

**Aida Brenko**  
**Mirjana Randić**

Etnografski muzej Zagreb  
abrenko@etnografski-muzej.hr  
mrandic@etnografski-muzej.hr

## Osvrt na izložbu "Narodna medicina"

U Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu priredena je 2001. godine izložba pod naslovom "Narodna medicina". Autorice izložbe djelatnice su Muzeja - prof. Mirjana Randić, muzejska savjetnica i mr. sc. Aida Brenko, viša kustosica, dok je za likovni postav bila zadužena Nikolina Jelavić Mitrović, dipl. dizajnerica. Izložba je ostvarena u suradnji s brojnim ustanovama i stručnjacima iz različitih znanstvenih područja: medicine, farmacije i botanike. Posebna je suradnja postignuta s Odsjekom za povijest medicinskih znanosti HAZU-a, Školom narodnog zdravlja "Andrija Štampar", Farmaceutsko-biokemijskim fakultetom i Botaničkim vrtom ljekovitog bilja "Fran Kušan". Suradnja putem posudbe građe ostvarena je sa srodnim ustanovama i pojedincima iz cijele Hrvatske. Tako je izložba realizirana i zahvaljujući Antimuzeju, Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, Riznici zagrebačke katedrale, Dijecezanskom muzeju, Muzeju Varaždinskih Toplica, Pomorskom i povijesnom muzeju Hrvatskog primorja i mnogim drugima. Poticaj za bavljenje problematikom narodne medicine bila je činjenica da ta tema dosad nije bila obrađivana s etnološkog i muzeološkog aspekta u Hrvatskoj. Tijekom dvogodišnjeg istraživanja neslužbene medicine proučavane su različite prakse, vjerovanja i stavovi o bolesti i zdravlju na našem području. Terenska istraživanja obuhvatila su velik dio Hrvatske: Podravinu, Slavoniju, Srijem, Liku, Hrvatsko primorje, Istru, Zadar i njegovo zaleđe kao i Zagreb i njegovu širu okolicu.

Tema narodna medicina bila je tretirana kao kulturna kategorija koja je u različitim vremenima i za različite društvene slojeve imala drugačije ideološke i gospodarske pretpostavke. Prikazane su uglavnom one tradicije koje su postojale u našim krajevima u prošlosti, a postoje i danas kako u gradu tako i na selu. Najčešći načini liječenja u narodnoj medicini bili su liječenje biljem, magijom kao i liječenja temeljena na religioznim uvjerenjima, a to su ujedno i načini kojima i današnja alternativna medicina liječi svoje pacijente. Premda neki od stručnjaka koji se bave problematikom službene i neslužbene medicine smatraju alternativnu medicinu suvremenim vidom narodne medicine, ipak treba naglasiti da je današnji kontekst u kojem se koristi alternativna medicina, premda podrazumijeva i metode narodne medicine, bitno drugačiji od onog u 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Najstarija izložena

građa potječe iz 18. stoljeća, a odnosi se na prve tiskane ljekaruše. Većina građe pripada 19. i 20. stoljeću, premda su mnoge prakse i koncepcije bolesti znatno starije i mogu nas povezati sa samim počecima liječenja bolesnika i brige za bližnje. Na izložbi je prikazana ne samo uloga profesionalnih iscjelitelja, već je naglašena i uloga žene, koja unutar obitelji brigom za djecu i bolesne pridonosi zdravlju i životu, a čija se važnost obično previđa. Narodna je medicina prikazana iz perspektive bolesnika, kao i iz perspektive onih koji obavljaju medicinsku praksu, pri čemu je istaknut ne samo univerzalni karakter narodne medicine već i onaj lokalni, prema dostupnoj građi. Radi preglednijeg prikazivanja građe iscjelitelji su svrstani u skupine prema tehnikama kojima se služe, a lijekovi prema osnovnim sastojcima. Iako su neke tehnike više racionalne, a druge magijske ili vjerski utemeljene, u praksi se svi ti elementi isprepliću.

