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"Klinasto ruho: nastajanje i postojanje na primjeru Istre"

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Budući da je izlaganje tekstilnih predmeta u našim muzejima prava rijetkost¹, izložba "Klinasto ruho" bila je zaista dobrodošla u takvoj oskudnoj ponudi.

Osim za stručnjake i poznavatelje osnovne tipologije tekstilnih krojeva, već je i sam naziv spomenute izložbe "dobro zvučao", odnosno bio dovoljno intrigantan da potakne znatijelju publike. Dobroj posjećenosti svakako su pridonijele još i aktivnosti vezane uz muzejski pedagoški program. Naime, za trajanja izložbe održavale su se radionice i izložbe, posebno za pulsku i zagrebačku školu primijenjene umjetnosti i dizajna i Tekstilno-tehnološki fakultet iz Zagreba.

Izložba je rezultat dugogodišnjega etnološkog znanstveno-istraživačkog rada dr. Jelke Radauš-Ribarić koja je, uz ostale poslove (pa i one direktorske u Etnografskom muzeju od 1965. do 1975.), dosta energije uložila u terenska istraživanja. Jedna od dominantnih tema njezina interesa bila je obrada ženske narodne nošnje u Istri o čemu je 1965. godine napisala i obranila doktorsku disertaciju. To zanimljivo istraživanje objavljeno je tridesetak godina kasnije - 1997. Dio spomenute disertacije, a sada i knjige, prikaz je klinastog ruha koje je na kraju postalo i glavnom temom izložbe u Etnografskom muzeju. Budući da je riječ o studijskoj koncepciji kojom se nastoji utvrditi osebnost pojave klinastog ruha, te brojnim (izravnim i neizravnim) komparativnim primjerima s različitih lokaliteta želi ukazati na isprepletenost i

¹Ne samo zbog restriktivnih konzervatorskih uvjeta, osobito rasvjete i klimatskih uvjeta, koji propisuju rigorozne mjere čuvanja i izlaganja, već i stoga što je relativno malo istraživača specijaliziranih za tekstilne predmete.

povezanost različitih kultura u Europi, možda se i možemo složiti s konstatacijom dr. Radauš-Ribarić da je ova izložba "*do sada najeuropskija izložba u Etnografskom muzeju*".

Iako je u optičaju više naziva za izradu klinastog ruha, njihovo je zajedničko svojstvo krojenje u klinove, što znači da su vršci okrenuti prema gornjem dijelu. Stoga je odjeća u ramenima mnogo uža nego li u donjem dijelu gdje se zvonoliko širi. Za takvu vrlo logičnu, praktičnu i, vjerojatno, univerzalnu krojačku praksu, koja može sezati od prastarog odjevnog inventara, zaista nije jednostavno precizno utvrditi prostorno-vremenske koordinate. Zato, unatoč vrlo iscrpnoj argumentaciji dr. Radauš-Ribarić, i dalje ima diskutabilnih komparativnih analogija i otvorenih pitanja na tu temu. Neka od pitanja, uostalom, postavlja i sama autorica, npr., kako i zašto pojedini oblici krojeva i nošnje traju duže od ostalih, u čemu je tajna njihove perzistentnosti, zašto se neki oblici pojavljuju i na prostorima na kojima ih se ne očekuje, i tome slično.

Prema autoričinu istraživanju, klinasto je ruho dugo u upotrebi, preživjelo je mnoga kulturna razdoblja, a ishodište mu je na sjeverozapadu europskog kontinenta. Njegove se značajke pojavljuju u odjeći onih naroda koji su se u povijesno vrijeme pokrenuli iz tog područja u kojem su se dodirivali slavenski i germanski svijet.

