Between Nature and Culture

A guide to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum permanent exhibition

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Bojana Rogelj Škafar

Between Nature and Culture –

the first permanent exhibition of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in the third millennium

A museum exhibition is the interpretative visual expression of a specific theoretical model of a particular discipline. Its creators and interpreters are museum curators who, on the basis of the model, determine and select what is crucial and characteristic, taking into account the current state of knowledge regarding the available general and specific evidence. This is particularly true of permanent exhibitions, which are by their nature synthetic, but whose permanence is only apparent. They offer an illusion of permanence in time and space, a clearly structured novel made up of countless small stories collected and interpreted by researchers. Until its relocation from the National Museum of Slovenia building to the renovated military barracks at Metelkova 2 in Ljubljana, the conditions were not right for the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, the main ethnological museum with Slovene and non-European collections, to set up a complex and wide-ranging permanent exhibition. At long last, in March 2006, the first such exhibition was opened, with the title *Between Nature and Culture*.

If we compare it to what was originally planned, we can see that from concept to realisation certain changes have taken place. One idea was to have an exhibition entitled *An Organised World of Objects or an "Encylopaedia of Things"* (Smerdel 1996: 36) based on our knowledge of objects and cultural elements. Another proposal, entitled *Permanent Set-Up of the SEM – Gallery* (Dular 1996: 71), envisaged a presentation of objects and activities that would meet the needs of researchers dealing with the heritage kept by the museum, as well as providing, in an appropriate manner, cultural information to museum visitors. The 'gallery' was to have six components: the regional characteristics of Slovene ethnic areas, an exhibition of the museum collections, an exhibition on immovable heritage, an A to Z of economic and other activities, an exhibition on Slovenes and the world, and a research room (Dular 1996: 72–74). During its realisation this ambitious conceptualisation, in which the gallery of the collections dictated the order of study collections equipped with precise details (geographical, temporal, typological, functional, formal-aesthetic classification) and descriptions (size, material, extent) (Dular 1996: 71), acquired a form that encompasses all of these elements, but in a somewhat different, less studious way, more approachable for the average visitor.

There is now on view an exhibition that talks about the dynamics of the relations between nature and culture: about the natural environment in which we were born and the socio-cultural environment that co-determines who we are. It tells of the universal human striving to control the environment and survive within it – a striving expressed through ways of making a living and being creative. The exhibition familiarises visitors with the material and non-material heritage of the Slovenes, as well as some non-European cultures. It draws attention to the temporal, geographical and social heterogeneity of the cultural heritage and its close connections with wider European and world processes of constant change. In 900 square metres of space, around 3000 objects are displayed, which represents a tenth of the museum's collections.

At the forefront of the exhibition, which is the result of work by the museum's curators, groups of designers, other museum staff and external collaborators, are objects and their stories. Most of the objects are in display cases, but some are displayed within settings (such as the *chupa* seagoing canoe and craftsmen's workshops). The narrative thread connecting the displayed objects is dependence on the material world of nature, which is emphasised by under-floor display cases. Thus the dormouse skins in the under-floor cases accompany the dormouse traps in the display case on hunting as a means of survival in the same way that under-floor honeycomb connects with the beehives in the display case on beekeeping. The exhibition is made up of a number of logically determined sections, while the presentation of Slovene material is in line with established ethnological principles.

The introductory section *Objects of Life, Objects of Desire* tells of the relations between man and object, and of how the museum's collections came about. The museum objects are located on a "time line" of events in the world and the visitor's attention is drawn to items that are characteristically Slovene; there is also a multimedia presentation of the characteristics of the Slovene ethnic region. The part entitled *Earth and Water* deals with resources and ways of life

based on agricultural and subsistence activities (gathering, hunting, fishing, arable farming) and non-agricultural ones (crafts, trade, transport, economic migration). The section *Necessary and Unnecessary* presents objects connected with the basic functions of the home, as well as clothes and other textiles, while *Social and Spiritual* is concerned with those aspects of life which connect the individual with society (socialisation, social groups, popular law, measures, customs) and with the spiritual world (folk beliefs, folk instruments, folk art). Non-European cultures are presented in *Reflections of Distant Worlds*: the featured objects from different continents were largely obtained by the museum from Slovenes who encountered foreign cultures (such as Friderik Baraga, Ignacij Knoblehar and Anton Codelli). Finally, the *EthnoAlphabet,* in the form of a maze, is designed so that younger visitors can interact with it: children can have direct contact with objects from the Slovene and non-European cultural heritage.

The exhibition addresses the visitor on many levels and in different ways: through objects – the "traditional" museum medium – or through modern media. The objects are carefully selected so as to represent regional, temporal, social and formal variations. The oldest date from the 16th century, but there are also completely contemporary items. Like everything else, this exhibition is affected by spatial restrictions, but it is organised in such a way, in terms of both form and content, that the collections, because of the greater accessibility of the museum's stock, can easily be changed. In only a few instances are objects replaced by replicas, while large objects (such as buildings and hayracks) are represented by scale models. Visitors can come into direct contact with the objects, touching or holding them so that they get a feel for the materials used, their function and so on; this is particularly the case in the *EtnoAlphabet* section.

The exhibition is enriched by audiovisual materials, in the shape of multimedia, ethnological film and audiovisual collages. The introduction to the multimedia presentation *Who am I? Who are we?* shows the Slovene ethnic areas and their characteristics, as manifested in the type of settlement, buildings, traditional dress, music, dance, language and so on – in other words, the elements of cultural heritage which are largely not communicated by exhibited objects. Alongside the exhibited *chupa* seagoing canoe there is shown the ethnographical film *Chupa – the vessel of Slovene fishermen,* which helps locate the museum object in its ethnological-historical context, and it is also possible to see another film *Memories of an Aurisina fisherman,* which provides us with background information. Scattered through the exhibition on 19 screens are *audiovisual collages* designed to bring the displayed objects to life, showing how they were made and used, as well as in some instances, presenting how they have changed over time (for example, how the traditional plough was replaced by the tractor). The exhibition is further enriched by photographs, drawings and maps, while the information content is offered in a range of formats (display panels, data on objects, leaflets). All the headings and important texts are provided in both Slovene and English.

The main aim of *Between Nature and Culture* is, through museum objects, the design of the exhibition, audiovisual and other elements (scale models and

maps), photographs, drawings and archive materials, to help the visitor feel closer to the world of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's objects. At the forefront of this effort are collections and objects hitherto unknown to the wider public due to the previous lack of appropriate exhibition space. For decades, they were collected, stored and researched by the museum curators in order to arrive at an understanding of characteristic ways of life and culture in Slovene ethnic areas, in the Slovene diaspora and in contact with foreign cultures, especially in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.
By bringing visitors into contact with the world of objects we would like to help them reflect on the role and influence of man in the creation of the material from the natural, to bring them closer to the ethnological heritage, which is a bridge between past and present daily and festive life, and to offer a permanent exhibition based above all on the museum collections, thus promoting an awareness of the importance of cultural roots to the sense of identity of the individual, the group and the nation... here and now. *Between Nature and Culture* is the first part of the permanent exhibition; the relationship between the natural and the cultural will also, in a somewhat different way, be dealt with by the second part, entitled *I, We and Others – Images of My World*, where the scope of this relationship will be explored through the life of the individual and his or her social roles.

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Inja Smerdel

Object of Life, Object of Desire

We live in an empire of things. Things clothe us, surround us in our homes, at work, in our free time. Things help us to survive and to enjoy ourselves; without them there would be no life and they are also an inexhaustible source of material, social and spiritual longing. The introductory story to the permanent exhibition is like a jigsaw puzzle of relations between man and objects, of views on the material heritage that reveals to us different meanings. It is also a narrative about the museum, its collectors and the messages conveyed by the museum collections.

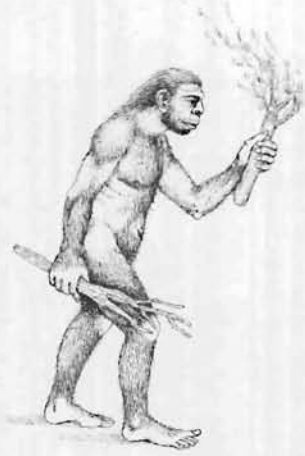
But when does the story begin?

Between nature and culture

Man without objects is a naked creature in the midst of nature; a vulnerable *homo*, who became *habilis*, *erectus* and then *sapiens* when he invented the first tool and weapon for hunting.
And then culture appears: *"... a much wider conception rooted in latin* colere, *to till or to cultivate, to develop consciously"* (Steensberg 1980: 174–75).

Homo habilis

Homo habilis (ergaster), erectus and *sapiens*. The first is thought to have been a carrion eater who used only the most simple stone hunting weapon – an axe.



Homo erectus

The second discovered the importance and use of fire. The third – *Homo sapiens neanderthaliensis* and *Homo sapiens sapiens* – already hunted with heavy stone

Homo sapiens
(drawing: Andreja Peklar, 2004; SEM Documentation).

spears or more advanced spears with reindeer horn points. The development of objects and their uses – cultural progress – signified the development of man.

Bear bone spear head, Potočka zijalka, around 30,000 years old – copy
(from the collections of the Celje Regional Museum; photo: Marko Habič, 2007).

View of the exhibition
(photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

And yet: "*We are still dependent on the enormous discoveries which marked what may be called without any exaggeration the Neolithic Revolution: agriculture, animal husbandry, pottery, weaving, etc. All we have added to these 'Arts of Civilisation' after eight or ten millennia are some improvements*" (Lévi-Strauss 1993: 36).

The world is not as strange and different as it looks… Objects may divide or bring together different cultures… Alongside the influence of neighbouring and "imported" cultures, is it the natural environment that is the driving force behind the development of similar working tools, machinery and methods, as well as other related cultural elements, among widely separated peoples on different continents?

Collections, museums – temples of material memory

View of the exhibition
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2005; SEM Documentation).

One of the first museums – seats and temples of the Muses, buildings and spaces dedicated to exhibitions of art, historical, scientific, and other collections, of man's material memory – is held to be Ptolemy's museum in Alexandria in the 3rd century BC. The first museum in Europe is thought to be the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, founded in 1679. Today's leading museums developed from the foundations of Renaissance and Baroque collections owned by the Church and rulers or princes, from "cabinets of curiosities", from scientific collections fostered by the academic movement of the Enlightenment, and from the collections of museum institutions from the 19th and 20th centuries. The foundations of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum also developed in the 19th century, in close harmony with the current Romantic trends. They consisted of the "ethnographic" or "ethnological" collections of the Carniolan Provincial Museum in Ljubljana, founded in 1821. These collections followed the model of the Joanneum in Graz, and included descriptions and paintings of national costumes and buildings, folk tales, fairy tales, wedding songs and tunes, and so on. The very first object, however, reflects the Enlightenment and its interest in the population's economic endeavours: it is a model of a barrel cart with an ox team, dating from 1833.

Model of a cart, Planina near Rakek, 1833 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič, 2007).

Guardians of memory – curators, museum collectors

In 1923, the "ethnographic collections" of the Carniolan Provincial Museum formed the basis of the formally established Royal Ethnographic Museum. At first, the majority of its collections were, regionally, from the former province of Carniola, or more specifically from the regions of Upper Carniola and White Carniola, and the dominant themes were textiles and folk art. Changes occurred only after 1945 and were aimed at transcending the museum's previous "Carniolan" provincial framework to become a central Slovene institution. The results of the monumental collection activities carried out by Orel's field teams (1948–1962) were thematically, geographically, and socially diversified collections, formed according to the common division into material, social, and spiritual culture. Major groups of objects included ploughing and other agricultural implements, hunting and fishing gear, yokes, means of transportation, furniture, household objects and implements, tools and products of domestic craftsmen. In addition to Gorenjska and Bela krajina, the objects came from Ljubljana and its environs, from the regions of Dolenjska, Primorska, Notranjska, Štajerska, and Koroška. Over the following decades, the collections became even more diversified, especially in thematic and social terms, because of the greater number of curators and the inevitable influence of contemporary and modern theoretical views.

The museum objects have had different meanings in different periods – usually in line with contemporary ideas within the discipline of ethnology

The collections have been shaped, studied, and exhibited by a long list of experts:
Niko Županič (1923–1940)
Stanko Vurnik (1923–1940)
Franc Kos (1937–1943)
Rajko Ložar (1940–1945)
Boris Orel (1945–1962)
Milko Matičetov (1945–1952)
Frančiška Šarf (1949–1980)
Marija Jagodic - Makarovič (1953–1989)
Pavla Štrukelj (1955–1990)
Gorazd Makarovič (1958–1998)
Boris Kuhar (1963–1987)
Angelos Baš (1963–1979)
Ljudmila Bras (1964–1990)
Tanja Tomažič (1965–2001)
Irena Keršič (1978–2004)
Inja Smerdel (1980–)
Ivan Sedej (1987–1996)
Andrej Dular (1986–)
Janja Žagar (1989–)
Bojana Rogelj Škafar (1989–)
Ralf Čeplak Mencin (1990–)
Mojca Terčelj (1996–2004)
Nena Židov (1996–)
Polona Sketelj (1996–)
Daša Hribar (1999–)
Igor Cvetko (2001–2008)
Marko Frelih (2004–).

View of the exhibition
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2005; SEM Documentation).

Seated pensive Christ in a chapel, Kočice near Žetale, second half of the 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič, 2007).

From 1923 to 1945

Objects were considered to be the "nation's jewels", "crafted by the mind and the hands of the people, originating from the soul of the nation". The ethnographic museum was particularly interested in artefacts that were as old as possible and were expected to illustrate, together with all their specifics and characteristics, "a small nation's long history" (Rogelj Škafar 1993: 9; Smerdel 1980–82: 3).

Seated pensive Christ
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič, 2007).

View of the exhibition (photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

Whetstone holder, Upper Savinja Valley, late 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Carmen Narobe, 1993).

Whetstone holder with the name Franc cut into it (SEM Collections; photo: Carmen Narobe, 1993).

From 1948 to the 1970s

Attitudes to objects were based on the definition of ethnology as the discipline which collects and studies "diverse material from the folk life of the Slovenes", or as the science of "the cultural products of the Slovene people and the laws of their development" (Orel 1948: 7).

"Snowshoes and skis are cultural elements of ancient origin."

"If I were asked on which ethnological specific items the Slovene people can pride themselves, I would among others mention the ancient Bloke skis … they certainly rank among the most significant objects of our material folk culture and they must attract our attention as an unusual example of a folk means of transportation in Slovenia, in particular as an auxiliary to folk costume … the Slovenes … became famous as the oldest skiers in Central Europe" (Orel 1962: 8,13).

Post-1970s

Ethnology saw a shift from the study of the development and typology of cultural elements to their bearers and their attitudes. In the museum, man became the focus of interest as "the bearer of culture, while the way of life was introduced as the relationship between man and his cultural and natural environment as expressed in everyday routines" (Slavec Gradišnik 1995: 130). And objects became above all the bearers of information with multiple meanings: material witnesses to quotidian and festive ways of life and the carriers of stories of creativity, inventiveness, knowledge, wisdom, ideals of beauty and coexistence with nature.

"The whetstone holder may have been a minor, marginal object, an addition to the scythe, but together with its master, the mower, it played a quite exceptional role in the cultural image of the villages of the time, as a very personal tool with many meanings. And the mower was – regardless of his social status – an individual, a personality with a particular reputation in the rural community. In addition to all its other meanings and, of course, to simply being useful, a whetstone holder was the external token and reflection of a mower's consciousness of his own personality and of his wish to be recognized in a particular way" (Smerdel 1994: 68).

The *avba* bonnet, the *kozolec* hayrack, lace, straw baskets, clay horses - objects that give us our identify?

The *avba* bonnet, an instant Slovene stereotype

Just as the Netherlanders have their clogs, Hungarians their shepherd's coat or perhaps saddle, the Irish their *currach* boat and our Croatian neighbours the *tamburica* (a stringed instrument similar to a mandolin), we Slovenes are in love with a small array of identifying objects. And these, as with other European nations, cannot by any means, from a developmental, historical, objective point of view, be labelled specifically – or only – as Slovene cultural elements. Most of them belong to the highly interconnected European cultural heritage, or even to that which extends beyond Europe's borders. Nevertheless, from an expressively ethnological viewpoint, some of them, such as the *avba* and the *kozolec*, are perceived and employed by many Slovenes – even perhaps the majority – as symbols of identity.

View of the exhibition (photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

Some pictorial and other examples showing the former use of objects and new forms they have taken:

1 Portait of a woman from Gorenjska wearing an *avba*, signed J. S., dated 1827 (SEM Collections).

2 Mary and child, in Gorenjska national dress, wearing an *avba*, the countryside in the background. The work of painter Ivan Vavpotič, commissioned by a town resident, 1930. The *avba*, part of rural culture, becomes an ideologically used and abused visual symbol. It belongs together with other symbolic elements selected by the urban population (festive Gorenjska dress as a costume of the wives of important citizens, worn on special occasions; painted rural chests showing an *avba* in urban reception rooms) to emphasise their Sloveneness and affirm their social status (SEM Collections).

3 "Slovenia as I remember it ", a work by Indonesian painter Prijono Maruto, 2002. The country is symbolised by a Slovene woman in national dress wearing an *avba* and symbolic elements of the Slovene countryside in the background (SEM Collections).

4 The athlete Merlene Ottey receiving Slovene citizenship, May 2002, wearing an *avba* (the *Delo* newspaper; photo: Borut Jurčič Zlobec).

In the show-case:

Peaked *avba*, central Slovenia, 19th century, part of national dress in the 20th century (SEM Collections).

Figures of women in national dress, wearing an *avba*, tourist souvenirs, last quarter of the 20th century (donated by the shop *Dom*).

View of the exhibition
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2005; SEM Documentation).

This woman's head covering, which is one of the most visible and established stereotypical symbols of Slovenehood, is the most distinctive part of the national dress. The *avba* is in fact known elsewhere and, like other elements of national dress, was first worn by members of the nobility and urban middle class and was then imitated as a fashion accessory by rural women. The oldest mention of this item in a rural setting can be found in the last will and testament of a Carniolan freeman from 1707. Wealthier farmer's wives from the Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola, Styria and Carinthia regions began to wear the *avba* in the late 18th century. But its significance changed over time: in the first half of the 19th century it was typically worn by married women, while in the second half of the same century it became the festive headgear

Kozolci – harbingers of the homeland

of all classes of women: it was worn in particular at weddings and at Easter and Corpus Christi parades. Then in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the *avba* became part of the 'national dress' – an outfit that flirted with the festive clothes of the Upper Carniola (now Gorenjska) region and which became, among different social strata, a means of displaying their Slovene appurtenance at various celebrations and events.

Scale model of Simončič's *toplar* or linked double hayrack, scale 1: 50, Bistrica near Mokronog, erected in 1936 by Toni Tratnik, Velenje, 2002 (photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation).

Returning from abroad, a traveller is always moved when he is welcomed by hayracks, the first harbingers of the homeland (Cevc, Čop 1993: 220).

These words by the architect Mušič, one of the most important researchers of the *kozolec* or Slovene hayrack, express its general value and symbolic meaning. This ancient but still functional structure – of weathered wood or worn concrete, usually roofed, used for the drying sheafs of grain, clover, beans or hay – is one of those cultural elements that the majority of Slovenes recognise as part of "their" heritage and national identity. But *kozolci* do not belong exclusively to Slovenia's cultural heritage: they also appear in the wider Alpine area, in parts of Northern Europe, and even in Japan and the mountains of Western China. Abroad, however, they are not as widespread, as typologically diverse and developed as in Slovenia, where nine types are recognised. To date, the oldest reference to hayracks in Slovenia dates from 1659 (a Latin text mentioning "a field at the hayrack"); in neighbouring Carinthia a reference from the

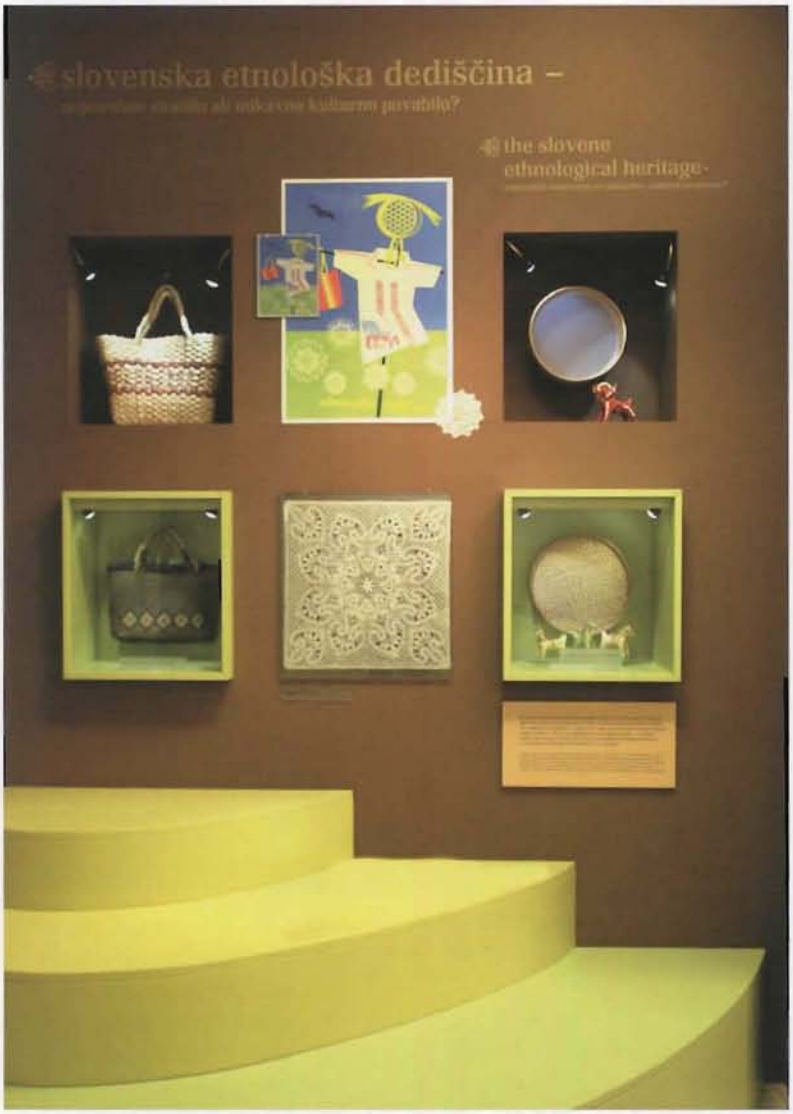
Small, decorative *kozolec* hayracks in the courtyard of a house, Potok in the Tuhinj Valley, 2004 (photo: Inja Smerdel; SEM Documentation).

environs of Hermagor/Šmohor dates from 1558, and the oldest image of a hayrack is in an engraving from Valvasor's *Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* dated 1689.

As with all vernacular architecture, hayracks are essentially connected with the space in which they are erected. Their form has been influenced by Slovenia's location at the juncture of Mediterranean, Alpine and Pannonian environments. In the village context, they differed only in size (a *kozolec* with more than one 'window' was witness to the owner's affluence) and in quality of detail and ornamentation, thus emphasising social stratification. Picturesquely blended into the cultural landscape, the *kozolec* has always been a favourite theme for painters and is also reflected in architecture, in the design of urban furniture (display stands for advertising and local announcements), and in ethnic and tourist souvenirs. Scaled-down hayracks figure as ornaments in courtyards and linked hayracks function as garages. As a typical "Slovene" gift, a *kozolec* was erected on the estate of Prince Charles, heir to the British throne.

The Slovene ethnological heritage – outmoded scarecrow or attractive cultural invitation?

Are we afraid of our traditional cultural heritage or does it fill us with genuine pride? During historic changes of fortune it has repeatedly been exposed to political manipulation, sometimes serving as the heart of national identity, other times hindering progress and development. For many, who otherwise admire the cultural traditions of other nations, it has all too often been a source of cultural discomfort ... Could the problem be that this is largely the cultural heritage of the peasant or farming population, which was in the majority right up to the nineteen-forties?



View of the exhibition (photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

Reflections of regional cultural diversity, society and the passage of time in the museum collections

In addition to language, food, music and dance, objects eloquently reveal regional cultural diversity: telling us what differentiates people from Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Štajerska or Primorska – and what is characteristic of a Slovene.

View of the exhibition
(photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

Map of national dress:
In 1946, for the renovated permanent exhibition of the Ethnographic Museum that opened in 1947, the painter Maksim Gaspari interpreted in his unique manner the costumes of the Slovene regions on the basis of the historical collection of watercolours of national dress by the painters Goldenstein, Rus, Arsenović and Šantel.

The heritage of the majority population in previous centuries – a reflection of society in the museum's collections

View of the exhibition
(photo: Marko Habič, 2007; SEM Documentation)

A map of ethnological regions, models of basic building types and the multimedia presentation *Who am I? Who are we?* showing types of settlement, building design, dialects, dances and so on (cultural elements that are not included in the exhibition):
An image of Slovene ethnological regions at the turn of the 20th century, reflecting centuries of development in the Mediterannean, Alpine, Central and Pannonian environments. They are based on types of common characteristics in life and culture.

The objects in the museum collections testify in particular to the traditional culture and everyday life of the rural population, which until the 1940s represented the majority of the population. According to censuses of Slovene areas, the proportion of the rural population in relation to other social strata was as follows:

1857 ..... 83.3 %
1869 ..... 81.5 %
1910 ..... 66.7 %
1931 ..... 59.2 %
1971 ..... 20.4 %
1991 ..... 7.6 %

From stone vessel for oil dated 1535 to a mobile phone – a reflection of the passage of time in the museum's collections

Stone vessel for oil, Kobdilj below Štanjel, dated 1535
(SEM Collections, photo: Marko Habič, 2007).

View of the exhibition
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2005; SEM Documentation).

Time line of objects and parallel historical events:

16th century – The rise of the Habsburgs, religious wars, Slovene peasant uprisings and the publication of the first Slovene book… The century in which Toyotomi Hideyoshi unified Japan, Cortez defeated the Aztecs and Pizarro the Inca Empire… of the first harpsichord and Palestrina; Michelangelo and Dürer; of Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Moore's *Utopia*…

17th century – The Thirty Years War, the Turkish siege of Vienna and the publication of Valvasor's *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*... A century in which Japan isolated itself from Europeans, in which the Taj Mahal was completed, the Dutch founded New Amsterdam and Tasman explored the Antipodes, and which saw the rise of the Ashanti in West Africa... The century of Monteverdi and Scarlatti; of Rembrandt and Bernini; of Corneille's *El Cid* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*…

18th century – The Enlightenment and physiocratism, the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon… The century in which China occupied Tibet and Cook explored the Pacific, Australia was colonised and the United States of America became independent… The century of Bach, Tartini, Mozart and Haydn; of Tiepolo and Fragonard; Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*, Goethe, Kant's *The Critique of Pure Reason*; of Anton Tomaž Linhart and Valentin Vodnik…

19th century – The Spring of Nations, the Europe of emperors, Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces and the *United Slovenia* programme… The century in which Shaka formed the Zulu Kingdom, Livingstone explored Africa, the Suez Canal was opened, there was a battle at Wounded Knee... The century of Beethoven, Wagner, Chopin and Tchaikovsky; of Goya, Degas, Manet and Cézanne; of Hegel's *Logic*, of Baudelaire, Zola, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, France Prešeren and Josip Jurčič…

20th century – The October Revolution, the First and Second World Wars, Slovenia's independence… The century of decolonisation on all continents… The century of Stravinsky, Ravel, the Beatles and jazz; of Malevič, Picasso, Miró and Warhol; of Sartre, Lorca, Brecht, Orwell, Ivan Cankar and Srečko Kosovel…

21st century – A century shaped by the global network, communication, virtual manipulation…

The introductory part of the permanent exhibition leads into three different sections – *Water and Earth, Necessary and Unnecessary,* and *Social and Spiritual* – containing objects arranged according to ethnological principles, which testify to resources and ways of making a living, to consumption and relations to the world. It is symbolically rounded off by a colourfully painted set of drawers for herbs, which underlines the organised nature as well as the richness of the museum collections and has become the trademark of the exhibition.

Exhibition detail – drawers for herbs, a gift from Marjan and Bogica Pogačnik
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2005; SEM Documentation).

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Polona Sketelj
Andrej Dular
Daša Koprivec

Water and Earth

To live and to survive. But how and through what? The basic resources of pre-industrial societies were water and land, with all their fauna and flora, and the sun's caress. Two basic means of survival are arable farming and animal husbandry – beside hunting, fishing, gathering, and numerous crafts. Slovenia was part of Western civilisation, based on the "plant determinism" of wheat and grass, and on farm life based on "ploughing and pasturing"; for centuries, during which days turned into years, year after year, in the eternal cycle of the four seasons and the alternation of everyday and season activities; for centuries of history, during which many tools and implements hardly changed, because they were preserved as they were by their basic function; in periods when, beside animal husbandry, agriculture was "the biggest industry of pre-industrial Europe" and when the growth of towns would not have been possible without sufficient quantities of plant food and meat. Water and land today remain indispensable resources for many ways of survival.

Inja Smerdel

The aim of this section of the exhibition is to present in a historical and structured way the most common and widespread aspects of the material culture on Slovene ethnic territory, as well as interesting features of both agricultural and non-agricultural forms of everyday activity in the 19th and 20th centuries. This is done through museum objects and through pictorial and archive material. Agricultural and subsistence economic activities differ in terms of the natural goods available to man, the level of human intervention in the natural world, natural ecosystems, cultivated ecosystems and animal husbandry. In line with this, the exhibition section on these activities is divided into three main chapters. The first contains material associated with gathering, hunting and fishing as primary activities connected with natural ecosystems. These are illustrated by a group of objects that differ in their basic function, but which are related when looked at in a wider context. Each main chapter has a sub-chapter featuring objects that are closely related with regard to their use, but show local, social and historical variations. Thus with regard to gathering, emphasis is placed on a collection of objects used in the collecting of the fruits of the forest; with regard to hunting, there are tools used for dormouse and bird hunting; and with regard to fishing, tools for fresh-water and sea fishing. A *chupa*, the only perfectly preserved sea dugout used by Slovene fishermen, is an exhibit with a particularly strong message. The boat is displayed in such a way that it looks as if it has just been dragged from the sea shore into a *fasal* (gap or shelter in the seawall), where it was originally kept.

The cultivated ecosystems section features objects used in working the soil, such as digging and tilling tools, followed by those used in the harvesting of crops, such as reaping tools, and lastly those used in cleaning and processing crops, such as brakes and other tools used in scutching (the processing of flax for linen). The presentation of the collections linked to agricultural activities is rounded off with a presentation of implements used in animal husbandry. There are various objects, from those used for the raising of animals (both those kept inside and at pasture), to those used for obtaining animal products and processing them. As an illustration of these activities, there is emphasis on tools used in mowing, grazing, harnessing, milking and the processing of milk. There are also objects connected with bee keeping, with a special emphasis on the beehive collection.

The exhibited objects are supported by texts on the work processes involved, as well as the social and historical circumstances in which each activity took place and which led to the creation of various objects that are a part of the material cultural heritage. In under-floor display cases there are samples of goods offered by nature itself, without human involvement, as well as those grown by man for food or as a raw material. On screens, there is a presentation of the exhibited objects as they were used during the work involved in each agricultural activity.

In line with the available museum collections of objects, non-agricultural activities are shown in the form of individual crafts by type and importance in Slovene areas at a particular time. They are divided into manufacturing, service-related and combined crafts, while an explanation is given for their development, their distribution around the country and their economic importance.

Thus the following crafts are shown: pottery, blacksmithing, woodenware making (sieves, bowls and dishes, tools and toothpicks, hand carpentry), weaving, clock making, shoemaking, decorating, dyeing and indigo printing.
It is the internal structure of each activity that is important, from tools and raw materials to products that were at the same time used and traded for income. The development of production activities is shown in the light of their transformation into service activities under the influence of the newly appearing industrial production, which was cheaper and thus a competitor to crafts. At the forefront are crafts that are either in decline or already a part of historical memory, while other forms of economic activity are shown, such as piecework and cottage industries.
The work of professional craftsmen is represented by illustrations of pottery, clock making and shoemaking workshops or of a craftsman's work place. The two background photographs of workshops with the tools and equipment used in them try to give the visitor a sense of the whole workshop atmosphere. Underfloor display cases filled with waste materials from various crafts are an illustrative and educational extra. Furthermore, on two screens visitors can watch some of the processes involved in the presented crafts.
The final part of this exhibition section covers economic migration, which tells us that the numerous resources and ways of making a living presented here were inadequate to sustain the whole population in Slovene ethnic areas during the period dealt with by the exhibition. From the 1880s onwards, migration was important for various reasons: it allowed a part of the population to find better opportunities for making a living outside Slovene areas, while migrant workers made an important contribution towards the family income and the economic position of their relatives who stayed at home. Some returning migrants made an even more significant economic contribution to the development of their home village or town. The museum objects in this chapter bear historical messages, but were also carefully chosen so that each one additionally conveys a symbolic message: help given to the family, the departure and return of migrants, and the range of their professions in numerous countries around the world.

Reconstruction of a pottery workshop in Dolenjska, mid-20th century
(photo: Andrej Dular).

Reconstruction of a shoemaker's workshop from Gorenjska, first half of the 20th century
(photo: Nada Žgank; SEM Documentation).

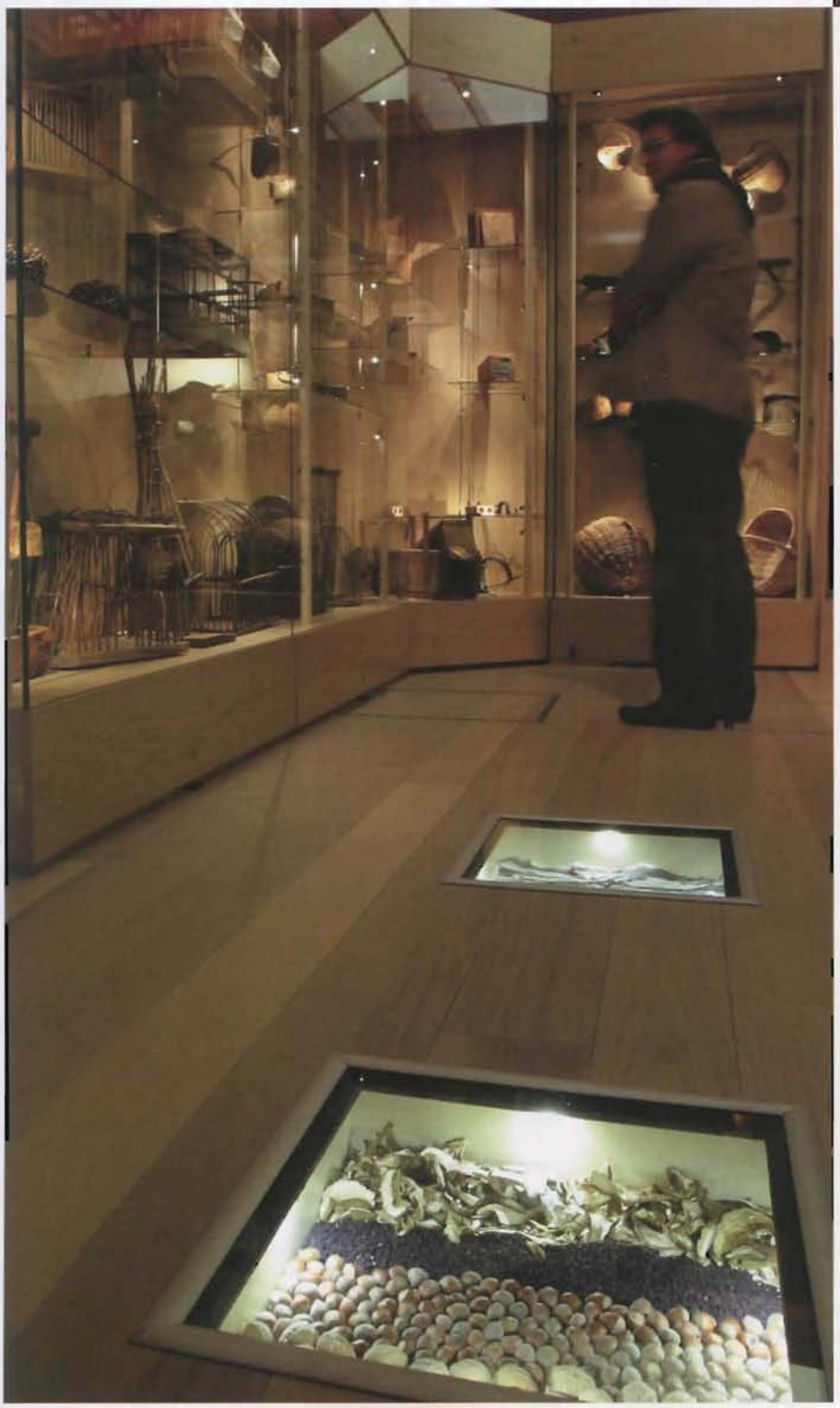
AGRICULTURAL AND SUBSISTENCE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Polona Skerelj

Agricultural and subsistence economic activities include all the primary agricultural activities connected with livelihood, as well as all the supplementary economic activities in the countryside and the town that enable man, through contact with the natural world, to obtain food, fodder and various raw materials, as well as raising animals for leisure pursuits and as pets. Bearing in mind the extent of man's encroachment on the natural environment and the kind of natural goods available, we divide these activities into those connected with natural ecosystems (gathering, in the broadest sense), cultivated ecosystems (arable farming in its broadest sense) and animal husbandry, including beekeeping. Until the late 19th century and in some instances to the mid-20th century, such activities were fundamental to the survival of the majority of the population in Slovene lands. Since then, they have gradually been replaced by other, non-agricultural economic sectors and have become instead ways of supplementing income.

From nature to man / Natural ecosystems

Nature and its many fruits provide man with numerous natural goods. Gathering, hunting and fishing are ways of acquiring natural goods without having to improve their quality or fertility.



Display cases in the Natural Ecosystems section
(photo: Matic Grgič, 2007).

Under-floor display cases in the Natural Ecosystems section
(photo: Nada Žgank, 2006; SEM Documentation).

Harvesting of peat, Bevke near Ljubljana, 1966 (photo: Tanja Tomažič; SEM Documentation).

Gathering includes collecting plants and their fruits, small animals and their products, and water in order to satisfy nutritional, health, cult, magic, crafts and other needs. Gathering, together with hunting and fishing, was the principal means of food acquisition in man's early evolution. By the time the ancestors of the Slovenes settled here, gathering had become of marginal importance compared with the prevailing activities of arable farming and animal husbandry. The significance of gathering was further reduced when numerous other means of livelihood spread, though it remained relatively important as a food source until the 19th century, albeit only among the lower rural classes. If at first open to all, gathering was regulated and restricted by servitude rights in the feudal era. Market-oriented gathering became significant after the mid-19th century because of the spread of railways, the development of other means of transportation, and the growth of towns. As an additional food source and a possible source of income, gathering natural goods was especially significant for the survival of small farmers and, from the mid-20th century, for town dwellers on day trips (it was also as an additional source of income for workers).

Rakes for blueberries, Skomarje, Štajerska, used until 1963
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Mushroom picking, Skomarje, 1963 (SEM Documentation).