Izložba počinje likom Leonardovog čovjeka koji simbolizira savršenstvo mjera; tu je uz krug i kvadrat upisan i pentagram koji je simbol čovjeka, ali je ujedno i magijski znak koji štiti od bolesti i kojim se liječi. Uvodni dio izložbe prikazuje zdravstvene poruke koje žele ljude uvjeriti da su odgovorni za svoje zdravlje i usaditi im svijest o neprestanoj prisutnosti bolesti. Izložci poput češnjaka, maslinovog ulja, drijenka i sl. predstavljaju asocijacije koje se u našoj kulturi vežu uz pojmove bolesti i zdravlja. Ta njihova uloga naročito je naglašena pomoću simbolike boja u narodnoj tradiciji koje, s jedne strane, označuju rođenje i život (crvena), a s druge, bolest i smrt (bijela).

Lječenje ljekovitim biljem prikazano je kao posebna cjelina unutar izložbe, a njegova se prezentacija nametnula strukturom i oblikom građe. Osobito se dobrim rješenjem pokazao prikaz bilja u vidu ogromnog herbarija na bijelom zidu, gdje je svaki od pedesetak primjeraka najomiljenijeg bilja u narodnoj medicini označen osnovnim podacima te hrvatskim i latinskim nazivom. Bilje je predstavljeno u obliku u kojem se može naći u seljačkim kućama - kako se suši na ravnoj površini škrinje ili sita, odnosno u obliku kitica koje vise sa stropa. Lječenje biljem prikazano je i u vjerskom i u magijskom kontekstu.

Dio izložbe posvećen je praktičarima narodne medicine s kojima su autorice razgovarale na terenu i prisustvovala njihovim tretmanima. Oni su predstavljeni uvećanim fotografijama u svakodnevnom kontekstu kako bi se naglasila njihova dvojaka uloga. Premda su, s jedne strane, njihovi postupci obavijeni tajanstvenošću, s druge strane vidimo da se radi o stvarnim osobama, susjedima, rođacima. Taj segment izložbe prati i film koji demonstrira njihove iscjeliteljske tehnike i vještine.

Bijelo-crvene vitrine bile su postavljene iskošeno u prostoru, oblikujući posebne prostore zamišljenih ordinacija praktičara narodne medicine, a mogle su se promatrati s obje strane, sugerirajući na taj način lice i naličje liječenja, bolesti i zdravlja, pomoći i štete koja se može nanijeti bolesniku.

U prikazivanju magijskih elemenata u liječenju dizajnerski je pristup nastojao bojom i oblikom vitrine slijediti odnos između čovjeka koji traži pomoć i onoga tko tu pomoć pruža. Velika četvrtasta kuća kroz koju se prolazilo bila je izvana obojana crvenom bojom života, a iznutra sivom bojom smrti, dok se u podu na središnjem mjestu nalazio osvijetljeni magijski krug s elementima potrebnim vraču za dijagno-

sticiranje bolesti i određivanje način njezina liječenja. Kao zvučna kulisa poslužio je terenski audio-zapis ritualnih magijskih formula za ozdravljenje.

Cjelina izložbe koja je prikazivala odnos majke i djeteta postavljena je u vitrine poredane u polukrug, simbolizirajući na taj način majčine ruke koje grle i štite dijete. Tu je bio izložen niz dragocjenih sitnih predmeta od srebra i dragog kamena koji štite djevojku, mladenku, trudnu ženu, majku i dijete od zla oka i uroka. Vitrine je na sredini povezivala plahta bogato ukrašena crvenim vezom kao aptropejskom bojom, iza koje su se nazirali obrisi djeteta koje se rađa, kako se u stvarnosti događalo u mnogim krajevima Hrvatske do polovice 20. stoljeća, kad je žena ostajala "za plahtami" nakon porođaja još četrdeset dana.