Za naše prostore klinasto je ruho posebno značajno za Ćićariju, Labinštinu i zapadnu Istru. Ono se u stanovništvu tog područja, naseljenog u prvom migracijskom valu od 7. do 9. stoljeća, zadržalo više od tisuću godina. Umjesto daljnjeg iznošenja autoričinih teza, dovoljno je pogledati sadržajnu koncepciju pratećega izložbenog kataloga gdje se jasno izlaže tematska struktura cijelog projekta. Na početku se nalaze uvodne i kontekstualne napomene s osnovnim podacima o Istri i klinastom ruhu kao jednoj od regionalnih posebnosti. Zatim slijedi opširnija studija o samom klinastom ruhu sa slikovnim priložima iz prošlosti i sačuvanim dijelovima nošnje, a između tih poglavlja i pri kraju govori se o tehničkim aspektima koji su omogućili izradu spomenutih krojeva.²

Izložba je postavljena u visokom prizemlju (desnom krilu) Etnografskog muzeja, u prostoru koji se često koristi za povremene izložbe. To je u odnosu na treći kat (gdje se također rade takve izložbe) svakako bolji izbor, jer se nije svima jednostavno uspeti visokim uskim stepeništem. Usto, znamo da putovi komunikacije do izložbe i kroz izložbu moraju biti što jednostavniji i maksimalno dostupni u svim mogućim smislovima. Naime, i o takvim, naizgled prizemnim stvarima, itekako treba voditi brigu. Na tu bih temu mogla spomenuti svoje iskustvo iz studentskih dana kada sam i sama vodila po izložbama Muzeja "Mimara". Sjećam se da je za veći dio publike prvi kat izložbenog prostora još bio nekako savladiv, no ostali, hmmm ... malo teže ili nikako.

Likovni postav izložbe u Etnografskom muzeju potpisuje Nikolina Jelavić Mitrović, diplomirana dizajnerica. U situaciji kada hrvatskim izložbenom prostorom domini-

² Neke su pod teme o tehničkoj izradi: tkanje na uspravnom tkalačkom stanu; tkalački stan s horizontalno napetom osnovom; tkanje pomoću tkalačke daščice (mogućnost napinjanja neograničene dužine, osnova podijeljena na parne i neparne niti); značajke u tehnologiji dobivanja tkanine u Slavenu; uska tkanina; konstrukcija ruha s nizom okomitih pruga tkanine.

raju svega dva "postavljača", arhitekti Mario Beusan i Željko Kovačić, nije baš jednostavno konkurirati njihovim bogatim izložbenim inscenacijama i svakojakim dosjetkama. No ovdje i nije riječ o konkurenciji, ali usporedbe su uvijek dobrodošle. Ukratko, "prostorno dizajniranje" izložbe "Klinasto ruho" može se opisati s nekoliko ključnih pojmova, a to su: minimalizam, jednostavnost, fluidna oprostorenost, kontinuirano prožimanje i nijansirano izdvajanje pojedinih tematskih cjelina ponajviše pomoću svjetlosnih akcenata ili suptilnih detalja (npr., sugeriranje niti s horizontalno-vertikalnim rasterom bijelog užeta koji asocira na makro presjek tkalačke strukture). Ipak, unatoč uravnoteženoj likovnosti, ovaj postav djeluje pretiho, premirno i odviše neutralno, naročito imajući u vidu mlađe generacije koje žele više "movinga". No to nas dovodi do vrlo ozbiljnoga prezentacijsko-komunikacijskog problema, tj. mjere približavanja (pa i podilaženja) publici. Osobno su mi draži korektni, pa i "staromodniji" pristupi nego atrakcije pod svaku cijenu u kojima se izvorni predmeti uglavnom izgube. Svjesna sam velikih razmimoilaženja između želja i mogućnosti, između idejne koncepcije i konačne izvedbe te brojnih neizbježnih kompromisa za vrijeme nastajanja izložbe, no poneki bi elementi (možda barem primjerena zvučna kulisa!) znatno pridonijeli atmosferi ukupna muzejskog doživljaja ove izložbe.