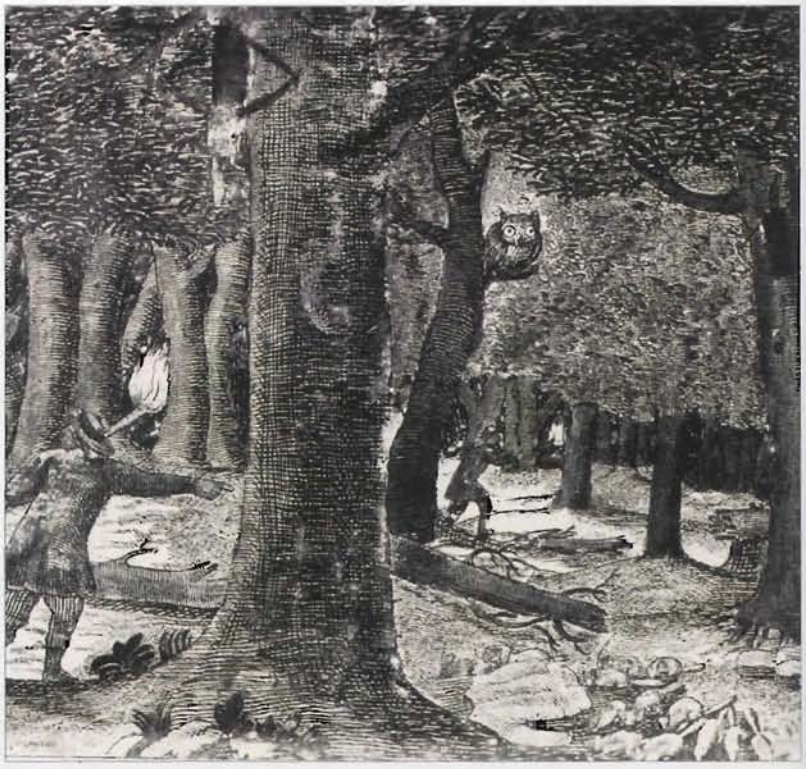
Gathering fruits of the forest

Most of the natural resources suitable for gathering are found in woodlands. In Slovenia, people gather edible plants and fruits (e.g. blueberries, strawberries, mushrooms, chestnuts, hazelnuts), birch, elm and maple sap, medicinal herbs (e.g. juniper and berries, linden leaves and blossoms, ferns), plants for animal husbandry (in the past especially, branches of bushes and trees to make bundles for sheep; beechnuts, acorns, and wild chestnuts to feed pigs), plants for fuel or for building purposes, for crafts and industry (branches, twigs, leaves for wickerwork; in the past, mulberry and ash leaves to make dyes; brushwood, pine cones, stakes). Besides plants, people also used to gather small animals and their products (snails, wild bee honey, ant eggs to feed birds). Forest fruits are gathered with special rakes (blueberries), baskets, scoops (ant eggs), and various knives. In recent decades, gathering nature's fruits in this way has grown increasingly important as recreation for the urban population.

Hunting

Initially, hunting was an activity aimed at providing food and clothing, and at driving away harmful animals. The forms of hunting which developed in Slovenia were game hunting, dormouse hunting, bird hunting, and hunting of harmful animals. In Antiquity, and even more in the feudal era, while still preserving its economic significance (food, clothing, trade) to the serfs, hunting also became a sport and an activity conferring social status on the aristocracy. The importance of hunting for survival depended on the development of a production economy; by the 19th century, it had turned into a supplementary economic activity. Initially open to all, hunting was restricted in the feudal era by hunting rights (the right of an individual group or the head of the group to hunt on a specific hunting ground). In the early feudal era, hunting rights became one of the ruler's privileges, and around the 11th century it joined the privileges of territorial lords on their estates. The latter reserved to themselves the right to specific types of hunting and granted rights to others. This led to the development of big game and small game hunting. Serfs had to pay compensation for individual types of hunting: in some places the lords allowed them to hunt for small game, beasts and birds; they then either had to hand them over to the estate against bounty or had to pay compensation. As a result of these restricted hunting rights, poaching spread among the peasants (the first references to bans on poaching date from the 16th century). Some serfs

After the hunt, Velinja vas/Wellersdorf near Bilčovs/Ludmannsdorf, Austrija, 1936 (private collection).



Dormouse hunting (from the book *Gründliche Nachricht von dem in dem Inner Krain von Franz Anton von Steinberg*, 1758).

performed corvée labour at hunting, others were serf-hunters who had a special hunting *Hufe* (they hunted for their lords, maintained the hunting grounds, and pursued poachers; they were exempted from other corvée labour and duties). After 1848, hunting rights were granted against payment. Close season regulations increased in the 18th century and were included in the provincial regulations of the 19th century. In 1976, Slovenia adopted hunting legislation which governed game protection, breeding and hunting. In recent decades, hunting has been mainly connected with food acquisition (with an emphasis on healthy food), maintaining the natural balance between the species, driving away harmful animals, and with the maintenance of individual animal species. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, hunters mainly used guns, traps (for bears, foxes, wolves, wild boar), snares (for deer, rabbits, birds), nets (mainly for birds) and lime-twigs; more recently, guns have prevailed.

Dormouse hunting

This was the most characteristic form of hunting among Slovenia's peasants and was particularly common in Notranjska, western Dolenjska, and in the Gornji grad area. The oldest source referring to dormouse hunting dates from around 1240, but most are from the 17th (Valvasor), 18th (Steinberg, Hacquet), and 19th and 20th centuries – when written sources were enhanced by material and oral ones. Dormice were hunted in various ways. Sticks were poked into their holes or they were lured out of their holes with smoking mushrooms. Sometimes a small barrel or box was placed over their holes, with a hollowed log with nails driven squarely through so that a dormouse could enter the log but not exit from it. Sometimes a small barrel might be put in front of the hole. In addition, dormice were hunted with baits and with bows, but most often with wooden, home-made or bought traps: especially bow traps (mentioned by Valvasor; the bait in the trap was a pear soaked in cooking oil), and single or double spring traps. Traps were placed on trees. Dormouse meat (salted and kept in barrels), was an important winter food for the rural population; occasionally, dormice were eaten right after the hunt, either roast or boiled. Dormouse fur and medicinal dormouse fat were also a source of income. After the Second World War, dormouse hunting declined considerably as the number of dormice in the forests declined, and this kind of hunting ceased to be an economic activity. Their meat was then eaten only in small quantities and exclusively during the hunting season (for health reasons – diets were changing in the countryside), dormouse fat was no longer used, and the sale of fur was no longer profitable. In recent decades, dormouse hunting has become exclusively connected with relaxation. A form of hunting has been established where dormice are let loose after they have been caught.

Dormouse hunter, Male Lipljene, 1964 (SEM Documentation).

Bird hunter removing a bird from a lime-twig, Blače, 1953 (SEM Documentation).

Dormouse trap (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Bird hunting

Hunting water fowl and other birds has long been widespread in Slovenia. Water fowl used to be hunted for food, while land birds were hunted as an additional food source, for sale, for recreation, or as songbirds. An 18th-century source (Steinberg) describes wild goose hunting on Lake Cerknica: the locals would drive the geese into the rushes, surround them and kill them with clubs. Geese were still hunted in the same way in the 20th century. Land birds, and especially songbirds, were hunted by tracking and with lime-twigs, snares, and traps. Hunters were attracting them with whistles or birds. The most common hunting accessory was lime-twigs. These were made of elm, birch or willow twigs up to 20 cm in length, and the lime was prepared by boiling berries of the oak mistletoe; they were then laid in trees and bushes. Snare-like traps were usually made of twisted, woven hair horse attached to a stick, a wooden ring, or a round plank with a maize cob in the centre as a lure, or were tied directly to a string or fastened in some other way. Jays and woodpeckers were hunted in winter with pointed traps, made of sticks, with a snare at the entrance and maize or other grain inside as bait. In the Karst region, wild pigeons and juniper thrushes were hunted by enticing them beneath flat stones. Over recent decades, bird hunting in Slovenia has almost disappeared.

Jay trap, Male Lipljene, first half of the 20th century (SEM Collections, photo: Marko Habič).

Fishing on Lake Cerknica (from the book *Gründliche Nachricht von dem in dem Inner Krain von Franz Anton von Steinberg*, 1758).

This includes all the activities of fishing and breeding fish, crabs and other creatures in flowing and standing fresh water and in the sea. Alongside gathering and hunting, fishing was a principal food acquisition activity in man's early history; over the course of time, it acquired additional importance as a source of food (along with the dominant activities of arable farming and animal husbandry) and became an important market-oriented activity. The ancestors of the Slovenes practised fishing in their original homeland (there are similar expressions for fish and fishing gear among different Slavic peoples) and after settling in the new lands. In the Middle Ages, fishing, which until then had been open to all, was restricted by fishing rights; fishing was one of the serf duties, and poaching spread to an extent that from the 16th century onwards penalties were introduced to limit it. In the 17th and 18th centuries, fish protection orders and decrees were issued, as well as regulations on the use of fishing gear; legislation passed in 1885 prohibited fish poaching and set out a variety of rights, laying the foundation for all later fishing legislation in Slovenia. The

Fishermen with nets, Lake Cerknica, 20th century (SEM Documentation).

significance of fishing for food and for the market in the second half of the 20th century declined due to industrialisation, and fishing became a form of recreation and sport (scuba diving, competition fishing).

Fresh water fishing

Fresh water fishing, including crab fishing, is quite developed on all the major lakes and rivers in Slovenia. In the 13th century, Urbaria mentioned fishponds and in the Middle Ages these were common in monasteries (fish was important to them as fasting food), on feudal estates, and in the towns. Despite the gradual decline of fresh water fishing (when arable farming and stock breeding started to dominate), in the 17th and 18th centuries it was an important source of food and income, especially for the rural population. Valvasor writes about fresh water fishing in Carniola in the 17th century, and our knowledge of fishing on Lake Cerknica in the 18th century owes much to Steinberg's descriptions and depictions of fishing by serfs. Fishing gear developed in the Metal Age and the initial forms were preserved for millennia. The oldest method is hand fishing (still common in Slovenia in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century). In the winters of the mid-18th century, fishermen on Lake Cerknica used to strike the ice with an axe to stun the fish, which they then, after breaking the ice, collected from the water

with their hands. In the 20th century, they used baskets from which they collected the fish with their hands. Other fishing gear used in Slovenia included: tridents; horsehair snares attached to sticks; night snares; fishing baskets woven from pine splints; funnel-shaped fishing traps made from willow splints or nets woven from string with three rings of varying interior sizes; hand-traps woven from willow in the form of a truncated cone, with an opening at the top, and attached to a forked beech branch; similar hand-nets, which prevailed in the late 19th century; and bigger nets, first mentioned in the 16th century. Fish were also caught by damming waters, in natural (Lake Cerknica) or artificial water outflows, with lights, torches, explosives, or substances which drugged the fish. In recent decades, fishing with fishing rods and hooks or flies (fly fishing) has prevailed.

Fish basket – *ravšelj*, Gornje Jezero, Notranjska, pre-1960 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Tuna fishing, Nabrežina/Aurisina, Italy, first half of the 20th century (SEM Documentation).

Sea fishing

In Slovene ethnic areas, sea fishing developed along the shores of the Bay of Trieste (from Trieste to the River Timavo) and in western Istria. Coastline fishing in the Slovene sea is first mentioned in 805, in the written record of a conciliation meeting in Rižana; a deed by the Aquileian patriarch Ulric from 1173 mentions seasonal mullet fishing in the Bay of Trieste. It was customary in summer to fish for low-value fish (at night with lamps) and for high-value deep-water fish, cephalopods and crabs. Fishing was performed with a variety of vessels. Between Trieste and Duino, *chupas* (dugouts) were used for nearly a thousand years; other rowing boats were the smaller *ščifa* and bigger *tonera* for tuna fishing. In the 19th century, sailing boats were introduced of the *bragozzo*, *betjeu* (*pielego*) and *topo* types. At first, nets were used; later also hooks, lines with several hooks, hand-nets, fish traps, and tridents. Crabs were caught in special baited traps, shellfish with a rake with a sack. Fishing was done for food and for sale; a direct trade developed with deliveries to people's homes as well as inns, and was usually carried out by the fishermen's wives. The fishing industry developed in Slovenia in the second half of the 20th century and differs from the small-scale fishing of individual fishermen mainly in terms of methods and fishing gear (15- to 40-metre boats with dragnets). In recent decades, sea fishing as a sport has developed

Nets

Fishing nets, made of flax fibres, with pieces of light wood or dry bark as floats and small stones or fired clay as sinkers, were in use as early as the Neolithic period. The materials, form and size of fishing nets were improved over the millennia. Until the second half of the 19th century, nets were made of hemp or flax; lighter, more durable and flexible cotton nets were later used (these originated in Scotland). In the second half of the 20th century, nylon and other synthetic fishing nets appeared, which were no longer subject to decay, were invisible in the sea, and did not require drying.

Repairing fishing nets, Nabrežina/ Aurisina, Italy, 1940s (SEM Documentation).

Needles of various sizes for repairing fishing nets, Nabrežina/Aurisina, Italy, 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Nets made of natural fibres were produced at home; they had to be dried between each use and dyed several times a year – they were soaked in a liquid with a high content of tannin (most often ground pine bark, boiled in water).
Fishing nets have different mesh sizes, formed by a rectangle with equal sides. By composition, nets are divided into single and triple nets. In a single net, a fish's head is caught in the mesh and it cannot retract it because of its gills and fins. Triple nets consist of three single nets: the two exterior ones have a large mesh size, the interior one a small mesh size. Fish get caught in the triple nets when they swim though the large outside net into the dense inside net, as if into a kind of bag. Triple nets are used for fish which have neither gills nor sharp fins. Nets can be divided into dragnets, circle nets, and fixed nets; dragnets and circle nets are always single, fixed nets may be either single or triple.
In deep water fishing, three types of dragnets were used: *grip*, the oldest type is mentioned in the statutes of Piran from 1307; *tartana*, used for centuries in fishing with sailing boats; and *trawls,* which developed from the *tartana*. Circle nets were used on tuna boats called *tonera* (along the shore between Barkovlje and Nabrežina there were 14 fishing grounds; arriving shoals were detected by three spotters, named kolnarji who directed the fishing operation), *šakaleva* (used in night fishing with lamps, mainly for anchovies, sardines, mackerel, and Spanish mackerel) and *trata* for sardines and anchovies. The fixed triple nets used were the *pasaljera* (for sole, turbot and squid), *souter* (stakes driven into the sea bottom, to which a net was attached, for catching grey mullet and *skočec*), while the fixed single nets were *malajda* (for night fishing for sardines), *šperun* (for mackerel fishing), *škadenar* (a net with a 160-180 cm mesh size for big fish, such as turbot), *pošta* for tuna fish (evening fishing), *jerajenca* for catching *jeraj*, *pošta* for squid fishing.

Chupa Marija, made in 1898, in the sea for the last time before being brought to the museum, Nabrežina/Aurisina, Italy, 1947 (SEM Documentation).

Chupa

A long, narrow dugout, usually 7 x 0.7 m, made of a single silver fir or pine trunk. Similar boats were used by the Slavs in their original homeland. Slavic fishermen used *chupas* in the area between Kotor and the Isonzo, and for over a thousand years Slovene fishermen used them in some villages on the steep Karst edge between Trieste and the River Timavo, unsuitable for other vessels due to the natural conditions. The fishermen made the dugouts themselves. The first written source to mention them dates from 1621 and deals with a dispute over land delimitation between the magistrate of Trieste and the Count of Duino. In the first half of the 20th century, twenty-five *chupas* were still in use, and they were preserved longest, until the Second World War, only in Nabrežina. *Chupas* were rowed with two main oars, which were up to 6 metres long and were set in a 5.3 metre transversal pole (teslir). There was a third, 3 metre subsidiary oar, which was fixed uat the front on the left-hand side. *Chupas* were kept on the beach; in good weather they were pulled ashore and fastened to the seawall; in bad weather and in winter they were stored in special gaps or shelters in the seawall, called *fasali* (they were hoisted into place with a ring and a wooden pole placed through a hole in the boat). The *chupa* Marija from Nabrežina in the Slovene Ethnographic Museum is the only intact specimen of such a vessel from the Slovene coast.

Chupas in *fasali*, Nabrežina/Aurisina, Italy, 1940s (SEM Documentation).

The exhibited *chupa* Marija (photo: Marko Habič).

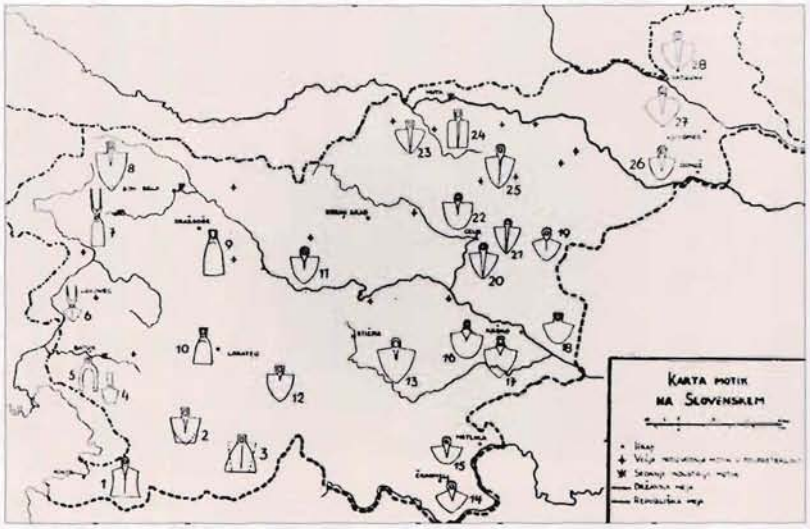
Greenhouses, Dolenja vas near Polhov Gradec, 2002
(photo: Nena Židov; SEM Documentation).

With the cultivation, improvement and working of fertile land, man acquired field and garden produce, as well as plants or their fruits intended for human consumption, for animal feed or to be used as a raw material in the home or in industry. Activities involved in obtaining crops (gardening, the growing of fruit, vines, hops or plants from which oil can be extracted) fall into the category of arable farming in its wider sense, while the term in its narrow sense includes the making the land workable, working it, preparing for sowing or planting, and the procedures involved in the growing of crops, protecting, harvesting and processing them. When the ancestors of the present-day Slovene people settled in this area, arable farming in its narrower meaning was, in addition to animal husbandry, the most important means of livelihood. Old farming knowledge and tools were adopted from the Romanised native population: in wooded areas, the slash-and-burn technique was prevalent, and in areas not covered with trees shallow tillage with hoes. The importance of arable farming increased with the introduction of ploughing, the spread of permanently used land (this was completed sometime between the 9th and the 11th century), and the introduction of three-year crop rotation with a period in which the land lay fallow. From the mid-18th to the mid-19th centuries agricultural reform brought more changes, such as: the introduction of planned fertilisation linked to the development of indoor animal husbandry; the introduction of plants intended for animal feed and of pulses; increasing the yield from seeds used; and crop rotation without a fallow period. Agricultural techniques and mechanical equipment were again improved at the turn of the 20th century. The development of arable farming in Slovene areas was most rapid after the 1950s (the introduction of new, more fertile varieties, the improvement of fertilisation and plant protection) and especially the 1960s (mechanisation). Arable farming in the narrow sense is developed throughout Slovenia, but mostly in flat areas where monocultures prevail: hops growing in the Savinja Valley, the upper Drava Valley, on Dravsko polje and in Posavje; the growing of oil-producing plants in north-western and eastern Slovenia; and viniculture in the three wine producing regions of Primorska, Posavska and Podravska, which together comprise 14 wine-growing areas.

Fertile land used to be worked using either digging or ploughing tools. According to the main method employed, arable farming is divided into shallow or deep tillage.

Shallow tillage

Using this method, the soil is prepared for sowing or planting using hoes or mattocks. The main forms of this kind of tillage were the slash-and-burn method (in wooded areas) and shallow tillage in its narrowest meaning (on open land with no plant cover). Initially, fields were not permanent. When the Slavic people settled in the Eastern Alps, they probably relied mostly on shallow tillage, supplemented with the use of a primitive plough or ard. The transition from working the land using mainly the shallow tillage method to full use of the deep tillage method ended some time between the 9th and 11th centuries. Shallow tillage was still used alongside deep tillage in more remote areas for cultivating more demanding crops (e.g. grapevines) and for tillage on difficult ground. Thus, for example, shallow tillage was still recorded in Slovenske gorice in the 18th century on slopes where the soil was heavy. A special form of shallow tillage is gardening; the most characteristic tool used in this case is the hoe. Approximately 300 different types of hoe of different shapes, sizes and weights were in use in Slovene areas, all adapted to their purpose, the quality of the soil and the geomorphological characteristics of the fields. Other implements used were tools for weeding, spades and forks.



Picture of hoes (taken from Franjo Baš, *Slovenski etnograf* 8, 1955).

Deep tillage

This is a method of preparing the land for sowing or planting using ploughs pulled by cattle, horses or a machine. Deep tillage was used on open ground and on regular or newly-cleared plots. Fields tilled this way were usually permanent and a system of three-year rotation with a fallow period was used. According to how crop growing is interspersed with lying fallow, we differentiate between a fallow system, biannual rotation with fallow, triannual rotation with fallow and rotation without fallow. Deep tillage appeared when shallow tillage was combined with the keeping of large domestic animals. This method of tillage began to be established among Slavic people before the middle of the 1st millennium and it spread around Slovene lands from the 6th century onwards, first with an ard (a primitive plough that scratched the surface of the land, rather than turning furrows) and, from sometime between the 10th and the

Spring tillage, Skopo near Dutovlje, 1936 (photo: Miljko Doktorič; SEM Documentation).

Plough with wheels, Poljšica near Bled, used until 1910
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

11th centuries, wooden ploughs. Plough tillage soon replaced the older shallow tillage and slash-and-burn methods; the use of a plough meant it was possible to till five times as much land as with a hoe.

The main tools used were the ard and the plough. The ard has a symmetric ploughshare, which pushes aside, breaks up and pulverises the soil, but does not turn it. Although sometime between the 10th and the 11th century it began to be replaced by the plough, it was still in use until the early 19th century in hilly areas, and in the Štajerska and Koroška hills on Slovenia's borders until the middle of the 19th century – in some places even the mid-20th century. In the end, the ard acquired a secondary function: it was used, for example, when planting or picking potatoes, or when planting corn. A plough has a non-symmetric ploughshare and board. It cuts the soil with the ploughshare and the coulter, and turns it with one or two boards. In the early 19th century, in flat areas, wooden ploughs nearly completely replaced the ard, while in the mid-19th century industrially-made iron ploughs became widespread. These needed fewer animals to pull them than wooden ploughs and after 1900 they became the predominant tool. In the 1960s, tractor ploughs were gradually introduced.

Tilling tools (photo: Marko Habič)

Reaping and harvesting crops

Prior to mechanisation, a considerable number of people had to work together when manually reaping and harvesting a large quantity of crops and they did so on the basis of mutual help or the use of hired labour. The activities involved (the pulling of root crops and potatoes, harvesting grains, picking grapes, olives and hops) were often accompanied by specific customs and by better and more abundant food than on normal days. Different tools were and are still used in the reaping of crops. Turnips, beets and carrots are pulled manually on smaller plots and mechanically on larger ones; in some places carrots are dug out with forks or a forked tool called a *špes*. On smaller or steep plots potatoes are dug out using hoes, otherwise a plough is used, while in the past dung-forks were used. The dug-out roots and potatoes are put into baskets of various shapes and sizes, in recent decades also into wooden or plastic crates. Until tractors began to be used, they were transported home on carts, sometimes on special carts intended for transporting dung, some of which had a trapdoor in the middle, or on wooden carts with solid sides (*truge* or 'coffins'). Cabbages are cut either with an axe or special knives. Corn was, until mechanisation, picked by being broken off or cut a few centimetres above the ground with sickles. Grapes were in the past cut using knives or the slightly bent *fouči* knives (in Primorska), while in recent decades they are picked using secateurs. The picked grapes are put in wooden pails, into special wooden vessels which are narrower towards the top and have wooden rings around them, or into woven baskets carried on the shoulder, while in recent decades metal or plastic buckets have come into use almost everywhere. Grapes are then carried to wine presses in tall wooden tubs called *brente*. These can be carried on the back or on the head or leaning against the forehead, or they can be attached to a bent pole (in the Brda). Olives are picked by hand while standing on a ladder, by shaking the olive tree or by using special rakes and spreading a sheet or net beneath the tree. In the past, they used to be picked into a sack-cloth or basket fastened to the belt or hung over the shoulder, while in recent decades plastic crates have been used. Hops were, until mechanisation, most often picked by pulling out the wooden poles, placing them on a wooden cross, then picking the cones and putting them into woven baskets hung around the waist, into wicker baskets, wooden bushels or aluminium vessels. Fruit is picked manually from a ladder, with special picking instruments, by shaking the trees or by hitting the branches. The picked fruit is put into baskets or crates.

Grape picking, Primorska, 1956 (SEM Documentation).

Potato picking, Bilčovs/Ludmannsdorf, Austrija, 1936 (private collection).

Reaping hook, Koroška Bela, late 19th or early 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Reaping, Zdenska vas, 1978
(SEM Documentation).

Grain harvesting

Harvesting involves the reaping and storing of grain crops. Right up until the 1960s, special sickles and scythes were used; sickles were already used by Slavonic people when they first settled in this area. This tool developed from a knife and in the 13th century acquired its current semi-circular shape (serrated in the Middle Ages) with a sharp point at one end and a wooden handle at the other. In the early 20th century, harvesting scythes became widespread. These were equipped with a piece of linen stretched over the arch or with hooks of different shapes which then gathered the stems. Sickles were used by women and scythes by men. Women harvested by picking a handful of stems, cutting them and then adding them separately to a sheaf, or collecting enough for a whole sheaf and then banding it. When harvesting with scythes, women would follow the men, picking up the cut plants with their sickles and putting them on bands. The methods of arranging sheaves were different in different parts of Slovenia, adjusted to the type of grain involved. Manual harvesting was team work and the workers hired for harvesting were most often paid with natural products in kind with grains or bread. Harvests were an opportunity for many workers to get seasonal work. Mechanical harvesting using harvesters has become widespread since the 1960s and combine harvesters are used on fields in flat areas.

Meždec, baton for crushing grapes, Drašiči, Bela krajina, late 19th or early 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Threshing millet, Črensovci near Lendava, Prekmurje, 1963
(photo: Fanči Šarf; SEM Documentation).

The picked crops are first cleaned and then processed. The cleaned grains and maize are ground in mills. In the past, this was done either in large mills or in small, hand-operated domestic mills called *žrmlje*. These were used on many farms for centuries, in some places right up to the mid-20th century, especially where there were no water-mills nearby. Over recent decades, *žrmlje* have again gained ground for grinding smaller quantities of grains, especially for organic bread, while larger quantities are ground in large mills.
Grapes are first ground in special mills and then pressed in grape presses. In some places, the newly-picked grapes used to be trodden in pails or tubs, or pressed by hand, or using bats or clubs in a tub on a cart or in a cellar. Even in the late 19th century, in some places in the first half of the 20th century, grapes were pressed in a tub or on the floor using bare feet, as was customary in the Middle Ages. Fruit and grapes may be boiled into spirits in special stills and fruit is also used for making cider and perry. Since the second half of the 19th century this has been done by grinding the fruit in fruit mills (earlier it was done by crushing the fruit with wooden clubs or mallets in wooden troughs or in long, semi-circular troughs, with a millstone on a pole or with heavy concrete wheels) and by pressing in a press. Fruit can also be dried in the sun, in the air, in or on a stove for baking bread, in smaller drying facilities (portable or stationary), and in drying rooms, which may belong to individual families or to the whole village. In the 19th century and until the mid-20th century, in Bizeljsko, the Goriška Brda, the Soča and Vipava valleys, in Brkini and some villages in the Venezia region, peeled plums, known as *prinele*, were also dried. Olives are pressed for oil in special presses, called *torklja*. Flax stalks were in the past processed by scutching.

Scutching

Scutching is the procedure whereby flax fibres, i.e. for linen yarn, are separated from the stems. It was most widespread in the low-lying areas of Slovenia, where most of the flax was grown. Linen production started declining in the second half of the 20th century due to other yarns becoming more popular. Prior to scutching, which was done in the autumn, the seeds were separated from the stems, which were retted by the sun and rain in a mowed meadow and then dried, usually in a drying room or a drying cave, sometimes also in a stove after bread had been baked in it or on a fireplace in front of the entrance to a stove. This was followed by the scutching of the dried stems with a brake

A brake (for flax), Prekmurje, first half of the 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Scutching of flax, Bilčovs/Ludmanssdorf, Austrija, mid-20th century (private collection).

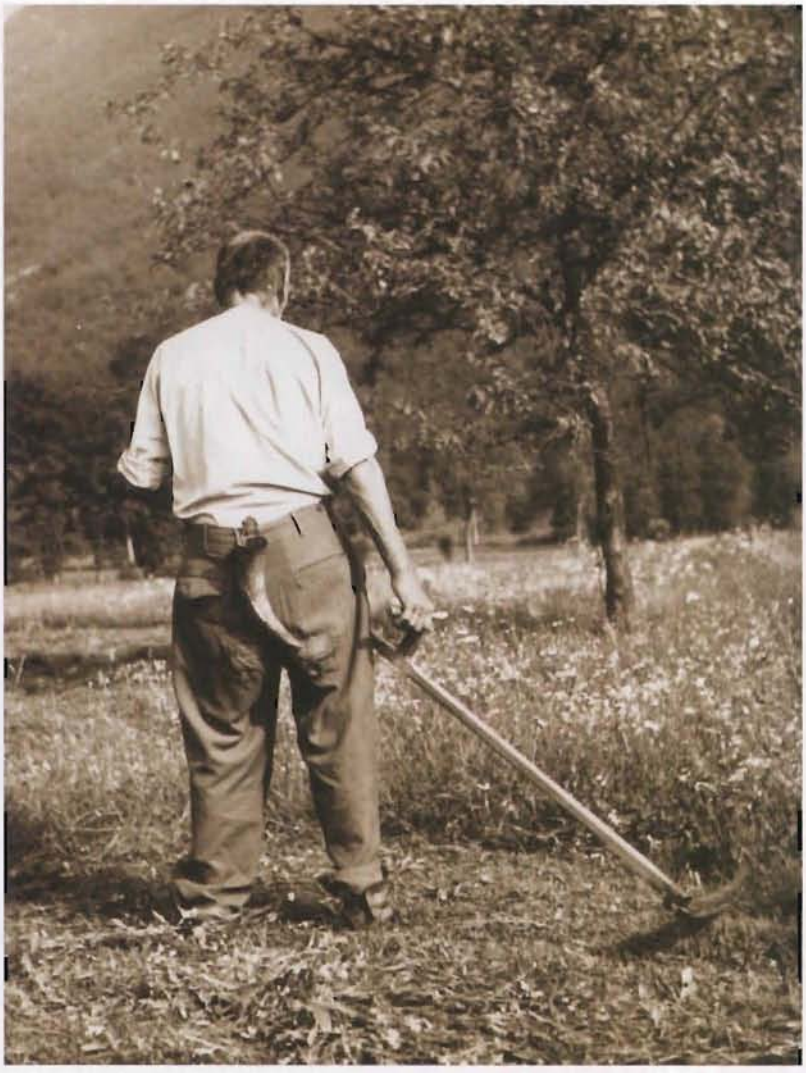
– a wooden instrument, resembling shears, used for braking flax or hemp. Brakes were single (between two idle boards there was a channel for a mobile board – a tongue or knife) or double (with three idle boards and two channels), and varied in size, but were usually about from one metre to one-and-a-half metres long and approximately 20 centimetres wide. The tongue with the handle for pressing the knife was fastened in such a way that it could be moved to the bottom part of the brake at one end only. During scutching, the broken stems and low-quality yarn fell off, while the high-quality yarn fibre was left in the scutcher's hands and put on a heap. Scutching was usually done by women; labour was hired or households helped each other. During scutching, a greater range and quantity of food was prepared, and the work was often concluded by rituals led by women. Before the braked linen yarn was spun on a spinning wheel, it was combed.

Animal husbandry

Feeding pigs, Bilčovs/Ludmanssdorf, Austria, 1950s (SEM Documentation).

Animal husbandry encompasses the breeding of domestic animals and the improvement of breeds: for the provision of food, raw materials for clothes and footwear, and other products of animal origin; for use as draught animals, for riding, or as pack animals in agriculture, transport or sporting and leisure activities; and for the provision of manure. For Slavonic people, animal husbandry was, prior to their arrival in the Eastern Alps, a very important economic activity alongside the predominant arable farming. When they settled here they adopted the basic animal husbandry methods used by the native people. The ancestors of modern-day Slovenes used to breed animals foremost for food, and after fields became permanent (between the 9th and the 11th centuries) also for use as draught animals. With the flourishing of trade in the 16th century, particularly by the sea, animals were also bought and sold. Animal husbandry in Slovene areas encompassed cattle, horse, goat and sheep breeding, poultry farming, pig farming and domestic rabbit breeding. At the time of settlement, sheep breeding was most important, while at the start of the 21st century, cattle breeding, and pig and poultry farming are in the lead. Indoor rearing methods began to replace pasture husbandry from the second half of the 18th century onwards. The development of animal husbandry has, since the mid-18th century, been influenced by the introduction of new sorts of animal feed (alfalfa, roots, corn and potatoes), by the improvement of the old breeds and the introduction of new ones in the mid-19th century, as well as the use of vaccines and artificial insemination. In the second half of the 20th century, large-scale production methods became widespread in Slovenia, while small farmers bred animals both for the wider market, as well as for domestic consumption. In addition, the keeping of bees and small domestic animals is also well developed.

Calf in a cowshed, Pregarje, 1990
(photo: Tanja Tomažič; SEM Documentation).



Mower with a whetstone holder made from horn, Sužid near Kobarid, 1951
(photo: Boris Orel; SEM Documentation).

This is an intensive form of animal husbandry, in which the animals are chiefly fed in barns and very little pasturing is done. In its modern form it started developing in the mid-18th century with the introduction of new kinds of animal feed. After the mid-19th century there were more deliberate endeavours to further the development of indoor animal rearing. Indoor animal rearing required the preparation of animal feed and regular maintenance of barns.

Haymaking

Haymaking involves mowing, drying and storing hay, i.e. animal fodder. Hand mowing was a difficult task, most often carried out my men. From the 13th century onwards scythes were used, before that sickles. Prior to and during mowing, scythes were frequently sharpened with a special hammer on an iron anvil. Mowers wore a whetstone holder made from ox horn and later often from plastic, tin or other man-made material. It contained some water (often mixed with vinegar), a whetstone for sharpening the scythe, a firesteel, and a small anvil used for sharpening the scythe if a stone was hit. Mowers started mowing early in the morning, at first dew, so that the scythes cut more easily. Most often, the same meadow would be cut by a number of mowers, staggered so that each one was slightly behind the next. The first mower was the most experienced and decided on the direction and the order of the other mowers. In larger hollows mowing would often be done in circles. The women spread the

Whetstone holder, Upper Savinja Valley, late 19th or early 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Raking and loading aftermath (hay from the second mowing), around Kamnik, 20th century
(photo: Janko Skrlep; SEM Documentation).

hay that now lay in rows, using rakes and forks, and at the side they raked it in. When the hay was less thick, they also raked the centre of the meadow, arranging the hay into a rectangle and then turning it over in the afternoon into narrower strips. Semi-dried hay was collected into heaps. The next day, the whole drying process was repeated. The dry hay was taken to barns, sheds, the top part of haystacks, haylofts and hay barns or it was collected into large heaps around a pole or put it into temporary wire constructions used for hay drying. Mowing on steep slopes was different to that on level ground: level meadows were mown twice, in more recent years even three times a year, while higher lying meadows were mown only once and the scythe handles were shorter. Dry hay from higher ground was taken in large sheets to haylofts or arranged around a pole. From there, it was taken to the farm on sledges or in bundles. In the 1920s, the first mechanical mowers appeared, those pulled by animals in the 1930s, hand-held mowing machines were used in the 1950s for meadows on level ground, while later mowing machines were pulled by tractors. In recent decades, mowing activities have been carried out using special mowers and tedders, perhaps also loaders, blowers for storing the hay and implements for conditioning the hay. A method of conserving hay in silos and baling has also become well established.

Pasturing

This is an animal husbandry method whereby livestock grazes freely or under the supervision of a herdsman. It was the prevailing method until the mid-18th century, when indoor rearing of animals in its modern sense began to be introduced, which has since become the predominant method. Now, pasturing is used only for supplemental feeding. Pasturing took place either near settlements or further afield. A special form of pasturing was grazing on village commons, from where the stock returned to their barns each day. This took place in early spring and late autumn, and in regions where mountain pasture was not used, also in the summer. It was a very common method until the century, when land held in common was divided and livestock began to be grazed on private or municipal pastures near home.

Distance pasturing includes mountain pasturing and transhumance. Mountain pasturing was linked to the management, maintenance and use of mountain pastures in mountainous and hilly areas, most often including milking and the processing of milk. An activity linked to this is Alpine dairy-farming. In addition to mountain pastures where mixed grazing took place, there were in Slovenia also some for specific types of animals (sheep, horses, etc.). The extent of mountain pastures diminished after World War Two with industrialisation in the valleys, the development of specialised animal husbandry in large barns and the foundation of dairies in valleys. Transhumance is a form of livetsock rearing using nomadic pasture, which is linked to the climatic and vegetation features and the extensive method of agriculture. The characteristics of transhumance are seasonal movements of herds and herders, and the composition of the teams of people accompanying the herds. In the summer, pasture took place in the mountains more or less near the permanent abode, while in the winter a team of herders would move outside the village. When Slavonic people moved to this area, the original inhabitants involved in this method of pasture were the Vlachs. It was later adopted in the Karst, in the Brkini Hills, part of Čičarija and the area around Pivka, where it survived until the middle of the 20th century.

Sheep being taken to pasture, Jezersko, 20th century
(photo: Krašovec; SEM Documentation).

Oxbow, Kal in the Nadiža/Natisone Valley, Friuli, Italy, used until 1960s (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Implements used during pasturing

Various implements were used in connection with pasturing – *kambe* were semi-circular or round wooden bent sticks that held an animal's neck from below. *Kambe* with a bell were used mainly for the leading cow in a herd and for sheep. In recent times they have been replaced by wooden collars. *Kambe* were made mainly by herdsmen, who also decorated them with carving. Cow herdsmen used sticks, while shepherds used a *balda*, which had a small axe at one end and an iron club at the other. Dogs belonging to herdsmen in some place wore a *gradanica* or a *grebenica*, a spiked metal collar that protected them against wild animals, especially wolves. Animals grazing freely without a herdsman or which are restless often have some contraption put on their legs to make it more difficult for them to move. Electric fences were introduced during the 1970s for animals grazing freely without human supervision.

Oxbow with a bell, Razdrto, first half of the 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Use of animals, obtaining and processing animal products

Sheep shearing, near Koper, 1950 (photo: Milko Matičetov; SEM Documentation).

Slaughtering a pig, Selce, 1981 (photo: Inja Smerdel; SEM Documentation).