Dio izložbe konceptijski je bio zamišljen kao prikaz religiozne komponente liječenja. Tu su kulise bile obojane plavom bojom (kojom se često boje svodovi u crkvama), dočaravajući kapelicu gdje će se vjernici pomoliti za zdravlje ponajprije Majci Božjoj, kao univerzalnoj zaštitnici ili nekom od svetaca-zaštitnika od određenih bolesti, koji su bili predstavljeni kipovima ili oltarnim slikama. Srebrni i voštani anatomske votivi, od kojih su neki po prvi put izloženi javnosti, karakterističan su izraz pučke pobožnosti.

Jedna od tema izložbe odnosila se na rad Škole narodnog zdravlja "Andrija Štampar", koji nudi drugi pogled na narodnu medicinu, onaj iz aspekta službene medicine. Stručnjaci Škole s velikim su entuzijazmom tijekom dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća nastojali "prosvjeteliti" stanovnike hrvatskih sela održavajući tečajeve o higijeni, prevenciji zaraznih bolesti i njezi bolesnika, što je sugerirano ravnim i svijetlim plohama te rasvjetom koja naglašava dojam čistoće, sterilnosti i prozračnosti, ocrtavajući tako okvir unutar kojega se odvijao rad Škole. Kao dopuna izloženoj građi poslužili su i propagandni filmovi koje je Škola snimala u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća.

U sklopu pedagoške radionice postavljena je 'vještica kućica', izložak u obliku kolibice u kojem vještica kuha čarobne napitke, s policama punima čarobnjačkih rekvizita. Tu je namjera autorica bila prikazati vješticu djelatnost bajkovito, a ujedno i edukativno, kako bi se djecu poučilo i o dobrim stranama žena koje su znale spravljati ljekovite pripravke. Sama kućica postigla je velik uspjeh ne samo kod djece već i kod odraslih posjetilaca, pa je odlučeno da i nakon zatvaranja izložbe ostane postavljena za potrebe pedagoških aktivnosti.

Kako je tema narodne medicine vrlo široka, na samoj izložbi nije bilo moguće prikazati sve aspekte tradicijskog liječenja. To se pokušalo nadoknaditi opsežnim dvojezičnim katalogom i priložima koje su, uz autorice izložbe, napisali mr. sc. Željko Dugac, asistent na Odsjeku za povijest medicinskih znanosti HAZU-a, prof. dr. sc. Vladimir Grdinić s Farmaceutsko-biokemjskog fakulteta, kao i dr. sc. Boris Farkaš, savjetnik za zdravo stanovanje. Na taj se način problematika narodne medicine pokušala prikazati s različitih strana.

Premda su na izložbi i u katalogu prikazane i navedene mnogobrojne upute za liječenje niza bolesti prirodnim i prokušanim lijekovima narodne medicine, namjera

autorica nije bila promicati taj način liječenja, već ukazati na odnos čovjeka prema zdravlju, njegovoj prirodnoj i društvenoj okolini kao i na različite koncepcije nastanka bolesti i njihova liječenja kako u prošlosti tako i danas.

Uz izložbu je održan niz predavanja i radionica na kojima su nastupili ne samo etnolozi već i stručnjaci iz drugih znanstvenih područja s temama relevantnim za problematiku narodne medicine.

Autorski tim dobio je 2002. godine za izložbu posebno priznanje *Pavao Ritter Vitezović*, koje dodjeljuje Hrvatsko muzejsko društvo.



