed-up of its production by coloring with the more accessible orange color, the simplification of the design which did away with the cone-like top, its decoration with the sewing machine instead of hand embroidery, the dilution of embroidered decorative elements to today's well-known "boula" dispensing with further embroidered stuffing and, above all, the corresponding organization of teaching girls and the supplying of material and the selling of the product made by these women-cooperatives were developments which took place in the the "Industry of Folk Embroidery" enterprise of the Matavulj family that occurred at the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. The activities of this family, encompassing clothing, distillation and industry, lasted continuously from 1844 to 1943.<sup>27</sup> Of their various products it was the Šibenik cap that achieved a certain renown. It owed its market status to the Italian annexation of Zadar and to the development of a new shape to the cap, embraced by farmers who had come into possession of the land they had previously worked for the feudal lords and symbolizing now Slav resistance against aggressive foreigners. The easily applicable expressions derived from the cap (its color and ornament) are amongst the most recognizable elements of today's Šibenik cultural identity.

Because of these reasons the first visit between January 18-24, 2010 by the Matavulj family descendents and inheritors who live in the USA, motivated by their father's and uncle's death and by the ruinous condition of the Matavulj building roof, initiated an interesting train of events.<sup>28</sup> The building is a two-storey edifice in the plebian, "Varoš" part of the city outside its walls built in the XVII<sup>th</sup> century and extended at the end of the XIX<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century. The total interior surface encompasses around a thousand square meters. A one-storey industrial annex dating from 1924 stands alongside the house. A part of the kindergarten "Građa" is

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<sup>27</sup> On the facade of the house is a memorial plate commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Simo Matavulj. However, for the commercial history of the family the decisive role was played by his mother Simeona (Šima) born Triva and his brother Đuro whose offspring are today's dispersed decedents of the Šibenik Matavulj family. His grandfather Georgije Matavulj moved from Grbavci village nearby Bosanska Gradiška (in Bosnia) to Kosovo Polje near Knin, while Georgije's son Stevan in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century moved from there to Šibenik to marry. There is an oral history at Grbavci village about two Matavulj brothers which came there; one brother established Matavulji hamlet while other left for Dalmatia. I thank mr. Mladen Matavulj from Velika Gorica (letter dated February 10, 2011) for relaying to me these facts. According to the opinion of the onomasticist Vladimir Skračić, whom I consulted about the name, the suffix "-ulj" indicates a possessive adjective originating from Roman languages ("-ul" in proper Romanian relates to the masculine gender); I thank him for the letter dated July 4, 2011. Compare the older Šibenik surname Kožul.

<sup>28</sup> Because of the difficulties with its maintenance the building was listed for sale. On the occasion of their visit with the Mayor of Šibenik dr. Ante Županovića on January 21, 2010, the Matavulj couple offered the city the right of being the first buyer which the city administration could not accept. Strictly speaking, such municipal right does not exist because property is not listed in the Register of Cultural Goods. After second inspection, Ministry of Culture decided at January 21st 2010 that "house has lost authenticity of its former traditional style", and "it lacks style characteristics".

today located on its ground floor while the upper floor houses apartments. With the permission of the owners, the garden beyond the house, the last horticultural space of the sort in the Šibenik city core, on a number of occasions served as a gathering place for devotees of traditions associated with the cap.<sup>29</sup> From the numerous donations which the Matavulj family inheritors had given to the Šibenik Archive, the City Library and to the Museum, the collection of woven works made by girls who attended the vocational school that after 1945 was located in this building was selected for the exhibition held on June 30, 2011 to mark their return visit to Šibenik. Owing to the interest shown by the teachers in the kindergarten, located in the factory annex from the 1920ies, the exhibition format accorded with the educational concept of an art workshop inspired by the exhibited items.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the communication established with the owners of the building initiated a discussion regarding its future. The first Šibenik ethnographic exhibition was held in this building.<sup>31</sup> Additionally, the building is interesting to the Museum because in the holdings of a number of Museum departments are acquisitions of the culture of dwelling, musical instruments, craftsman's tools, etc., which derive from this building. Furthermore, it is interesting because the Matavulj building is the last larger preserved space of the first city industrial capacities which radially studded the land belt of the historical city walls which were on a number of instances pulled down during the second half of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century (Marković, 2009: 91). As an original factory space, with evident traces of the one-time boiler-house and installations in a number of rooms, such a place offers the possibility of exhibiting the proto-industrial and industrial heritage of Šibenik,<sup>32</sup> of particular significance for the development of the city considering the early introduction of electricity for supplying machines.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This was a children's workshop around themes dealing with the Šibenik cap supervised by teachers on June 5, 2010, a projection of documentary films about the Šibenik cap on October 12 of the same year and "Whose cap is older?" on March 30, 2011. Since the house and the theatre are situated on a slope, the old horticultural arrangement in cascades allows the possibility of an amphitheatrical distribution of visitors.