In Slovene areas animals were kept for food (eggs, fat, meat, milk), raw marerials for clothes, footwear (skins, wool), other raw materials of animal origin (bristles, hair, feathers, horn, bone, horsehair) and for manure. As late as in the 20th century, sheepskins were still used for making bags for storing grains and flour, while in the 19th century they were also used as wineskins. Horns were used as musical instruments. Pig's bristles were used in the making of horse-collars and for various brushes, while horn was used in the making of whetstone holders, combs and buttons; blood has long been used for making *krvavice* (blood sausages) and is now also used in the pharmaceutical and timber industries.

An important event related to animal products, known at least since the 15th century, is *koline*, when a pig is slaughtered, usually in the winter, in order to provide supplies, such as cured meat and other products for the owner's household. Another important

Display case with implements used in harnessing (photo: Matic Grgič, 2007).

task was spring, autumn and winter sheep shearing, for which special shears were used. In some places, sheep were washed before shearing; in Jezersko this was still done in the second half of the 20th century in special oval tubs, which were used only on these occasions. Shearing was a particularly important task until the first half of the 19th century, when the significance of domestically-produced wool diminished.

Harnesses

Until the establishment of machines and transport vehicles in the second half of the 20th century, animals were used as draught or pack animals and for riding. In Slovene areas, livestock was harnessed into yokes or horse-collars. Yokes were used for cattle; our ancestors were already using them at the time of settlement or even earlier. They were used for centuries wherever carting or ploughing was done using oxen or cows, and until animals were replaced by machines. Yokes were designed for either pulling with the head or with the neck. There were also Mediterranean yokes with *cambas* (for harnessing one or two animals at once) and Slovene yokes known as *telége* or *telénge*, which were widespread particularly in north-eastern areas, in Dolenjska and in central Štajerska. Yokes were most often made at home and were frequently decorated. A horse-collar is occasionally also used for cattle or donkeys. It is placed on the neck, forehead or the back of the animal. Horse-collars were in Slovene areas made by saddlers. They were made from wood, covered in leather and metal decorations. There were a number of local variants of the collar: in general, we differ between working collars and festive collars (a special form of these is the so-called "dachshund") and collars for pulling light or heavy weights. A harness, in addition to a horse-collar, includes a bridle, reins, chest and abdomi-

Yoke, Kal near Kobarid, 1952
(photo: Boris Orel; SEM Documentation).

Milking a goat, Planina Laz, first half of the 20th century (photo: Janko Ravnik; SEM Documentation).

nal belts, and a whip. After World War Two horse-collars started losing their original function and started being used as decoration, or were put on animals only on festive occasions.

Milking and milk processing

Milking is the daily expression of milk, either by machine or by hand. The oldest milking method is manual, and the milking is done squatting down, or partly kneeling or sitting on a special milking stool. The milk goes into what was initially a wooden pail, later a metal one, called a *golida*. Machine milking is faster and it is done by attaching a machine to the animal's udders. Machine milking began to be widespread in the 1980s. Special areas for this have in recent years been set aside in barns, and the milk is stored in a large, cooled vessel. The cream from fresh or boiled milk is processed into butter. In the past, butter used to be produced in churns of different shapes with a terracotta paddle, while smaller quantities of cream were processed using an ordinary wooden spoon. Butter was then put into different butter moulds or shaped by hand. In recent decades, particularly where farmers have a number of cows, machines are used for skimming and processing cream, while milk is also used for making cheese and cottage-cheese.

The first inhabitants of Slovene areas already knew how to make cheese. The family itself or hired cheese-makers produced it by heating sweet or skimmed soured milk. Cheese-making techniques improved in the second half of the 19th century and after World War One cheese began to be exported. The first inhabitants of these lands also had cottage cheese – a by-product obtained during cheese-making – and boiled or baked cow's milk after calving. In the Middle Ages there was even a tribute paid in the form of cottage cheese. In the late 20th century, it began to be used in large quantities for food and in the production of cosmetics and medicines.

A churn, the Savinja Valley, first half of the 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Milking with a machine, Zdenska vas, 1982 (photo: Anka Novak; SEM Documentation).

Box for a queen bee, Zaboršt, Dolenjska, made in 1947
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Beekeeper at work, Velinja vas/Wellersdorf near Bilčovs/Ludmannsdorf, Austria, 1948 (private collection).

Bees are kept for honey, pollen, royal jelly, propolis and poison, wax, for pollination and also simply as a hobby. Initially, bees were not bred, but honey was instead taken from tree trunks. Records from as early as the 13th century mention domestic bee keeping in Slovene areas, referring to a tribute paid in the form of beehives and honey. Janez Vajkard Valvazor described highly-developed bee keeping in the 17th century, while in the 18th century it was exceptionally widespread, as honey was the only sweetener used. At this time, a number of specialist articles were written about prudent bee keeping (such as Anton Janša's *Popolnoma podvučenje za vse čebelarje* – Complete Instructions for all Bee Keepers, Celje 1792). In 1769, Anton Janša from Breznica in Gorenjska became the first teacher of bee keeping in Vienna, he was also the creator of a type of bee hive (the *kranjič*), and in 1773 he drew up a proposal for the improvement of bee keeping, on the basis of which Maria Theresa issued, in 1775, a special bee-keeping patent. In addition to Janša, Peter Pavel Glavar, Matija Furlan and Janez Goločnik were also involved in the improvement of bee keeping in the 18th century. In the 19th century, bee swarms began to be exported. The bee trade started in the 18th century and continued until the 20th century and was supplemented by bee keeping fairs in Kranj, Studenec near Ig, and Ljubljana. The Carniolan Society for Prudent Bee Keeping founded in 1873, followed by the Carniolan Bee Keeping and Fruit Growing Society and the Slovene Bee Keeping Society in Ljubljana (1897) also contributed to advancements in bee keeping, the latter uniting all the bee keepers in the Slovene provinces. In the 20th century, a number of bee keeping societies appeared throughout Slovenia. Carrying or transporting bees to better pasture was recorded at least as far back as the 17th century, although it was only later that it became more widespread. Initially, bees were carried in special baskets or on specially equipped vehicles, now they are transported by train or car. Nowadays, honey is used mainly as a medicine or food supplement.

Beehives

Bees used to be kept in hollowed-out tree trunks (as late as in the 17th century), in troughs (still in use in the first decades of the 20th century), in *kranjiči* (elongated, rectangular hives of various sizes, made from linden or poplar wood) and other similar hives made of wooden panels (in Carinthia, southern Styria, Carniola and the Littoral), which facilitated the painting of the first beehive panels, and after 1910 in 'AŽ' hives ('Albert-Žnidaršič' hives); they were also kept in woven baskets (in the Dravsko polje area, in Slovenske gorice, in the hills above Kostanjevica, in Prekmurje and in White Carniola), which were sometimes coated with clay or cow dung. Hives stood either on their own or in an apiary. Apiaries were first erected on feudal estates in the second half of the 17th century and on farms in the second half of the 18th century. Apiaries were built mainly in central and northern Carniola, in Carinthia and north-west Styria. In some places, free-standing hives were protected by a straw 'coat' shaped like a large basket, with a wicker belt or an iron ring, and topped with an old earthenware pot.

Beehive, Rašica, Dolenjska, used until the 1960s
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Beehive, Gorca, Štajerska, used until 1958 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Beehives from basketwork and mud at the side of a house, Boginja vas near Podzemelj, first half of the 20th century
(SEM Documentation).

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NON-AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Andrej Dular

Agricultural production was one of the fundamental economic activities in Slovenia until the late 19th century. The social and occupational structure of the population corresponded with this and major changes came about only after the Second World War. Some of Slovenia's border provinces preserved their agricultural character well into the 1960s. Agricultural production was, however, not the only source of livelihood. For centuries, other activities developed in the towns and larger settlements – crafts, trade, transportation, mining and, later, the home working system, manufacturing and industrial production. The development of all these depended on the socio-economic and technological conditions in individual periods.

Crafts are non-agricultural occupational or cottage industry activities including production, manufacturing and services. In the past, crafts typically involved manual labour, whereas nowadays machines are more widely used. Professional crafts are carried out by qualified individuals, often assisted by journeymen and apprentices, while cottage industry crafts involve individuals or groups with another primary employment – in the past usually in agriculture.

While professional crafts largely developed in the towns, were promoted by professional training, had a strict hierarchy in every individual craft and enjoyed the protection of guilds, cottage industry crafts were more common in the countryside as an additional activity, carried out traditionally by members of a family without hired labour. Over the course of time these types of crafts adapted to market conditions as well as competing with each other. Craftsmen made products to order or for stock and sold them in their workshops and shops, at fairs, or through commercial travellers. Cottage craft workers sold their products at home, at fairs, or as peddlers. The general economic and technological development in Slovenia had a growing impact on the development of crafts from the second half of the 19th century. In addition to the home working system and manufacturing, some production crafts, in particular textile, leather and iron-working, developed into industries and produced for a large market. Industrial production caused the decline of crafts or forced them to change from production to services, and new or modified crafts emerged, adjusted to the times and to technological development.

After the Second World War, cottage industries experienced a rapid decline because of the ready supply of cheaper industrial products and the employment of the rural population in non-agricultural activities. The final decades of the 20th century brought a revival of crafts and cottage industries regained some of their significance. Compared with large-scale industrial production, the products of the cottage industry became a synonym for unique, genuine products, based on traditions of craftsmanship and skills, making them attractive to the market. As a result, cottage industries increasingly hire professionals and provide a livelihood for people in the countryside and in towns.

Crafts differ in terms of the materials that are worked, and the types and methods of work carried out. When working with related materials or performing services, craftsmen of different types use similar tools, appliances, working methods and techniques. In relation to these, we distinguish between production crafts, crafts combining production and services, and services.

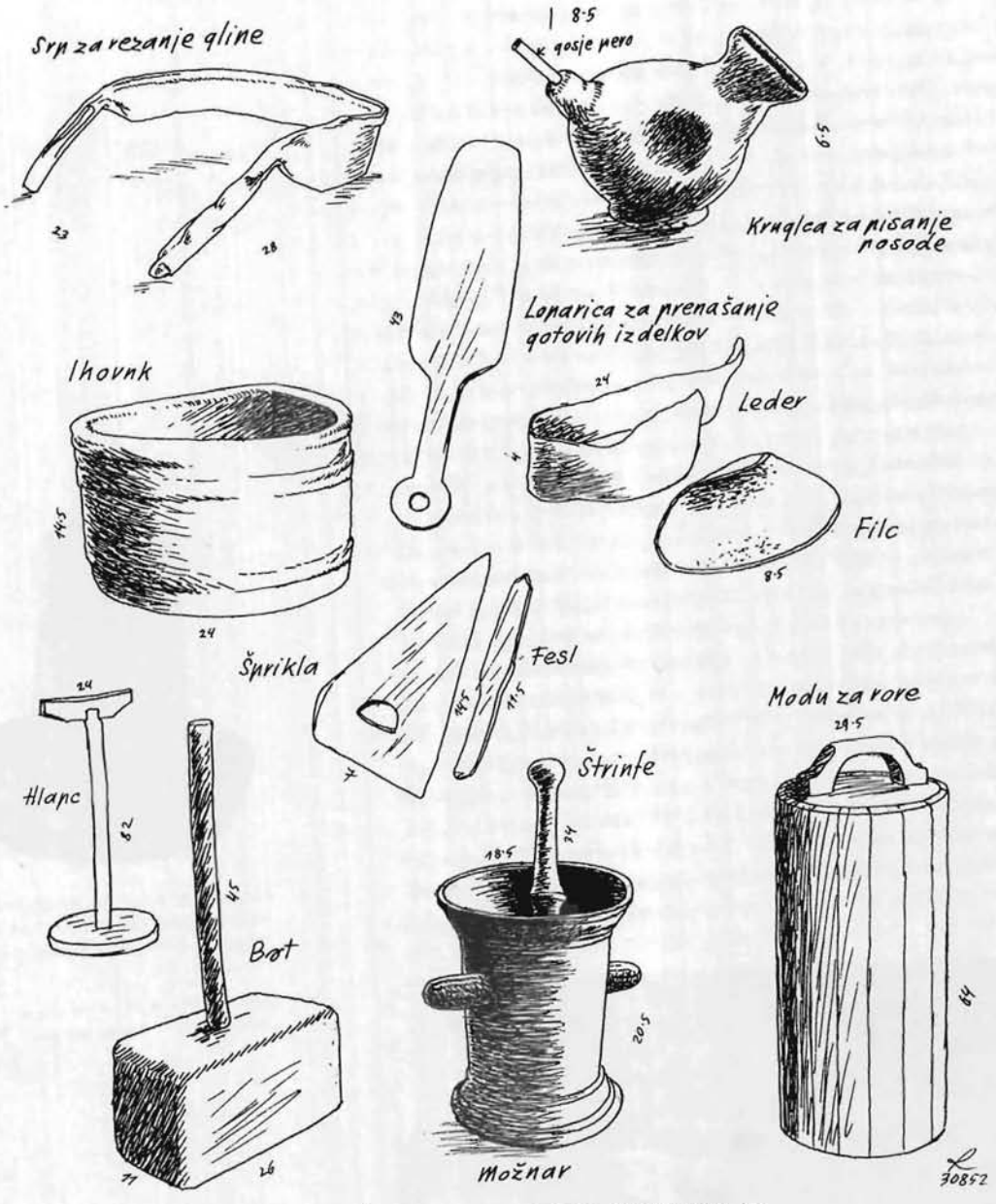
Production crafts produce semi-products for further working and products for personal and general use from natural and artificial materials. These crafts developed from simple forms of organisation and technology to industrial production methods, causing some to lag behind or die out, and others to adjust to more modern production methods or become service providers. Production craftsmen include those who work with inorganic materials and metals (stone masons, lime burners, masons, plasterers, potters; iron makers, nail makers, founders, smiths and farriers, bell-makers), and others who work with materials of animal and plant origin (sawmills, charcoal burners, carpenters, makers of wooden utensils, clog makers, woodcarvers, pipe makers, wickerwork makers, straw hat makers, spinners, weavers, linen weavers, yarn makers, tailors, milliners, makers of artificial flowers, embroiderers, lace makers, rope makers, upholsterers, sieve makers, leather makers, saddlers, candle makers, millers, bakers, honey bread bakers).

Potters and tilers

Pottery as a craft involves the production of earthenware vessels and other clay products. It is one of the oldest crafts in Slovenia, with the first records of potters, in the Dreta Valley, dating from the 14th century, and the first mention of a potter in Ljubljana from 1391. Pottery was a professional craft and potters had their own guilds in the towns (in Škofja Loka in 1511, while a brotherhood of potters is mentioned in Ljubljana in 1545); in the 20th century pottery co-operatives were established. In the countryside, pottery largely developed as a cottage industry, especially in areas where the system of land tenure did not provide an adequate livelihood. The introduction of cookers, as well as steel and enamel vessels in the late 19th century caused a major decline of pottery. Tilers formed a specific branch among potters and some workshops developed

Earthenware water dish for chickens, made by Franc Kržan, Veliki Podlog, 1966 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Potter Marija Medic, Grič above Dobliče, 1913 (SEM Documentation).



Drawings of potter's tools from the workshop of Ignac Piletič, Dolenja Stara vas near Šentjernej, 1952 (SEM Documentation).

into industrial production. There was a revival in the 1980s and an increase in individual, artistic products in the last decades of the 20th century.

Until the 20th century, pottery was well developed in Prekmurje (in Filovci, Bogojina, Kobilje, Martjanci, Moščanci, Pečarovci) and Štajerska (the environs of Ptuj, Šentjur near Celje, Prožinska vas, Vojnik, Podsreda, Ljutomer), on the Krka plain (Veliki Podlog, Gmajna), Šentjernej and environs (Groblje, Ledeča vas, Dolenja Stara vas, Gruča, Prekopa), in the environs of Ribnica (Dolenja vas, Prigorica, Blate, Nemška vas, Rakitnica), as well as in Gorenjska (Komenda, Mlaka, Podboršt, Križ, Gora, Gmajnica, Šmartno pod Šmarno goro, Ljubno), and in Bela krajina (Grič, Podgora, Gradac). Tilers operated in Dolenjska and Notranjska, Bela krajina, and Štajerska. Industrial production developed in Novo mesto, Črnuče, Mengeš, and Pragersko. Potters sold their products at home or took them to fairs. Pottery was also traded in distant places, e.g. across Carniola, Primorska, Goriška and the Tyrol by the potters from Ljubno.

Smiths

Smiths carry out metalworking production and are divided by types of products into tool smiths, building hardware smiths, farriers, wagon smiths, nail smiths, locksmiths and gunsmiths. In the countryside, the first smiths were recorded before the 11th century, and they became one of the leading crafts


MOJSTRSKO IZPRIČEVALO

BANOVINSKA PODKOVSKA ŠOLA V LJUBLJANI

S TEM POTRJUJE, DA JE

Maček Ivan

KOJEN DNE

PRED IZPRAŠEVALNO KOMISIJO NA BANOVINSKI PODKOVSKI ŠOLI DANES OPRAVIL

MOJSTRSKI IZPIT

IZ PODKOVSTVA

TO IZPRIČEVALO MU SLUŽI ZA DOKAZ STROKOVNE IZOBRAZBE PO ZAKONU O OBRTIH IN MU DAJE PRAVICO DO NAZIVA

MOJSTRA

LJUBLJANA, DNE

BANOVINSKA PODKOVSKA ŠOLA V LJUBLJANI

Master farrier's certificate for Ivan Maček, Selščck in Notranjska, 1937 (SEM Documentation).

in Slovenia's towns after the 12th century. Like other craftsmen, smiths established their own guilds (Ljubljana 1431, Škofja Loka 1475, Maribor 1491, Kranj 1497), and after these were abolished, they were organised in trade associations. The development of industry led to a division into industrial smiths and craft smiths. The latter survived in particular in the countryside where they produced agricultural tools (e.g. hoes, spades, mattocks, axes, picks, ploughs, harrows), bands for wagons, and various iron ties used in construction. Farriers produced horseshoes and some of them also treated cattle.

Smithies were set up at streams and rivers which powered their drop hammers and fireplace bellows; they were located on important traffic and wagoning routes. Many smithies thrived on the Bistrica rivers in Tržic and Kamnik, and on the two Sora rivers in the Poljane and Selce valleys,

the Radovna and the Sava. The tool smiths from Lokovec on the Banjška plateau were particularly renowned. In 1912, there were no less than 200 smithies in the area. They sold their products – knives, pruning knives, drills – to merchants from Gorica and at fairs. After the Second World War many smithies were transformed or were replaced by modern metalworking and related crafts – motor mechanics, car body repairers/painters and wrought-iron makers.

Blacksmith Ivan Drobnič and assistants at the anvil, Grahovo, between the two World Wars (SEM Documentation).

Blacksmith shoeing a horse, Šentrupert in Dolenjska, 1934 (SEM Documentation).

Josip Perše, blacksmith and farrier, shoeing a horse, Stari trg by the River Kolpa, 1935 (SEM Documentation).

Pedlar from Ribnica burdened with woodenware products, around 1927
(SEM Documentation).

Making toothpicks, Sv. Trojica near Velike Lašče, around 1930
(SEM Documentation).

Making a pail, Sodražice area, 1950s
(SEM Documentation).

Wooden ware makers

These include woodworking crafts producing various wooden objects and tools for personal use and for sale – such as tubs and pails, flooring, sieves, vessels, wickerwork, spoons, ladles, tools, turned items, and toothpicks. Originally, these crafts were part of the cottage industry which engaged all the members of a household; in special circumstances some of them became official crafts. They were carried out largely by small farmers, cottagers or tenants who could not make a living from the land.

In the 17th century, the woodworking cottage industry was well established in the environs of Lesce, Bled, the Selce Valley and around Kočevje and Ribnica. By the 19th century, the crafts had spread to the Bloke plateau, the environs of Rakek, Planina, Logatec, Črni Vrh and the surrounding villages, the hills around Idrija, the environs of Cerkno, the Poljane Valley, the Tolmin, Bovec and Bohinj areas, and to some extent to the Pohorje. After the Second World War, due to socio-economic changes, these woodworking crafts started to die out, but they have revived in the wider area of Ribnica in recent decades.

The woodworking crafts were connected with the peddling of wooden utensils. Peddlers carried their products in huge baskets strapped to their back and sold them in the villages. The peddlers from Kočevje and Ribnica were granted the right to peddle as early as 1492, and their rights were

Tools for making toothpicks – gauge, bench template (*vogel*), leather belt for smoothing/cleaning (*žakelj*), Gradišče above Škofljica, Dolenjska, 2003
(SEM Collections; photo: Andrej Dular).

Fair – on sale are woodenware products by Ivan Gornik from Kot near Ribnica, Krško, 1950 (SEM Documentation).

confirmed by a decree in 1780 and by later legislation on the crafts. They sold their products in Austria, Germany, Italy, and Spain, and even exported them to Africa and India. Wooden ware was sold to merchants, taken to fairs all over Slovenia, and also to Slavonia and Vojvodina at harvest time.

Wickerwork makers

Wickerwork is the branch of the woodworking crafts which produces items made of straw, bark, vines, wicker and similar materials – nowadays also artificial ones. The craft of wickerwork was well developed in places where enough suitable resources were available. It was mainly seasonal work carried out by the poorer part of the peasant population to satisfy domestic needs, but in some places it developed into a market-oriented craft. Wickerwork nowadays belongs to the applied arts and crafts.

Wickerwork makers are mentioned by Valvasor in *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, where he refers to the nets, fish traps and hand-nets made in Trzin.

Basket (*korpec*) for carrying food to be blessed in church, Ključarovci, Štajerska, 1973 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Many records on wickerwork makers date from the second half of the 19th century, when the government promoted the activity by organising training courses and a wickerwork department was established at the Occupational School of the Woodworking Industries and Crafts in Ljubljana in 1894. In the early 20th century, wickerwork schools and workshops were established: in Radovljica, in Žaga near Bovec, and in Cirkulane. They provided wickerwork courses and the daily press also promoted wickerwork through practical advice. In the second half of the 19th century, many products were made of willow wicker in the villages by the River Sava near Ljubljana. Until the Second World War many straw products were produced in Štajerska, in the villages around Ljubljana, in the environs of Grosuplje and in Zasavje, and for a decade after the war in Prekmurje, where corn leaves were the main material. Straw products included bread, fruit and sowing baskets, round farm baskets, shopping baskets made of straw braids, and baskets and garden furniture made of bleached and unbleached willow wicker.

Along with wickerwork, willow breeding developed, especially at Notranje Gorice in the Ljubljana Marshes. A wickerwork co-operative was established in Strnišče near Ptuj in 1915, which developed into the Ptuj Wickerwork School and after the Second World War into the Ptuj Wickerwork Company, which also exported its products.

Crafts combining production and services

These crafts are an intermediate link between production crafts and services. The craftsmen manufacture products and in addition provide services. The balance between production and services depended partly on the craftsman's particular business, and partly on the needs and wishes of his customers. Dyers, for instance, bought linen, dyed and printed it, and sold it as their own product, but they also dyed and printed cloth brought to them by their customers. Similarly, butchers sold what they produced themselves in their shops, but they also provided slaughtering and butchering services. Crafts combining production and services include various fitters, watch and clock makers, roofers, dyers and blue printers, shoemakers, butchers and some other crafts.

Watch and clock makers

Watch and clock making developed along with the progress of mechanical measuring instruments, which were initially made by masters of the metalworking crafts (smiths and locksmiths). As abroad, the watch and clock makers of Slovenia specialised in making either weight-clocks or spring-driven watches. From the 17th century onwards, watch and clock makers were members of the locksmith guild, together with sword makers and gunsmiths. The first watch and clock makers mentioned in Slovenia were in Maribor (1492), Škofja Loka (1517) and Ljubljana (1549). In the 17th century, Ljubljana had only one watch and clock maker, but when the town's population increased in the 18th century, their number rose; by 1840, Ljubljana had nine watch and clockmakers. Most of the watch and clock makers in Slovenia were immigrants from German-speaking provinces. However, the base marks on clocks and watches made in Ljubljana, Celje, Ptuj and Maribor indicate that domestic craftsmen were also engaged in the craft. In the second half of the 19th century, watches were imported to Carniola from Switzerland, wall clocks from Vienna, bronze clocks from Paris, and simple clocks from the Black Forest.

In the second half of the 19th century, industrial production forced the watch and clock makers to specialise in assembling and repairing factory-made clockworks and the sale of watches and clocks. The cheap new electric watches and clocks which spread after the Second World war meant that the crafts were transformed into service activities, and the number of watch and clock makers in the towns and countryside continues to fall.

Clockmaker's assistant and later master clockmaker Jože Praznik in the workshop of Anton Kajfež, Ljubljana, pre-World War Two (SEM Documentation).

Clock made by Jože Praznik for his master clockmaker's certificate in 1951, Črnuče, 1998 (photo: Andrej Dular).

KOMISIJA ZA OPRAVLJANJE MOJSTRSKIH IZPITOV

MOJSTRSKO IZPRIČEVALO

mojstrski izpit

OBRTNEGA MOJSTRA

Master clockmaker's certificate for Jože Praznik from 1951 (SEM Documentation).

Shoemaker's workshop, Tržič, 1920's (SEM Documentation).

A shoemaker who used to call at people's homes, trying a shoe on a maid, Florjan above Gornji Grad, 1914 (SEM Documentation).

Shoemakers

Shoemakers produce and repair footwear. It is one of the oldest town crafts, and shoemakers and tailors were the most numerous groups of craftsmen; there were also many shoemakers in the countryside. The first mention of shoemaking in Ljubljana dates from 1306. Shoemakers, who were also leather makers in the Middle Ages, united in guilds (Škofja Loka 1459, Ljubljana 1478, Kranj 1522, Višnja Gora 1555), often together with leather makers and furriers. The growing population boosted the number of shoemakers: Ljubljana had 21 in 1651, but 35 in 1752. In the mid-18th century, Carniola and the Maribor district together had 405 shoemakers with 58 journeymen, and there were at least twice that number of unlicensed shoemakers. The liberalisation of the crafts in the early 19th century caused a general increase of their numbers, and foreign competition forced them to organise series production of footwear in Tržič, Kamnik, Žiri, Škofja Loka, Kranj, Ljubljana, Turnišče, Cerknica, Mirna near Gorica, and Šmartno near Litija. In Ljubljana, the number of shoemakers, increased from 43 in 1820 to 96 in 1860.

Industrial production of footwear started in Slovenia in the early 20th century, when the modern Peko factory was established in Tržič. The factory had its own

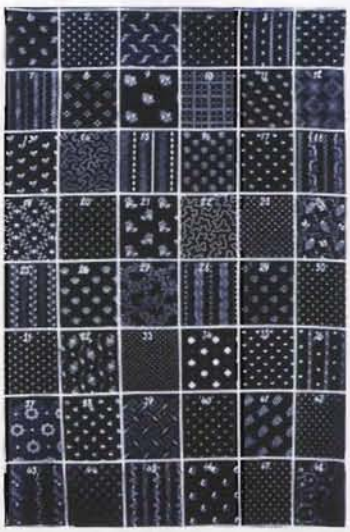
shops all over Yugoslavia. Peko and some other footwear factories (particularly Bata) produced cheaper shoes and offered serious competition to the craftsmen shoemakers. The number of the latter fell considerably between the two World Wars (from 3917 in 1931 to 2854 in 1937). Today, shoemaking is an economic activity of little importance and because of generally accessible industrially-made footwear, shoemakers have become service providers. As a production craft, shoemaking is preserved today in the production of high-quality boutique items.

Dyeing - blue printing

Dyeing and blue printing are crafts which transform raw, undyed textile materials into plain, multicoloured or patterned fabrics. As an economic activity, dyeing developed from a cottage craft into a professional craft and small factories, to later become part of industrial textile production as a result of the industrial revolution. Blue printing was a craft and small-factory activity alongside dyeing in the towns and countryside of Slovenia from the first half of the 19th century. The essence of blue printing, derived from the traditions of European and older East Asian dyeing techniques, is printing patterns on fabric with special wooden and metal blocks.
The first data on the number of craftsmen dyers in Slovenia date from 1673, when Celje, Konjice, Maribor, Slovenska Bistrica, and Tržič each listed one dyer. In the 17th century, the town and

Dyer Jurij Pokorn from Škofja Loka (1800–1875) (SEM Documentation).

market-place dyers of Carniola were members of the Ljubljana Dyers Guild. The number of dyers increased until the mid 19th century, when 48 dyers were active in the towns of Carniola. Dyeing was also taken up by rural craftsmen, who were not members of the guild, and on farms. The developing industry of the second half of the 19th century and increased imports of foreign fabrics caused the use of dyed and printed domestic cloth and cotton fabric to decline, while the use of industrially produced fabrics increased. The number of dyers gradually dropped and blue printing was a nearly extinct craft in Slovenia already before the First World War.



Indigo printing sampler from the dyeing workshop of France Pokorn, Škofja Loka, lare 19th or early 20th century
(SEM Documentarion).

A typical feature of the crafts engaged in providing services is that the working procedures and results are not of a production nature. Some services, e.g. inns, require an official licence; others include chimney sweeps, plasterers, hairdressers and grinders. In a wider sense, services include shops and transportation activities (e.g. carriers, taxi drivers). However, because of their specific nature, they may also be included among other sources of livelihood. Services are the last development phase of the production crafts.

Rollers with plant designs for decorating walls, Ljubljana, after World War Two
(SEM Collections; photo: Andrej Dular).

Paper stencil for decorating walls, Zgornje Gameljne near Ljubljana, between the two World Wars
(SEM Collections; photo: Andrej Dular).

Painter and decorator Marjan Letnar from Zgornje Gameljne near Ljubljana at work, Ljubljana, 2006
(photo: Andrej Dular).

Painting and decorating

Painting, sign painting, and decorating are branches of painting as the widest term denoting artistic and craft decorating techniques. Painting was initially considered a craft because painting and decorating processes were carried out by builders. Though the craft had the characteristics of artistic expression and required high technical skills, painting was classified as a building craft like masonry, plastering, or stone masonry. The increased demand for decorated rooms turned painting and decorating into a specialised craft. In 1837, three painters/decorators were listed in Ljubljana; by 1860, their number had doubled.
The basic techniques of wall painting with a long tradition are the smooth techniques of coating with lime, paste, or oil; after the Second World War, new techniques and modern materials spread. Painting and decorating include painting various joinery, furniture, architectural, and other products made of a variety of materials, gilding, and texture painting. Sign painting includes painting inscriptions, advertising signs, posters on any material and therefore employs techniques similar to those of wall painting. Craft painting and decorating offered an affordable way of decorating buildings and ensuring a proper level of hygiene in the living and working environment. Painters and decorators imitated historical and modern art styles, but used cheaper materials, simpler procedures and techniques instead of the expensive and time-consuming techniques of, for example, fresco and textile decorating. The decoration of urban homes with cheap, patterned wallpaper from the first half of the 19th century was later complemented or replaced by the still cheaper decorating techniques of line drawing, template painting and, from the first quarter of the 20th century, patterned roller painting. The latter technique was in general use in the countryside in the second half of the 20th century. Nowadays, painting and decorating are independent craft services.

OTHER WAYS OF MAKING A LIVING

Andrej Dular

In the mid 19th century, nearly 90% of the population of the Slovene provinces were peasants who could not make a living off the land alone. A considerable share of the income of the countryside population was earned from non-agricultural activities – as carriers, ferrymen, peasant traders, loggers, charcoal burners and wagoners, from activities connected with the iron-working industry, but also from cottage industries, from working at home or in small textile factories, glassworks and other manufactories.

In the second half of the 19th century, major changes occurred in the Slovene economy. The first industrial plants were established and the railway connected the Slovene provinces with Vienna and Trieste. The increased demand for energy resources led to the development of coal-mining and certain other production activities also expanded, such as the paper and sugar industries. These developments caused the final decline of wagoners and carriers, and of home working in the rural crafts. The countryside's semi-proletarian class moved to the towns in search of a better livelihood and took up employment in non-agricultural occupations. Foreign capital promoted the establishment of industrial textile, leather, metal and other works, many of them from former craftsmen's workshops or manufactories. These fundamental economic changes in the second half of the 19th century also caused the first wave of economic emigration. After the First World War, electrification accelerated the development of industrial and other non-agricultural branches of the economy and increased employment in these activities. Simultaneously, the Depression and the competition of industrial products reduced the numbers of craftsmen such as shoemakers, tailors and seamstresses. After the Second World War, new social-economic conditions boosted the development and growth of industrial production, causing the crafts to stagnate and forcing the rural population to take up employment in non-agricultural activities.

Mine, with a view of miners' dwellings (left), Hrastnik, 1920's
(SEM Documentation).

Tržič cotton spinning and textile mill, established 1885, between the two World Wars (SEM Documentation).

Economic migration

Daša Koprivec

Girls from Dolenja vas near Cerknica as maids, Zagreb, Croatia, 1936
(SEM Documentation).

Employment booklet of an industrial worker from Prekmurje, Avstria, 1966
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Suitcase of a female migrant worker returning to Logatec, Idaho, USA, 1930s
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Mass emigration from Slovene areas occurred from the 1880s onwards. Poorly-developed agriculture and limited industry were no longer sufficient for the survival of the entire population. Thus many went abroad, mostly from Bela krajina, Dolenjska, Notranjska, Primorska, the Venezia region, the Resia Valley and the Prekmurje region. Most of those emigrating were farmers. Once abroad, Slovenes worked in different professions and jobs. Between 1880 and 1924, men most frequently became foresters and miners in the USA and in Germany, while women became servants in Egypt, the USA and large European cities. After 1924, until the beginning of World War Two, numerous Slovene miners worked in France, Belgium and Germany. A large number of Slovenes from the Primorska region, for both political and economic reasons, emigrated to Argentina. Many seasonal agricultural workers, peddlers, grinders, chestnut sellers, etc. from Slovene lands also left their homes.

From about 1960 to 1970, many young people found employment as industrial workers in Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Scandinavia, as well as in Canada and Australia.

Historians estimate that in the hundred years from 1880 to 1980, for economic and political reasons, almost 500,000 people emigrated from Slovene ethnic areas. They financially helped their relatives who stayed at home and assisted in the introduction of new technology and ideas in agriculture and the crafts.

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Janja Žagar
Anja Serec Hodžar

Necessary and Unnecessary

Consumption, in the sense of the use and disposal of available resources, is a clear indicator of the prevailing cultural conditions and customs in a specific environment and of the individual's social position within it. Every cultural environment shapes and even determines the ways in which we choose and consume, bearing in mind the norm of "appropriateness". In this way is created the relationship between the "necessary" and the "unnecessary", that fragile line between needs and desires. Among the most mundane consumer items are food, accommodation and clothes. Physical survival depends on a minimum level of these, but even this is determined by cultural models. Consumption beyond existential needs is an even greater variable. Its main function is the non-verbal signifying of circumstances and the relations between people, facilitating the accumulation of a hierarchy of values cultivated by a specific social environment.

This section of the exhibition deals with human consumption and the relativity of needs. The selection of clothes, textiles, and home furnishings and equipment from the extensive museum collections draws attention to the character and richness of social, temporal and geographical variants, as well as the criteria involved in collecting the material, past and future. The choice of exhibiting methods and emphases focuses on differing viewpoints and interpretations of culture offered by this aspect of cultural heritage. Without actually altering the exhibition concept, parts of the collection can be changed.

The chapter about clothes and textiles has a number of different interpretational guidelines: historical and developmental, functional and structural. The central display cases make use of the basic functions of dressing as the cohesive thread connecting various historical periods and different societies around the world. Irrespective of the variety of forms, clothes have a protective function; they are an expression of belonging to a particular group, while also announcing the wearer's actual or desired position in society.

The selected articles of clothing and the outfits displayed on mannequins illustrate the functions of apparel as it developed through the 19th and 20th centuries. Ethnological guidelines dictate that the focus of attention should be the majority population and common modes of dress. From the regional typology of folk costume in the first half of 19th century, the story moves to the second half of that century and the early 20th century, when social changes also became apparent through relatively unified modes of dress in rural and urban areas, as well as the costume that appeared at the same time and which denoted the national-awakening process (known as 'national dress').

Ways of dressing in the 20th century were influenced by altered social structures, the organisation of free time and working time and social values. The exhibition draws attention to a different way of categorising clothes (for leisure or work), to the sartorial expression of occasional group appurtenance, to the appearance of fashions belonging to different generations and within this, to a fragmentation into sub-cultural fashion styles. Material evidence of these phenomena also speaks of fashion influences from the West, the global textile industry and the retail industry.

The emphasis on individual, special roles in society is demonstrated by the clothes belonging to some modern public figures, as worn for international protocol contacts. Alongside these there is also an example of a different way of communicating individuality in everyday circumstances. The audio-visual collage with an active camera draws attention to the non-verbal communicational role of personal appearance: how the individual sees others, how others see the individual and how we all see ourselves.

The second part of this chapter uses the communicational power of one item of clothing or an accessory. Through a structural approach to selection and exhibition we can trace historical, social, local and functional variants and thus, indirectly, wider cultural values and changes. There are thus two large and important museum collections: head coverings and jewellery.

The third part is dedicated to textile decoration techniques and their typology (patterned weaving, dyeing and printing, decorative seams and borders, pleating and sewn-on ornamentation, embroidery and lace), represented by a collection of patterns, samplers and practice samplers. As the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's textile collection also includes textiles for other uses, their functional variety is presented with a number of table cloths and doilies. The raw materials for textiles and materials in under-floor display cases are taken from nature and then processed, dyed and decorated in a myriad of ways. Even when there is less dependence merely on natural raw materials, the connection with nature continues through the playing with patterns taken from nature, and in the more or less perfect imitation of natural raw materials, colours and patterns.

Typology of decorative techniques, view of open display drawer
(photo: Nada Žgank; SEM Documentation).

Raw materials for clothing, view of under-floor display case
(photo: Janja Žagar; SEM Documentation).

The exhibition chapter on the home environment is based on the fundamental functions of an abode or on the basic ideas involved in dwelling common to different cultural environments: heat and light, preparation and consumption of food, storage, sleeping, hygiene and protection. The way in which these functions are realised can differ greatly. The exhibition illustrates the methods of satisfying these needs in the majority of homes in Slovenia in the 19th and 20th centuries. The exhibits are partly shown in display cases and partly as settings; due to the exhibition concept and limitations of space this is done in a rather fragmented way. Different ideas about dwelling are thus presented by symbolic objects and chosen exhibits or collections: heat and light by lights; the preparation of food by fireplace equipment; the consumption of food by cutlery, tableware and chairs; storage by chesrs; and sleeping by a collection of cradles. The maintenance of hygiene at home is illustrated by a few symbolic objects; the protection of homes (and people) by keys and locks, and by 'God's corner', drawing attention to non-material home protection. The selections are limited in scale, but their expressive power is greater than the mere symbolic: the careful selection of objects follows the internal typology of each collection, be it in terms of design, function, development, or social or local criteria.
In under-floor display cases are shown a number of materials typically used by the majority of the population in the 19th and 20th centuries for floor coverings (earth floors, wooden boards, fired tiles, lino). Audio visual material supplements the exhibited content, embodied as vivid differences between rural and urban, between older and more modern forms, and between local variants.