11.01



11.02



11.03

**Aida Brenko**  
**Mirjana Randić**

Ethnographic museum Zagreb  
abrenko@etnografski-muzej.hr  
mrandic@etnografski-muzej.hr

## Review of the *Folk Medicine* Exhibition

In 2001 the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb presented the exhibition entitled "Folk Medicine". The authors of the exhibition are members of the Museum staff - Mirjana Randić, Museum Advisor, and Aida Brenko, Mr. Sc., Senior Curator. Nikolina Jelavić Mitrović, graduate designer, was responsible for the visual design of the exhibition. The exhibition was organized in cooperation with a number of institutions and experts from various fields of science: medicine, pharmacy and botany. A special form of cooperation was achieved with the Department of History of Medicine Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), the "Andrija Štampar" School of Public Health, the Faculty of Pharmacy and Biochemistry and the "Fran Kušan" Pharmaceutical Botanical Garden. Cooperation through borrowing of material was established with kindred institutions and individuals from all over Croatia. The exhibition was also made possible thanks to the Anti-Museum, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, the Diocesan Museum, the Museum of Varaždinske Toplice, the Museum of Maritime History and History of the Croatian Littoral, Rijeka, and many others.

The study of folk medicine was motivated by the fact that so far this subject has not been researched in Croatia from the ethnological and museological aspect. In the course of the two-year research of informal medicine, various practices, beliefs and attitudes towards illness and health in our region were researched. Fieldwork encompassed a large part of Croatia: the regions of Podravina, Slavonija, Srijem, Lika, Hrvatsko primorje, Istra, the city of Zadar and its hinterland as well as the capital city of Zagreb and its surroundings.

Folk medicine has been treated as a cultural category with different ideological and economic significances in various periods and for various social strata. The exhibition focused on traditions that existed in our regions in the past, and are still present both in urban and rural areas. The most common ways of folk medicine treat-

ment were healing with herbs and magic as well as healing based on religious beliefs. All these methods are also used today in alternative medicine treatment of patients. Although some of the experts dealing with the subject of official and unofficial medicine consider alternative medicine a contemporary form of folk medicine, it must be emphasized that the present context in which alternative medicine is used does also use methods of folk medicine, but is considerably different from the context of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The oldest exhibits go back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and refer to the first printed (folk) medicine books. The major part of the exhibited material dates from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, although many practices and concepts of illness are considerably older and represent a link with the early beginnings of healing and care for fellow human creatures. The exhibition illustrates not only the role of the professional healers, but stresses the role of the woman, who contributed to health and life through her care for children and the sick in the family, and whose importance is often overlooked. Folk medicine is presented both from the perspective of the patient and from the perspective of the medical practitioners, by highlighting not only the universal character of folk medicine, but also its local character based on available material. For a better overview of the material, the healers were classified according to techniques applied and the medicines according to basic ingredients. Although some techniques are more rational and other more founded on magic or religion, all these elements intertwine in practice.

The exhibition opens with Leonardo's drawing of a Man, who is a symbol of perfect proportions; the superimposed circle and square contain also the pentagram, a symbol of a man, but also a magical sign for healing and protecting from illness. The introductory part of the exhibition shows messages about health, intended to convince people of their responsibility for their own health and to raise their awareness of the constant presence of illness. Exhibits such as garlic, olive oil, cornel and other represent associations linked to the concepts of health and illness in our culture. Their role is accentuated by the symbolism of colours in folk tradition, where red colour stands for birth and life, while white represents illness and death.

Healing with medicinal herbs represents a separate entity of the exhibition and are presented depending on the structure and form of the material. A particularly good solution proved to be the presentation of herbs in the form of a large-size herbarium on a white wall, where every of the approximately fifty specimen of favourite herbs in folk medicine was exhibited together with basic information and its name in Croatian and Latin. The herbs were presented in the form most commonly found in peasants houses - spread out to dry on an even surface of a chest or a sieve, or hanging in bunches from the ceiling. Healing with herbs was shown both in the religious and magic context.

One part of the exhibition was dedicated to folk medicine practitioners, who talked to the authors and demonstrated their practices during field research. They were presented on oversized photographs showing their everyday surroundings to emphasize their double role: their activities may be veiled in mystery, but simultaneously we can

see that they are real people, neighbours and relatives. This segment of the exhibition is accompanied by a film demonstrating their healing techniques and skills.