Pogledajmo osnovnu raspodjelu izložbenog materijala. Na zidovima ili uz njih većinom su postavljeni dvodimenzionalni, plošni predmeti: fotografije, karte i veći krojevi klinastog ruha izrezani na debljoj drvenoj plohi. Ti su drveni izresci atraktivna dosjetka i dominantan, gotovo zaštitni znak izložbe. Sličnim postupkom prikazani su i vikinški jedrenjaci, koji su ovdje prisutni zbog njihovih jedara izrađenih od uskih, dugih pruga platna, čime se sadržajno uklapaju u shemu klinastih krojeva. Veći dio izložbenog zida prekrivaju fotografije rasporedene tako da maksimalno uvažavaju i prate osnovnu konceptualnu razradu teme. Iste se fotografije nalaze i u pratećem izložbenom katalogu.

Spomenimo neke od tih ilustracija jer one nedvosmisleno ukazuju na širinu kontekstualnog pristupa. To su, npr., lik sv. Sofije s propovjedaonice župne crkve sv. Silvestra, kustodija iz Vrhla kod Buzeta, freska Pohodenja Marije Elizabeti iz Berma, Eva na fresci iz Hrastovlja, spremanje otkanog platna u svitke, božanstvo s jelenjim rogovima iz Gundersrupa u Danskoj, kroj vikinške odjeće s Grenlanda, tapiserija iz Bayeuxa, keramička figurica iz Dupljaje, Ulrich iz Regensburga, spona iz Vača, hrvatski kralj s podanicima, lik iz vizigotskog kodeksa, normanski biskup Odo, biblijski kralj Salamun, portal katedrale u Chartresu, "burgundska moda" na tapiseriji iz 15. st. i druge fotografije. Osim toga, zastupljene su, uvijek dobrodošle i edukativne, karte kojima se predočava rasprostranjenost klinastog ruha u prošlosti i sadašnjosti, karta Istarskog poluotoka s područjima tipova nošnji te karta s prikazom seobe Germana.

Trodimenzionalni su predmeti postavljeni više u "nutrini" izložbenog prostora i, kako je već spomenuto, likovno su, i to posebno s obzirom na veliku visinu, uravnoteženo komponirani. Na vrlo jednostavnim, minimalističkim postamentima od drvene kvadratne ploče i metalnih konstrukcija "obješeni" su izvorni muzejski predmeti - tamne haljine izrađene od grubljeg platna, a bliže zidu posloženi su

svjetliji primjeri (poput zanimljiva kamižota krojena u klinove). Osim nošnje, u toj su skupini predmeta još keramičke figurice, arheološki nalazi, namještaj (ormari), tkalački stanovi i misno ruho. Mislim da bi sugestija o nešto opširnijim legendama uz predmete (posebno podaci o dataciji) mogla pridonijeti boljem razumijevanju njih samih, kao i cijelog konteksta.

I na kraju ovoga kraćeg osvrtu, čini mi se da su krojevi klinastog ruha poslužili kao dobar poticaj modnim dizajnerima i drugim "tekstilcima" te da će uslijediti kreativne reinterpretacije tradicijskih nošnji što je jedan od izvrsnih načina povezivanja prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Sigurna sam i da bi *kamižot* mogao biti jako dobar nosivi "suvenir".

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"Wedge-Shaped Clothes – Origin and Existence in Istria"

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The presentation of textile objects is quite a rarity in our museums¹ which is why the "Wedge-Shaped Clothes" exhibition was truly a welcome enrichment of the otherwise modest offer of such events.

Although it was primarily appealing to experts and those familiar with the basic typology of textile tailoring, the title of the exhibition sounded intriguing enough in its own right to incite the curiosity of the public. The exhibition was well attended also thanks to activities related to the pedagogical program of the museum. For the duration of the exhibition, the museum organized workshops and special exhibitions for the Zagreb and Pula Schools of Applied Arts and Design, as well as for the Faculty of Textile Technology of Zagreb.