CLOTHES AND TEXTILES

Janja Žagar

Clothes

Any behaviour related to clothes and the wearing of clothes reflects a culturally-determined understanding and evaluation of the human body. Western culture sees the body mainly as a physical, even a mechanical entity; it defines the body through a number of expectations and moral prohibitions. We talk of shaping and controlling the so-called social or cultural body, which is defined in terms of the ideal shape and supplemented by rules about suitable posture, movement, facial expression, hygiene and bodily care and, last but not least, by the parameters of shame. This results in particular behaviour patterns: the covering or uncovering, concealing or emphasising of certain parts of the body, its natural conditions and activities.
With clothes, an individual simultaneously satisfies a number of needs in relation to his or her social environment: a need for the protection of the body against the vagaries of the climate, against injury or against the looks of other people; a need to belong, and the opportunity to express that need; and the need to articulate one's role in society. Or to put it slightly differently: a need to be safe, to be similar and to be different. The appearance of the body and of clothing are thus culturally and socially acquired elements of each individual.

Behaviour connected with clothing, drawing attention to culture-specific understanding and evaluation of the human body. (Photo: Tomaž Lunder).

General – common – individual

The basic needs satisfied by clothes are general ones. Another generally- and culturally-determining principle is fashion: it encompasses the whole human body and all its manners of expression, not just clothes. Fashion changes periodically and is binding to a greater or lesser degree. It adapts to the demands of a divided society by creating a pattern imitated in one way or another by social groups and individuals. This enables them to reveal their status and their group affiliation or lack of it. The more a group strives for social recognition, the more it uses fashion for this aim. Fashion is a very suitable medium with which social groups and individuals can maintain their position. People's manner of dress is not the same as fashion. Dressing as a behaviour or a way of choosing is influenced by economic, social, political and general cultural factors. Among the numerous factors determining choice, social background and one's way of earning a living are the strongest. These two factors are shared by larger or smaller social groups and shape the different ways of behaving characteristic to particular groups. In his or her dressing behaviour an individual combines the general needs and aspirations of the social group he or she belongs to. And it is within this framework that the individual tries to manifest his personal expression and choice.

Clogs, Gorenjska, first half of the 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Clothes protect, hide and reveal

Clothing protects the body against harmful or unpleasant climatic conditions: cold, heat, sunlight, wind, moisture, and so on. Clothes also have a protective duty in special conditions when safeguarding the body against injury from falling, blows, fire, etc. Another task clothes can perform is protecting the body and other items of clothing against dirt, sweat, etc. Seasonal variants of clothes, protective clothing for work and items intended to be used in extremely dangerous circumstances are designed in relation to their different functions. This applies to different cultural environments, but the extent and the manner of this protection are specific. They depend on what is generally recognised as dangerous, harmful or unwanted, as well as on what is on offer in the way of protection in the surroundings. Every culture develops specific interpretations of the human body. This means that opinions about the body and its functions, about feelings of shame and decency, and about the borders of the personally intimate and the erotic

Building workers on site, Ljubljana, September 2004 (photo: Janja Žagar: SEM Documentation).

vary from one culture to another – they are not self-evident. General cultural norms about which parts of the body should be covered in order to remain decent are always adapted to specific social groups and circumstances. This means that an uncovered head, shoulders, neck, arms, legs, back, abdomen etc., are considered decent only in certain circumstances, or in one social group but not in another.

Clothes denote and divide

The importance of the items that create an individual's appearance far exceeds their direct utility. We thus speak about the symbolic role of clothes and accessories: they enable recognition, classification and delimitation of individuals within a social framework. This is possible because every society creates its own selection of codes which its members internalise in the process of socialisation or "culturalisation" – that is, they adopt it as their own. As codes convey messages, by using specific clothes and accessories, people express their affiliation with one social group or another, depending on the circumstances in which the clothes are being worn. The style of clothing items can, conditionally, tell us: the sex of the wearer, his or her age and marital status; his or her social background, material conditions, local background or appurtenance; as well as the purpose of the clothes and specific circumstances for which they are worn. Style can also tell us about the wearer's professional affiliation or interests; about his or her ethnic or national background; and about political, religious or, indirectly, ideological appurtenance. In this way, social background can indirectly be gleaned from appearance, while the way of dressing is also a medium for conscious signalling of one's belonging to various groups, or of one's multi-layered identity. In a rigid class society, the social role of an individual is defined by birth; this also roughly determines his or her social standing. It is in the interest of the ruling social elite that social differences remain unchanged and, above all, that they are clearly visible – the rights and the prestige, the duties and the burdens. The appearance of the elite, with regard to clothes, was marked by specific styles, materials, colours and decoration. The development of different styles did not take place within the constraints of national borders, but was rather shaped under the influence of fashion guidelines from large fashion centres (Vienna, Paris, etc.), and facilitated by trade between countries.

The appearance of the majority peasant population was also easily recognisable. Until the mid-19th century regional differences in the basic styles could be observed in the costumes worn by this social class. The different designs and changes were the result of everyday contacts within a regional framework and material limitations. In Slovene areas, three main styles of folk costume were worn: in the Alpine region, in the Littoral and in the north-eastern, Pannonian lands. This rough basic division was supplemented by other regional characteristics and intermediate (mixed) styles, as the borders between regions were not sharply drawn.

Clothes denote and divide, view of display case
(photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation).

Woman's hat from a non-rural environment, around 1830
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Peasants from Bohinj, Gorenjska (after a watercolour by F. K. Goldenstein, *Carniolia* 1844).

The folk dress of the **Alpine type** was common in Upper Carniola, part of Inner Carniola, Lower Carniola (up to Kostanjevica), Slovene Styria (except in its eastern part), in the Littoral (except in Slovene Istria and part of the Trieste's environs). A similar style is found in Venetian Slovenia and Resia in Italy. These outfits are closest to the contemporary Central-European rural dress. The men's costume of the Alpine type is quite uniform and is characterised by knee-length trousers made of (thick woollen) cloth, dyed linen shorts or leather shorts. The women's dress shows quite a lot of variation, obvious in the cut of the blouses, the length and pleats of the skirts and in the form of the headgear. The basic dress consisted of a white linen blouse and a sleeveless skirt with the bodice sewn to it; the skirt was ankle-length, except in Gailtal and Resia, where it was knee-length.

Peasants from near Prem, Karst (after a watercolour by F. K. Goldenstein, *Carniolia* 1844).

The **Littoral or Mediterranean type** was common in Slovene Istria, Brkini and some villages around Trieste. Here, the women's outfit is marked by a straight, shirt-like dress; the cut of this sleeved "tunic" has quite a lot of Antique or medieval features and is known all over the Mediterranean. The men's costume is very close to the Alpine type, but the knee-length trousers are wider. The people of Istria and the Karst also wore white, long tight-fitting trousers made of (thick woollen) cloth and ornamented with dark thread. A woman's dress consisted of a long straight linen undershirt with long wide sleeves. Over this undershirt women wore two long sleeveless dresses (camisoles) cut in the front.

A wedding procession from Poljana valley, Bela krajina (after a watercolour by F. K. Goldensteina, *Carniolia* 1844).

The **Pannonian type** of folk dress was worn in White Carniola, south-east Lower Carniola, east Styria and Prekmurje. Both men's and women's clothes differ substantially from the other two types. Because of the colour of the linen, which was the principal material used for both men's and women's traditional clothes until the 1970s, this type is called the "white dress". In terms of material as well as cut they were closest to the outfits of neighbouring peoples, especially the Hungarians and Zagorje Croatians, but also the Czechs, Slovaks and southern Poles. There is not much variety within the Pannonian type. The men's costume consisted of a long linen shirt and long, wide linen trousers; in winter, tight-fitting white trousers of thick woollen cloth were worn. The women's costume was a two-piece dress: the linen blouse was longer than in the Alpine type and was tucked into the belt of a linen skirt with tiny pleats.

The revolutionary changes occurring in the late 18th and the first half of the 19th century did away with the class society determined by birth. Social differentiation has since been based (only) on the acquired elements of social prestige and power. The strongest of these elements is wealth. Enterprising and wealthy townspeople took on the leading social role. Numerous farmers started seeking an income in non-farming professions and their social ambitions began to grow. The result was a desire to become as close to townspeople as possible, particularly in appearance. After the mid-19th century, the clothes of farmers and townspeople were unified with respect to the basic style and the regional variants of folk costumes disappeared. Precious materials and prestigious accessories, the quality of craftsmanship and the ever-increasing variety of clothing suitable for strictly limited occasions which were, whenever possible, attended only by the social elite, now took on the role of proving one's social superiority. Appearance was supplemented by detailed rules about the "propriety" of townspeople, which regulated their conduct and the harmonious nature of their appearance. The skill of knowing the "right measure" is also the sign of being familiar with real refinement and aesthetic taste, through which a better social background is demonstrated.

Clothing very easily marks an affiliation to a particular group, be it formal or informal. This is most obvious with professional uniforms, the details of which also convey the rank of the wearer (in the army, the police, the judiciary, the health service, among the clergy, etc.). Members of narrower social groups (formal and informal interest groups and societies) also, for specific occasions, take advantage of the opportunity to wear the same clothes or accessories, thus expressing affiliation to a certain place, institution, idea, movement or event. Furthermore, through clothing styles it is possible to clearly declare and recognise one's affiliation to a certain ethnic group or nation. "National dress" is often subject to stylisation and the incorrect interpretation of the styles of folk costumes on which they are modelled. They are costumes of special importance and are in certain circumstances an instrument for enforcing, marking and supporting the awareness of belonging.

The society of the 20th century, especially the second half,

Peasant family in their Sunday best, Šmartno near Litija, late 19th century (SEM Documentation).

Bourgeouis family, Ljubljana, 1907 (SEM Documentation).

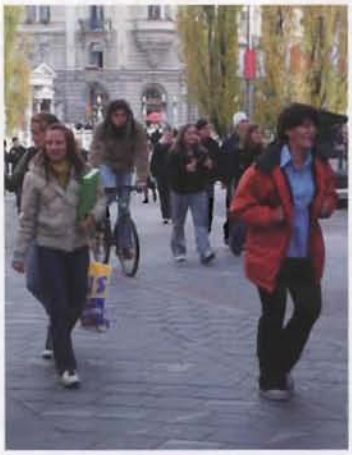
Boy from an urban background in national dress, Ljubljana, mid-1920s (SEM Documentation).

offered the individual greater choice of styles of living (linked to the way of making a living, to consumption and to wider attitudes to the world), among which he or she could legitimately choose. The chosen model adopted by an individual can be recognised, accepted and, if possible, valued by others only if it is "packaged" in a stereotyped form recognised by the environment. Style of dress is a suitable medium for this. Fashion thus formulates parallel styles. However, as the consumer society is based on mass-produced industrial products, the fashion industry is forever looking for new tricks with which it artificially differentiates these products in order to satisfy the requirements of a growing differentiation of styles and individual tastes. The individual's choice is just a selection from a menu created by the fashion industry: there is only an illusion of great variety of choice – different labels, designers and manufacturers which society and

Slovene emigrant folkdance group from Australia, around 2000
(SEM Documentation).

Mass quadrille involving school students who have taken the *matura* exam, Ljubljana, May 2004
(photo: Janja Žagar; SEM Documentation).

fashion link to a certain style of living and dressing, as well as to the standard that facilitates the chosen style. The other side of modern reality is the large number of different affiliations an individual internalises. We thus speak about multiple layers, transitions and conditions, resulting in mutable identities.



Everyday street scene, Ljubljana, October 2004
(photo: Janja Žagar; SEM Documentation).

A fan during the World Cup football match (Slovenia vs. Paraguay) in front of a big screen in Tivoli Park, Ljubljana, 2002 (photo: Nena Židov; SEM Documentation).

The tendency towards prestige

The use of prestigious objects is dictated by the aspiration to make the best possible impression on one's surroundings, an impression that brings the highest possible regard and respect, as well as the ability to please. Such prestigious objects thus serve as an "inflation" mechanism, i.e. they help their owner both to become noticeable and to appear beautiful, good and distinguished. In addition, prestigious objects create and mark their owner's social position.

In order for their owners to be quickly noticed and recognised, the objects have to possess qualities measured in outstanding dimensions, materials, colours, splendour, preciousness, form and the reputation of their maker. They must appear superfluous and functionally unnecessary, while being rare or hard to get, so that not everyone is able to afford them or, according to the criteria of social decency or rules within closed social groups, is allowed to.

Prestige is an indicator of a real or imaginary social elite, which is often connected with material wealth, but indirectly also with other characteristics on which the society bestows a high level of attention and favour. Among these characteristics are, for example, success and enterprise, free time, youth, health, beauty, sexiness, etc. This is why prestige takes so many different forms and has such varied effects – even more so if we observe them in different environments.

Ostrich feather fans, Golnik and Ljubljana, late 19th or early 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Clothes express difference

The aspiration to be similar has its counterpart in the aspiration to be different. The different appearance of an individual with respect to the clothes he or she wears guides the awareness of his or her special role in society, be it real or imagined. Conscious striving to wear different clothes is thus expected from the social elite, but is not obvious with respect to others. Exposing differences in those from the bottom of the social scale can even be undesirable. The question of who in society represents the elite, who the middle and who the bottom of the social scale is linked to each particular social structure.

In the rigid class society it was possible to differentiate rulers and the leading representatives of the military, church and secular upper class according to the power attributes and the hierarchical symbols of their distinction. Other members of the social elite exposed their class or family background, while personal worth was only emphasised by the heads of families: their personal objects were even more

Embroidered monograms for clothes, ordered goods, Ljubljana, first half of the 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Costume worn by Svetlana Makarovič for her evenings of chansons, designed by Alan Hranitelj, from 1987, in use until the 1990s (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

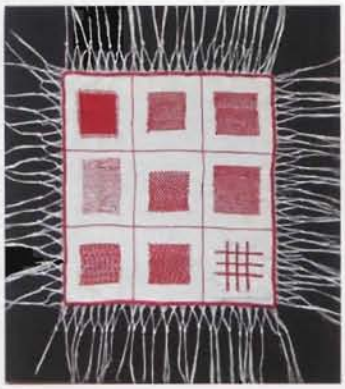
Individualised teenage subcultures, Ljubljana, early 1990s (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

prestigious and often marked with the initials of their owner's name. Putting monograms on objects later became more widespread, but retained its significance as something individual and special.

The societies of the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century built elitism on the foundations of the social power possessed by townspeople and on wealth. Success, reputation and the significance of the individual were no longer a matter of being born into a certain background, but were acquired. Thus the newly-arising need for self-presentation spread to other social ranks, and is also a characteristic of certain professions which are based on an individual's image (actors, singers, sports people, etc.). Often these have, with respect to their clothes, become a model that others aspire to imitate. When what is on offer is based on mass-produced goods, the expressions of individuality in relation to clothes are different. With respect to the representatives of the social elite or to public personalities, ways of expressing individuality are most frequently emphasised by means of a renowned clothes label of the highest quality, with a tailor-made product or an exclusive garment by a world-famous fashion designer. "Protocol clothes", stage costumes, and so on have a special role.

Completely different means of individual expression can be observed in relation to "ordinary" people. The creation of one's own image by selecting and combining different off-the-peg garments, which can be made even more unique by adding one's own alterations (changing the style, adding slogans, pictures, sewn-on trimmings, dyeing, producing decorative tears, adding metal decorations, etc.) undoubtedly involves a great deal of creativity. Bare skin can also be employed to create individuality. As it is revealed and thus "public" it is – like clothes – subject to social scrutiny and discipline. Although this is a natural part of an individual's appearance, it is individualised by occasional or permanent changes: make-up, tattoos, piercing or cosmetic surgery.

Maintenance of clothes



School practice sampler for mending, Ljubljana, early 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

The maintenance of clothes encompasses various ways of keeping them in the best possible condition for as long as possible. The social convention of appropriateness of appearance by no means ends with the selection of styles, but continues with the way clothes are maintained, which includes the level and consistency of that maintenance. Different protection methods and ways of keeping clothes when not in use also considerably affect the appearance of garments and accessories. But differences in the frequency of maintenance procedures and the skills of those carrying out maintenance are even more important than the differences in methods. Clothes maintenance includes washing, drying, pressing, airing, brushing, stain removal, dry cleaning, colour restoration, as well as darning and renovating, and storing in the sense of folding, hanging, wrapping and other forms of protection when garments are not in use or when travelling.

Hygiene and bodily care

Taking care of bodily cleanliness is closely connected with the cleanliness of clothes. The appearance of those who do not make a living working with their hands should not be "spoilt" by signs of work, including dirt. Thus, cleanliness was, to a certain extent, a reflection of one's social status. However, the criteria of "suitable" cleanliness are changed and adapted by different social structures. Since the mid-19th century, the education system and health education have striven for greater personal cleanliness, while during the 20th century norms related to what is regarded as clean and what as dirty have changed with the spread of bathrooms and public baths.
Bodily care means the creation and maintenance of the physical appearance – in its wider sense, also the maintenance of health and fitness. The physical appearance is influenced by personal hygiene, make-up, hair-cutting and combing, shaving and beard trimming, and so on, all of which are subject to the current idea of beauty. Ways of maintaining a healthy body change according to views on and knowledge about what is beneficial for the body and what is not. As a rule, people from the higher social classes used to pay more attention to themselves and their bodies, as this was another way of emphasising their personal importance and reputation. Generally, bodily care shows the attitude to one's own body or that which is connected with it, and indirectly also the attitude to the material world; it is a very visible indicator of the system of values. In this respect, even throughout the 19th century, the body was considered to be the source of the sensual and sinful, therefore excessive care of physical appearance was frowned upon. A different, almost opposite attitude to the body and its care appeared with the popularisation of sport in the 20th century.

Manicure set, Šiška, Ljubljana, pre-World War Two
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Classification of items of clothing and a structural way of exhibiting them enables an overview of the development of historical, social, local and functional variants (photo: Janja Žagar: SEM Documentation).

The total appearance is, with respect to clothes, basically dependent on the garments worn and their compatibility with the occasion. On which part of the body a garment is worn and its general function allow classification into the following basic groups: regular clothes, clothes worn over other clothes, protective clothing, underwear and clothing intended for supporting and shaping the body, sleepwear, dressing gowns and accessories. This basic classification is further supplemented by a multitude of variants dependent on the time, the place, the social circumstances and functional requirements.

Accessories

Accessories complete the appearance of the wearer. Their significance is not related only to protection but also to decoration, classification, warning and emphasis. They thus play a key role in non-verbal social contacts. They include clothing accessories, accessories carried with us, jewellery or various ornaments worn on the body or on clothes. Fashion accessories include headwear (head covers, hair accessories, accessories for the face), accessories worn above the waist (scarves worn either around the neck or shoulders, chokers and collars, ties, shirtfronts), accessories worn around the waist or below it (belts and pendants worn on belts), and accessories worn on feet (socks and stockings, suspenders, leg warmers and leggings, footwear). Accessories carried with us include bags (baskets, sack bags, rucksacks, briefcases, handbags), wallets and purses, tobacco accessories, fans, watches, umbrellas and sun shades, sticks and handkerchiefs. Jewellery and ornaments for the body or clothes include: a set worn on various parts of the body, accessories worn on the head or face (earrings, head ornaments, etc.), accessories worn on the trunk (necklaces, brooches, etc.), accessories worn on arms, hands or legs (rings, bracelets, etc.), and accessories worn on other parts of the body (buttons, clasps, ribbons, flowers, feathers).

Headwear

Headwear basically protects the wearer against the cold, wind, wet, heat and sunlight, against dirt or against injury if the wearer falls or is struck by something. It has a very communicative social function: with the language of the shape, material, decoration and the occasion it is worn for it sends a message to the surroundings about who the wearer is, following the principle of "you are what you wear on your head". Head coverings used to have a

White embroidered headscarf from near Trieste, second half of the 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Headwear according to typology, view of a display case
(photo: Nada Žgank; SEM Documentation).

very marked symbolic and status significance in the differentiation between various social classes, especially at the everyday level. Their use was connected with numerous social rules and moral obligations, and with various customs. Even nowadays generalised images of "typical" forms of headwear are often used as a symbolic base for theatrical and fancy-dress outfits, as well as national and folk costumes. According to their basic shape and the way they are positioned on the head, head coverings can be divided into a few broad categories: head scarves, bonnets, caps and hats. The parts of head decorations that can replace head coverings with respect to their determining function can also be included under the term headwear.

Jewellery

Jewellery is a decorative complement to the body and clothing. It has an ornamental, status-related and religious significance; it indicates the sex and marital status of the wearer; it may also have a protective (magic) power or a souvenir function (of a person or event). Materials used in the making of jewellery are precious and non-precious metals, precious and semi-precious stones, and objects of animal or plant origin. Jewellery was widely worn in pre-historic times and in Antiquity, and then again towards the late Middle Ages. From the 17th century onwards, the use of jewellery among the higher and middle classes had mostly status and decorative significance: usually it was uniquely made and was the product of the most up-to-date master goldsmith's technology. Among the peasantry, jewellery was rare until the mid-19th century. The new techniques of processing cheaper materials lowered its price so that it became more accessible to the less wealthy. Jewellery worn by peasants was, because of the materials used and because it was mass-produced, relatively cheap. Imported mass-produced jewellery and the products created by domestic craftsmen (usually girdlers, sometimes goldsmiths and silversmiths) was brought to the peasants by peddlers, carters and market traders. With regard to the design, these products were just simplified replicas of jewellery belonging to higher classes. With certain exceptions (for example, jewellery worn with the various national costumes), there was no regional variation among peasant jewellery in Slovene areas. The most frequently-worn items of jewellery were earrings, pendants, clasps, decorative buttons, decorative combs and buckles; less frequent were necklaces, rings, watch chains and bracelets. Since at least the early 20th century, cheap but fashionable costume jewellery has been gaining in popularity. There are a number of different categories of modern jewellery with respect to where and how it is made and to its value, which satisfy various selection criteria.

Wire clasp with glass beads, Bojanci, Bela krajina, first half of the 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Textiles are used in the home (in relation to sleeping, food consumption, storage, decoration), as well as when marking milestones in people's lives and the accompanying customs (Holy Communion and confirmation, weddings and funerals). Textiles in different forms also mark recurring annual customs and festivities; they contain more or less recognisable symbols, motifs or iconography and, with respect to their value and aesthetic criteria, they avoid the everyday average. The same applies to the textile products used in religion: in this case they emphasise the exceptional nature of a holy place, be it at home or in public. How widely textiles are used for other purposes than clothing depends on cultural and social circumstances, while their appearance and range indicate the wealth and social status of their users.

Cloths

Cloths of various sizes and for various purposes were used in the home (tablecloths, wall-hangings in different rooms, including in the kitchen, and decorative doilies for putting beneath or on top of objects), and as part of annual and personal celebrations (Easter napkins, baptism cloths, shrouds). Furthermore, cloths had religious uses (napkins for "God's corner" and for home altars), they decorated occasional altars (when processions went past), and were used in private or village chapels.

In the rural environment such items were rare prior to the 19th century; they were much more common in households belonging to the higher social classes. Since the mid-19th century, embroidered cloths and napkins have become more widespread, mainly because of a higher standard of living; in addition, with the introduction of obligatory education, many more people acquired embroidery skills. Embroidered cloths and napkins were most popular between the two World Wars.

House altar cloth, Gorenjska, mid-19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Making and decorating

Making

Making and choosing, view of a display case (photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation).

How a product is made has a direct effect on its shape and final appearance; knowledge and skills are of decisive importance both with regard to the basic style and the functional and decorative elements on a garment or other textiles. Making clothes for one's own needs has been to some extent known in all periods and social circumstances; to what extent and how it is supplemented by somebody else's input, which may be more specialised and of higher quality, depends both on money and on what services and goods are available. How clothes are made varies – ranging from clothes to order (tailored) to off-the-peg (products made in advance according to standard measurements and styles) – from those made by skilled crafts people, to home workers regularly employed by somebody who commissions the work and supplies the materials, clothes made by small manufactures and industrially-made clothes. There are a number of further variants, both with respect to quality and the method of selling (by peddlers, at fairs, in shops; nowadays, there are other forms, such as sale through catalogues, television or the Internet).

Decorating

Adding aesthetic qualities to functional objects must be understood not only from the viewpoint of the "need for beauty", which is a general but at the same time a culturally and socially determined constant, but also with regard to the effect, which is reflected in price and prestige. Decorated objects are, with regard purpose, unusual and in a certain sense prestigious. Decoration techniques, compositions and motifs are to some extent dependent on the objects on which they feature. In general, the more demanding techniques and precious materials were only accessible to wealthier consumers; mostly, they were made by specialised professional embroiderers, seamstresses, lace-makers and other crafts people. Decorative techniques can be divided into: pattern weaving, decorative seaming and trimming, creasing, appliqués, knitting, crocheting, embroidering, lacing, dying and printing. All these categories have their special characteristics with respect to the technology used, their form, function and socially variable character.

Embroidery

Embroidery is the decoration of the basic material using a needle and embroidery thread. Other decorative elements can be used, such as sequins, beads and appliqués. European medieval embroidery had, due to the precious materials used, the skills involved and the fact that they were rare, a high status significance, and was thus accessible only to church and secular rulers. Religious

Man's fur coat with embroidery trimmings and decorative stitches, Koroška, with the date 1881 (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Practice sampler for cross stitches with the date 1853
(SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

motifs prevailed. In the 17th and 18th centuries the use of embroidery spread to secular clothes for men and women and to items used in the homes of aristocrats and townspeople. Church and secular embroidery used in Slovene areas was not considerably different from other Western and Central European embroidery. This was the result of trade and of the pattern books for embroidery that spread around Europe from the 16th century onwards and served as the basis for learning and application.

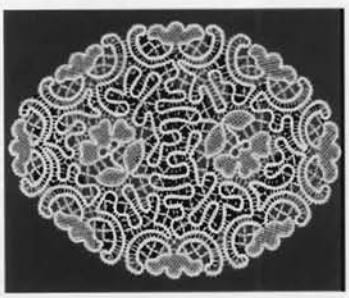
In contrast with church and feudal embroidery, that used by ordinary people in Slovene areas is closer in form to that of Central, Eastern and Southern European countries. From the 18th century onwards, the emphasis in embroidery among the rural population was on its religious, prestigious and festive nature. The items involved were festive garments, accessories and textiles used for other purposes. Until the mid-19th century, only wealthier farmers in Upper Carniola and Carinthia, and to a lesser extent in Styria, Lower Carniola and the Littoral, were able to afford embroidered objects. When compulsory education was introduced in 1869, embroidery skills spread more widely and embroidered items became more accessible. Embroidery was particularly important between the two World Wars; the designs used expressing a romantic view about this "national ornamentation".

In Slovene areas, embroidery most often employed techniques involving the counting of threads (using different stitches and threads in various colours) and techniques following a drawn pattern (flat embroidery using various types of stitches, cut-outs, appliqués). The motifs used depended on the technique applied and the function of the object: from the 17th century onwards they most often involved floral, plant or geometric patterns, less frequently figural patterns. Embroidery of special importance displayed embroidered years, initials or inscriptions, either independently or as part of a larger composition.

Lace

Lace is a product made from a network of textile or metal thread. Its function has always been decorative, thus it was not widespread initially and was for a long time a privilege only the aristocracy and clergy could afford. Lace was used to decorate unusual, festive objects which in this way acquired a greater aesthetic value or price. Flat, hard lace on clothing and interior home textiles, because of its rarity and high value, was usually used only as a trimming or as a small, more visible part of a garment (collars, cuffs and so on). After the mid-17th century, finer and softer lace became much more popular, as it could be gathered into rich folds. Their effect did not depend on the decorative holes but on the abundance of folds. Lace of this kind employed small, repetitive patterns. In the 19th century, the use of machine-made lace became widespread;

its advantage was a lower price and larger quantities. The use of lace thus increased and it spread among the rest of the population – farmers, crafts people, workers. The main role of this kind of lace was also to raise decorative and status value, especially of the festive garments of the rural popution. For decorating textiles for other purposes, softly gathered machine-made lace was used, as well as the thicker, hand-made lace, praised for its durability and flat decorative effect. The same applies to the textile décor and items used in town homes. In the 20th century, lace more frequently appeared as an independent decorative object (tablecloths, curtains, covers, etc.). The following types of lace can be identified, differentiated by the technique used: sewn lace, bobbin lace, knitted lace, crocheted lace and knotted lace.



Lace doily, mixed technique, 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

Retail sampler of Idrija bobbin lace, dated 1839 (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

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HOUSE, HOME, DWELLING

Anja Serec Hodžar

House, Odranci, Prekmurje, 1945 (photo: Jakob Karol; SEM Documentation).

In the 19th century, there was a great difference between living in the countryside or the town: in the former, home meant the land on which one lived, while in the latter it merely meant a house or flat. Changes in the way farms were managed and the construction of houses separately from outbuildings meant that the attitude of country people became more like that of urban dwellers. A farmhouse (*kmečka hiša)* means a building in which the farmer and his family permanently reside. In Slovene, the word for house (*hiša*) in its narrower meaning sometimes denotes the same room as the word *izba*: that is the main room, with a stove or a fireplace. Sometimes a farmhouse is called a "farm-home" (*kmečki dom*), but in the wider sense this includes those outbuildings that are under the same roof as the farmhouse. There is yet another expression in Slovene – *kmečka domačija* – which means a farmhouse and all its outbuildings.

In the late 19th century, in addition to houses belonging to craftsmen and tradesmen, town villas began to be built as the result of a desire of wealthy townspeople for prestige. At the same time, workers' flats in blocks of flats or larger houses appeared in industrial and mining centres. In the nineteen-seventies, terraced houses began to appear in towns, an intermediate form between a flat in a block and a house. Furthermore, houses originally intended for one family were redesigned and extended to accommodate a number of them, which is even nowadays often a solution to the housing problems of young families.

The composition and development of dwelling places

Kitchen, Kunšperk, 1977
(photo: Srečo Habič; SEM Documentation).

The composition of dwelling places is determined by the room containing a fireplace, around which other rooms are arranged. The oldest types of houses, which were preserved right into the 19th century, were *ognjiščnica* and *dimnica*. The former, also known as *ognjenica*, was a "one-cell" building which had an open fireplace on the floor in the middle of the room, from which smoke rose directly to the roof. The *dimnica*, too, was a "one-cell" building, in which there was a stove with an opening for tending the fire and a fireplace raised to table level. Smoke was allowed to spread around the room. Later, it developed into a "two-cell" building, where the main room in which there was a stove and a fireplace acquired a ceiling and an opening above the door for the smoke to escape into the hall. A house containing a "black kitchen" was at least a "two-cell" building. The main room (*hiša*) had a ceiling and a stove, but the fire in the stove was tended from the kitchen. There was usually a fireplace next to the place where the fire in the stove was tended, but sometimes the cooking was done in the stove itself. The smoke from the kitchen rose to the roof, although in the more complex houses it was already captured and channelled to a certain extent. A *kaminska hiša* (fireplace house) had an open fire in the kitchen, but the smoke was managed. Above the fireplace there was a hood which intercepted and directed sparks and smoke into a proper chimney. In the *štedilniška hiša* (cooker house), which began to appear in the eighteen-fifties, the smoke removal took place near the flame. Here, the cooker for everyday use consisted of a closed-in fireplace from which smoke was not allowed to escape, facilitating the much easier arrangement of other rooms in the house. The next major change in the layout of rooms came with the arrival of bathrooms, which began to become more widespread only after World War Two, while in town villas they already had bathrooms in the late 19th century. This was the last considerable change in the development of dwelling places.

Heat and light

Part of the room known as the *hiša*, Gorenjska, pre-World War Two
(photo: Fran Vesel; SEM Documentation).

A home or dwelling has to fulfil seven basic functions: the provision of heat and light, the preparation and consumption of food, the storage of food, sleep, the storage of equipment and produce, the provision of appropriate hygienic conditions, and protection. To what degree these demands are actually fulfilled differs mainly according to the financial position of the owner and where a particular home is situated.

A fire was the basic source of heat and light right up until mass electrification after World War Two. Even now, heating systems are largely still based on some kind of flame, the only thing that has changed is which fuel is used. Electricity is the energy source now used for lighting and other forms of heating. From the time when man first managed to "tame" fire until the appearance of cookers in the 19th century, light and warmth used to spread directly from a fireplace. In Slovene areas, flint and steel were used for lighting fires as early as the 11th century; a piece of steel was struck against a flint and the sparks that fell onto tinder ignited it. Matches began to be widely used only in the late 19th century. In two- or more-celled houses a part of the house was heated by a stove, which was tended from the kitchen. In townhouses, stoves in each room appeared in the 19th century, while in farmhouses, stoves appeared in more than one room only after World War Two. Cooking and heating facilities were thus separated. Electricity enabled the use of storage heaters, while central heating re-introduced a single source of heat, dedicated only to heating, with a network of radiators in every room. In relation to inside lighting, the main milestones were the management of fire and the installation of electricity.

Lighting

Man's home activities to a large extent depended on light. Different substances were used for its production: most often those that were available in the surroundings, while the better off were also able to use other sources. The oldest ways of producing light did not require a fire: the sources of light were organic substances appearing outside the home. On Slovene territory decaying wood was most often used. Initially, light originated in the fireplace; in order to spread light around the room, large wooden splints were used, placed in iron holders in wall niches, stuck into crevices in the wall or in iron tongs, called *čelešnik*. Where the family's material circumstances allowed, vegetable and animal fats were used as fuel. Oil, tallow and lard lamps were, in addition to splints, the most widely used sources of light until as late as in the 19th century. Candles have been around since Antiquity, but in Slovene areas they were used mainly in churches and by the wealthier

Smokehouse, Koprivnik, Gorenjska, pre-World War Two (SEM Documentation).

Splint holder, Rateče near Kranjska Gora, second half of the 18th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

social classes. The majority used candles, usually home-made, only for special occasions. Candle holders differed greatly with regard to their shape and the material used (wrought iron, wood, glass or brass), depending on where and for what purpose they were to be used.

In the late 19th century, paraffin lamps became very popular, while at the turn of the 20th century, gas lamps appeared. Between the two World Wars, carbide lamps were most often used in mining areas. The first electric lights appeared in the late 19th century, while most of the Slovene lands obtained an electricity supply after World War Two.

Display case with lights (photo: Marko Habič, 2006; SEM Documentation).

Part of a kitchen, Golo Brdo, the Goriška Brda, 1953 (photo: Fanči Šarf; SEM Documentation).

The most common ways of preparing food were boiling, roasting, frying, sautéing and steaming. Until cookers became widespread in the nineteen-fifties, food was most often cooked in the fireplace or in a stove. The fireplace was replaced by a built-in cooker or stove, which after World War Two were replaced by an electric cooker with a hob and an oven. Later, gas began to be widely used as fuel for cooking, while nowadays, due to ceramic hobs, electricity is regaining its predominance. The utensils used in food preparation are linked to the methods employed: cutting, chopping, grinding, grating, mixing, beating and crumbling, cleaning, washing, peeling, mashing, shaping and kneading. The dishes used in cooking have always come in different shapes and sizes (pots, pans, frying pans, roasting pans), and are made from different materials (clay, metal, glass, artificial substances).

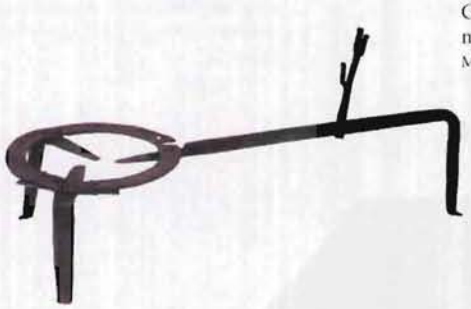
Kneading trough, Javornik, Notranjska, 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Fireplace, Črni Kal, 1949
(photo: Velepič; SEM Documentation).

Fireplace equipment

Certain equipment enabled food to be prepared in an open fireplace before the fire was concealed in a stove. Burning logs were supported by various bases and racks. A copper kettle was usually suspended with a chain and a hook from the kitchen ceiling or wall. Clay and cast iron pots had three legs so that their base was raised. If there were no legs, triangular or round trivets were used. Special bases for pans and roasting grills appeared only in wealthier farmhouses. This equipment stopped being used at the same time as open fires. Differences in equipment because of the financial situation of its owners showed mainly in the degree of decoration.

Cauldron, probably used until the mid-20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).



Tripod, Ljubinj, Primorska
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Family eating, Podboršt near Komenda, 1967 (photo: Srečo Kolar; SEM Documentation).

Plate, Filovci, Prekmurje, around 1839
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

The customs and behavioural rules related to the consumption of food first appeared in the late Middle Ages among the aristocracy, and in modern times started spreading to the bourgeoisie. On farms, food consumption moved to the table only in the 18th century, when everybody ate out of the same dish, usually with a spoon. This is how it was until World War Two. Only the master of the house had a knife and he used to cut up all the food. Plates were very rare. Family members had a permanent place at the table. The master sat on a chair, the others on benches. Prayers were said before meals. After World War Two, eating from the same dish was abandoned and various

Spoon, Podkoren, Gorenjska, 1870
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

View of the part of the exhibition on eating (photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation).

Display case with spoons
(photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation).

dishes and cutlery came into use. A chair was no longer the master's privilege, but a part of the dining equipment. Fast food and ready-made meals have changed our attitude to food. A joint family meal with all the related rituals has, in many cases, completely lost its significance.

Cutlery

For the majority of the Slovene population in the past, that is peasants, the standard eating utensil used until World War Two was a wooden spoon. We are certain that wooden spoons appeared in the 17th century, while in the 18th century some spoons were made from other materials (bone, horn, brass, tin and steel). Among the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie forks were in regular use by the late 16th century, while a knife has been a basic item of cutlery since the Middle Ages; full cutlery sets appeared among these social circles in the 18th century. In rural areas, knives and forks have been known since the late 18th century, and became more widely used in the 19th century; they were carried in a special holder. Forks were mainly made out of wood or steel. Industrially-produced metal cutlery came into wider use in the second half of the 19th century. Full cutlery sets have been widespread since World War Two and are a traditional wedding gift. Since the 18th century, table drawers or spoon holders have been used for storing cutlery. We know two main types of spoon holder: square ones made from small panels, and semi-cylindrical ones made from rods or wire. The latter were not decorated.

Festive table prepared for breakfast on Easter Sunday, Zalog near Ljubljana, 1989 (photo: Slavko Sakelšek; SEM Documentation).

Room in a vintner's house, Železne Dveri near Ljutomer (SEM Documentation).

Chairs

Among the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, chairs did not have quite the same significance as among the peasant population. In the 18th century only some farmhouses had chairs and only in the 19th century did they become more widespread (i.e. at least one chair per farmhouse): until then, benches were the standard furniture for sitting on. In townhouses and on some farms, a chair was the honorary seat for the master and guests. Even in the early 20th century chairs were in some homes still intended only for guests. In workers' families in towns the symbolic value of the chair started diminishing after World War One, while in rural areas this did not happen until after World War Two, in some places not until the nineteen-seventies. Because of their symbolic value, chairs were often decorated with carving or inlay, and sometimes part of the wood was planed and on rare occasions also painted.