<sup>30</sup> The principal of the kindergarten is Mila Kovač, while the educationist is Anka Barbača. A meeting with all the kindergarten teachers was held in the kindergarten "Grada" on May 4, 2011.

<sup>31</sup> "On the occasion of the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the cathedral and the Eucharistic Congress in Šibenik, a cultural exhibition or better to say a number of exhibitions were organized. The renowned firm Matavulj put up an ethnographic exhibition of all possible costumes from North Dalmatia both on land and on the sea and of tiny home articles with folk ornaments. (...)" (Stošić, 1931: 221). My Museum colleague, the curator Marija Krnčević, found the newspaper article.

<sup>32</sup> For one of the characteristic city crafts, candlemaking, the space of the Matavulj building offers practically only one possibility of permanently exhibiting two available wax chandleries. It is difficult to assume that the two-storey city chandlerie could be exhibited anywhere else than in this space. The social interaction characteristic for chandleries pertains to the minority communities within the city because the craft of making them was habitually practiced by Italian families (one of them was the Gavazzi family, one of whose members was the famous Croatian ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi – see Šestan, 1995.). Alongside the habitual needs of the Croatian population, important consumers of the product were Serbs, the Orthodox congregation, because of their characteristic liturgical needs.

<sup>33</sup> The first electric distribution in 1895 started at the electric plant on Skradinski buk and supplied electricity to the street lighting, to the city buildings and industrial facilities in Šibenik; when the network was expanded in 1904 it was the most powerful system of the transmission of electric energy in Europe (Marković, 2009: 94-96).

From the ethnological point of view, it was interesting to establish that in a part of the shop on the raised podium there were mannequins dressed in folk costumes made on the premises.<sup>34</sup> The design work, corroborated by documents, on fashion adaptations, modifications and paraphrases of textiles and embroideries for the modern taste, that also took place in the building, authenticates it for new atelier and workshop activities. All of these occasions provided sufficient reasons to consult leaders of significant projects initiated by civil associations which are devoted to heritage and cultural themes. The original assumption for discussion was the developmental project which accompanied the exhibition of North Dalmatian costumes held in 2002. It was then that weaving instruction for women from the Šibenik region was begun in partnership with humanitarian organisations whose goal was to make home-made looms for handiwork done at home and for cooperative employment for the souvenir market.<sup>35</sup>

## Discussion: dialogue; inclusion; conflict and the museum

Going by the above explanation of the museum value of both locations it is clear how the primary question was not “what museum items to exhibit?” but rather “how to exhibit tradition?” This particularly came to the fore in the Matavulj house, in the very place of genesis of, for example, the Šibenik cap – literally *in situ*. In this sense both of the places that have been described are complementary and can constitute an integral museum project. Instead of material cultural products, intangible cultural goods which are capable of generating anew objects – be they imitated, reshaped (such as the amlgaman of the Šibenik cap) or paraphrased – have better chances of being exhibited.<sup>36</sup>

“This task involves not just seeking out objects and cultural materials that are representative or stylistically central. It also involves engaging in dialogue with people who stand apart from their communities or who form different communities, and it involves seeking out objects and knowledge that can be used to deny essentializing assertions of identity.” (Karp, 1992a: 31)

By the very definition of the recurringly mentioned category of the intangible cultural product, ethnographic museums thusly engaged find themselves on the interactive peak. Important guidelines are to be found in the 2003 international Convention for preserving intangible cultural heritage:

<sup>34</sup> On the basis of objects and documentation obtained for the City of Šibenik Museum in 2010.