The exhibition is based on years of ethnological scientific and research work of Jelka Radauš-Ribarić (Ph.D.). Besides other duties (including managerial duties at the Ethnographic Museum from 1965 to 1975), she invested a lot of energy into field research. One of the dominant subjects of her interest has been the manufacture of the female folk costume in Istria, about which she wrote and defended her doctor's dissertation in 1965. This interesting research was published some thirty years later, in 1997. One part of the dissertation, now also available in book form, is the presentation of wedge-shaped clothes, which ultimately also became the main theme of the

¹ Not only due to restricted conservation conditions, especially in terms of lighting and air conditioning as well as strict safekeeping and presentation measures to be observed, but also because there are relatively few researchers specializing in textile objects.

exhibition staged by the Ethnographic Museum. Since this study concept attempts to determine the specifics of the appearance of wedge-shaped garments and uses numerous (direct or indirect) comparative examples from various sites to illustrate the intertwinement of various cultures in Europe, we can perhaps agree with the statement of Ms. Radauš-Ribarić that this exhibition is "*the most European exhibition ever presented in the Ethnographic Museum*".

A number of terms have been used to describe the creation of the wedge-shaped clothes, but the common trait of all of them is that the clothes are cut in the form of wedges with tips turned to the upper part of the garment. For that reason, the clothes are considerably narrower at the top than at the bottom, where they spread out in the form of a bell. It is not easy at all to determine the precise temporal and spatial coordinates for this very logical, practical and probably universal tailoring practice, which may go back to ancient clothing inventory. This is why Ms. Radauš-Ribarić, despite her very comprehensive argumentation, still has debatable comparative analogies and open issues about this subject. Some of the questions have been, after all, posed by the author herself, for instance, how and why certain tailoring and dress varieties last longer than others, what is the secret for their persistence, why some forms also appear in areas where they are not expected to, and the like.

According to the author's research, the wedge-shaped cut has been in use for a long time, it survived many cultural epochs and its origins can be traced to the north-western part of the European continent. Its characteristics appear in the garment of the peoples who migrated in ancient times from that region, which was the intersection of the Slavic and German world.

On the Croatian territory, the wedge-shaped dress was particularly significant for the regions of Ćićarija, Labinština and western Istria. The population of this area, which settled during the first migration wave from the 7th to the 9th century, used this type of clothing for over thousand years. Rather than further listing the author's theses, it will suffice to cast a glance on the content and concept of the accompanying exhibition catalogue, which clearly illustrates the thematic structure of the entire project. It begins with introductory and contextual remarks, including basic information about Istria and the wedge-shaped clothes as one of the distinctive traits of this region. It continues with a more elaborate study of the wedge-shaped garment, supplemented by visuals illustrating the historical development and preserved parts of costumes. The section between these two chapters as well as the closing section of the catalogue is dedicated to the technical aspects which enabled the creation of this variety of textile tailoring².

The exhibition is located at the raised ground-floor (right wing) of the Ethnographic Museum, in a room which is often used for temporary exhibitions. It

² Some sub-topics deal with the technical process: weaving on a vertical loom; loom with horizontally stretched warp; weaving with the help of the weaver's shuttle (possibility to stretch fabric of unlimited length, warp divided into even and odd threads); characteristics of the fabric production technology of Slavs; narrow fabric; construction of garments from rows of vertical narrow fabric bands.

is definitely a better choice than the third floor (where such exhibitions are also presented), as it is not easy for everyone to climb the high and narrow stairs. It is also known that the communication channels to and through the exhibition must be as simple as possible and fully accessible in every conceivable sense. Such seemingly trivial issues must be certainly taken into consideration. In this context, I can mention my student experience, when I was working as a guide at the exhibitions of the "Mimara" Museum. I remember that the first floor of the exhibition space was somehow manageable for most of the visitors, but the other floors, well... hardly or not at all.