Chair, Skadanščina, Primorska, 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Everything we need must be stored somewhere: food, dishes, clothes, field produce and equipment on farms – also, until running water was introduced, water. In the 19th century, the oldest and most frequently-used storage place was the chest. In the 17th century in towns and in the second half of the 19th

Cupboard, 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Pan holder, Male Lipljenje, Dolenjska, in use 1870–1960
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Entrance hall, Podgorica near Grosuplje, 1948 (photo: Joško Šmuc; SEM Documentation).

century in rural areas, chests began to be replaced by cupboards and wardrobes, which are still the predominant storage places for clothes and other personal items. Dishes used to be kept on shelves and on racks, and in houses where they had a hood over the fireplace, on a shelf beside it. Kitchen utensils and smaller dishes were also kept on various wall racks; cutlery was stored in spoon holders and table drawers; and water in buckets and pails. Special vessels were used to store certain kinds of food – *dеže* for lard and minced lard, stone vessels for oil, and vats for sauerkraut and soured turnip. Field produce and equipment were stored in cellars and outbuildings. Electricity enabled new methods of food conservation by cooling.

Chests

From the Middle Ages until the 19th century, chests were the most widely-used piece of furniture in Slovene lands; in them were stored clothes, precious objects, important documents and food. Chests were sometimes made by hewers, and were sometimes carved, had inlays or were painted. Chests made by hewers were common on farms in Prekmurje, Slovenske gorice, Haloze, White Carniola, Istria, Brkini and Lower Carniola. They had either a flat lid or one in the shape of a ridged roof, while decorations were geometric. Carved chests were widespread only in western Slovenia. Chests with inlays were most common in the Gorica and Vipava regions, in eastern White Carniola and central Lower Carniola. Painted chests are typical of Upper Carniola, but they were also frequently used in Carinthia, western Styria, in Lower Carniola, Inner Carniola and in the northern Littoral region. Decorated chests were often a part of a dowry and were therefore called bridal chests. Chests used for storing foodstuffs were usually not decorated.

Chest with the date 1596, Gozd Martuljek, Gorenjska
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Bed and wardrobe, Spodnja Idrija, early 20th century (SEM Documentation).

Problems with sleeping arrangements were, in rural areas until the nineteen-sixties, in some places even later than that, solved in a variety of ways. Only the master of the household and his wife had a bed. The other family members slept in different places: in the hall, the attic, on the floor, on benches, tables, on the hay above the stables or in barns (especially in the summer, but sometimes even in the winter). Beds had a special significance and were not used during the day, when they had to be meticulously made. However, in spite of their importance, beds were not always decorated, as chairs were. If anything, they were usually painted in a single colour or with a motif. The latter appeared mainly on head and foot boards, and sometimes on the sides; the edges of both head and foot boards and sides were sometimes finished in a decorative manner Babies used to sleep in mangers, kneading troughs that were either separate or a part of a special table for making bread, and in cradles. When they became a bit older, they slept in the bed with their parents or in bed drawers.

Cradles

Cradles began to be used by the aristocracy and wealthy townspeople in at least the late Middle Ages. Until the late 18th century, babies in rural areas slept in mangers or in kneading troughs. Later, cradles became popular everywhere, particularly in Upper Carniola and parts of Lower Carniola. At the latest in the second half of the 19th century, they were in general use throughout Slovene areas, but in poor families babies slept in kneading troughs even in the first half of the 20th century. Cradles were not used just for sleeping – babies used to spend the whole day in them. They were carried in cradles to wherever their parents had to work, be it the fields, meadows or vineyards. Nicely-decorated cradles and kneading troughs were used for carrying babies to be baptised, while babies who died were also buried in them. Methods of decorating cradles involved carving, perforation, inlay or painting. The motifs used – a mare-hag, Christ's and Mary's initials, the Virgin Mary – were all intended to protect the baby against evil supernatural forces. Cradles are still sometimes used as a baby's bed until the age of around four months.

Cradle, Mele, Gailtal Valley, Austria, mid-19th century (photo: Jernej Šuštaršič, SEM Documentation).

Cradle, Višnjevik, Primorska, 1890
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Hygiene

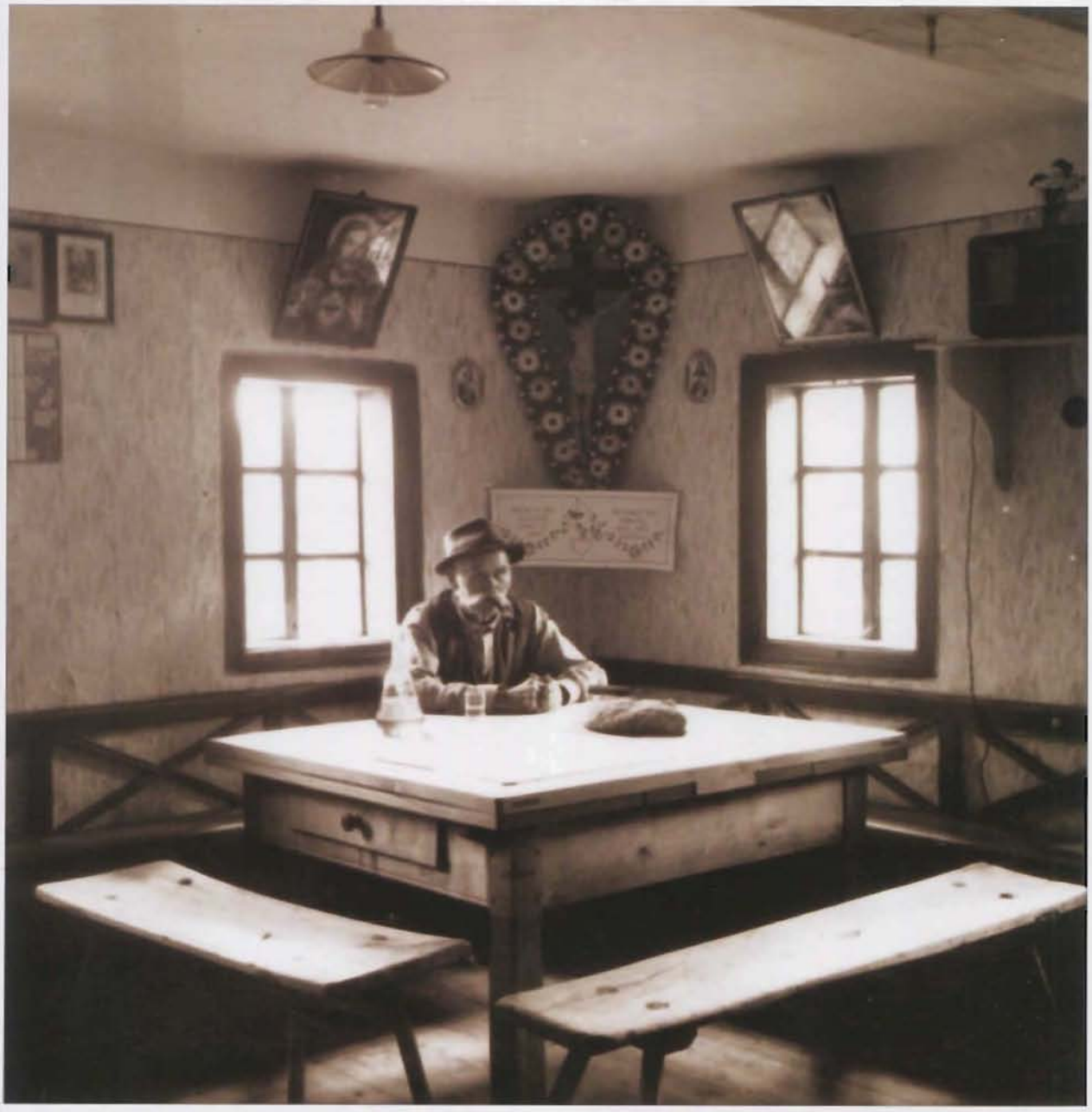
Housewife with broom in front of her house, Jereka near Bohinj (SEM Documentation).

Hygiene in houses where the floor was merely compacted earth or cracked wood and where people entered directly from a muddy courtyard or a stable, was incomparable to the hygiene in modern homes, in which we mainly walk in slippers and the floors are easy to clean. The weekly sweeping and scrubbing of wooden floors still constituted basic cleaning even in the nineteen-fifties. Dishes were washed only in water: the more stubborn dirt was scrubbed off using sand or scraped off with a knife. Wooden spoons were given a good lick after a meal, as they were personal property, so to say. Tables and chairs were wiped with a wet cloth. A yearly painting of the house just before Easter was almost obligatory. Whitewash, to which cow dung or blue vitriol was added, was used to freshen up and disinfect the inside walls and sometimes also the outside of the house. "White" kitchens, toilets and bathrooms considerably improved hygiene conditions.

Protection

Protecting one's home means protecting one's way of life as well as one's dwelling. Physical protection starts even before we get to the entrance of a dwelling itself: fences, walls and moats were the first obstacle to unwanted visitors, as well as frequently serving as a border between the home and the outside world. In addition, they prevented children and domestic animals from straying too far from home. Bolts, locks and metal frames on doors, chests and cupboards, window nets and bars also physically protected homes and property. Spiritually, homes were protected by "God's corners", small house altars, crucifixes, protective markings in the shape of nightmare symbols, and by various initials on cradles and roof beams, which gave people a feeling of safety against malign natural forces and which indirectly preserved certain principles and values, mainly of a religious nature. Curtains, roller blinds, shutters and other blinds not only protect us against light and serve as an ornament, but also protect our privacy.

Lock with the date 1868, Žeje, Gorenjska (SEM Collections; photo Marko Habič).



House interior, Hudinje, Južno Pohorje, 1963 (photo: Pavla Štrukelj; SEM Documentation).

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Social and Spiritual

In all stages of life, our worldview is reflected in our varying attitude to the social and natural environment, as well as to the transcendent world. At first, our view of things is shaped by the family and the immediate social environment, and this influence is gradually enhanced through organised forms of education. Adults establish their worldview more or less according to their own choices and express this in different spheres of life through different forms of creativity. In the quite recent past, the development of an individual's worldview was essentially determined by the village community. Today, in the much more uniform world of information societies enjoying varying degrees of democracy, the individual has a growing number of options available. The identification of groups of individuals, based on symbols as agreed common elements of their attitude to the world, involves local, regional and national elements, and increasingly also global elements.

This section of the exhibition tells of man as a social being and of those aspects of man's life that go beyond mere material needs to the desire to communicate with the supernatural and the need for music and art. The exhibited collection of toys points to children's play as an aspect of socialisation. The fact that each individual may be, at different times, a member of many different social groups is underlined by the objects connected with various societies and associations. A number of objects connected with popular 'law' are presented, in particular different types of tally sticks, as well as measures for measuring area, length or weight.

Customs are presented in terms of the occasions to which they relate: those relating to the circle of life are illustrated by only a few symbolic objects, but most space is devoted to annual customs, especially those which are important in Slovene ethnic areas – Christmas and New Year, Easter and Shrovetide Carnival. In addition to items of symbolic importance connected with these, we also highlight some characteristic collections of objects such as nativity scenes (including live nativity scenes on video), decorated Easter eggs from different Slovene regions and emigrant groups, and Carnival figures and masks. The latter are from the three »traditional« Carnival areas in Slovenia: *kurentija* in the north-east, *vrbiške seme* in the south and *laufarija* in the west; a number of smaller Carnival items are also displayed.

Folk music is dealt with in holistic fashion: different instruments are presented not only as interesting or valuable objects from the folk cultural treasure chest, but also as bearers of an important part of our spiritual heritage. It is interesting to note that the Slovene instrumental tradition is characterised by the same principles as the other musical tradition: multiple 'voices' or parts and improvisation – solo parts or instruments have no role to play. The exhibition deals with different aspects of our instrumental tradition: the 'typical' folk trio, which in the mid-19th century began to be displaced by the accordion, is followed by displays of the main string, brass and wind instruments – most notably *žvegle* (wooden flute or whistle) from the Štajerska region and *trstenke* (pan pipes). There is also a selection of children's instruments and a display of improvised instruments.

A striking part of the exhibition is devoted to folk beliefs, folk religion and superstition. The museum's rich and important collection of votive paintings is exhibited alongside objects used within magic healing and others that were formerly thought to possess healing or magical properties.

From a modern ethnological point of view, the exhibition should present art and design in terms of the attitudes towards it within social groups or among individuals, and thus interpret the recognition, acceptance, rejection or indifference towards specific functional varieties or styles of art or individual works from pre-history to the present. The decision to limit it to folk art, a loose concept, within which different disciplines or different theoretical viewpoints include less 'qualified' artistic work for less educated social strata, is based on the collections. As presented in the exhibition, these reflect specific views on the social and cosmic order, as well as on certain aspects of cultural and social development, which were expressed through the arts and crafts of the majority population in Slovene ethnic areas in the 19th century and

the first half of the 20th century. The presentation also partially mimics the structure of the collections formed in the first half of the 19th century, as well as the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's policy towards folk art since the 1960s. The basic starting point for the collection strategy was the idea that folk art objects originated on the farm (the main social, economic, cultural and structural unit, where most of the population lived), being made to be kept or used there. In the light of this, five groups of objects are exhibited, drawn from one or two selected collections that may, over time, be replaced by others. These objects include artwork from both outside (painted beehive panels) and inside the dwelling (pictures on glass, caskets and chests), work-related items (distaffs and horse combs) and others for personal use (pipes and sticks), and finally items for special and festive occasions (honey bread and honey bread moulds, as well as *trniči* cheeses and the carved sticks for decorating them).

SOCIAL GROUPS AND SOCIALISATION

Nena Židov

Social groups

Firefighters' Society, Novo mesto, 1886 (SEM Documentation).

We go through life as individuals and as members of different social groups. Through blood relationships and different forms of acquired relationships we belong to families and communities of relatives. We are connected with relatives and non-relatives by living in a common household. Through intimate and direct contacts we establish connections with our friends. In some groups we are included all our life because of the organisation of the society we live in, while in others, such as societies and clubs, we become members because of our own needs and decisions, to satisfy our generational, professional, ideological, ethical, national, or other interests. Most often, the operation of such groups is formally regulated.

Primary school children, Zagorje by the River Sava, 1931 (SEM Documentation).

Girl with toys, Ljubljana, pre-World War Two (SEM Documentation).

We start acquiring socially desirable patterns of behaviour and knowledge soon after we are born. In order to survive, a child needs, in addition to health, first of all food and sleep, safety, and love. Through childhood, youth and adulthood the individual develops as a social being, determined by his or her cultural environment. To be successfully integrated into the wider environment we must learn socially accepted norms and ways of behaviour, and acquire numerous informal and formal skills. The process begins in the family and its immediate environment through play, toys and reduced copies of objects from the world of adults. Upbringing in the home is followed by organised forms of education.

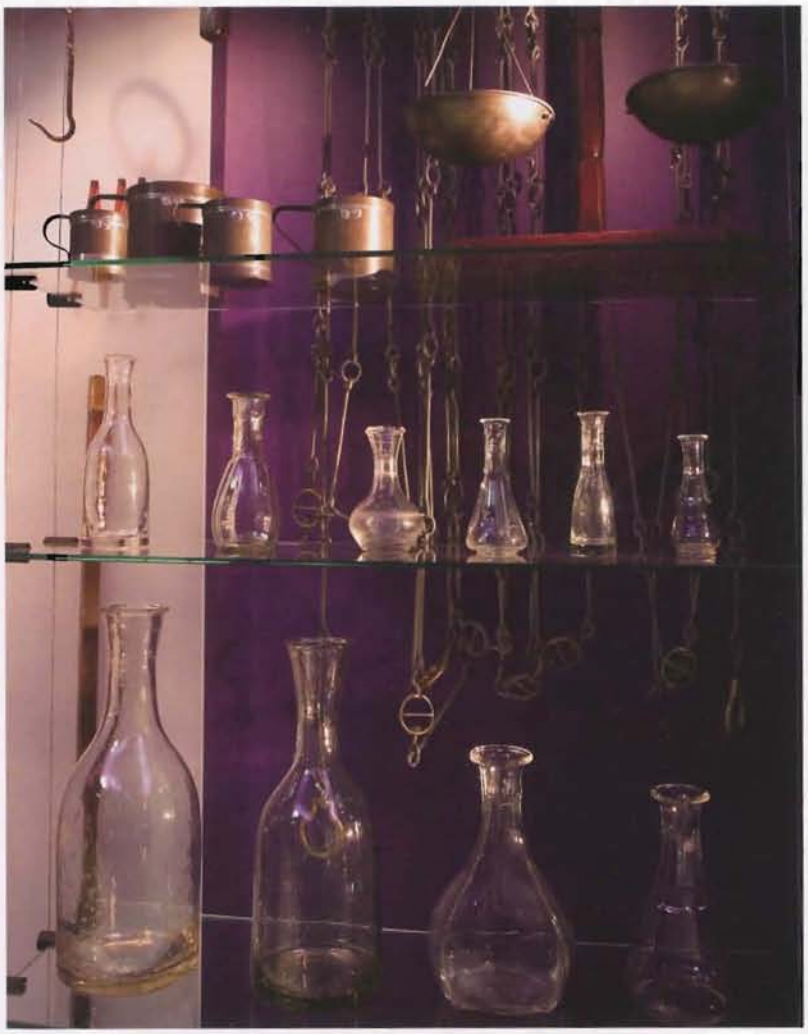
Toys

Toys and play are essential elements of a child's life, helping it to develop its functions, skills and work habits, acquiring experiences and preparing for life in society. The types of toys and the materials used to make them change over the course of time. Random objects, e.g. forest fruits or pebbles, are equally useful as toys. The types of toys are adapted to a child's age and especially in the past they reflected their class affiliation. The toys commonly used in Slovenia by children from the lower classes were mostly homemade, while those of children who belonged to the higher social classes were craftsmen's products. In the 19th century, the toys which were common in the towns were largely imported from Germany. Town children were usually given toys by their parents on the occasion of Saint Nicholas, Christmas, and at their confirmation. Systematic production of wooden toys started in Slovenia in the Ribnica and Dobrepolje valleys in the 1930s. After the Second World War, the toy industry developed in the companies Ciciban in Mirna and Mehanotehnika in Izola. The development of the industry provided easier access to toys and the domestic market also offers a range of products from around the world.

Models of household tools and utensils (for little Ančica), Ljubljana, late 19th, early 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

COMMON LAW AND MEASURES

Nena Židov

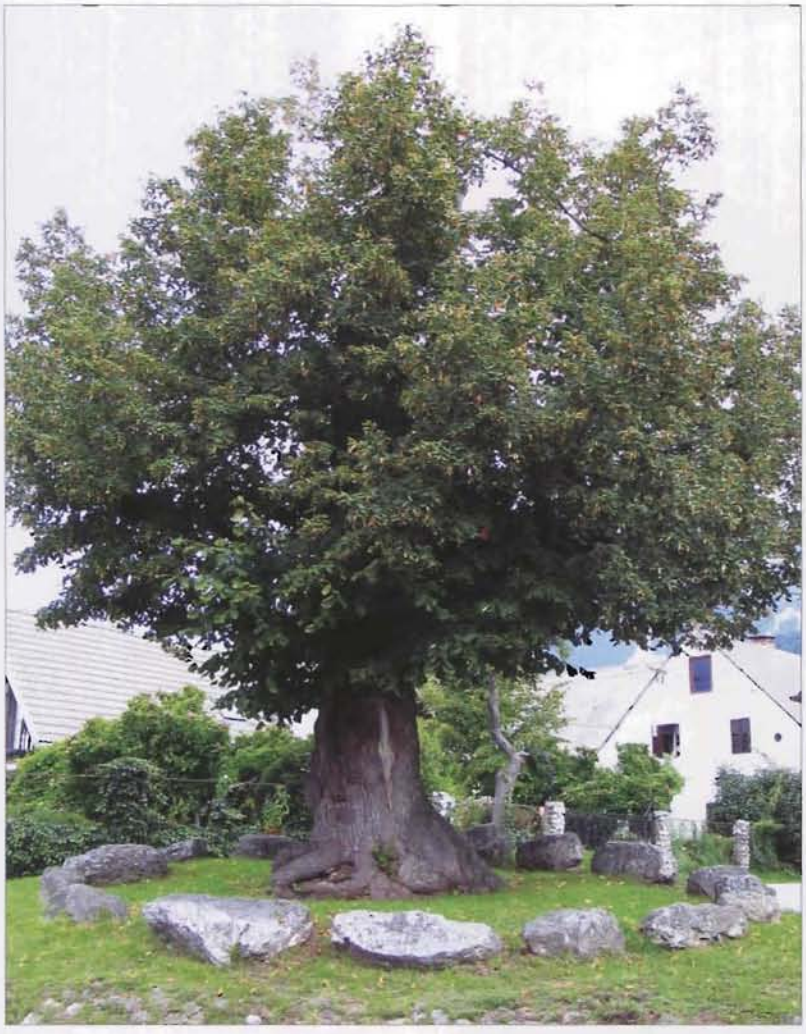


A view of the display case on popular law and measures (photo: Nada Žgank, 2006; SEM Documentation).

Common law

Common law consists of legal notions and rules which originated among the legally uneducated population and were usually passed on orally from generation to generation. People considered common law as obligatory and enforceable even though it was not imposed by the authorities. It provided the foundations for the organisation of a village community, electing representatives, sharing common resources, solving disputes and the like. The significance of common law started to decline rapidly in the early 19th century, when more and more spheres of life were regulated and civil law was asserted.

'Shrew's fiddle' (for punishing women), Ljubljana area, 18th century (SEM Collections; photo: Nada Žgank).



Linden tree, Vrba in Gorenjska, 2005 (photo: Nena Židov).

Tally stick for counting livestock, Podkoren, Gorenjska, 1880
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Boy with tally stick, Slovenske Gorice, 1972 (photo: Fanči Šarf; SEM Documentation).

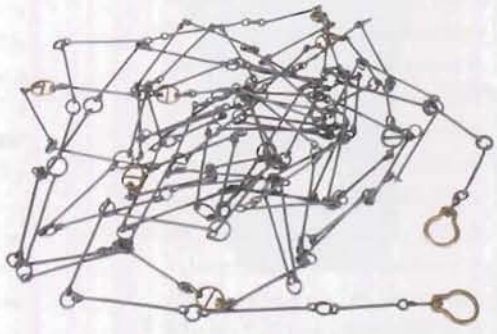
Tallies

A tally (tally stick) is a legal measuring sintrument which was once common all over Europe and was preserved even after literacy had become widespread. In Slovenia, tallies were generally used until the early 20th century and some types until the mid-20th century. A tally was usually a branch, stick or wooden plank with agreed markings, while another, rarer type involved a metal plate with imprinted marks. They can be divided into single, double and treble tallies. A double wooden tally was usually split or sawn in a way that preserved its entire length only in the basic part including the handle; this part was called the counterfoil or counterstock and the shorter part was the stock. In terms of use, there were voting tallies, debt tallies, tallies used to record services, duties, and obligations, counting tallies and drawing tallies.

Weighing at the market, Ljubljana, 2004 (photo: Nena Židov).

A measure is generally an agreed abstract unit which expresses dimensions, a gauge or measuring instrument, or an aid used in measuring things. The first measures were based on natural features, e.g. the parts of the human body, hollow objects, the work performance in a given period of time, and astronomical phenomena. Length measures were initially based on the size of individual body parts (e.g. inch, width of the thumb, foot, elbow, shoe). In the feudal era, hollow measures gained importance for measuring duties and in trade. Measures were not uniform in different areas and were changeable. In spite of attempts at control through standard measures, they were often a matter of dispute. The introduction of the metric system in 1871 made it possible to unify measures of length, area and volume, and indirectly also measures of weight.

Chain for measuring land, north-east Slovenia, second half of 19th, early 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).



CUSTOMS AND HOLIDAYS

Nena Židov

Fire, Tacen, 2004 (photo: Nena Židov; SEM Documentation).

Customs are inherited or adopted, socially acknowledged, obligatory acts by an individual or community on occasions which differ from everyday life or which people want to raise above the quotidian level. Many elements of customs initially had a symbolic meaning, often a magic one (such as protection or purification). Customs marked milestones in the course of people's life, in the annual cycle and at work. Legal customs are a special category, connected with the operation of age groups and societies, with trade and other legal matters. Customs change, decline or reappear, sometimes under the influence of other cultural areas. In recent decades, many traditional customs have lost their symbolic meaning and their entertainment function has grown more important. Holidays are the days in the life of an individual or group with a special meaning and are usually celebrated every year. On festive days people do not work, they organise celebrations, exchange congratulations and presents, dress in festive attire and prepare festive dishes. Personal and family holidays include birthdays, name days, baptism, confirmation, wedding day, 50th anniversary and other anniversaries. Local communities (fairs, festivals), occupational communities (farmers', craftsmen's, workers' holidays), and religious communities (holy days of obligation, ordinary holy days, solemnities) celebrate their own holidays. State holidays are work-free days, and some international holidays are gaining popularity.

Wedding, Češnjice near Moravče, 1912 (SEM Documentation).

Life cycle customs and their traditional acts and actions in the family and immediate social environment accompany the most important days in a person's life. The principal customs are connected with birth, marriage and death. Birth customs were above all magic protective acts which people believed would protect the mother and child and bring them happiness and good health, as well as the symbolic acceptance of the new-born child and its mother into society. Wedding customs were similarly connected with magical protection, fertility and joyful acts, but also with entertainment. They were performed from the initial courting to the end of the wedding feast. Death customs were above all protective magical acts, intended to help the soul of the deceased on its way to the other world and to make his stay there as enjoyable as possible, but they were also aimed at protecting the living against the return of the death and their possible vengeance. Life cycle customs were preserved longest in the rural environment, while new ones originated in market settlements and towns.

Double wedding spoon, Gnezda near Idrija, late 19th or early 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Work customs

Work customs, including established acts, behaviour and ritual or entertaining games, accompany certain jobs and chores. They mark or celebrate the beginning or end of a particular activity and they are connected with farming and the work of specific groups and classes (foresters, charcoal burners, miners, craftsmen, workers in industry and transport). Important farming customs accompanied the transfer of manure to the fields, the first ploughing, sowing, harvest, threshing, treading millet, flax-breaking, hay harvest, stripping corn cobs, combing feathers, the grape harvest, and preparing mulch. Various ritual acts were connected with the protection of domestic animals. Herdsmen's customs announced the beginning and end of the pasture season. Mechanised agriculture changed many customs, caused others to disappear or created new ones. Some have survived as part of folklore and tourist events. Craftsmen's customs were connected with guilds in which written rules had to be observed. Industrialisation made led to the loss of their initial meaning and forms, but new ones were introduced.

Pine tree on a house being built, Srednja vas near Polhov Gradec, 2007 (photo: Nena Židov).

Annual customs

Flags, Preska, 2005 (photo: Nena Židov).

Annual or calendar customs accompany church and secular holidays in the course of the year, celebrating saint days and major events in religious life, as well as events in the lives of individuals, small or big communities, and in the national history. The most important customs in Slovenia are related to Christmas, New Year, Shrovetide, and Easter.

Christmas and New Year customs and holidays

St. Nicholas and a devil, Ljubljana, pre-World War Two
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Christmas and New Year customs and holidays are connected with the celebration of the Nativity of Jesus Christ, the saints in the Octave of Christmas (St. Stephen, St. John), the transition to the New Year and the Magi. Christmas and New Year customs replaced pre-Christian celebrations of the winter solstice, a time favourable for magic and prophecies, when special power was attributed to fire and evergreen plants. The period is marked by decorations with evergreen plants and other ornaments, carol singers, Christmas cribs, and the exchange of presents. In the past, house altars were decorated with evergreen plants, or a small spruce was suspended from the ceiling. People prepared special dishes and pastries, sprinkled their homes with holy water and burned holy incense in the fields. Decorated Christmas trees were introduced from Germany in the towns in the 19th century and in the countryside after the Second World War. During the socialist era, Christmas trees were replaced with "New-Year" trees in public paces, institutions, and in some individual homes. Father Christmas bringing children presents became a common practice in religious families in the towns before the Second World War and slowly spread to the countryside. After the Second World War, Father Christmas's role was taken by Grandfather Frost. After 1991, both Father Christmas and Grandfather Frost remained. In the late 19th century, greeting cards with Christmas motifs spread, replaced after the Second World War by New Year greeting cards. Nowadays, Christmas is largely a family holiday, while New Year celebrations are mass events. Both Christmas and New Year are state holidays.

By the Christmas tree, Gornja Radgona, 1979 (SEM Documentation).

Nativity scene in a wooden case, probably from the Selca Valley, mid-19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Christmas cribs

Christmas cribs or Nativity scenes are usually miniature three-dimensional representations of the Nativity and the adoration of the shepherds and the Magi. The first Christmas cribs were installed in Slovenia in the Jesuit church of St. Jacob in Ljubljana in 1644, whence the custom spread to other churches, to the homes of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie in the 18th century, and to the homes of the rural population in the early 19th century. In the past, the Christmas cribs in the churches were usually of the stage type with painted, cut-out wooden figures, or of the box type, which were also common in urban homes. At first, in most rural homes paper cribs were set up, and later cribs with figurines made of wood, plaster or clay. The latter required more space and they were thus moved from the house altar to the dresser. Christmas cribs were usually made by children. In the late 20th century, people's creativity in making Christmas cribs saw a remarkable revival. Nowadays, Christmas cribs are made of a variety of materials and are exhibited in churches, homes, public spaces, at exhibitions and in the natural environment, with life-size figures – oe even with living ones.

Easter customs and holidays

Boys with Easter rattles, Jesenice, 1940
(photo: Slavko Smolej; SEM Documentation).

Easter customs and holidays are connected with the highest Christian holy day – Easter. The celebration of Christ's death and resurrection replaced ancient pre-Christian growth and fertility rituals; some elements of the customs, e.g. cannon shots, whip cracking and rattling are designed to chase away evil spirits, enhance growth and increase fertility; a special magical, purifying power was also attributed to water.
The preparations for the Easter celebrations started in the week before Easter with spring cleaning, preparing kindling and logs for the bonfires. From Easter Thursday onwards church bells stop ringing, people visit the Holy Sepulchre, and in some places holy incense is still burned in the fields. Easter Friday is a day of strict fasting, and on Easter Saturday fire, water and food are blessed in the churches and the bells start ringing again. On Easter Sunday, resurrection processions are held, people consume the blessed food, and in some places bonfires are lit. In the past, Easter Monday was a day for visits, excursions and games; today is it a state holiday as is Easter itself. Easter greeting cards with specific motifs spread in the early 20th century. Since the late 20th century, in many places Easter exhibitions are organised to celebrate the holiday.

Easter eggs

Easter eggs are dyed, painted or otherwise decorated hard-boiled or blown eggs. They are an Indo-European symbol of spring and in Christianity a symbol of Christ's resurrection. They are made for Easter and are part of the food taken to the church for blessing. In the past, Easter eggs were attributed healing and protective powers; they were used as presents and love tokens and in various Easter games. Easter eggs were first mentioned by Valvasor (1689), but as elsewhere in Europe, they became common among the Slovene rural population only in the 19th century. Initially, they were merely dyed red or yellow, but later they were also decorated. Two decoration techniques prevailed in the past: drawing designs with oil or molten wax (batik technique) and scraping designs on dyed eggs. Characteristic techniques and motifs developed in some regions, and more recently new techniques have been introduced, such as self-adhesive pictures and imprinted plants. Decorating the eggs was usually a woman's job. In the last decade of the 20th century, decorating Easter eggs saw a revival, including exhibitions and in some places also competitions.

Decorating Easter eggs, Bela krajina, pre-World War Two (SEM Documentation).

Decorated easter egg, Venetian Slovenia, Italy, pre-World War I,
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Shrovetide

Igor Cvetko

Laufarji carnival characters, Cerkno, 1963 (photo: Vinko Tavčar; SEM Documentation).

Shrovetide, the period between the Epiphany and Ash Wednesday, has always been a time of transition, a time when winter gives way to spring, when a new annual cycle begins and the evil forces and ghosts of the winter darkness have to be driven away – otherwise, so it was believed, they could pose a threat to the coming harvest and bring harm to people and livestock. Shrovetide celebrations were an opportunity to put things in their proper place: the Carnival characters, with their horrifying appearance and vibrant colours, their leaping about and deafening sounds, were supposed to help banish the magic forces of evil; as they did their rounds they brought good wishes and by dancing with the lady of the house they ensured that the household would produce a good yield of turnips and flax; in return they received gifts themselves. The whole world went mad and had fun. Wine flowed, ritual dishes were brought to the table, the fields around villages were ploughed, and planks were dragged around villages to tell all the single girls who were old enough to marry to take part in continuing the circle of life. But above all, a guilty party had to be found for everything that had gone wrong the year before. *Pust* was the creature that had to be judged and, in the end, symbolically sentenced. As a rule the sentence was death, and everything was able to start from the beginning again.

Nowadays, the celebration of Shrovetide involves everything that goes on at people's homes and in villages and towns. Although the symbolic traces of the traditional customs have not been completely forgotten, these days it all usually amounts to nothing more than some spontaneous dressing up at home on Shrove Saturday or Tuesday and going to private parties. However, in some places that boast of important Shrovetide traditions, people also like to participate in the still living customs, "in the old way", while offering to outside visitors a local attraction. In larger towns, carnivals are organised, usually following foreign patterns, which in addition to the promotion of a particular town also bring in some income. Everywhere, Shrovetide events provide an opportunity for a few days of both organised and spontaneous celebration.

Shrovetide masks and costumes

These were initially related to magic. People would don them in order to resemble the character they wished to represent.

This enabled them to form a link with the character, with the world they entered in this way, with their forebears and with the lesser-known forces around them, as well as to acquire the strength of the being or character they represented. Originally, dressing up was mainly done by parties of young men, while women and children were not allowed to take part. Masqueraded men were a part of annual customs relating to the cycle of life and work. Nowadays, people usually dress up only at Shrovetide: in rural areas, in their local (traditional) masks and costumes or costumes resembling these, while in towns they represent all kinds of fashionable (often political) topical and imaginary characters. Dressing up at Shrovetide is very popular with children, who dress up mainly as currently popular children's heroes.

Shrovetide costumes, characteristic of particular regions are *koranti* in north-eastern Slovenia, *lavfarji* in the Cerklje area, *škoromati* and *šjeme* in the south-west, *blumarji* and *pustovi* in western Slovenia and *pehtre* and *otepovci* in north-western Slovenia. Their function is mainly apotropaic – diverting evil influence or ill luck – and is supposed to be strengthened by the horrifying appearance of the masqueraded person: wild face masks made from different materials (wood, skin, material, paper, metal); layers of different colours on the face; the frightening shape of masks with striking horns, hair or skin; strong colours (ribbons, red tongues, accessories in vibrant colours); various requisites such as a *ježevka* (a stick with hedgehog spines or something similar at the end), whips, socks covered with ash, pliers, large phalluses; the deafening sounds they made (ringing, howling, cracking, barking); and wild movements (jumping, running, chasing people, grabbing them, scattering soot or ashes). In nearly all Slovene regions certain general characters appear: an old man and woman, a *zaplatnik* (in ancient Greece known as *centuculus*) in a "shredded" costume, the wild man of the woods, a fat man, the devil, a gypsy, a chimneysweep, a grinder, a doctor and giants.

Display case with *laufarji* wooden Shrovetide Carnival masks
(photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation).

BELIEF

Igor Cvetko

Škapulir, soldier's amulet from World War I (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Man has always employed different means to try and identify the mechanisms involved in the functioning of this world; one such is religion – a system of teachings, norms, values and rituals through which belief in a supernatural spiritual power is expressed. In their everyday life, people tried to find ways of coming into contact with the origins of the world and with God or a higher order, and with beings which could have an important influence on their life and fate. In Slovene areas, practices related to belief ran at two interconnected levels: within the prevailing, official Christian religious service and within various forms of primitive folk beliefs. Both of these have always existed among the ordinary people.

In addition to churches, other examples of architecture linked to religion, such as Calvaries, chapels and wayside shrines are material testimonies of the Christian religion. Crucifixes, statues of saints and patron saints, lamps used in processions and various embroideries are, by and large, artificial crafts products, but can also be examples of genuine folk art activity. They were perhaps most developed in relation to domestic religious symbolism: for example, crucifixes and devotional statuettes or pictures with which simple folk artists were able to express their own creative impulses, while facilitating daily contact with religious symbols in the domestic environment. Objects such as prayer books, small pictures taken on pilgrimages, rosaries and other craft or industrially made objects belonged to personal religious practices and only gained their true value with everyday use.

Testimonies of folk beliefs often show the oldest levels of tradition and frequently have their roots in pre-Christianity. Here we refer to the majority of the customs with a magical, largely protective function, as well as some celebrations of saints' name days, kermises, processions, blessings and even pilgrimages. Particularly popular objects were votive figurines, statues, gifts and other items – either used in intercession or to express gratitude – that people used to place in a specific spot in their homes, or later behind or on altars in churches, particularly pilgrimage churches. There were also numerous festive breads, cakes and pastries that were ritually given for "luck" in the New Year, for marriage or love, and also prepared for various holidays. Because of their special importance they were often artistically and symbolically decorated.

Healing stone of St. Paul, Idrijca by the Sora River, 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Folk beliefs are the religious views and practices spread among ordinary people: routine submissions to established theological doctrine, the implementation of the prescribed church liturgy, a number of pious folk acts within adopted ethical norms, and individual rituals and magic acts that were not in line with the official church dogma. The strongest influence on the shaping of folk religion came from the conversion of the local population to Christianity, when (mainly) Catholic missionaries started including in the prescribed church calendar numerous old original customs, thus combining biblical and apocryphal content with the old pre-Christian traditions. During this process, numerous new customs were born, some as early as the Middle Ages, and many more during the Counter-Reformation. The phenomenon of folk beliefs goes beyond the definition of a primitive and naïve form of realisation of church teachings and images. It is a live reflection of the deep-rooted wishes and the creative strength of our cultural environment and man's attitude to the natural world, to his surroundings, the world as a whole, life and God or those forces that, in line with folk beliefs, interfered in the life and fate of people and the natural world.

St. Florian, Podlanišče, Gorenjska, 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Patron saints

Bojana Rogelj Škafar

Life in pre-industrial peasant communities was greatly dependent on what was happening in the natural world and hence there was much uncertainty. There was the threat that drought or flooding might ruin the harvest (when there was a bad harvest, there was a shortage of food and consequently malnutrition), there were fires and disease, the fear of hostile supernatural powers, the fear of death and of hell. People were able to find help and protec-

Wax votive offerings, Kranj, first half of the 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Inn, Gorenjska
(photo: Fran Vesel; SEM Documentation).

tion within the family or the village community and, in particular, intercede with their patron saints. The most popular female saints in Slovene areas were St. Catherine, St. Barbara, St. Helen, St. Margaret, St. Dorothea, St. Ursula, St. Lucia, St. Apollonia and St. Anna, while among male saints there were St. Peter, St. Paul, St. George, St. Jacob, St. John the Evangelist, St. Andrew, St. Christopher, St. Nicholas, St. Martin, St. Bartholomew, St. Stephen, St. Michael, St. Simon, St. Florian, St. Anthony of Egypt and St. Anthony of Padua. In rural areas these saints appeared on small printed pictures, on votive pictures, on beehive panels, or as wooden sculptures in niches or on house-fronts, created by village artists who would carve and then paint them with oil paints. Most pious wooden statuettes are from the period between the second half of the 17th and the early 18th century and the early 20th century. The most popular statuettes were: Mary, as the universal patroness and intercessor, depicted with the baby Jesus, Mary in a dress made out of cloth or Mary the Immaculate; St. Florian in his role of patron saint offering protection against fire; and Jesus on the cross with Mary and St. John or with angels. These images show that, in addition to their representative function, they also signified an intercession to the saints to drive away pestilence and expressed a symbolic offering of houses and outbuildings to God's protection.