<sup>35</sup> Training took place in Šibenik, Knin and later in Drniš. An additional consequence of this training was the establishment of the cooperatives “Tkanica” in Knin and the association “Žena” in Drniš.

<sup>36</sup> Where Đuro Matavulj approached his embroiderers with machines, a century later craftsman like Nelića Knežević used computer for embroidery implementation. Ana Udovičić and Marija Stojić, the authoresses of original digital works connected to the Šibenik cap, could be called “digital cap makers” (Kale, 2010a: 16).

“One of the most significant aspects of this Convention (...) is the central role it gives to the cultural communities (and groups and, in some cases, individuals) associated with intangible cultural heritage that is unprecedented in this area of international law. This is a response to the very specific character of intangible cultural heritage that exists only in its enactment by practitioners and, therefore, whose continued practice depends wholly on the ability and willingness of the cultural group and/or community concerned. (...) The identification of any intangible cultural heritage as such is dependent on the recognition by ‘communities, groups and individuals’ who are continuously recreating it and to whom it provides a sense of community.” (Blake, 2009: 45-47)

An elaboration of such an inclusive task assigned to the museum does not make it easy to enumerate how many profiled groups are involved here. Without them one could not even approach the task as set forth.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, some of their features are easily discerned. In the first place one can place the gender key because in many of its segments cultural narration is presented in the feminine mode. Without exception, in the case of the Rossini palace these are the nursery-school and elementary school women teachers who throughout the years have imposed themselves as users in need of appropriate museum programs.<sup>38</sup> In the case of the heritage of the Matavulj “Industry of Folk Embroidery” it was the cap-makers,<sup>39</sup> while during the civil initiative associated with the idea of making the Matavulj house a public good they were the women leading the most successful projects founded on the traditions and culture of this part of Croatia.<sup>40</sup>

The other is the ethnic and the minority key. Within this discourse the Matavulj house is not symbolically identified with the entrepreneur Đuro Matavulj, but with his famous brother, the writer Simo, just as the one-time Italian community in Šibenik (Mattiazzi, Mazzoleni, Pelegrini, Poleti, Dominis, Kapeli etc.) is identified with Nikola Tommaseo’s political engagement as minister of culture of the short-lived restored Venice Republic from 1848. In such a manner the “Industry of Folk Embroidery” work

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<sup>37</sup> Compare examples of local communities “as curators” in Adair, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> While amongst kindergarten teachers and their professional pedagogical staff there are no exceptions, in the circle of some two dozen interested elementary and secondary school teachers there is only one male teacher.

<sup>39</sup> All those who made the Šibenik cap were women. The exception being the first “man maker of caps” in the family of the woman, Nelica Knežević from Vodice, who initiated the process of incorporating the skill of making the Šibenik cap into the Registry of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia as an intangible cultural product. In the same manner, a biographically significant stage of the craft and industry of the Matavulj family lies in the hands of Simeona (Šima), the mother of Đuro and Simo Matavulj.

<sup>40</sup> Up to February 26, 2010, those responsible for the largest local projects connected with the themes of heritage and tradition (as a rule all women, all together five of them) were contacted after the visit by the Matavulj couple. On March 26, 2010 a meeting was held with those interested in the initiative to refurbish the Matavulj house. Because of the procedure of evaluation the most important aspect was European funding. As a result of organizational exploratory work and the formulation of founding documents on June 5, 2011, with collaborators from this circle, the association “Težački dom” (Commoners’ Home) was established as a first step in the direction of establishing a foundation for the civil development to be located in the Matavulj house.