The visual design of the exhibition at the Ethnographic Museum was created by graduate designer Nikolina Jelavić Mitrović. In the situation when the Croatian exhibition space is dominated by no more than two exhibition designers, the architects Mario Beusan and Željko Kovačić, it is not simple at all to compete with their rich exhibition staging and various effects. It is also not a matter of competition, although comparisons are always welcome. In brief, "the spatial design" of the exhibition "Wedge-Shaped Clothes" can be described by several key concepts: minimalism, simplicity, fluid spatial design, continuous interfusion and nuanced highlighting of individual thematic entities mainly through light accents or subtle details (e.g. the thread has been suggested by using a horizontal and vertical raster of white rope, evocative of an oversized cross section of the weaving structure). Despite its balanced visual impression, however, this exhibition comes across as too quiet, too still and too neutral, especially from the perspective of younger generations who expect more a more dynamic approach. However, this brings up a very serious presentation and communication problem: the right measure of approaching (and even pandering of) the audience. Personally, I prefer correct, even "old-fashioned" approaches rather than attractions at any cost, where the original objects often get lost. I am aware of the great gap between desires and possibilities, between the concept and the final realization, as well as numerous inevitable compromises made in the course of preparing the exhibition, but certain elements (perhaps at least an appropriate sound background!) would considerably contribute to the overall museum experience of this exhibition.

Let us look at the basic division of the exhibited material. Two-dimensional, flat objects are placed mainly on or at the walls: photographs, maps and large thick wooden panels cut out in the form of wedge-shaped clothes. These wooden cut-outs are an attractive idea and the dominating sign, almost the trademark of the exhibition. A similar method was used to present Viking sailing-ships and their sails made of narrow, long stripes of fabric, which fit into the concept of wedge-shaped textile cuts. Most of the exhibition wall is covered by photographs arranged in such way to reflect and follow the basic conceptual development of the theme as much as possible. The same photographs are also contained in the accompanying exhibition catalogue. Just to mention some of the illustrations, as they clearly show the width of the contextual approach: the figure of St. Sophie on the pulpit of the St. Sylvester parish church, custody from Vrh near Buzet, the fresco of the Visitation of Mary to Elisabeth of Beram, Eve in the fresco of Hrastovlje, storing the woven fabric in rolls, the Horned One of Gundersrup in Denmark, the design of Viking clothes found in

Greenland, Bayeux tapestry, ceramic figurine of Dupljaja, Ulrich of Regensburg, the clasp of Vače, a Croatian king with subjects, a figure from the Visigoth code, the Norman bishop Odo, the biblical king Solomon, the porch of the Chartres cathedral, "Burgundy fashion" in a tapestry from the 15th century and other photographs. Besides that, there are also the always welcome and educational maps illustrating the distribution of the wedge-shaped clothes in the past and the present, a map of the Istrian peninsula with regions where individual variations of the costume were in use, as well as a map depicting migrations of German tribes.

Three-dimensional objects were placed more to the interior of the exhibition space and, as already mentioned, harmoniously arranged in terms of space design, especially in view of the considerable height. Original museum objects - dark dresses made of rough fabric - were hung on very simple, minimalist stands made of square wooden boards and metal constructions, while light coloured specimen (such as the interesting chemise (*kamižot*) cut in gores) were placed closer to the wall. Besides the garments, this group of objects also includes ceramic figurines, archaeological findings, furniture (wardrobes), looms and mass vestments. I believe that more comprehensive information about the exhibits (especially the dates) could contribute to a better understanding of the objects themselves as well as the entire context.

To conclude this brief review, it seems that the wedge-shaped clothes design has provided a stimulus to fashion designers and other "textile experts" and that creative interpretations of traditional garments, as an excellent way of linking the past and the present, are soon to be expected. I am positive that the *kamižot* could be also a very good wearable "souvenir".

Translated by Sanja Novak