Crucifixes

The most popular sculptures in Slovene areas in the second half of the 19th century were crucifixes. They were made by village carvers, who were largely self-taught. Until the early 20th century, wooden crucifixes painted with oils prevailed, while between the two World Wars, porcelain, plaster or metal crucifixes became more widespread. In peasant houses, crucifixes appeared in the main living room, usually in the corner above the table, together with religious pictures, a napkin in front of the corner shelf and other decorations. This formed a kind of house altar. Crucifixes were holy items, towards which people in rural areas were more respectful than to other objects; even when woodworm set in, they were kept or burnt, but never simply discarded. They were a part of a bride's trousseau and accompanied the deceased on the catafalque. One characteristic of rurally-made crucifixes was their great emotional expressiveness,

Crucifix, 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

demonstrated by the painted body and its wounds, emphasising suffering, all in line with the ideas or desires of the peasants who commissioned them. From an iconographic point of view, the most popular were crucifixes in the form of the Latin cross with the crucified Christ, who is on the more elaborate versions accompanied by Mary, St. John and the angels, as well as the by the objects that caused his suffering.

Votives

Votive offerings are an expression of folk piety and have their roots in pre-Christianity. The Christian church at first opposed, but then adopted them. The difference between Christianity and the use of votives is that the former is directed at the other world and spiritual values, while the latter are very markedly aimed at this world. With votive gifts the giver wants to influence Mary and the saints to grant a request and offer a gift in return, favourably influencing what happens in the here and now. A votive is thus an object given to the church or dedicated to holy persons on account of a vow made when experiencing misfortune, or because of gratitude for the mercy that has been shown, or as a request for holy protection. Votives can be very different objects, such as natural goods, money or pious architecture. Those in the form of a statuette, which through a particular image identify with the interceding person or with the intention of requesting or thanking, are the identification votives that used to be offered in numerous churches in Slovene areas from the Middle Ages until World War Two. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, votive giving spread from the aristocracy and townspeople to the rural population, who became the principal votive givers for good health and against hardships (a person praying), against diseases affecting organs and other bodily parts (nose, head, eyes, ears, arms, legs, etc.), for fertility, for a happy outcome of child-birth (a toad) and the health of a baby (a suckling animal), for the health of an animal (a cow, a calf, a pair of yoked oxen, a horse, a pig, etc.), for a happy marriage (a heart) and for general holy protection (wreaths and crowns). Votives were made from wood, paraffin, wax, tin, iron or cheese.

Votive offering of a woman praying, Kranj, around 1911 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Superstition

Igor Cvetko

Votive picture (intercession for a baby), 1765
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Votive picture (accident at a mill), Tunjice, 1815 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Votive paintings

Votive offerings in the form of oil paintings on canvas, wood and, less commonly, glass belong to the sphere of religious art and are in fact prayers articulated visually and aesthetically. The paintings feature the subject of the donor's supplication or thanksgiving, saints, and often the supplicants themselves. They frequently carry the inscription EX VOTO (in fulfilment of a vow), or, in western Slovenia, P. G. R. (Italian: *per grazia ricevuta*, for mercy received); less common inscriptions are lengthier descriptions of rescue from a disaster. Votive paintings spread in Slovenia in the modern age. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, they were donated by aristocrats, the clergy and the bourgeoisie; these were joined by the peasants, who donated them in pilgrim churches, to some extent already in the 18th century, but particularly in the 19th century. Most votive paintings were commissioned by farmers from Upper Carniola, but sometimes by those from Lower Carniola and Styria. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, they were commissioned from rural Baroque artists who also worked for the higher social classes and the Church; in the 19th century from less skilful, self-taught village artists. In the 20th century, the culture of votive paintings practically died out. The paintings are precious witnesses to those adversities and hardships which represented the worst possible evil to individual groups of the population. Most often, they are the visual expression of supplication or thanksgiving for healthy cattle and personal health.

This is a segment of folk beliefs including belief in ghosts, demons and other supernatural beings, and in the exceptional powers of certain people, animals, plants and objects. In order to come into contact with these beings or to acquire special powers, people used to carry out various magic acts or rituals which, mainly due to their ritualised form, were long preserved unchanged. Thus it is not surprising that it is still possible to find certain elements of animism, black magic, sorcery, witchcraft or fortune telling, all from the treasury of pre-Christian traditions, in many events, such as the birth of a child, a wedding or a funeral, or during winter visits to village houses, at Shrovetide and during festivities related to the arrival of spring, during harvests, grape-picking or the slaughtering of a pig.

Every individual wishes to avoid evil and hardships such as despair, misfortune, storms, illness or even death. Even nowadays, with various acts, often involuntary, we still step into the realm of ancient magic. Touching wood is supposed to drive away bad forces that could harm us; knocking two glasses together is said to have the same effect. And the sound of the tins tied to the newlyweds' car is there to scare off all the evil forces that could come too close to the young couple. The rice we shower on newlyweds is supposed to ensure fertility in the newly-forming family. At sports events, fans try to help their team with the noise of sirens, trumpets and rattles – driving away anything that

Conjuring the weather, Brkini, 1955 (SEM Documentation).

might harm them. Material testimonies of the practice of magical healing, in addition to various magic potions and objects of mineral, plant, animal or human origin, include objects believed to contain healing or magic powers. Thus there are various talismans, amulets and other magical items carried on the body, in pockets and bags, or placed in dwellings or outbuildings.

FOLK MUSIC

Igor Cvetko

Bohinj musicians, Nomenj, 1906 (SEM Documentation).

Folk music lives on and is preserved as an expression of the spiritual needs of certain social strata – chiefly rural, but also urban. It differs from "high" music as well as from popular music in a number of ways. Before a song or tune can become a "folk" song or tune, it must first satisfy certain conditions and go through a typical process of development. It has to be close to the musical tradition of the time and place within which it exists, while the process of becoming a folk song, which typically consists of long-term "sharpening", runs in line with the aesthetic principles of the community involved, thus preserving the song. Whether a certain song will be forgotten or whether it will become a part of the singing or playing repertoire and thus a component of the local musical tradition depends on this developmental process, which can sometimes even be anticipated.

The basic characteristics of Slovene musical traditions are consistent multiple voices and collective playing. The voice leading the melody is called the leading voice, and alongside it there are usually two others: the accompanying voice which can be either above or below the leading one, and the bass. Often the number of voices rises to four or five. All those participating sing in such as way that finally the whole sounds fully rounded and in line with local musical traditions. This is achieved with the consistent improvised co-operation of all the performers in the band. Because of this approach to music, Slovene instrumental musical practice hardly ever involves solo instruments; there are, however, folk bands made up of different instruments. Since the 19th century, we have witnessed the rise of the accordion. As this instrument combines all the three required components– the leading melody, the accompaniment and the bass – it was able to take on the role of a band and thus influenced the way these developed.

Folk instruments

Any object, home-made or bought, can become a folk instrument if used to produce a sound that signifies music to the player, or if folk musicians use it to play music from their repertoire or play it on occasions that represent a part of musical tradition. According to their mode of operation, folk instruments can be divided into four basic groups:

- air instruments (aerophones): woodwind instruments (with a reed or tongue), brass instruments;
- instruments with a membrane (membranophones): drums (percussion or friction), mirlitons;
- stringed instruments (chordophones): instruments with which sounds are produced by bowing, plucking or striking a string or by sliding something along a string;
- and self-sounding instruments (idiophones): struck (directly or indirectly), scraped, rattled, or rubbed.

Švrkovnce, folk zither, Muljava, before 1927 (SEM Documentation).

Pot bass from Vrbica carnival characters, Vrbica near Ilirska Bistrica, around 1980 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Musician Valentin Pivk playing an *oprekelj* (dulcimer), Hotedršćica, 1932 (SEM Documentation).

These are stringed instruments, where the sound is made by the vibration of a stretched flexible string, usually of metal but occasionally of gut. The vibrations are produced in different ways: by strumming, by striking or by running a bow over the string. Among folk chordophones in Slovenia, most are bought rather than home-made.

One of the most frequently used stringed instruments played by strumming is the zither, an instrument that is still popular across the whole Alpine region. Zithers, of which there are two types – diatonic (or Bordun zither) and chromatic (also called the concert zither) – are mass produced or made by craftsmen. The instrument is played in such a way that the melody is produced with the left hand, while the right hand is used to pluck the strings, using a wooden stick, a pick or a metal thumb-pick. Home made zithers are usually simpler: one is the violin zither, where the melody is played by the right hand, using a bow, while the left hand plays the accompaniment by strumming the strings tuned to a chord.

The *tamboura* is thought to have come to Slovene lands with the Turks in the 16th century, but its use became particularly widespread during the period between the two World Wars. With respect to the range of notes played, a tamboura orchestra

with different types of tamboura models itself on a string quartet, but the sound is denser because of the rapid strumming with a pick. The *oprekelj*, at one time a very widespread and popular instrument, is usually hung around the musician's neck on a belt, while the strings are struck using small wooden mallets, sometimes wrapped in wool, felt or metal wire. The *cimbal*, which could be called an *oprekelj*-table with pedals, is an instrument used by Prekmurje bands. Among the folk instruments played using a bow, we should also mention the fiddle (violin) and the bass with two or three strings. Both used to be a regular feature of folk bands, while now they only appear in a few permanent bands. The zither and the violin zither usually accompany singing or the playing of song tunes, while the *oprekelj* and the *cymbal* are usually a part of dance bands, as are the fiddle and the bass. The tuning of these instruments is usually adapted to the tuning of other instruments in the band, otherwise they follow the traditional classical tuning. The only exception is the *citira-bunkula* string band in Resia, which is tuned to approximately one tone and a semitone higher.

Air instruments are those in which the sound is produced by the vibration of the air in or next to the instrument's pipe. Although classical music divides them into woodwind and brass instruments, folk music classifies them differently. A whip, which is used in events linked to Shrovetide customs, thus belongs among the instruments where the air is pushed away, while an accordion and the mouth organ interrupt the flow of air with reeds. The *brnivka* or "humming button" falls into the same group. The folk woodwind instruments or flutes include *trstenke*, an instrument made from hollow reeds, the *stranjščica* and the Haloze *žvegla*, both kinds of flute with a mouthpiece and holes. There are also various children's whistles, clay horses and *ocarinas*, as well as *dvojnice*. Typical folk wind instruments with reed tongues are folk clarinets and bagpipes (with a single tongue), *prda* and wooden horns, as well as animal horns. Modern industrially-made wind instruments and brass instruments feature in popular brass bands, and many appear in various folk bands. Among the oldest and most valuable items in the museum's musical collection is undoubtedly a horn wrapped in bark, an instrument described in great detail by Valvasor in his *Fame of the Duchy of Carniola* as far back as in the 17th century.

Accordion player, Upper Savinja Valley, 2002 (photo: Igor Cvetko).

Accordion, late 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Trstenke (pan pipes), Haloze, before 1990
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

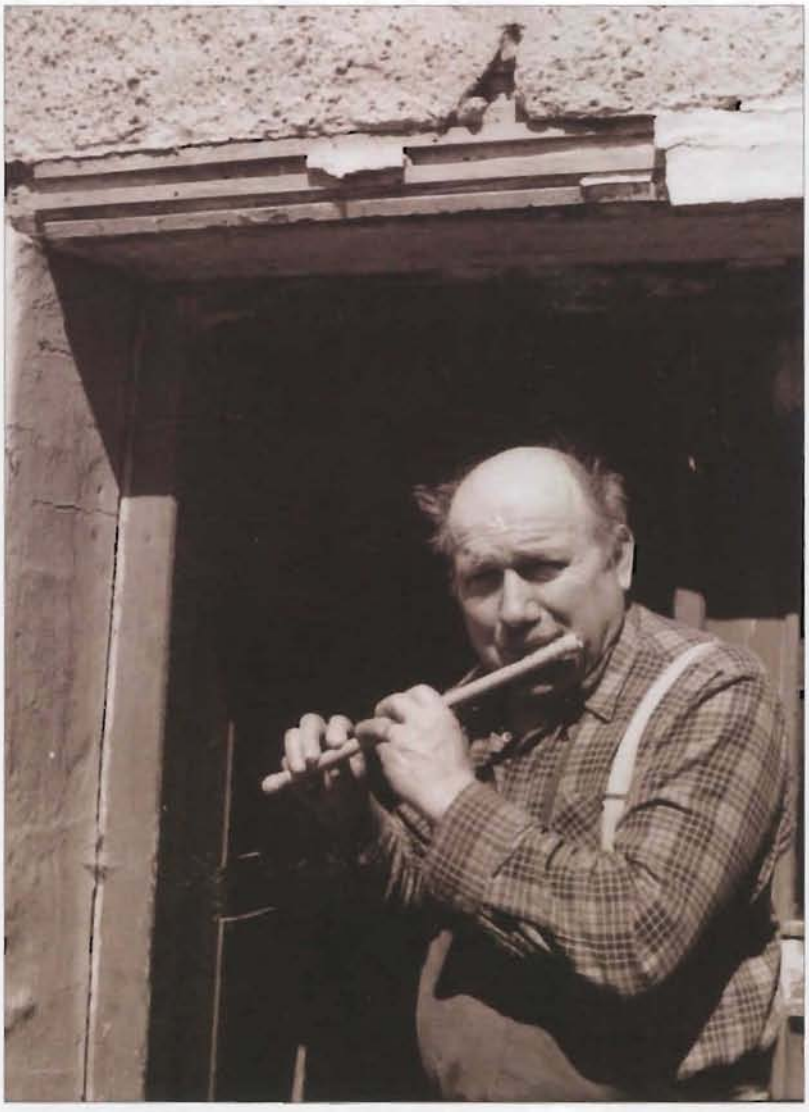
Trstenke

In ancient Greece this instrument was known as the *syrinx* or panpipes. It is one of the oldest instruments in the world. It consists of a series of pipes of different lengths, which are consequently tuned to different tones. In Slovene areas, there were mainly reed panpipes, with 5 to 47 firmly connected pipes. The Slovene *trstenke* (panpipe type 5) are, with respect to both tuning as well as shape, a unique instrument: they can produce dual tone sounds if two pipes are blown into simultaneously, as the left and the right wing of the instrument are tuned differently. *Trstenke* used to be sold mainly by small traders at village fairs, at gatherings, at parish festivals and on pilgrimages, and many people knew how to make them at home. They played them for their own pleasure, occasionally also at dances, usually accompanied by some other instrument, such as pear leaves, mouth organs, pipes made from plum tree wood or a clay bass. They were popular in Koroška, Štajerska and Prekmurje, as well as in Posavje, Dolenjska and Notranjska. They were preserved longest in Haloze, where in the 1990s they were still being made by Franc Laporšek from Podlehnik near Ptuj.

Haloze *žvegla*

This is a type of wooden flute made from planed wood, on which melodies in the range of nearly two octaves can be played. Most often they are made from box tree, plum tree or pear tree wood, in different sizes (from number one, which is just over 20 centimetres long, to number nine, which is over half a metre long; numbers eight and nine are made from two pieces, as it is easier to make them that way). The oldest records of and oral traditions relating to these types of pipes are from the 15th century, but the tradition of playing them has been preserved only in Haloze. There, *žvegle* were often played at parties, blessings, celebrations of name days, weddings and after collective tasks such as corn hulling, haymaking, scutching and threshing. Often they were accompanied by violins, an accordion, a mouth organ or *trstenke* and singers. The last maker of *žvegle* was Izidor Cafuta from Sedlašek near Podlehnik, who was still making them in the 1990s

Žvegla (wooden transverse flute), Haloze, around 1990
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).



Izidor Cafuta, maker of the kind of wooden flute known as a *žvegla*, Podlehnik, 1996 (photo: Igor Cvetko).

Clay pipes and whistles

These are simple folk pipes or whistles and an interesting form of domestic pottery. The numerous shapes that usually give these unusual instruments their name are cleverly stylised animals (birds, horses, lions, sheep, cows, goats or even imaginary animals) or mugs. Typical of these are horses – of various shapes and sizes, with or without a rider, mane, saddle and reins – that "whistle through their arse". There are also various whistles filled with water. The shape of a clay pipe does not affect the quality and characteristics of the sound. More important are the volume and the well-chosen mouth piece: only if the mouth piece is perfectly made can the whistle produce a beautiful sound. Most clay pipes and whistles are made in Dolenjska and Prekmurje.

Earthenware whistles, Dolenja vas near Ribnica, second half of the 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Children's instruments and sound-producing toys

Girl blowing on a horn made from bark, Šmarata in Loška dolina Valley, 2004 (photo: Igor Cvetko).

These are objects with which children, during play, "create" sounds by whistling, trumpeting, strumming, bowing, striking, rattling, sliding them along a base, etc. With respect to their origin, the way in which they are made and their function, they can be divided into:

- simple objects from the natural or artificial environment that children can find themselves and which can make a sound in the form they are already in;
- sound-producing objects made by children themselves or with the help of adults in order to create sounds needed during play;
- sound-producing objects made by children (sometimes with the help of adults) with which they can on special occasions join in with adult activities or with which they maintain their imaginary world during play;
- sound-producing objects made for children, sometimes in order to satisfy children's needs for sounds while playing, sometimes also for other reasons (didactic, ritual or commercial purposes)

Children's instruments used to be made from completely natural materials. Nowadays, children tend to make them from materials that are handy and with the help of modern tools. Their content and function have remained relatively unchanged throughout history, while the shape, the method of making and their purpose are frequently adapted to current requirements.

Stržek, child's musical toy, Ljubljana, 2002 (SEM Collections; photo: Igor Cvetko).

Improvised instruments

These are usually everyday objects with a range of uses, which also, when needed, serve as producers of sounds or music. The use of improvised instruments is very popular in Slovenia. They appear in various combinations and are often joined by "real" melodic instruments (accordion, mouth organ or clarinet); but even these are sometimes replaced by, for example, a pear tree leaf, with which it is very easy to play tunes. Special forms of such music making are "*ofreht*", "*rumplanje*" or "cat's music", rattling with various objects on the eve of a name day or a birthday, and the making of noise with pots, lids, cutlery and glasses at wedding festivities or under the newlyweds' window after their wedding night. Improvised instruments used to appear wherever there was dancing, working, eating, drinking or merry-making but no real musicians – for example, after collective tasks or at village fetes, even at weddings. Nowadays, these instruments often appear as a part of large folklore groups, and in many (cultural) clubs or organisations there are also whole instrumental groups that use these instruments.

Višič Brothers Ensemble, Božje below Rogla, 1999 (photo: Igor Cvetko).

FOLK ART

Bojana Rogelj Škafar

Farmhouse, Stara Fužina (SEM Documentation).

Folk art can be described as a special form of the design and creation of products, influenced by and explicable by social conditions, in which an object is invested with an aesthetic meaning that transcends and is clearly separate from its merely utilitarian function. Folk art appeared among the lower, underprivileged social classes between the second half of the 18th and the early 20th century. Most of this art, which developed into a whole with reasonably consistently established creative principles, appeared on farms or was made for farms in the 19th century. What was produced for and by farmers, as both commissioners and creators of objects, reflected their view of the world, which was suffused with a sense of religious order expressed via conservative, strictly defined and transparent artistic formulae, with a selected and limited range of themes, motifs, decoration and lively colours, and through a spatial concept based not on any visual consensus but on a knowledge of how the world was. Due to the tenuous cultural links between different regions, such art in some areas developed relatively independently and thus created locally and regionally characteristic artistic formulae and types. Folk art, which is not some special stylistic, ahistoric and unchanging artistic variety, is an important part of the whole of Slovene artistic creativity and one of the historical reflections of the spiritual culture of the Slovene, mainly rural, population.

Peasant homes and their environment

The exteriors of peasant homes and outbuildings and their arrangement are the most noticeable aspect of individual farms; they establish a relation between architecture and the environment in terms of folk art. The entire concept of the farm governed the artistically designed areas on the facades. Combined, the two expressed social status, reputation, financial means, artistic tastes, views, and how the owners valued art. The typical appearance of farms in Slovenia, which survived until the period between the two World Wars, resulted from the social developments and changes in agricultural technology of the second half of the 18th century. Regional and local architectural elements, paintings and sculprures, made by domestic and itinerant artists to the wishes and tastes of their commissioners, are the elements of the exteriors of peasant homes and outbuildings which were most often artistically designed. Beyond the farms, the artistic horizon of the peasants revealed itself in apiaries with painted beehive panels, votive offerings and votive paintings which the peasants donated to churches in supplication or thanksgiving, in the design of tombstones, and in wayside shrines – all of which reflected farm life.

Wayside cross outside the Šomošter house, with stable in the background, Uskovnica mountain pasture above Bohinj, 1964
(photo: Fanči Šarf; SEM Documentation).

Wayside picture (The Coronation of Mary, with St. Benedict and St. Scholastica), Poljane above Škofja Loka, second half of the 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Cross on a grave, Rateče, Gorenjska, 1877 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Painted beehive panel (Weighing a beehive), Gregor Benedik's workshop in Pungert near Škofja Loka, second half of the 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Apiary, Poljane Valley, Gorenjska
(SEM Documentation).

Painted beehive panels

Painted beehive panels are oil paintings on the wooden front panels of beehives of the *kranjič* type, which were placed in the apiaries of prosperous farmers, the rural gentry, and presbyteries. The paintings helped beekeepers to distinguish the beehives and their owners and, in addition, symbolically placed the beehives under the protection of the depicted saints. Painted beehive panels are a folk art genre and the only artistic genre which features numerous secular figurative motifs as well as moralistic and satirical themes. Their origin and development was made possible by the methods of bee-keeping, which included the seasonal transfer of beehives to pastures. During the period they were popular, that is from the mid-18th century to the First World War, over 50,000 panels were painted. In the late 19th century, painted beehive panels were common in Upper Carniola, southern Carinthia, eastern Styria and Prekmurje, but not in the southern belt of Slovene territory or in the non-Slovene provinces.

They were painted by simple, self-taught artists, who borrowed their themes from religious cards, German pictorial bibles, prints, newspapers and book illustrations, and who were quite often additionally inspired by their own imagination. The images are mainly figurative and include over 600 different themes, of which a good half are religious, showing scenes from the Old and New Testaments and images of saints. Among the secular motifs, the following stand out: animals in human roles, scenes ridiculing women's weaknesses or that of tailors and shoemakers, scenes in inns, military and exotic images, and scenes which refer to the relations between the sexes. The genre developed its own painting style and it is also the richest European collection of paintings with figurative motifs produced by the lower social classes. The paintings are a precious testimony to the cultural needs, world views, and creative power of the rural population.

The interiors of rural homes

The architectural concept of the living quarters influenced the design and arrangement of those artistically shaped objects which were the permanent components of a rural domestic interior. The locations of designed architectural elements, ceilings, windows, doors, fireplaces and stoves were rigidly determined by the layout of the houses. The latter also largely determined where to put the larger pieces of movable furniture – chests, wardrobes, benches, tables and bedsteads – as well as plastics, paintings, and other, smaller items. The latter were distributed around the living room, bedroom, kitchen and entrance. Major pieces of furniture were first introduced in the second half of the 18th century and in the course of time they required annexes to be built on large farms; on small farms and cottages this development led to overcrowded rooms and poor functionality.

Bed 'scissors' (for holding mattress in place), Podkoren, Gorenjska, 1846
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Part of a *hiša* (SEM Documentation).

Glass paintings

These pictures were painted on the back of glass and usually involved mixed painting techniques (watercolours, tempera, oil paints) or, to a lesser extent, a combination of paints and gilding, with cut and gilded details, on a black background and with a mirror in the background. In general, paintings were very rare items on farms and among the farming population the notion of painting was largely associated with painted utensils and church paintings. In the first two thirds of the 19th century, religious glass

Part of a *hiša*, Velika Lahinja near Črnomelj (SEM Documentation).

paintings pictures were practically the only independent wall paintings in the interiors of farmsteads. In the last third of the century they were gradually replaced by colour lithographs with religious themes. Glass paintings in rural homes were hung to the left and right of the cross above the table in the central room, thus creating a kind of house altar. In the 18th century, stylistically picturesque variants decorated the homes of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie. From the late 18th century to the end of the 19th century, cheap religious glass paintings in two-dimensional style were imported in great numbers from the workshops of rural painters established in the Black Forest, Bavarian Forest, Czech Forest, and Upper Austria. Peasants and poor town inhabitants bought them from peddlers on pilgrimages and on the consecration days of churches. In the second half of the 19th century, some semi-trained and self-taught painters from Upper Carniola and probably also from the town of Kočevje produced series of such pictures with almost exclusively religious motifs.

Painting on glass (The Holy Family at work), 19th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Storage boxes and cases

These were used by farm women and girls for their sewing sets, jewellery and letters; larger boxes were used to preserve a wedding loaf or cake. The oldest boxes were a compressed cylinder shape and were used on farms as early as the beginning of the modern age. They were produced in great quantities by the wooden utensil makers of Ribnica in the 19th century, and only exceptionally decorated with carved elements or oil paintings. Most of them were vividly painted products from Berchtesgaden or Vichtau, or they were brought as presents from a pilgrimage to somewhere such as Višarje (Monte Santo di Lussari). Unlike the large storage boxes, nearly all the small ones were decorated. The prevalent decorative technique was oil painting and the most frequent motifs were stylised flowers (roses, carnations, rosette buds) and figures (saints, cocks). The small boxes were often reduced copies of the chests in which clothes were kept. Their use, diversity and decoration suggest that they were mainly made and bought as love tokens. Men used wooden cases with a sliding lid for their shaving gear and, from the mid-18th century, pupils used them for school items. They were produced by self-taught people who decorated them with geometric and plant designs, initials and symbols (a cross or heart); they were particularly popular in sub-alpine Slovene areas.

Decorated box for wedding loaf, Radovljica, 1812 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Cooper Andrej Kovaljev, Šentrupert in Dolenjska, 1961 (photo: Pavla Štrukelj; SEM Documentation).

This was quite rare on farms, because the chores were mostly routine, while the tools and equipment used were not seen as possible means of self-expression. On most farms, working the land provided only subsistence, and the simple, low-efficiency tools made farming hard labour. Until 1848, that is until the emancipation of the peasantry, the *corvée* the peasants performed on the estates of their lords had a major influence on their working habits and their general attitude to work and tools. In terms of art, they devoted more attention to them only if they were connected with festive occasions and social life.

Spinsters, Brnica, Gailtal Valley, Austria (photo: De Reggi; SEM Documentation).

Distaffs and reels

Distaffs are sticks or spindles on which wool or flax is wound for spinning. Distaffs in the form of separate sticks mounted on a base, or hand sticks with a spade-shaped or forked end, were used in spinning on reels, known in Slovenia from the settlement of the Alpine Slavs until the mid-20th century. Such distaffs, artistically accented with carved six-leaved rosettes and linear geometric ornaments, were used longest in White Carniola and Istria. On spinning wheels, which were in use from the 16th century to the mid-20th century, the distaff was an extension in the form of a stick or bell. Turned, carved distaffs, painted with oil paints, were very common on spinning wheels in Upper Carniola in the 19th century. They were relatively rare in comparison with ordinary distaffs and were made by numerous specialised craftsmen, as well as by self-taught individuals. In the latter half of the 18th and in the 19th century, in the rural environment, ornamentally shaped, carved and painted distaffs, deco-

Carpenter's basket, Ribčev Laz beside Lake Bohinj, 1812
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Distaff, Kranjska Gora, 1833
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

rated with symbols and initials, were common love tokens given to girls. Their diverse and original forms and accurate execution show that they were a means of affirmation and used to express amorous feelings.

Horse combs

Harnesses including horse-collars were ornamented on some farms. This was something only prosperous farmers, especially those engaging in wagoning, could afford, and only on special festive occasions when the harness was clearly for display. "Horse-collar" combs are cast of white or yellow brass and were used to comb a horse's mane and tail. They were cast in foundries around Central Europe and very likely also in Slovenia, where they were known in all regions. In the 19th century and the first half of the 20th, they were tied to horse-collars or stuck into special leather straps. The preserved specimens have very smooth, worn surfaces indicating that they were intensively cleaned, proving indirectly that they were used more as decorative elements than as accessories. Particularly charming are the handles which are relief-shaped on one side and feature images of feeding, watering and training horses.

Horse combs
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Man's watch chain, Bohinj
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Hunting (photo: Fran Vesel; SEM Documentation).

Artistic designs were mainly found in certain articles of women's and men's clothing, in individual accessories, religious accessories, and toys. The ornamentation of women's clothes expressed their taste and their wish to please; they were the exterior signs of social class, position, and prosperity. The artistic design of articles of clothing emphasised and raised the social class and status of the wearer, although many accessories had no deeper meaning. The distinct artistic design of sticks and staffs, pipes, fire steels, and the like derived from a person's wish to have a distinguished appearance. Particularly important items which widened the artistic horizon of the peasant population were the cheap and widely available religious cards.

Walking stick
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Sticks and staffs

Sticks and staffs are cultural elements which often have quite different meanings and functions. Sceptres, the staffs of bishops, judges and lords of mountain estates, for instance, are symbols of authority, while the other functions of sticks include those of a walking aid, self-defence, carrying a load over one's shoulder, beating, gathering fruits, controlling animals, hunting, fishing, sports, measuring and so on. Their form was adapted to their function and they were often ornamented. In Slovenia, turned pilgrim's staffs were made in the late Middle Ages, if not earlier, while walking sticks with decorative handles, including figurative and carved ones, were made for the higher social classes from the late 18th century, and for the lower social classes in the 19th century; geometrically ornamented shepherd's staffs started to appear from the mid-19th century. In general, sticks and staffs which were decorated in any way were

Walking stick, detail
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

rather rare items, while carved or painted ones were not series products. Most often, they were accessories used to emphasise a distinguished personal appearance.

Pipes

The design of tobacco pipes was largely determined by the owner's individual taste and his wish to have a distinguished appearance. Smoking, limited to the male population, spread in the Slovene provinces among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in the mid-17th century, and among the peasant population in the second half of the 18th century. Since the early 20th century, the number of pipe smokers has dropped considerably. At first, imported ceramic pipes were common, joined in the 18th century by meerschaum and stone pipes, clay and porcelain pipes shaped in moulds, and in particular by pipes carved out of wood. Pipes acquired a particularly charming appearance through the use of different decorative techniques: carving, encrustation with mother-of-pearl, encrusted brass or silver wire, pressing, hammering, perforating, engraving metal parts and spiral wire patterns. Only porcelain pipes were painted. Although some pipes were imported, most were local products: in the late 18th and 19th century, decorated carved pipes were produced in the cottage industries of Bohinj, Gorjuše, Moravče, Poljane in the Poljane Valley, Martinj Vrh above Železniki, Višnje in the Littoral and in Krka (Lower Carniola), and they were traded in Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Dalmatia, and as far as England and America. The craft was preserved in Gorjuše, where pipe-makers developed their own typology of forms. They may not be particularly special, but the combination of form, motifs, composition and the relation

National dress, Rateče, after World War Two (SEM Documentation).

Artistic design for festive and special occasions

Pipe (with an image of a kid), Stahovica, Gorenjska, between the two World Wars (SEM Collections: photo: Marko Habič).

between ornament and form clearly distinguish them from other European pipes.

Some artistically designed objects were used on farms only on festive and other special occasions, and these were mostly connected with annual and life-cycle customs. The specific festive events largely determined the significance of the artistically designed objects which accompanied them, while the objects in turn strengthened the image of appropriate celebration, being the aesthetic signs of festivity. Particularly well-designed objects accompanied festivities on big farms in the 19th century, if not earlier, but they were rare or exceptional on small farms and among cottagers. The textiles included in a trousseau were the principal objects of artistic design for festive and special occasions: sheets, pillowcases, towels and tablecloths. Other major items were wedding chests (painted, carved or inlaid), whose transfer to the bride's new home was part of the wedding ritual from at least the second half of the 19th century; later they became part of everyday household furnishings. Easter customs were connected with Easter tablecloths and Easter eggs; Christmas customs with making and decorating Christmas cradles. Exquisitely shaped pastry and loaves of bread accompanied annual and life-cycle customs, whereas *trniči* (small handmade cheeses) were a delicate love token.

Casket, Podkoren, Gorenjska, 1850 (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Trniči and the carved sticks used to decorate them

A typical form of animal husbandry, involving mountain pasturing and the herdsmen's seasonal living in mountain dwellings and settlements, was practised in Slovenia's alpine area for centuries. The herdsmen's tasks included pasturing the cattle, and making cheeses and other milk products. Their heritage tells of the special life-style resulting from the isolation and remoteness of the herdsmen's dwellings. It is to this heritage that the *trniči* cheeses belong, as well as the carved wooden sticks used to imprint them for decorative purposes; they are still made and used by herdsmen in the Kamnik Alps. The cheeses were shaped from skimmed buttermilk, and decorated with carved wooden sticks or markers called *pisave*. The ornament on a stick was carved as a negative, thus leaving a raised imprint on the cheese. The technique of negatively carved

Trniči cheeses, Velika planina, first half of the 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Zefa Humar decorates a *trnič* cheese, Gojška planina, 1964 (photo: Tone Cevc; SEM Documentation).

designs spread among the peasant population in Europe in the 18th century, and we may therefore assume that these carved sticks and the decoration technique are older than this. After they were decorated, the cheeses were left to dry on a shelf above on open fireplace heated with beech logs. After drying for two weeks, the cheeses had shrunk to half their original size and they had become hard. To the herdsmen they symbolised women's breasts. They were popular and eloquent love tokens to girls, expressing love, faithfulness, a promise, or the announcement of marriage. As the symbolic carriers of a love message – their original function – and as symbols of memory in a secondary function, girls used to keep them after they married.

Figurative honey bread and moulds

"Small bread" is the term used in Gorenjska and Škofja Loka for a kind of pastry made from dough consisting of flour, pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and ammonium carbonate. The dough was pressed into a negative mould, then taken out again and baked. The ingredients of the dough depended on the individual baking skills of the makers. They were quite common in aristocratic, bourgeois and rural environments for St. Nicholas Day, Christmas, Epiphany and Easter, that is at the time of the church year's festival days, and they also accompanied life-cycle customs. These figurative pastries, shaped in moulds from at least the 18th century onwards, were first produced by the honey bread bakers of the towns, but in the 19th century they spread to the rural environment in all the Slovene provinces. They were particularly in demand at the consecration days of churches and at fairs, or were purchased at the homes of their makers. Their functions were that of wedding gifts, love tokens, children's sweets and toys. The wooden moulds in which they were shaped were made all over Slovenia; in Škofja Loka and its environs, self-taught woodcarvers developed their own types. Human and animals figures, plant and geometric motifs, and images of various objects were carved in the moulds. Their stylisation and decorative effects had a major influence on the artistic taste of the customers.

Mould for 'small bread', Škofja Loka, 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

'Small bread', Škofja Loka, first half of the 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

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Ralf Čeplak Mencin
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Reflections of Distant Worlds

. . . I do not find that there is anything barbaric or savage about this nation, according to what I've been told, unless we are to call barbarism whatever differs from our own customs. Indeed, we seem to have no other standard of truth and reason than the opinions and customs of our own country. There at home is always the perfect religion, the perfect legal system - the perfect and most accomplished way of doing everything.

(Michel de Montaigne,
*On Cannibals. Essays.*1580)

The world around us is made up of the endless riches of its peoples and their cultures: approximately 6500 different ethnic groups, from hunter-gatherers to information societies. Sadly, peoples that have taken part in the creation of this richness and which are part of it are dying out before our very eyes. The non-European collections contain the tangible cultural heritage of peoples from every continent, collected over a period of 150 years. In a limited space we present only disparate museum objects that draw particular attention to connections between Slovene culture and other cultures, and which evoke associations with the wider dimensions of these cultures.

Needless to say, these societies are now completely different from 100 or 150 years ago. The differences and contradictions between the past and the present are, at least to some extent, demonstrated by means of photographs and films. We are fully aware of the limitations and dangers of a Eurocentric view of foreign, remote worlds; however, every one of the exhibited objects carries a story which is in most cases still hidden, thus inviting us on a virtual journey into the world around us.

AFRICA

Mojca Terčelj

The more limited the white man,
the more limited the African seems to him.

(African saying)

Africa is the second largest continent and its 30,365,000 square kilometres represent almost a fifth of the Earth's land surface. At the start of the 21st century its population has already reached 922 million. While Greek writers called it "Libya", the Romans named it "Africa", probably from the Latin word aprica (sunny) or the Greek word aphrika (warm). Africa is the most tropical continent and the physical and cultural adaptation of its inhabitants, who are mainly black skinned, is appropriate to the conditions there; however, the skin colour and physical features are by no means the same everywhere. With respect to physio-anthropological characteristics, Africa is the most diverse continent: from light-skinned people in the northern Sahara and on the East African highlands to the darkest Sudanese ethnic groups in West and East Africa; from exceptionally tall people in East Africa to the smallest human inhabitants of the planet in the tropical forests of Central Africa.

In contrast to the Eurocentric images of the "undeveloped black continent", Africa has a very rich history and culture. It was here that four million years ago man's predecessor *Homo habilis* first walked on two legs. Archaeologists found the remains of the first *Homo sapiens* (dated approximately 1 million years BC) in the east sub-Saharan part of Africa; from there, man is thought have spread to North Africa, the Near East and then around the whole planet.

The present ethnic, cultural, religious and political picture of Africa is an exceptionally colourful mosaic. A few thousand different ethnic groups (some still in the process of formation) live on the continent; there are 1500 different languages, divided by modern linguists into four main families (Nigerian-Congolese, Nilotic-Saharan, Afro-Asian and Khoisan), there are 53 national states, a number of world religions and a multitude of local religions. Most African people speak more than one language, and inter-ethnic and inter-cultural contacts are an everyday occurrence, not only in politics, trade and culture, but also in the formulation of family links.