from 1844 to 1943 is perceived through the eyes of the first part of the 1990ies.<sup>41</sup> Because in 1991 Šibenik found itself to be the target of one of the first occupation offensives and reports issued by those attacking it used almost the same phrases as can be found in the prose representation of Šibenik in the work of Simo Matavulj,<sup>42</sup> efforts to make the local community sensitive to the heritage and legacy of the Matavulj house is not an unambiguous dialogue. Nevertheless, the responsibility for the dialogue concerning heritage and for instructing the local community about its past lies with the majority group. In that sense the locations of authentic opuses contain an important evocative potential and “dynamic tool [that] communities use to create consensus and manage conflict from within” (Camarena i Morales 2006: 328). Keeping silent is as equal a fruitless possibility as is the monologue.<sup>43</sup> It is clear that in such a process the museum as the place of passive consumption of represented objects has gone wholly astray:

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<sup>41</sup> “They overlook the value of retrospection, minimize the importance of hindsight, and travel back to see the past as though it were the present, because for them things are explicable only in the present.” (Lowenthal, 1985: 23). The period of conflicts in the anti-Italian Croatian-Serbian political coalition in Šibenik and the publication of, for example, the short story “Count Ile Deseti and Ilija Vulinov” in Belgrade in 1889 is charged enough with the tensions of its time. The walk through Šibenik in dialogue form is written in the best manner of realistic prose. When published in abridged form this segment is usually omitted. One of the finest descriptions of Šibenik retreats into a Romantic demographic mathematics in which the čakavian-speakers from a part of the historical core of the city, some thousand of them in number, are sole Croats while the rest of the non-Italian population speak a western or southwestern Serbian language, some two thousand of them in the remaining part of the city core and some four thousand other “genuine Serbs of the purest blood” in one thousand houses of Varoš outside the city walls. However, at the end of the introduction, by summarizing about one hundred houses of the “Old Law”-inhabitants (accordingly, about half a thousand of inhabitants), it is obvious how Matavulj represents the entire non-čakavian and non-Italian speaking part of the populace as Serbs or as their descendents (Matavulj, 1964 [1889]: 14-18). However, on the basis of the available history of the intensive city life in the Matavulj house there are no traces of promoting a political program espousing a vision of Great Serbia. A number of city associations and initiatives humanitarian in nature were implemented in the house – up to the founding of the city branch of the Red Cross and a home for war orphans by Milka Bučić born Matavulj in 1945; see the documentary Matavulj holdings in the State Archive in Šibenik and in the City of Šibenik Museum. Political tensions were evident also during presentation of NGO Documenta’s oral history project in Šibenik.

<sup>42</sup> As I heard it myself, the evening radio news of Radio Television of Serbia on September 18, 1991 announced that the Army had entered into “Serbian Šibenik”. The claim that all štokavian-dialect speakers are Serbs is still used as a provocation (“Red graffitos in Cyrillic script at Cinema hall in Borovo Naselje ‘Welcome to Republic of Srpska’ and ‘All of you are Serbs’; police says 10-days old graffitos were accompanied with a fresh one with ‘Kosovo’ inscription and 2x1,5 m big Cyrillic letters ‘S’ at the local post office”, news article “Ageing graffitos ‘This is Serbia’, ‘Death to Croats’ in Vukovar”, “Jutarnji list” daily at 3rd February 2009.).

<sup>43</sup> In this sense the preparation for the memorial-plate to be put on the house where Nikola Tommaseo was born is of special interest. It carries verses from one of his poems chosen by a Croatian academic and is organized by the Šibenik Rotary Club. His bronze sculpture which was put up by the city administration headed by Ante Šupuk was melted down in the city factory a day after the speech given, on this very place, by the president of the Croatian government, the writer Vladimir Nazor on January 24, 1945. The photo-journal recorded the moment when Nazor (wearing a Šibenik cap which he was given as a gift) pointed a finger at Tommaseo’s monument and read: “The only Italian preferer I can see in Šibenik now is the old man Nikola Tomaseo, a man now made of bronze, cold and stiff, who was very talented and learned but who did not fully empathize with the people from whom he had come.”