Red and white showcases, placed diagonally in the exhibition room, formed separate spaces of imaginary healing rooms of folk medicine practitioners. They could be viewed from both sides, suggesting thus the face and back of healing, the health and sickness, the help and damage that can be caused to a patient.

The designer's approach to the presentation of magic elements in healing was to use colours to illustrate the relationship between the help seeker and help provider. The visitors passed through a big quadrangular house, which was painted red to symbolize life on the outside and grey to symbolize death on the inside. In the middle of the floor there was an illuminated magical circle composed of elements needed by the medicine man to diagnose illness and determine the method of healing. On-site audio recordings of ritual magic healing formulas were used as background sound effects.

The part of the exhibition dealing with the mother and child relationship was placed in showcases arranged in a semicircle, thus symbolizing the mother's arms holding and protecting the child. It featured a range of small valuable objects made of silver and precious stones, serving the purpose of protecting the girl, the bride, the pregnant woman, the mother and the child from the *evil eye* or spells. The showcases were connected in the middle by a sheet richly decorated with embroidery in the apotropaic red colour, allowing glimpses of a child being born, as it used to be in reality until the mid-twentieth century in many parts of Croatia, when women remained *behind* the sheets for forty days after childbirth.

A part of the exhibition was conceived as the presentation of the religious component of healing. The scenery of this part was coloured blue (which was often used for painting church vaults), evoking a chapel where believers would pray for health first to the Mother of God as the universal patron and then to one of the patron saints for certain illnesses, which were shown as statues or altar-paintings. Silver and wax anatomic votive objects, of which some have been now made accessible to the public for the first time, are a characteristic expression of popular religious practices.

One of the exhibition themes was the activity of the "Andrija Štampar" School of Public Health, which shows the perception of folk medicine from the aspect of official medicine. In the twenties and thirties of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the experts of the School invested great enthusiasm into "enlightening" the Croatian rural population by organizing courses on hygiene, prevention of contagious diseases and the care of patients. This approach is suggested by even and light surfaces of the scenery and lighting which emphasizes the impression of cleanness, sterility and airiness, thus creating a framework of the School activities. The exhibited material was supplemented by propaganda films recorded by the School in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The pedagogical workshop featured the 'witch hut', an exhibit in the form of a small house with shelves full of sorcery requisites and a witch figure brewing magic

potions. Here the intention of the authors was to present witchcraft in a fairy-tale form, but at the same time educationally, in order to teach children also about the good aspects of women who were skilled in preparing remedies. The witch hut was a great success not only with children, but also with adult visitors, which is why it was left after the end of the exhibition for pedagogic purposes.

Since the field occupied by folk medicine is a very wide one, the exhibition could not show all aspects of traditional healing. This was compensated by a comprehensive bilingual catalogue and texts written by the authors of the exhibition, together with Željko Dugac, Mr. Sc., Assistant at the Department of History of Medicine Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU), Prof. Vladimir Grdinić (Ph.D.) of the Faculty of Pharmacy and Biochemistry, as well as Boris Farkaš (Ph.D.), healthy housing advisor. The intention of the catalogue was to deal with the topic of folk medicine from different aspects.

Although numerous instructions for the treatment of various illnesses by natural and tried methods of folk medicine were shown at the exhibition and described in the catalogue, it was not the intention of the authors to promote this way of medical treatment, but to present the man's relationship towards health, his natural and social environment as well as various concepts of the origin of illnesses and their cures in the past and the present.

The exhibition was accompanied by a range of lectures and workshops held not only by ethnologists, but also experts from other fields of science, who presented topics relevant for folk medicine.

In 2002, the team of authors received the *Pavao Ritter Vitezović* special acknowledgement of the Croatian Museum Society.

Translated by Sanja Novak