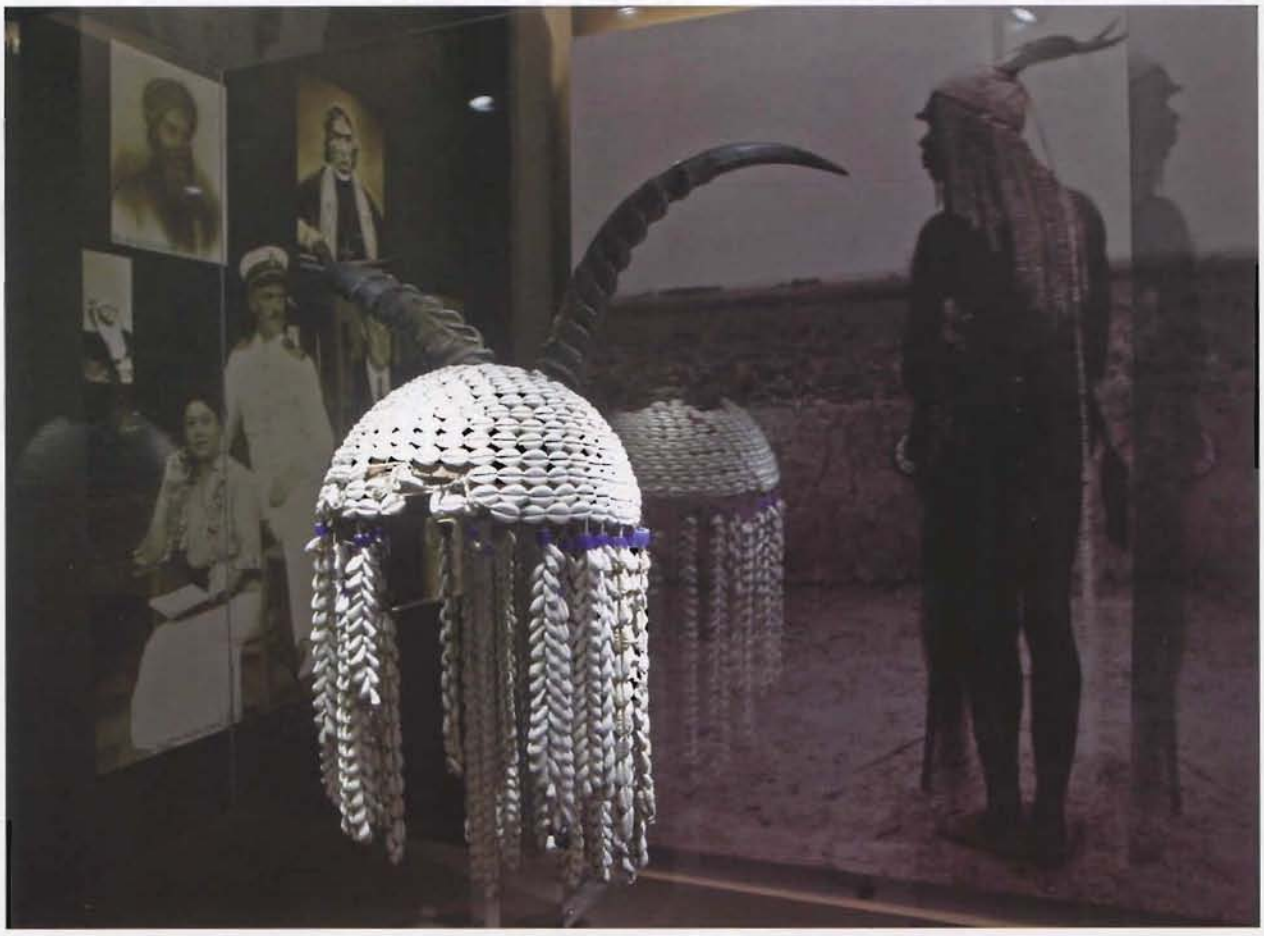
The African continent comprises of six geographic-cultural and ethnic and linguistic areas: North, West, Central, East and Southern Africa, and Madagascar.

Due to external political, cultural and historical influences and its Mediterranean climate, North Africa has always been separate from the rest of Africa. Its original inhabitants, the Berbers, belong to the Afro-Asian peoples and language group; they later adopted many Arab linguistic and cultural influences.

In West Africa there are numerous ethnic and linguistic groups in the northern savannah and on the Guinean coast. In this area, three large cultural and ethnic groups are represented: the Mandinka (Senegal, Mali); the Gur (Burkina Faso) – including the Senufo, Lobi, Dogon and Muri; and the Fulani (Mali, Niger). West Africa is also the territory of the former powerful medieval kingdoms: for example, Igbo and Ibibio in Nigeria, the Fon in the present day Benin, and the numerous Yoruba kingdoms.

Central Africa consists of two geographical and cultural areas: the savannah in Chad, Central African Republic and Sudan in the north, and the lowlands along the river Congo in the south. Most inhabitants are Bantu, the most numerous groups being the Luba, Lunda, Fang, Mongo, Kuba, Songo and Chokwe. The tropical primeval forest is inhabited by the Pygmies, and their neighbours the Bantu.

East Africa is divided into a number of areas: the northern dry highlands of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia, and the coastal areas belonging to Kenya and the Great Lakes (Victoria, Albert, Tanganyika and Nyssa), which is the most fertile part of the continent. With respect to ethnic groups, this part of Africa is divided into the eastern Sudanese peoples (the farmers along the Nile): the Shilluk, Dinka, Luo and Lango; the Massai, Nandi, Somali and Ororni in the central highlands; the Semitic peoples of Amhara and Tigre in Ethiopia; the Bantu peoples around the lakes, the Kikuyu and Luhya peoples



View of the exhibition
(photo: Marko Habič, SEM Documentation)

on the Kenyan highlands; the Swahili peoples on the east coast; and the Bantu, Chaga, Nyamwezi and Sukuma in Tanzania. The grasslands of central and South Africa used to be inhabited by the Khoisan and the San native peoples and the Bantu. On Madagascar the cultural and ethnic picture is totally different: it is populated by the Malagasy ethnic groups, with the Merina, who are of Indonesian origin, being the most important.

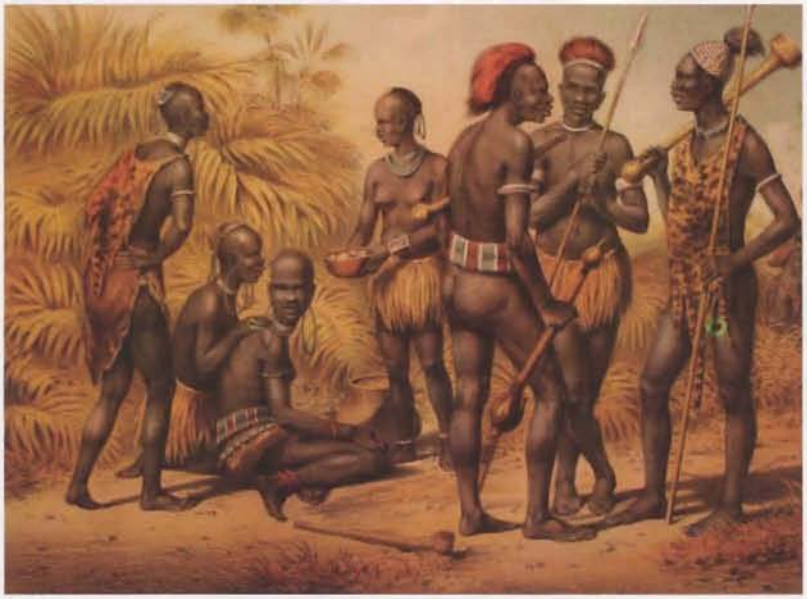
In the time when Dendid created all things,
He created the sun, and the sun is born, and dies and comes again;
He created the moon, and the moon is born, and dies and comes again;
He created the stars, and the stars are born, and die and come again;
He created man, and man is born, and dies and never comes again.

(poem of the Dinka tribe from southern Sudan)

Most of the inhabitants of southern Sudan belong to the Northern Nilotic peoples or the peoples of the upper Nile (they get their generic name from the river, as the population is the densest along its banks). Going from north to south, there are the following ethnic groups: the Shilluk (and the related Luo or Giuri, Belanda, Demba and Agnuak), the Dinka, Nuer, Bari (and the related Mandari). Some north Nilotic tribes also inhabit Ethiopia and the northern part of Uganda. These peoples live mainly from arable farming and animal husbandry. While the Luo, Agnuak, Bari and the Latu mainly live from the former, for the Shilluk, Dinka and Nuer animal husbandry is equally important. Nonetheless, herds are not the basic source of everyday food. The Nilotic people breed them for ritual sacrifices and feasts, while the everyday staples consist of cultivars such as millet, wheat, manioc, poratoes, lentils and sesame, which are tended using simple hoes made entirely of wood or of wood with an iron tip.

Spears have a special significance to the Nilotic peoples: they are used not only as weapons but also have a role related to status and ritual. Some old ethnographic sources report that the first Nilotic spears were made entirely of wood and that the production of iron spearheads appeared only

Muga, Bari chief, southern Sudan, with characteristic wooden stool
(drawn by Jakob Šašel, 1853/4; Karlovac City Museum).



Nilotes from southern Sudan
(drawn by Wilhelm Harnier, 1861)

Shield, Bari people, southern Sudan, acquired 1850
(Lavrin Collection, SEM; photo Marko Habič).

Stool, Bari people, southern Sudan, acquired 1850
(Knoblehar Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

at the end of the 20th century. But Knoblehar's collection from the middle of the 19th century says otherwise. In early historical sources, too, it can be seen that the Kushito Dynasty, which in the 3rd century AD developed a strong kingdom in the area around the central part of the Nile, already knew how to produce iron.

It must be said that these peoples have, throughout history, frequently been exploited politically and economically and that the current events in southern Sudan do nothing towards the preservation of their economic, social, cultural and religious identity.

Ignacij Knoblehar

Marko Frelih

The missionary and explorer Dr Ignacij Knoblehar was born in 1819 in the village of Škocjan near Novo mesto and died in 1858 in Naples. Even when still very young, he longed to take up missionary work among "pagan" peoples in remote countries. His fate first led him to Rome, where he completed the appropriate studies for work as a missionary. After that, he went to Sudan and, in early 1848, together with his colleagues, arrived in Khartoum, which had been chosen as the centre of the Central African mission.

He spent nine years in Sudan, founding during this time two missions in the south of the country: the Holy Cross and Gondokoro. During his travels on the White Nile he carried out numerous studies, for which the Geographic Society of the Vienna Academy had equipped him with the most advanced instruments available. He made detailed measurements of the river and in 1854 was the first white man to reach the Northern latitude of 4° 10'. Various European newspapers reported on his expeditions and interest in the search for the source of the Nile was once again revived. Knoblehar was one of the most important explorers of the Nile in the 19th century. His work was esteemed by famous contemporaries such as the constructor of the Suez Canal Ferdinand de Lesseps, the German naturalist Alfred Brehm and the American explorer Bayard Taylor.

In his missionary role, Knoblehar devoted much attention to the black tribes and strove to create a Christian community in the pagan environment. He was not particularly successful in this, although he had much more success in the struggle against the slave trade. He was in contact with different Nilotic people, but spent most of his time with the Bari ethnic group. He wrote a dictionary of their language and was interested in their culture. When he returned home in 1850, he brought with him a fascinating collection of objects he had collected among the Bari and other Nilotic people. He donated over two hundred of these to the Carniolan Provincial Museum in Ljubljana and also took some to Vienna.

The Knoblehar collection from 1850 contains a variety of objects: weapons (spears, clubs, bows, arrows in goat-skin quivers, leather shields, iron axes with a horn handle), musical instruments (pipes, horns, rattles), clay pipes, jewellery (leather bands with iron pendants, necklaces, iron bangles for arms and legs), clothing, clay vessels, wooden portable stool and smith's tongs. The latter are a very interesting exhibition item as they belong to the rarely-preserved inventory of the Bari iron workers, who were widely renowned smiths. Of particular value are the spears donated to Knoblehar by the chiefs of various tribes. For the Bari people, spears were not only a weapon, but also denoted status, with some being used only in religious rituals. Spears with a double point are extremely rare: their owners were magicians who could summon up rain. These objects have been well preserved and are, as a whole, one of the oldest collections from the Niloric tribes outside Africa.

Ignacij Knoblehar (SEM Documentation).

The Pygmy

Mojca Terčelj

The Pygmy peoples have always excited researchers and artists. Because of their small stature (around 1.40 metres) and their isolated way of life they are the subject of numerous European and African legends. Even in the second millennium BC they were, due to their exceptional aptitude for dancing and different facial expressions, much sought after as artists by the Egyptian Pharaonic court. Their small, graceful figures and extreme physical flexibility enabled them to survive in the tropical forests, where they are still the most accomplshed hunters.

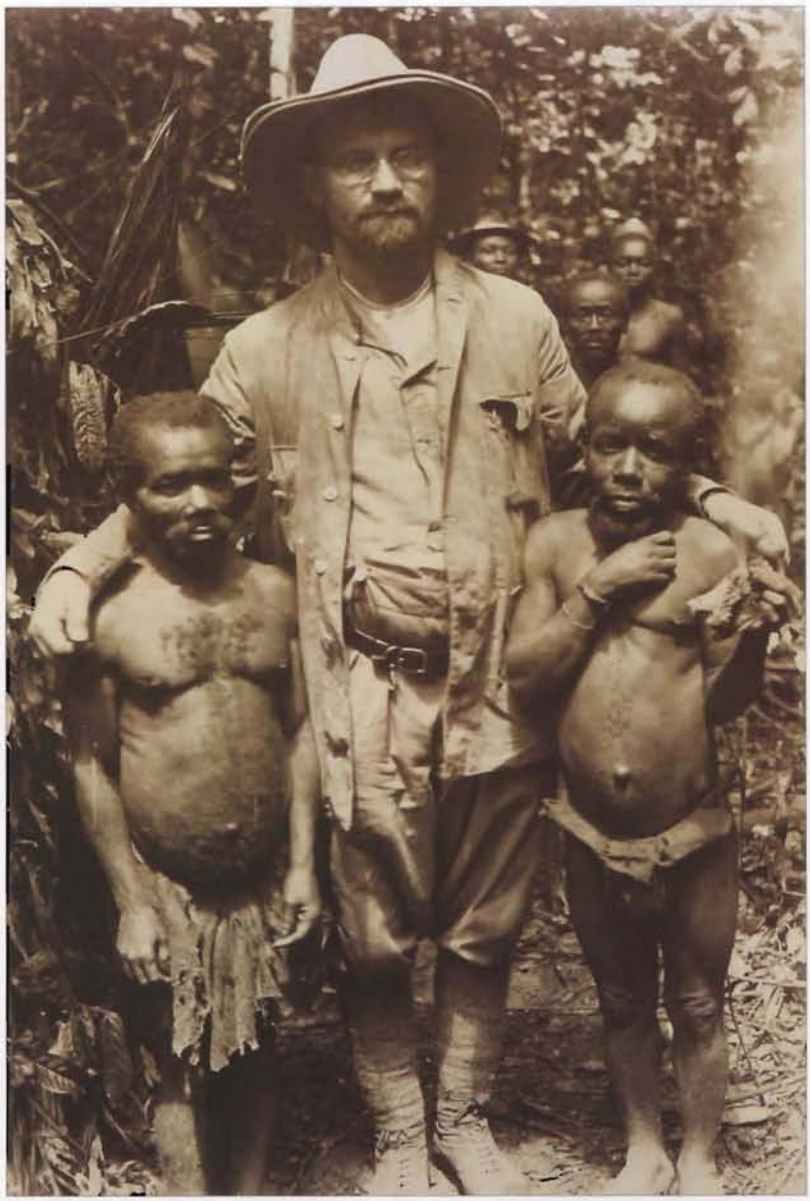
Pygmy groups inhabit the tropical forests of equatorial Africa, from Cameroon in the west, to Zambia in the south-east, i.e. territory belonging to various countries: Congo, Cameroon, Gabon, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda. They differ linguistically (Mbuti, Batwi, Bayak and Bagyeli), but they all share the nomadic way of life typical of hunter-gatherers living in primeval forests, and they only occasionally settle near Bantu villages, trading with them the game they have caught for field produce, salt and iron tools, but they do not like having personal contact with the Bantu villagers. There are three Pygmy groups living in the DRC Congo: Swayi, Batwa and Mbuti (or Mambuti); the latter live in the Ituri primeval forest. The Mbuti live in clans, with no social or political leaders: the only form of group leadership are the older men who are experienced hunters. The whole community takes part in hunting with nets, including women and children, while only two or three male family members take part in hunting using bows. In spite of persistent research by numerous ethnologists, the religious life of the Bambuti is still unclear.

Paul Schebesta

Paul Schebesta was born in 1887 in Pietrowice Wielkie in Poland and died in 1967 in Vienna. He studied ethnology at the seminary for priests-missionaries in Mödling near Vienna led by Professor Wilhelm Schmidt. By profession, he was a theologian and ethnologist of non-European cultures. He belonged to the Vienna school of culture and history, founded in the early 20th century by W. Schmidt. Two other important ethnologists belonged to this school: Wiliam Koppers and Martin Gusinde. This Vienna school developed the theory of "cultural circles" (Kulturkreislehre). From 1906 onwards Schebesta worked with Father Schmidt in the editing of the ethnology and linguistics journal Anthropos.

His missionary and anthropological work was mainly dedicated to Pygmy peoples. Between 1924 and 1955, after working in Mozambique (1912-1915), he carried out six longer, systematic expeditions among the Pygmy people in Africa (in the Congo and Ituri areas), and in the Philippines and Malaysia. He wrote eight extensive works on ethnology and like other members of the Vienna school of ethnology that focused on cultural history, Schebesta dedicated all his research work to proving the existence of primal monotheism, monogamy and the primal state in the simplest hunter-gatherer societies, which were thought to represent primal cultures. To Schebesta, objects, be they of a material, social or spiritual nature, represented only a tangible

source of information about the human spirit.
The collection of the Viennese ethnologist Paul Schebesta includes 96 objects belonging to the Mbuti Pygmies from the Ituri primeval forest in Central Africa. Schebesta acquired these objects while doing field research between 1930 and 1935, and donated them at the end of the nineteen-thirties to his Slovene colleague, the anthropologist and theologian Dr Lambert Ehrlich. Just before World War Two, Professor Ehrlich donated the collection to the Ethnographic Museum. This is only a part of Ehrlich's whole collection, which he divided among a number of museums: the Mission Museum in Mödling, the Vienna Museum für Völkerkunde and the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. The collection is based on field research and is supplemented by an extensive monograph entitled *Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri, I –III* (Brüssel, 1938).
The exhibits indicate the hunting-gatherer nature of Pygmy society: in addition to wooden bows, arrows, spears, sticks and harpoons, leather quivers, and wrist shields worn by warriors, there are also baskets woven from tree bark, as well as bags woven from straw and raffia for gathering fruits of the forest and herbs. In addition, there are various items of clothing and decoration: men's and women's shields made from raffia and hide, aprons to cover the private parts, ear decorations, wrist bangles, ivory pins, bamboo combs, head covers made from tree bark, fans for dancing and musical instruments.



Paul Schebesta
(Museum of Ethnology Vienna).

Weaving on a loom, northern Togo, 1913/14
(photo: Leo Poljanec; SEM Documentation).

Anton Codelli (SEM Documentation).

Ritual head covering with cowrie shells, Konkomba people, northern Togo, acquired 1945
(Codelli Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

Anton Codelli

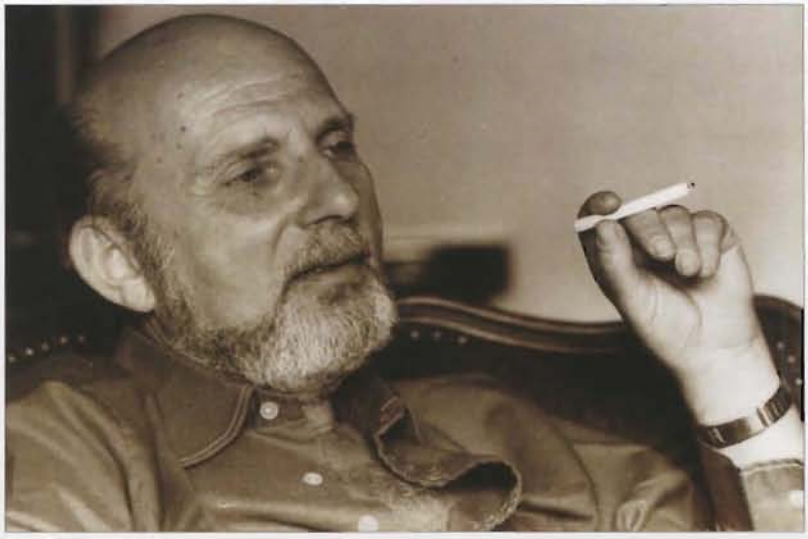
Marko Frelih

Anton Codelli was born in 1875 in Naples and died in 1954 in Porto Ronco (Switzerland). He was a mechanical engineer by profession, a multi-faceted inventor, who could boast many patents both at home and abroad. He is known mainly for his patented television (1928) with which, however, he never managed to succeed on a wider market that was already dominated by electronic television. His interest in radio technology brought him into contact with the German telecommunication company Telefunken, which wanted to set up a wireless connection between Berlin and the colonies of Cameroon and Togo, or German West Africa. Baron Codelli travelled to Togo in 1911 and started building telegraph stations there. He stayed in Africa until 1914, when the British and the French forced the Germans to leave their colonial territory. After moving from one place to another, Codelli returned in 1920 to his manor house in Ljubljana, where he remained until the end of World War Two, when he retired to Switzerland, where he stayed until his death in 1954. During his time in Africa, he acquired various objects from the tribes there, mostly clothes, head-dresses, vessels, body decorations and weapons. The African collection adorned his Ljubljana mansion, which was after his departure for Switzerland left in the hands of a manager. During

nationalisation the collection was partly lost and what was left changed ownership a number of times. The Slovene Ethnographic Museum was given around thirty objects: particularly worthy of mention are four ritual headdresses decorated with antelope or gazelle horns and covered with cowrie shells. There is also abundant photographic documentation created by Codelli and his colleague Leo Poljanec. The photograph and slide collection kept by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum is an exceptional photo library extensively documenting the circumstances the Baron and Poljanec found themselves in during their stay in Togo in the early 20th century.

Anton Petkovšek

Anton Petkovšek was born in 1920 in Logatec and died in 1989 in Ljubljana. In his early youth he gained experience in trading in timber and his business acumen soon brought him to a leading position in the wood industry. In 1964 he became the managing director of Slovenijales, one of the leading companies in Yugoslavia. Due to the policy of non-alignment, Yugoslav companies enjoyed a privileged position in African markets. Petkovšek came into contact with Africa and in 1968 became the honorary consul for the Central African Republic. Close economic cooperation with Africa led to the opening of a representative office of the bank Ljubljanska banka in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, of which Petkovšek was the director until his retirement in 1984,



Anton Petkovšek (SEM Documentation).

after which he returned to his birthplace.

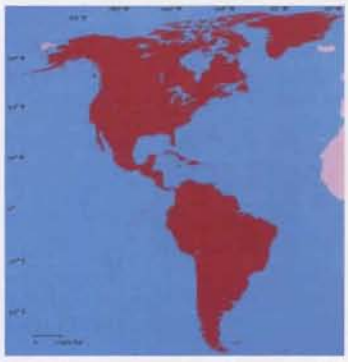
Anton Petkovšek saw his years in Africa as a business challenge in an unknown market, but he was also completely taken with African culture. He made contact with experts in Abidjan and started to put together an African collection. He acquired most items from art dealers, but also bought quite a number direct from local people on his extensive travels around West Africa. He collected around 350 items from almost thirty different ethnic groups across a wide area, from Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso to Ivory Coast and Ghana, Gabon and Cameroon. His collection was purchased by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 1991. The collection consists primarily of wooden ritual and decorative masks, as well as various sculptures in wood or bronze. It also includes musical instruments, jewellery and weapons. The exhibits, most of which were made in the mid-20th century, are fine examples of wood carving in line with ancient craft tradition and the spiritual heritage of the West African people.

Ritual mask, West Africa, acquired 1990 (Petkovšek Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

AMERICA

Mojca Terčelj

I wish all to know that I do not propose to sell any part of my country nor will I have whites cutting our timber along the rivers, especially not the oak ... (Sitting Bull)



The territory extending between the Arctic Archipelago in the extreme north and Cape Horn in southern Chile measures over 42 million square kilometres. In the 16th century, Europeans called it the New World or the Western Hemisphere. The name America, which was initially used only for the southern sub-continent, came from the Italian seaman and merchant Amerigo Vespucci, an early explorer and the first European to land in this continent. The territory is geographically divided into North America, Central America and the islands, and South America. The border between North and Central America runs along the Isthmus of Tehuantepéc in Mexican Oaxaca. The southern part of Mexico, that is Chiapas, Tabasco and Yucatán, thus geographically belong to Central America. Also in Central America are the Bahamas and the Greater Antilles. The border between Central and South America is the Panama Canal. This division, however, does not correspond to the political, economic, historic, cultural and ethnological division of the two sub-continents and all three geographic areas. Historically and politically we talk about Anglo-Saxon America, which belongs to the developed world – is even its most developed part – and Latin America which, although diverse, mostly belongs to the "Third" or "Fourth" world. The dividing line between North and Latin America is the border between the United States and Mexico. In North America the official languages are English and French, while in Latin America they are Spanish, Portuguese and French, alongside which are the native languages recognised as second official languages: Quechua in Peru, Aymara in Bolivia and Guaraní in Paraguay. With respect to ethnology and culture, and to the development of the native population during the pre-colonial period, the territory can be divided into North America, Mesoamerica and South America.

View of the exhibition
(photo: Marko Habič; SEM Documentation)

Ochipwa Indians doing a pow-wow dance, 1972 (photo: Tone Zrnec).

The ethnic character of North America was formed in the pre-colonial period by fourteen large ethnic and linguistic groups, different with respect to their cultural tradition, economic activities and geographic range: the Inuit (in the Arctic Circle, from the Bering Strait and Alaska to Greenland), the Dene (in the extreme north-west, Alaska and south-west), the Algonquin Indians (in the north-west), the Iroquois (in the east), Sioux (on the central prairies), Muscon (in the south-east), Caddo (in the south), Mosanic (on the north-west Pacific coast), Shapatin (in the north-west), Penuti (in the south-west coast), Hocak (in the south-west), Uto-Aztecs (in the southern USA and north Mexico), Kiowa (on the central prairie) and various groups from the south (the Californian peninsula, the Gulf of Mexico and the Florida peninsula).

The pre-colonial tribes of North America lived mainly from hunting and fishing. They were able to survive only through a nomadic way of life, which dictated seasonal moves in pursuit of their prey and for gathering fruits, usually from north to south and back again, and in the prairie area also from west ro east. Agriculture was developed only by those groups inhabiting south-eastern and south-western areas of North America. The southern border of the area inhabited by Native Americans ran between the Sinaloa River (north-west Mexico) and the Panuco River, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico. Thus even today, tribes from northern Mexico – the Pomo, Yuma, Seri, Cahuilla, Pima, Tarahumara and Tepehuano – belong to the North American ethnic, linguistic and cultural tradition.

The Indians of the Great Lakes

Snowshoes, Ojibwa Indians, North America, acquired 1836
(Baraga Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

Papoose, Ojibwa Indians, North America, acquired 1836
(Baraga Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

The Ojibwa Indians initially inhabited the wooded areas of the Great Lakes in the northern part of the present Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and southern Canada between Ontario and Winnipeg. Later, in the 19th century, they also settled on the prairies in the south and the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the west. Their real name is Anishinabe, "the first people", but English-speaking immigrants changed it to Chippewa for easier pronunciation. Ethnically, they belong to the wider group of Algonquins, who inhabited the north-western part of the sub-continent. Even as late as the 19th century, the Ojibwa were one of the most numerous and important Algonquin groups. With regard to language and culture, they were closely related to the Ottawa and Potawatomi groups and they coexisted politically. In contrast, they constantly fought with the Sioux prairie tribes (Fox, Dakota and Santee) for the marshy lands on which wild rice (*Zizania aquatica*) could be grown. The main activities enabling their survival were game hunting and fishing, as well as the seasonal gathering of wild rice, herbs and tree sap. The Ojibwa were very good at making wigwams and canoes out of birch tree bark. They were also known for their crafts and for rolls made from birch bark, which contained hieroglyphic writing.

Until the mid-19th century, the Ottawa people inhabited the area of the Great Lakes, especially the western banks of Lake Huron, from Saginaw to Detroit. Their language and culture were Algonquin. They lived mainly in wooded areas and depended largely on trading food, oil, animal skins, fur, tobacco and healing herbs. During the colonial period they were known as very good warriors who, in alliance with the French, persistently resisted the English. Together with the Ojibwa and the Potawatomi they founded a confederation, known as "Three Fires". In 1833, the whole of their territory in Lower Michigan was annexed to the United States of America. Many Ottawa people then moved to the west, to a reservation in Oklahoma, while others mixed with the neighbouring Ojibwa.

Friderik Irenej Baraga

Irenej Friderik Baraga was born in 1797 in Mala Vas near Dobrnič in Lower Carniola and died in 1868 in Marquette in the United States of America. He was the first Slovene missionary on the territory of the Ottawa and Ojibwa Indians, a bishop, researcher and writer who spoke a number of languages. Between 1831 and 1835 he lived and worked among the Ottawa Indians in Lower Michigan, that is the peninsula between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. In spring 1835 he started carrying out missionary work among the Ojibwa Indians by Lake Superior: in Sault de Sainte Marie and in La Point on Madeline Island. From 1843 onwards he worked in L'Anse, and later became a bishop in Marquette.

Baraga made considerable contributions towards the ethnology and linguistics of his time. He wrote the first prayer book in the Ojibwa language *Anamie-Masinaigan* and translated the Evangelic texts *Jesus Obimadisiwin Oma Aking* which was published in 1837 by Bailly in Paris. The same year saw the publication of his ethnological monograph on the history and customs of North American Indians (*Geschichte, Character, Sitten und Gebräuche der nord-amerikanischen Indier* – The History, Character and Customs of the North American Indians).

Baraga was an ardent fighter for the rights of the Indian people. Although he adhered to the research methods used by his contemporaries, he was completely unable to adopt their conviction that the native population was of no value to the young American state, a view that was embodied in the government policy of moving Indian ethnic groups to reservations west of the Mississippi. During the period between the arrival of the Slovene missionary and the mid-19th century, the border between free Indian territory and the United States of America kept rapidly moving westwards. The Lower Michigan area, where Baraga started his missionary work, was in 1835 annexed to the United States. Baraga strove to help the Indians persevere on their land.

The Baraga collection from North America was the first non-European collection in Slovenia. It was

Friderik Baraga (SEM Documentation).

Moccasins, the Ottawa Ondians, North America, acquired 1836 (Baraga Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

donated in 1836 to the Carniolan Provincial Museum following a request from the then director of the museum, Count Hohenwart. Baraga started the collection in the winter of 1935/36, when he decided to travel back to Europe. He wanted to make the journey in order to organise the printing of prayer books and a monograph, as well as to arrange, with the Viennese Leopoldina Institute and the Joseph Society in Ljubljana (founded by Baraga himself), permanent financial support for the missions.

At a time when true ethnological research in Slovenia had not yet begun and when the collections of the Carniolan Provincial Museum were the result of collecting natural species and regional cultural characteristics, the Baraga non-European collection was the first ethnological collection based on preliminary research and this is what gives it its great value.

The collection includes 57 objects that bear witness to the material and social culture of the Ottawa and Ojibwe Indian tribes in the first decades of the 19th century: craft objects made from birch bark, a scaled-down model of a canoe, snowshoes, mocassins, a child carrier, tobacco pouches and ritual pipes, and weapons for hunting and fighting.

In his book about the Indian people of North America, Baraga published an interesting story about an Indian girl called Pocahontas. The story is set in 1607, when the first settlers from England were arriving, among them John Smith. While searching for a suitable place to settle, Smith got involved in a fight with the Indians, who captured him and took him to their chief Powhatan. The unfortunate white man was sentenced to death and the chief himself intended to crack his skull with a club. When the sentence was just about to be carried out, the chief's daughter Pocahontas suddenly appeared and threw herself on top of the frightened Smith, protecting his head with her body. The chief was surprised by his daughter's act and decided to let the white man live. Pocahontas was very friendly towards the settlers and later married one of them. This was the first marriage between a European man and a North American Indian woman. Pocahontas travelled to England with her husband, but went back to Virginia after a few years to spend the rest of her days. Baraga's Pocahontas story is one of the oldest in Europe and it is thanks to him that readers were as early as in 1837 able to learn about this brave Indian girl, who later became increasingly popular in various interpretations of her story in literature and animated cartoons.

Mesoamerica

Candleholder (*candelabro*), city of Puebla, Mexico 2002, donated by the Mexican Embassy in Vienna
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

The expression Mesoamerica denotes an ethnic and cultural area of highly-developed cultivators, who in the pre-colonial era inhabited the area between the Panuco and Sinaloa rivers in the present-day Mexico and the Motagua River and the Bay of Nicoya in the present-day Nicaragua. The ethnic groups in this area – from the Otomí, Mazahua, Tarasca, Coca and the Zacateca in the north, to the Chol-Chort and Lenca in the south – shared a common economic, political, social and cultural history. All the ethnic groups in this area developed a high level of agriculture and were neighbours to less-developed farmers from the Paya, Sumo and the Misquito tribes in the south (their only southern neighbours who had highly developed agriculture were the Chibcha), while in the north there were, with the exception of two less-developed agricultural ethnic groups by the Sinaloa River and the Gulf of Mexico, only tribes of hunter-gatherers.

The main ethnic-linguistic groups in Mesoamerica were: the Tarasco and Cuitlateca in the north and the Lenca in the south; the wider Maya group: Mixe-Zoque-Popoluca; the Huave; the Totonaca, the Maya, Quiché and Huasteco; the wider group comprised of the Otomí, Pame, Chocho-Popoloca, Mixteco, Chorotega-Mangue, Trique, Zapoteco, Chinanteco, Mazateco, Chatino, Cuicateco and Amuzgo; as well as the Nahua and the Uto Aztecs, the Tlapaneco and the Tequisisteco.

The Maya

Maya is the name for a family of ethnically and linguistically-related peoples inhabiting the territory of the present day south-eastern Mexican federal states of Yucatán, Campeche, Quintana Roo, Chiapas and Tabasco, most of the territory of Guatemala and Belize, and part of Honduras and San Salvador. The cradle of the Maya is the central part of the Guatemalan mountains, from where they spread, before the arrival of the Spanish, over an area of 400,000 square kilometres. The Mayan population is now 10.5 million, only 4.6 million of whom live in Mexico.
The highland Mayan population in the Chiapas consists of the Tzotzil, Tzeltal and Tojolabal, while the Chol and others are a special cultural and linguistic Mayan subgroup. Thanks to their remoteness from larger urban and industrial centres, they have to a large extent preserved their traditional way of life with respect to agricultural techniques, weaving and other home crafts, the form of the traditional local community, and the continuity of their pre-Spanish religion and customs, as well as traditional medicine.

Chiapas

Women used to make thread like we make children now – out of their own flesh. When the world started, they say, the Moon climbed a tree. There, in that tree, it wove and spun threads...

Female dress, Celtali Indians, Tenejapa, Altos de Chiapas, Mexico, late 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Weaving occupies a special place among the home crafts of the Indians from the Chiapas: in addition to the practical significance of making functional clothes for the extreme climatic conditions, it also has a transcendental significance as it illustrates or repeats the creation of the cosmos. In addition, materials and items of clothing are the markings of local, social, sexual and age identities.

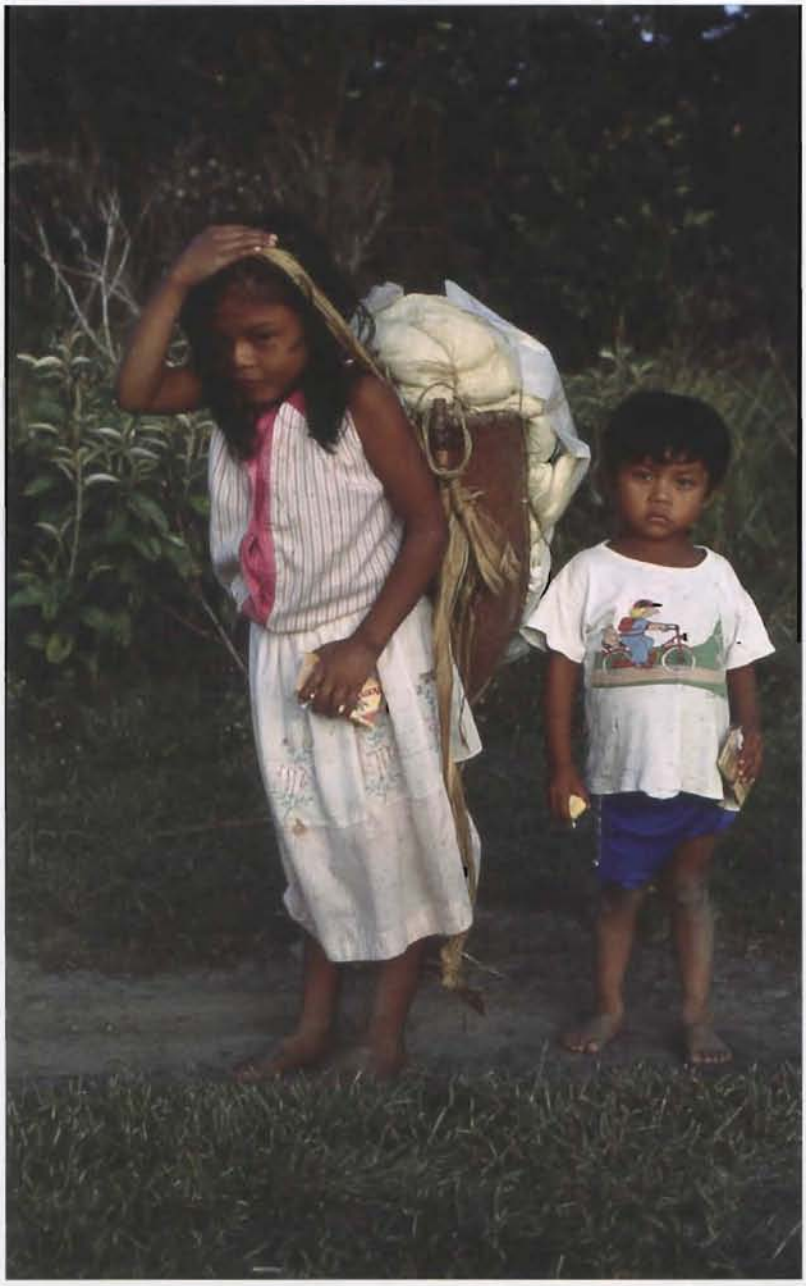
The basic attire of the female Indians from the Chiapas consists of: a *nagua*, a large piece of cloth wrapped around the hips and waist, whereby the length and width is adjusted to the work being done and the wearer's figure; and a *huipil* or tunic that covers the upper part of the body, falling over it in a pyramid shape (representing a model of the cosmic pyramid). During the cold nights and mornings, women wrap themselves in woollen mantles with tassels; their feet are always bare, they wear no underwear, but they do decorate their bodies. The appearance of the head is especially important: in addition to double plaits, interwoven with colourful ribbons, dangling earrings are desirable for aesthetic reasons.

The male costume consists of a cotton tunic and trousers, most often in a natural cream colour, and mantles similar to ponchos, which are tied with colourful patterned belts woven out of wool. Men wear sandals and hats, but their appearance is distinguished mostly by the patterns on their belts and sleeves and the shape of their hats. Clothes and decorations worn by children differ from those worn by adults only in size and the use of more modest patterns.

There are special items of clothing for festive occasions: for example, the embroidery on *huipils* worn by brides at their wedding is richer, the predominant colours are the cosmic ones and the designs are connected with fertility. Village mayors on special occasions put on festive hats with colourful ribbons (in red, yellow, green, white and dark purple), and carry a mayoral staff.

With over 80 million inhabitants, Mexico is the largest country in Latin America and the largest Spanish-speaking country in the world. Approximately 60 percent of Mexicans are mestizos, 30 percent are Indians and only 5% are white. Mestizos are the successors of the original Indian population and Spanish immigrants. The expression does refers not only to racial intermixing, but is also a social and cultural category. During the colonial period, mestizos were the lowest social class: in comparison with the Spaniards and their successors (criollos) they were inferior, but valued as a reliable workforce. However, it is in the culture of the mestizos that the Latin-American states which started appearing in the early 19th century searched for their national identities. The term "mestization" refers to the melding of two different cultures into something new: both with respect to art, religion and way of thinking, and to social and religious organisation.