“... The division between the hidden space of museum in which knowledge is produced and organized and the public spaces in which it is offered for passive consumption produces a monologic discourse dominated by the authoritative cultural voice of a museum. To break this discourse down, it is imperative that the role of the curator be shifted away from that of the source of an expertise whose function is to organize a representation claiming the status of knowledge and towards that of the possessor of a technical competence whose function is to assist groups outside the museum to use its resources to make authored statements within it. (...) If the space of museum is to become more fully dialogic, and if such statements are not to be framed within – and so, potentially, recuperated by – the official voice of the museum, in allowing the museum to function as a site for the enunciation of plural and differentiated statements, enabling it to function as an instrument for public debate.” (Bennett, 1995: 103-104)

According to its pedagogical essence, the museum as a space for the permanent exhibition format and a space for occasional exhibitions where cultural values are presented as a dictate harmonized with the ruling viewpoints of import for the political platforms of museum financiers is like Disneyland – it offers what the public desires (Bennett, 1995: 105). According to the same museum theoretician, the opposite conception of the museum as an instrument of instruction and an instrument enhancing culture and the intellectual thought of the community (*ibid.*) takes us back to the period of Bennett’s nineteenth century “birth of the museum” when they were perceived as being instruments for achieving positive social changes (Sandell, 1998: 408).

“By the 1830s there was increasing acceptance of the idea that making museums accessible to a wider public could deliver social benefits. (...) Furthermore, by the mid-nineteenth century there was increasing interest in the role which museums had to play in delivering positive social change through education. (...) Such ideals inspired a number of access-related initiatives, particularly from the national museums, including evening openings and free admission (...)” (Sandell, 1998: 409)

Ethnographic exhibition formats are places for creating cultural authorities (Karp, 2000: 199-207), contact zones in which exhibited items are not contextualised but actualized (Clifford, 1997: 193). “The ‘core product’ of the museum will continue to be its site and collections and the associated expertise of its staff, what is changing and developing enormously, however, is the huge range of both tangible and intangible elements through which visitors can access this core product.” (Black, 2005: 268-270). In such a setup museums do not follow their scientific object of study with the necessary programs of acquisition but rather the community “reinforces the group’s capacity to be a community, to imagine its identity collectively, and to project its imagination in action” (Camarena and Morales 2006: 328).

“(…) Negotiation of borders and centers are historically structured in dominance. To the extent that museums understand themselves to be interacting with specific communities across such borders, rather than simply educating

or edifying a public, they begin to operate – consciously and at times self-critically – in contact histories. (...), [like] a ‘cultural text’ that could not be read from a stable location. (...) Thus, the multiplication of contexts becomes less about discovery and more about negotiation, less a matter of creative curators having good ideas, doing research, consulting indigenous experts, and more a matter of responding to actual pressures and calls for representation in a culturally complex civil society.” (Clifford, 1997: 204, 207 and 210)

## Conclusion

If the visitor, on a task similar to the one undertaken by the secret shopper, were to have his eyes covered so as to keep hidden the physical ambience, I doubt whether he would be able to easily recognize, on the evidence of the exhibition, pedagogical and publication programs, that he is dealing with institutions in communities whose social fabric has been torn apart by war, in others whose social capital is in the midst of processes of allocation without precedent, in third ones in which a series of recognizably profiled groups holds these places as sites for the entertainment of the wealthy or the idle, or in societies which share all these features together with many others.<sup>44</sup> These doubts belong amongst “hard questions [which] are now being asked about the justification of museums” (Hooper-Greenhill, 1997: 1, cited in : Sandell, 1998: 403). Recapitulating Hewison (1987), Harvey (1989) and Walsha (1992), Clifford recognizes in museums the destructive effects of the globalization of capital:

“(...) a relentless erosion of ‘place’, of local and continuous senses of collective time, and the substitution of shallow, spectacular, and merely nostalgic conceptions of the past. Heritage replaces history, contributing to a hegemonic articulation of national and class interests. (...) Similar neoliberal hegemonies [are] at work wherever changing societies, engaged with expansive capitalism, represent and consume their past as heritage. The commodification of local pasts is part of a global process of cultural ‘de-differentiation.’” (Clifford, 1997: 216)

Globalization destroys ineffective producers, but at a same time “in a few cases, offers these cultures the possibility of becoming stylized and disseminating their music,

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<sup>44</sup> Amongst the institutions that address this kind of questions are the administrations of protected parts of nature, “museums of nature in the open”, amongst which during the last decades a principle has affirmed itself known under the acronym CBNRM (*community-based natural resource management*). The authorization of native communities to administer their heritage (beginning with nature and continuing with culture) in New Zealand and Australia has been going on for almost half a century (Creamer, 1994: 135). How to protect in an administrative situation founded on the local community, for example, the rice terraces on Bali concerning which Geertz held that they represent a physical-technological-social-religious unit, with all of their accompanying features such as are parts of the museum? The skill to permanently protect them has to do with opening up intangible cultural heritage to dialogue (with its unbuilt innovation). Regarding the “*subak*” terraces see Geertz, 1980: 79. In this sense the places where the cultural heritage is opened to dialogue are simultaneously the places of ameliorating injured cultural landscapes, far from the confines of museum walls.

festivities, and culinary traditions through transnational companies” (Camarena and Morales 2006: 323).<sup>45</sup> As a rule, “[local] community is to be protected against threats to remove the management of resources (...) to the private sphere of exclusive monopolies” (Gibson 2005: 297). These were the reasons for a new concept of intangible cultural heritage, as a reaction of African and South-American folklore to copyright, as well as implementation of Japanese model for conservation of traditions (Lucas-Schloetter 2004.). In such a world where original goods are valued, the inclusive museum is an instrument of the process of democratization (ibid., 410), and among the results of this process are the connotations of “heritage” and “authenticity” themselves. The experience of authenticity is created in the contact zone of the cultural product, between those who establish it and those who consume its meanings. “Heritage” is a matter of one such cultural consumption without which there is no creation of new cultural values (Prentice, 2001: 22). The space of the consumption of the meanings of cultural objects is the arena of cultural production (Löfgren, 1994: 66).<sup>46</sup> The museum as the facility of the creative industry and the scene of participatory democracy in reality represents the ethnographic definition of the ethnographic museum. The ability to emphasize is its important professional tool.<sup>47</sup> The more we distance it from the monological transmission of the systems of social power and bring it closer to the ambiances of the creation of new social values – social capital as much as cultural goods – the nearer we will get to the creation of an inclusive and developmental museum.

*Translated by: Stipe Grgas-Mufa*

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<sup>45</sup> “Paradoxically, while globalization has contributed to the destruction of indigenous communities, as they are increasingly dispossessed of their territory and resources, increasingly marginalized or transformed into commodities, it also increases their access to new tools to impact global awareness and defend their integrity” (Camarena and Morales 2006: 325).

<sup>46</sup> Creativity through consumption belongs to the theme of the cultural construction of demand which is beyond economics (far outside the “*consumer behaviour*” research), concerning which Thorstein Veblen and Walter Benjamin have written about in the sociology of culture. Newer studies are enormously anthropologized having to do with the processual spaces of culture: “Degrees of freedom in strategies of consumption reflect degrees of freedom in the constitution of life spaces, the degree to which the subject may possess a conscious strategy of appropriation of the world in the making of his own smaller space of existence, of his own life-style expressive of a given or created identity. Degree of freedom are also situated in terms of the larger social context. Creativity may be understood as variations on a given theme or as a replacement of one theme by another” (Friedman, 1994: 16).

<sup>47</sup> “Apart from providing accurate knowledge about other places and societies, it gives an appreciation of other experiences and the equal value of all human life, and not least, it helps us to understand ourselves. In the contemporary, intertwined world, anthropology should be a central part of anybody’s *Bildung*, that is, education in the widest sense. Anthropology can teach humility and empathy, and also the ability to listen, arguably one of the scarcest resources in the rich parts of the world these days. It can even be fun” (Eriksen, 2006: 130).