Shaman bells (*mbaracá*), the Mbyá-Guaraní Indian tribe, Paraguay, late 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).



Pemon Indians from the village of Camarata, Gran Sabana, Venezuela, 1996 (photo: Borut Korun).

In the pre-colonial period the South American sub-continent was divided between ethnic groups that developed complex agriculture and a civilisation consisting of large empires and groups that survived on simple agriculture, hunting, fishing and gathering.

In the north-western part of the sub-continent, on the Isthmus of Panama, lived the highly developed Chibcha people; south of them, in the Cordillera of the present-day Ecuador, the Quichua still live. On the shores of northern Peru there are the Chimu, while the Mochica have intermingled with Quechuan-speaking newcomers. The central Andes are inhabited by the Quechua, the Altiplana by the Aymara, and the banks of Lake Titicaca by the Uru. The north-west (the river-basins of the Orinoco and the Amazon) is inhabited by the Arawak and Carib Indians who moved here from the Greater Antilles. In the Amazon basin there also live the Tucano, the Hitoto, the Xivaro-Xuar or Shuar, the Tupí-Guaraní and the Jé. The eastern banks were at one time inhabited by the Tupi and the Guaraní, and the Chaca by the hunting tribes the Matako, Moscoy and the Samuco; the colder areas of present-day Argentina were inhabited by the Arawak and Patagonia by different tribes; the Patagonians who still live in the extreme west (present-day Chile) are called the Mapuche. The Chiloe archipelago in the Pacific is the home of the Williche, qhilw Tierra del Fuego was inhabited by the Ona, who have completely died out.

Paraguayan hunters

Paraguay is shaped by two basic natural landscapes: the tropical forests in the south and east and the Chaca desert area in the west; numerous hunter-gatherer ethnic groups with a nomadic way of life have made their home in both of these. In addition to hunting and fishing, their basic survival depends on modest gardens around their houses (growing corn and manioc), gathering herbs and wild honey. The groups that survived the various colonial and post-colonial policies of enforced settlement still preserve their nomadic way of life, albeit in a more limited fashion.

Eastern Paraguay is inhabited by the Tupi and Guaraní and the southern Moscoy groups, while Chaco is inhabited by the Mataco groups (Chulupí or Nivaklé, Manjui or Choroti and the Maká) and the Samuco (Ayoreo or Moro and Chamacoco). The Aché-Guayakí Indians successfully resisted the outside world right up until the nineteen seventies. Until recently, they were famous for being exceptionally good forest hunters, brave warriors and head-hunters. Their basic food still consists of boar, anteaters, coati, porcupines, forest rats, snakes, alligators, fresh water fish, and birds and their eggs. The main addition to their diet is wild bee honey. The Nivaclé, Chamacoco and the Ayoreo inhabit the dry Chaco. Nowadays they move after occasional work in large centres of the Paraguayan Chaco, and also seek work on estates in northern Argentina.

The collection of objects belonging to Indians from Paraguay was in 1997 donated to the ethnographic museum by the Asuncióna Museo Etnográfico "Andrés Barbero". The collection comprises 30 objects from various hunting and nomadic ethnic groups.

Mystic bird (wyraraké), Aché-Guayakí tribe, Paraguay, late 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

ASIA

Ralf Čeplak Mencin

Dharma wheel, Jokhang, Lhasa, Tibet, 1995 (photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Old lady with baby on her back, Beijing, China, 1986 (photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Asia is the largest continent in the world, measuring 44.2 million square kilometres (including its internal seas) or 30% of the planet's land mass. Fossils show that man has been present in Asia for at least a million years. Three-fifths of the world's population live here, but the population density is very uneven and depends on the geographic conditions. The first states in the world appeared in Asia (Babylon, Persia, China, etc.). Moreover, Asia is the birthplace of all the world religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Judaism, as well as many smaller ones.

The first people in Asia are thought to have been the successors of the extinct *Homo erectus*, who moved from Africa at least a million years ago. The Asian peoples belong roughly to three large groups: Asiatic, the largest and most wide-spread, inhabiting North, Central, East and South East Asia; Indian, the second largest group in South Asia; and European in South West and Central Asia. In the last century, many European Russians settled in Siberia and Central Asia. Representatives of the Melanesian and Polynesian group live on the islands on the remote south-eastern edge of Asia.

Asian cultural diversity is greater than on any other continent. Ethnic types and language families developed over long periods of rime and in relatively separate geographic environments. Cultural diversity was influenced by repetitive patterns of change and inter-mingling, the consequences of both peaceful and aggressive migrations. In the past (5000 to 1000 BC), Asian peoples, in addition to the Maya in Central America, the Egyptians in North Africa and the Minoans on Crete, developed the most advanced civilisations in the world: the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa cultures by the Indus River, and the Chinese by the Yellow River.

A full tea pot is silent,
a half-empty pot hisses.

(Chinese proverb)

View of the exhibition
(photo: Nada Žgank; SEM Documentation)

Baby in bicycle trailer, Beijing, China, 1986 (photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Cupboard, China, 19th century
(Skušek Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

As with most peoples, the origins of the Chinese are enveloped in a haze of myths and legends. We can trace Chinese history more than 4000 years into the past. The first dynasty, Xia, is thought to have reigned around 2200 BC. The last imperial dynasty, Qing, which was ethnically of Manchu origin, collapsed in 1911. A republic followed, which rapidly grew weaker and in 1949 the Communists, led by Mao Ze Dong, came to power; the party still rules the country, successfully adapting itself to a capitalist economy. Over an extremely long period, numerous dynasties came and went. The Han nation took shape, with its own language and dialects. It developed unique writing characters, which are now used throughout China. For the Chinese, their country was the centre of the world and they considered all around them to be barbarians. At present, China has the largest population of country in the world: approximately 1.3 billion inhabitants, or a fifth of the world's population. Ninety three percent are Han Chinese, and the remainder is made up of 55 minorities, among them the Uighurs in the west, the Mongolian people in the north and the Tibetans in the south-east. Most of the minorities live in border provinces, particularly in Yunan province, which has 24 minorities.

Ivan Skušek Jr. and Tsuneko Kondo Kavase – Marija Skušek

Ivan Skušek Junior was born in Metlika in 1877. He was educated at the Trade Academy in Graz. Upon completing his studies, he joined the Imperial Royal Navy, where he was soon promoted to be a naval commissioned officer of the 1st order. In July 1913 in Pula, he embarked as the com-

Ivan Skušek Jr. and Tsuneko Kondo Kavase – Marija Skušek, pre-World War Two (private collection).

missary of the warship "Kaiserin Elisabeth" which sailed to the German colony of Tsingtao, which was attacked and defeated by the Japanese. The German and Austrian officers and all the non-combatants were taken by the Chinese to be interned in Peking, Ivan Skušek Jr. among them. Even when interned, he still worked as a commissary, was free to come and go as he pleased and could walk freely around Peking. During his stay major political changes took place in China; the lack of law and order enabled him to buy antiques.

In Peking, he met the Japanese Tsuneko Kondo Kavase (born in 1893), whom he later married. In 1920, together with his wife and her two children from her first marriage, he returned to Ljubljana. A few months later, two train carriages full of Chinese antiques arrived. In 1927, after Tsuneko converted to Catholicism and acquired the name Marija, the couple had a church wedding. Ivan found employment at a bank, while Tsuneko / Marija Skušek became the first ambassador of Japanese culture in Slovenia (or Yugoslavia as it was then).

Ivan Skušek's intention was to open a private museum of Chinese culture; however, he lacked the necessary resources. Thus he kept many very valuable objects in his apartment, where the famous architect Jože Plečnik often came for inspiration. As Ivan Skušek wanted to keep his collection together, he donated it to the Ethnographic Museum. At that time, however, the museum did not have suitable premises and the collection, even after Skušek's death, remained in his apartment, while Marija Skušek became its curator. Only a year after her death in 1964, when the Slovene Ethnographic Museum obtained the Baroque manor house in Goričane, was the collection granted exhibition space as the building was turned into the Museum of Non-European Cultures (the first of its kind in the former Yugoslavia), and the Skušek collection became its synonym. In 1990, the museum was closed for renovation, while the collection was put into storage.

Goodness speaks
in a whisper, evil shouts.

(Tibetan proverb)

The Tibetans belong to the group of Mongol peoples. They are the successors of various nomadic tribes that moved down from the north and inhabited the river valleys of Tibet. The Chinese court records mention the combative Qiang tribes, the forebears of Tibetans, as early as the 2nd century BC. King Songtsen Gampo, who lived in the 7th century AD, consolidated the warring tribes and spread his influence right up to northern India and to China. He married both Chinese and Nepalese princesses, which provides the argument, persistently repeated by the Chinese authorities, that Tibet is Chinese. The two princesses brought Buddhism to Tibet and it became the state religion: marking all aspects of Tibetan life. Buddhism intermingled with the older Bon beliefs and a unique form of Tibetan Buddhism was born. Writing developed from Indian Sanskrit. Large monasteries were built, which became centres of both spiritual and secular life. In the 16th century, there emerged the institutions of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama, the highest spiritual and secular rulers, and still the highest Tibetan authorities. There was a very small aristocracy in Tibet, a much more numerous social stratum was formed by monks; most people, however, remained nomadic. The Chinese occupation in 1959 represents an important milestone. The land was nationalised and the monasteries abolished; socialist reforms and labour camps were introduced. The Tibetan way of life, deeply rooted in the people's lives, was forcefully abolished overnight. In the following years more than a hundred thousand Tibetans escaped across the Himalayas to India and Nepal. In the nineteen seventies, and in particular in the eighties and nineties, the Chinese started a mass colonisation of Tibet. They built new roads and constructed a railway to Lhasa (2006). An increasing number of Chinese people are moving to Tibet and there is a fear that, gradually, the Tibetans will be completely marginalised.

Geshe Lhakdor, Jamyang Rinpoche and the 14th Dalai Lama at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 2002
(photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Buddhist deity Yamantaka, Tibet, 18th century
(Skušek Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

Portrait of a Balian, Bali, Indonesia, 1998 (photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Before you let your voice be heard, first lick your lips.

(Indonesian proverb)

Ethnic diversity is excellently described by the Indonesian motto *Bhinneka tunggal ika* (Unity in diversity). On the Indonesian archipelago, consisting of over 17,000 islands, there live more than 300 ethnic groups, speaking different languages, most of them belonging to the Malayan-Polynesian group. The archipelago's lingua franca is Bahasa Indonesia, an artificial language very similar to Malayan, which connects most Indonesians. All the world religions are found here, in addition to the many beliefs of the original inhabitants, while the state religion is Islam. Indonesia has approximately 235 million people and is the most populous Islamic state in the world.
In the late 19th century, fossils were discovered of Java Man (*Homo erectus*), who is thought to have lived in this area approximately 500,000 years ago. Later inhabitants started settling the Indonesian archipelago around 3000 BC. Most of them came from South China and Indochina; the Javans were the largest group and their language is the most widespread. Indonesia extends over an area where two geographic races meet: Asian in the west and Melanesian in the east. Over the centuries, there was much inter-mingling between the original inhabitants and the Arabs, Indians and Europeans. Numerous Indonesian peoples along the coasts live on fishing, while those living further inland make a living from agriculture, mainly the cultivation of rice. Those in more remote areas, for example on Borneo and Papua, have a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. At the end of the 7th century, two strong kingdoms appeared: the Buddhist Srivijaya on Java and the Hindu Mataram on Sumatra. The last important Hindu kingdom of Majapahit appeared in the 13th century. The spread of Islam in the 14th century forced the Hindu Majahapits, in the 15th century, to take refuge on the island of Bali, which has remained Hindu to this day. Between the mid-18th century and the early 20th century the Indonesian islands were colonised by

the Dutch. After World War Two, in 1949, Indonesia proclaimed its independence. Now it is plagued by severe poverty, social inequality, inter-ethnic unrest, and a desire of many peoples for independence (the last to achieve this was East Timor in 2002). Many western multinational companies are moving their production to Indonesia because of the availability of cheap labour. Some islands, Bali in particular, have become popular tourist destinations.

Dr Aleš Bebler and Vera Hreščak-Bebler

The Beblers lived in Indonesia from 1961 to 1963. As the highest diplomatic representative of the then Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Aleš Bebler, as well as his wife Vera, collected much detailed economic, political and cultural information about the friendly state, as well as studying the history, the ethnology and the arts of the various island cultures. They also visited museums, cultural sites and folk artists, and travelled around the islands acquainting themselves with Indonesian art and collecting folk-art objects. Their collection comprises several hundred items and in 1970 the couple donated 249 of the most representative objects to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Of particular value is the collection of *wayang kulit* shadow puppets, *wayang golek* wooden three-dimensional puppets and the extremely rare *wayang klitik* carved wooden puppets. Equally important are the collections of fabrics, batiks, masks, carvings and musical instruments. After their return to Slovenia, the Beblers organised a number of museum exhibitions in Belgrade, Sarajevo, Varaždin, Ljubljana and Goričane. In addition to many articles and papers, Aleš Bebler published a number of books, among them *Potovanje po sončnih deželah* (A Journey Around Sunny Lands, 1956), and, together with his wife, *Otroci zemlje in morja – Povest o Indonezijcih* (Children of the Land and the Sea – The Story of the Indonesians, 1966).

Dr. Aleš Bebler and Vera Hreščak-Bebler, 1960s (private collection).

Shadow puppet (*wayang kulit*)
Hanoman, Java, Indonesia, 20th century
(Bebler Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

OCEANIA

Ralf Čeplak Mencin

Listen to the wisdom
of the toothless ones.

(Fijian proverb)

Model of a boat with an outrigger, Polynesia, 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Folklore event, Hawaii, 1995
(photo: Zvone Šeruga).

Oceania is a geographic region made up of the archipelagos of the world's largest ocean, the Pacific, which covers about a third of the Earth's surface and extends from Asia to America. It measures 100 million square kilometres. Oceania combines four large ethno-geographic areas: Australasia (Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand), Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Most of the islands are situated in the west-central Pacific, and this is where most of Oceania's ethnic groups live. There are very few islands in the eastern Pacific. In comparison with the vast surface of the Pacific Ocean, the land area of Oceania is very small. The great dispersion and diversity of the islands (volcanic, coral, etc.) and their different histories make Oceania very heterogeneous: some islands are over-populated while others are uninhabited; some islands are large, others little more than a large rock. Only 31 million people live in the vast expanse of Oceania – a mere 0.5% of the world's population. Most live in Australasia and are of European origin. The smallest number live on the island of Pitcairn (fewer than 50); these are the descendants of the mutineers on the Bounty and their Polynesian wives, who in 1789 set fire to their ship and settled on the island.

The first to be inhabited were Australia and New Guinea – 40 to 60 thousand years ago. The larger Melanesian islands were populated by Australoid people as far back as 35 thousand years ago. The Mongoloid groups, most likely from China and Taiwan, started arriving on the islands of Polynesia and Micronesia approximately five thousand years ago. They settled on the islands of Fiji, Samoa and Tonga between three and two thousand years ago, spreading from there further east, to Easter Island 1600 years ago and to the Hawaiian Islands 1300 years ago. New Zealand was populated by Polynesians (the Maori) from the Pacific islands approximately 1000 years ago. Oceania began to be discovered by Europeans in the 15th century and in the 18th century they started to settle Australia and New Zealand, both of which in the 20th century became industrially developed countries. Otherwise, most of the Pacific islanders live from fishing or farming. On some

Those who forget dreaming are lost.

(Australian Aborigine proverb)

islands there are mines where various minerals are extracted, or plantations of coconut and other tropical plants. In some places the idyllic tropical environment has become an attractive tourist destination.

With the exception of Australasia and some other large Melanesian islands, where the original population is older, the archipelagos of Oceania were uninhabited until 35 thousand years ago. Immigration from Asia came in waves, as the ocean united rather than divided various peoples. European colonialism destroyed the traditional way of life of many peoples in the Pacific and decimated their numbers. Most of the population of Oceania has been converted to Christianity by missionaries, only a few peoples from New Guinea remain faithful to the cults of their ancestors. Many archipelagos have proclaimed independence in the 20th century and are now small sovereign states.

School girl, Tonga, 1995
(photo: Zvone Šeruga).

Boomerang, Australia, 20th century
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

The ancestors of the Aborigines moved to Australia from Indonesia more than 40 thousand years ago, when the sea was much shallower than it is today and the journey, most likely by raft, much shorter. These were the first known sea journeys undertaken by man. Archaeological finds prove that these first arrivals in Australia settled the continent within a few thousand years. They were able to adapt very successfully to the environment. The only animals they domesticated were dingoes, wild dogs, which helped them hunt. Until the intrusion of European settlers in the 18th century, the Aborigines lived a nomadic life as hunter-gatherers across the whole continent, using boomerangs and spears for hunting. Their simple material culture is in great contrast with their developed spiritual and social culture that combines folk art, beliefs, oral traditions and folk law into complex rituals. At various locations in Australia – the holy places – rituals are still carried out connected with "Dream Time", the time of their ancestors. The most famous spot is the sacred rock

Australian teacher with aboriginal girl, Australia, 1993 (photo: Tomo Križnar).

The inhabitants of New Guinea

Uluru (Ayers Rock). At the time of settlement by Europeans in the 18th century, there were approximately 300 thousand Aborigines, who spoke more than 200 different languages.
Australia now has a population of around 20.5 million. The most densely populated areas are the south-eastern federal states of New South Wales and Victoria, with their capitals of Sydney and Melbourne, which have over 3 million inhabitants. The majority of the population lives along the east coast and in the coastal belt; the centre of Australia is only sparsely populated, mainly by Aborigines, of whom there are only around 150 thousand left. Until World War Two, most Australians were of British and Irish origin, but since then the ethnic make-up has changed dramatically. Large numbers of Greeks, Italians, people from the former Yugoslavia, Lebanese, Turks and others have moved there, while a considerable number of Asians, in particular Vietnamese, have settled there in more recent decades. Multiculturalism is very widespread in Australia nowadays, although in the past it was sadly not so.

At the market, Papua New Guinea, 1998 (photo: Darja Hönigman).

New Guinea is, after Greenland, the second largest island in the world. It measures 800,000 square kilometres, which is roughly 40 Slovenias. New Guinea is administratively split into two states: the western part includes Papua, which has since 1969 been an Indonesian province, and in the east is Papua New Guinea, which has been independent since 1975 and is a member of the British Commonwealth. New Guinea was discovered by the Portuguese in the early 16th century. From the late 19th to the mid-20th century it was a Dutch colony. Parts of New Guinea were for short periods also colonised by Germany, England, Japan and Australia. New Guinea and the surrounding islands have a population of 6.5 million. The first inhabitants, who appeared approximately 50 thousand years ago, were hunter-gatherers, but around 7000 BC some of them became permanently settled farmers, who mastered irrigation. Due to extreme inaccessibility, numerous peoples lived in complete isolation for thousands of years, and even in the 20th century many still lived as hunter-gatherers. Now most of the population make their living from agriculture, growing crops such as sweet potatoes, sago, coconut and rice. In the Tembagapura region there are the largest reserves of copper in the world; oil and natural gas have also been found, as well as gold and uranium.
Over 700 different languages have developed on New Guinea,

Straw skirt, Papua New Guinea, 20th century (SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Stones fall apart, words remain.

(Polynesian, Samoan proverb)

which belong among the Papuan languages – there are thus more than 700 ethnic groups. In Indonesian Papua, the language used for communication is Bahasa Indonesia, while in Papua New Guinea a number of languages, including English and Tok Pisin (a Melanesian Pidgin), serve this purpose. The inhabitants are jointly referred to as Melanesian. Now, although a third of the people of Papua New Guinea is Catholic, and a quarter Lutheran, most are still animists. In Papua, too, the majority are animists, although there are some Muslims and Christians.

Going to school, Fiji, 1995
(photo: Zvone Šeruga).

Making a hut, Fiji, 1995 (photo: Zvone Šeruga).

Mongoloid groups sailed to the Pacific islands from the west in large boats approximately 5000 years ago and gradually settled there. The immigrants belonged to the same ethnic group and have preserved their common language and culture. Polynesians speak languages of Austronesian origin. Polynesia is, with regard to language, very unified. The most common languages are Samoan, Tongan and Tahitian. Polynesian communities are very similar to each other: society is divided into hierarchic groups and chieftaincies. Membership of a particular social group is inherited and on the larger islands this has led to highly stratified communities with royal families at the top.
Europeans began to discover the Pacific islands (including Polynesia) in the 16th century. They brought many diseases to the area that decimated the local populations. The activities of missionaries, who undermined the ancient values and cultures, and the introduction of guns, spirits and opium brought much hardship. The slave trade was, in the mid-19th century, succeeded by the hiring of labourers, who were then transported to Australia or Fiji to work on cotton plantations for a pittance. At the same time, the British brought 60,000 Indians to Fiji to work on sugarcane plantations, so that now there are more Indians than the original Fijians. The area was badly exploited economically and was divided politically by Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany and the USA, while during World War Two it became a battleground of the world superpowers. After the war, the former colonialists created a testing ground for nuclear weapons. During the nineteen seventies and eighties numerous island states proclaimed their independence, although they are economically still very dependent on their former colonial masters.

SLOVENES AND "FOREIGNERS"

Ralf Čeplak Mencin

Turk with a pipe on a beehive panel
(SEM Collections; photo: Marko Habič).

Foreigners or Turks, Jews, Huns and Mongols have traditionally aroused negative reactions among Slovenes. This is partly the consequence of having lived in Austrian provinces, which in the east bordered on the Turkish Empire, and the experience of numerous Turkish invasions. The first such incursions began in the 15th century and continued throughout the 16th century, and in some eastern areas even well into the 17th century. Understanding and awareness of foreign peoples was strongly influenced by religion, the secular authorities and education, which was under the control of the Catholic Church. Those that were not Christian but Muslim or Jewish were seen as morally corrupt. The Bible and sermons by priests also influenced the appearance and spread of oral traditions (tales, fairy tales and stories) about other nations. There are many stories, folk songs and epics that tell of corrupt Jews, bloodthirsty Turks or even terrible monsters – people with dog heads, who were supposed to represent the Huns, the Central Asian conquerors of Europe. In Slovene and Croatian Istria there is a folk tale about Attila, the Hun king, being begotten by a princess and a dog. On the other hand, Slovenes in the past often idealised India and the Far East. There are well known proverbs about India Koromandia – a land of milk and honey – or about a magical Promised Land. The Slovene oral tradition about "unfamiliar" foreign peoples has survived not only in stories, sayings or folk songs, but also in folk art: for example, on the painted beehive panels depicting Turks and Slovenes.

A change in the attitude of Slovenes to foreigners began to take place in the late 19th century. A better understanding of foreign cultures resulted from Yugoslavia's membership of the Non-Aligned Movement in the mid-20th century, the spread of television, and greater access to literature on foreign peoples, while the Museum of Non-European Cultures in Goričane, a separate unit of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum, was for many a "window on the world".

STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICES

Ralf Čeplak Mencin

Museums, intentionally or not, also tend to perpetuate or even create stereotypes and prejudices, in particular when presenting distant cultures – in this case, the non-European collections. Moreover, the limited space available does not allow for cultures to be presented in all their variety, colour and richness, so curators are forced to simplify and generalise. Exhibitions normally emphasise differences between cultures, between the domestic and the foreign: partly because of the museum objects themselves, which are kept precisely because of their particularity or exotic character, and not because they are the most appropriate witnesses to the everyday life of a distant culture. And therein lies the greatest danger of stereotyping, which can lead to prejudice. This is why we deliberately exhibit two such objects, to which extremely generalised stories are linked: a *tsantsa*, or preserved shrunken head, from the South American Shuar or Jivaro Indians of Ecuador; and shoes worn by Chinese women whose feet were deformed in line with the beauty ideals of their time. The two objects shock the observer as material proof of the cruelty of two alien cultures and, in the absence of any other information, they could very quickly assume the main role in the presentation of these cultures. Moreover, in comparison to them, our Western civilisation seems that much more 'civilised'. But it is easy to forget that in the West, too, it is possible to find, here and now, equal material proof of cruelty; and who knows what will in future be considered violent and unacceptable that we today consider perfectly normal.

Corset, 19th century (SEM Collections; photo: Janja Žagar).

"Golden lotus"

Chinese woman's shoe, 19th century
(Skušek Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

Old lady with »golden lotus« feet, Beijing, China, 1986
(photo: Ralf Čeplak Mencin).

Most peoples in the world temporarily or permanently alter their body for religious (magical), aesthetic or social reasons. The methods used include scarring or cutting, piercing, abrading, stretching, sewing or burning of the skin, the partial or complete removal of some parts of the body, the insertion of jewellery and other decorations into some bodily parts, binding or reducing, or sometimes enlarging and reshaping bodily parts, and body painting. Bodily changes show very clearly and vividly how different and variable ideals of beauty can be. The babies of the pharaohs had their heads flattened by binding, nearly all the peoples of the world pierce their ears and wear earrings, and the Maori of New Zealand are famous for their tattooing, which is also gaining popularity in the West, while towards the end of the 20th century, Western fashion led to silicon-enlarged breasts, body piercing and so on.
In China, during the late Tang dynasty (923-936), women of the higher social classes started having their feet bound: girls between the age of four and eight, and sometimes even as babies, had their feet bound so that the front part, with the toes, was bent under the heel. When these women grew up, their feet were half the size of normal ones. They were called the "golden lotus". They became a sexual symbol: the smaller her feet, the more a woman was able to arouse a man. Shoes were, of course, made especially to fit the extra small feet. The first efforts to ban foot binding date back to the 17th century and further attempts were made in the early 20th century. Only with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and the introduction of strict measures was this deeply rooted practice finally eradicated.

Tsantsa

Mojca Terčelj

A *tsantsa* is a head trophy, made using a special (physical and chemical) procedure, in such a way as to preserve the hair, as well as the basic facial characteristics and the expressions a warrior displayed at the moment of death. Numerous peoples of North America made hair trophies, while whole head trophies were made mainly in South America, chiefly in the Amazon basin. This custom was maintained right up until the early 20th century by the Shuar people, who live in the Amazon forests of Ecuador and Peru.

The procedure for making a *tsantsa* firstly involved a warrior cutting the skin from the crown to the neck and pulled it off the head and neck. The skin was boiled in water to which special herbs had been added, disinfecting it and making it tougher. It was then put on a stick and the cuts sewn up. The skin gradually shrank. Next, it was filled with hot sand and the mouth and other openings were carefully sewn up. The maker of the *tsantsa* ensured that the face retained the personal features of its owner. During the whole procedure the head was shrunk to about a quarter of its original circumference. The maker of the *tsantsa* kept chanting magic formulae and prayers during his work, which calmed the warrior's energy and transferred it to the *tsantsa* maker. He took particular care of the hair, eyebrows and other facial hair that is, according to Shuar culture, the centre of a warrior's strength.

Every European is horrified at the sight of a tsantsa. Why? To Europeans, execution, especially since the introduction of the guillotine, means rapid and total annihilation, not just of physical existence but also of the spirit and reason. However, in Indian culture it is not the head that thinks, but the heart, while the head only carries out the thoughts. There is hair on the head, and hair has special power, particularly in the case of a warrior. This Old Testament theme has been forgotten by modern man: hair is now just an object of European aesthetics, while the head itself is a symbol of development. This is why we are so horrified: suddenly the whole of our European ideal of progress and beauty collapses. The Shuar people, however, saw the ideal of warrior power in a head trophy. Every warrior who acquired such a trophy first had to beg the forest deity for it, secondly he had to express thanks, and only then was he able to adorn himself with it.

Shrunken head (*tsantsa*), the Shuar Indian tribe, Ecuador, acquired 1934
(Švegel Collection, SEM; photo: Marko Habič).

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Sonja Kogej Rus

ETHNOALPHABET

Exhibition space for children and families

From A to Z, from Z to A:
books reading, clogs treading
ideas, words, things from the
well drawing…
Is there also a C sharp to
break the pitcher?
No matter, the ABC story
goes on forever…

Inja Smerdel

Views of the EthnoAlphabet
(photos: Marko Habič and Nada Žgank).

The *EthnoAlphabet* is part of the permanent exhibition *Between Nature and Culture*. Alongside the various collections of Slovene and non-European quotidian and festive heritage, the EthnoAlphabet also interacts with the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's collections, but with a somewhat different approach and method of interpretation. As it is aimed at children making their first independent steps at understanding heritage, it is designed to be both fun and educational, so as to draw children in and encourage them to be open to and aware of how people lived in the past and how we live now.

The name EthnoAlphabet contains the two main guidelines of the exhibition: that which is collected and kept by the museum is presented alphabetically, from A to Z. Just as children learn to read and write letter by letter, and the alphabet often helps us in our everyday lives, it can also function as an aid to the understanding of heritage. The letters of the alphabet encompass all the areas of ethnological heritage: resources and ways of life, food, accommodation and clothes, as well as attitudes to the world. The selection introduces concepts that are close to children: game, toys, musical instruments, and customs and practices such as Carnival masks, gift giving on St. Nicholas Day and love gifts. It also presents things that are no longer part of everyday life and thus strange to children, for in the past most Slovene children were introduced at an early stage to work and to the roles they were to play as adults. The kinds of experiences which used to be a standard part of children's life but which today only a very few are familiar with include: grinding grain by hand, fetching water from the well, managing without electricity, and using an open fire for heating, cooking and as a source of light.

For each letter there is a text which in a simple, straightforward manner describes the object or concept in the display case. An important role of the mu-

A avba / traditional bonnet

B bukve / books

C cokli / clogs

Č čipke / lace

seum is passing on knowledge, while for the child the process of learning about museum objects and stories in an interactive way is also important. For this reason, the learning process involves all the senses, through observation, trying things, understanding, distinguishing, listening, reflecting and so on. The youngest acquire knowledge in an active manner. Alongside the objects on display are copies, imitations, reproductions in drawers (for handling), models for trying things out, films, computer games, photographs, drawings and cartoons. In this way we can satisfy the need for direct contact with the objects, as well as the need to preserve them. The alphabetical stories of ethnological heritage can be continuously updated. For each letter children are presented with examples and opportunities to research or search for things in the permanent exhibition *Between Nature and Culture*.

Along the path through the alphabetical labyrinth the following are presented: A *avba* (traditional bonnet) → B *bukve* (books) → C *cokli* (clogs) → Č *čipke* (lace) → D *desetnica* (the 'tenth daughter', who had to leave home) → E *elektrika* (electricity) → F *frača, faček* (catapult, rag doll) → G *glasbila* (instruments) → H *hranilnik* (money box) → I *igra* (game) → J *jerbas* (wicker basket) → K *krompir* (potato) → L *latvica* (milk bowl) → M *Miklavž* (St. Nicholas)→ N *nit* (thread) → O *ognjišče* (fireplace)→ P *popotnik* (traveller) → R *raglja* (rattle) → S *sveti duh v podobi goloba* (the Holy Ghost as a dove) → Š *škoromati* (Carnival figures from the Brkini area) → T *trnič* (a kind of cheese) → U *ura* (clock) → V *vodnjak* (well) → Z *zbiratelj* (collector) → Ž *žrmlje* (hand mill for grain)

D desetnica / the tenth daughter

E elektrika / electricity

F frača, faček / catapult, rag doll

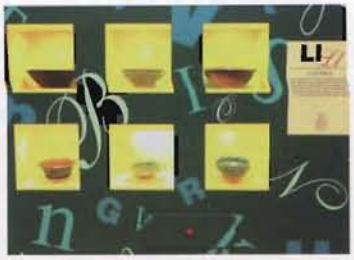
G glasbila / instruments

H hranilnik / money box

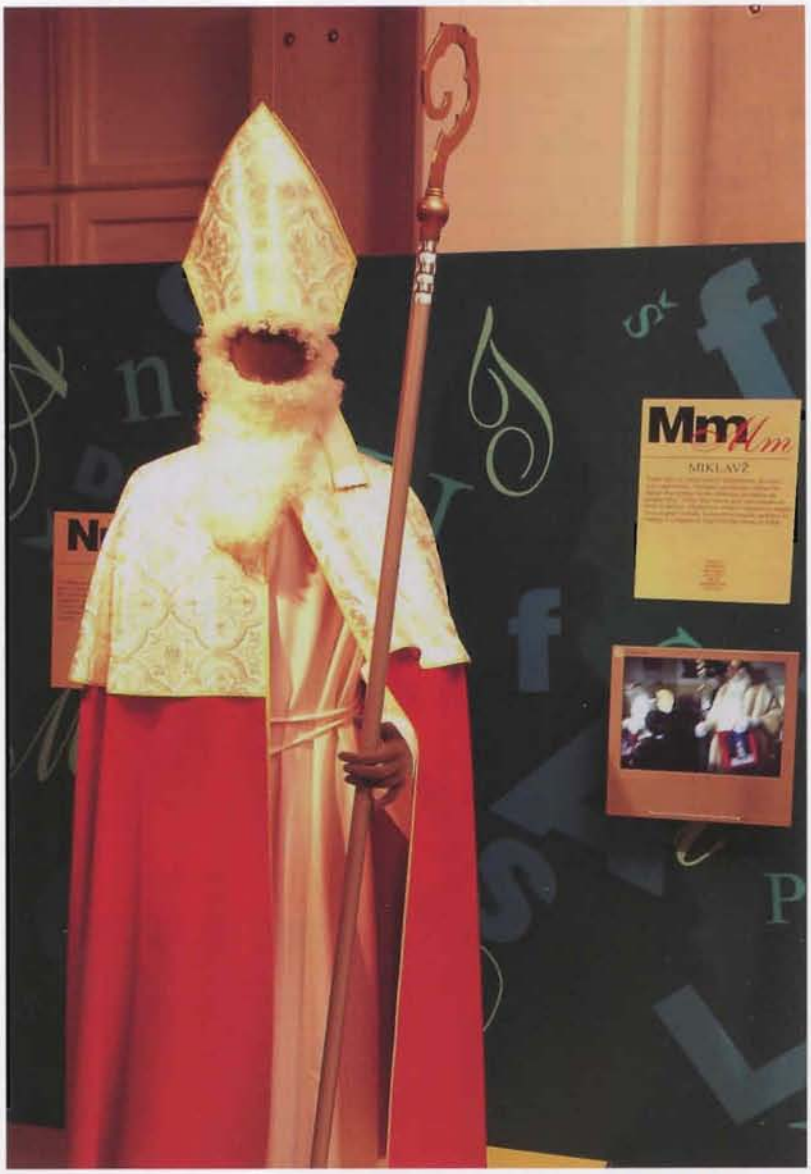

I igra / game

J jerbas / wicker basket

K krompir / potato



L latvica / milk bowl



M Miklavž / St. Nicholas

N nit / thread

O ognjišče / fireplace

P popotnik / traveller

R raglja / rattle

S sveti duh v podobi goloba / the Holly Ghost as a dove

Š škoromati / carnival figures from the Brkini area

T trnič / a kind of cheese

U ura / clock

V vodnjak / well

Z zbiratelj / collector

Ž žrmlje / hand mill for grain

Nadja Valentinčič Furlan

Audiovisuals

The first part of the Slovene Ethnographic Museum's permanent exhibition *Between Nature and Culture* is given an additional dimension by a range of audiovisual presentations. Three different types of audiovisual records are used in exhibition: multimedia presentation, audiovisual collages and ethnographic films. The introductory film *Images of daily life in Slovenia's past* is a special feature of the whole permanent exhibition.

The multimedia presentation *Who am I? Who are we?* with a scale model of Slovenia in the foreground
(photo: Marko Habič, 2006; SEM Documentation).

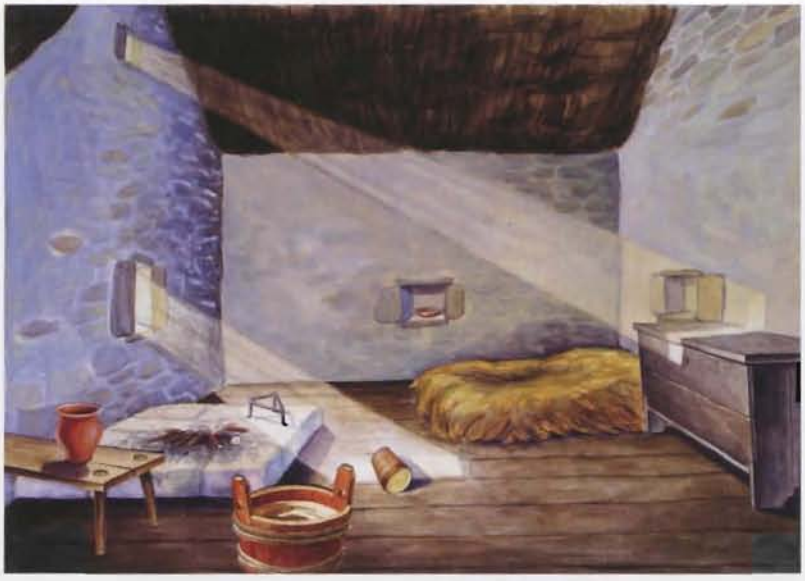
In the introductory part of the exhibition *Objects of life, objects of longing* a multimedia presentation entitled ***Who am I? Who are we?*** is shown on a large, curved screen, presenting the functions certain objects have in people's lives, as well as Slovenia and its four ethnological regions, with their distinct building types, dialects, music, dances and costumes, i.e. those constituent elements of the Slovene folk culture which are mostly not part of the movable cultural heritage. The presentation uses the following media: moving pictures, photographs, illustrations, maps, narrations and music. It is supported by a scale model of Slovenia on which the Alpine, Mediterranean, Central Slovene and Pannonian regions are marked and then spotlighted in line with the content currently shown in the multimedia presentation.
The ***collages of audiovisual records*** are distributed on nineteen small screens positioned throughout the exhibition. They consist of 74 relatively short visual records, which are edited in view of the logic of procedures or events. They show the exhibited objects in the life of the people who made or used them, while some present the wider context, such as fragments from the life of non-European peoples in the section *A Reflection of Distant Worlds*. Below the screens information is given about the content, structure and length of the records. A special feature is the active camera that appears in the second unit of collage *Personal appearance* in the section *Necessary and Unnecessary*.
In the section *Water and Earth* the story of the exhibited *čupa* (pronounced as chupa) *Marija* is supported by the ethnographic film ***Čupa, the vessel of the Slovene fishermen.*** *Marija* is the only Slovene seagoing dugout that has been preserved intact and is due

A visitor watching the collage *Cultivated ecosystems*, in the background is a display case containing hoes
(photo Marko Habič, 2006; Dokumentacija SEM).

The retired fisherman
Zdravko Caharija Babčev
(scene from the film, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, 2004).

The *čupa* and behind it
a screen with the film
Čupa, the Vessel of the Slovene Fishermen
(photo: Marko Habič, 2006; Dokumentacija SEM).

to its exceptionality highlighted among the objects in the exhibition.
In the film, the *čupa* is presented both as a sea fishing vessel and as a museum exhibit. The film consists of the narrations of two fishermen and two experts, of photographs, documents and shots of rowing in a replica of *čupa* and of placing *Marija* in the exhibition.
In addition, visitors can also see the film ***Memories of a Nabrežina fisherman***. This is the life story of Zdravko Caha-



Drawing of an open fireplace, the basis used for the animation in the film *Images of daily life in Slovenia's past* (Irena Romih, 2004/05).

rija Babčev, a descendant of the family which more than a century ago made *Marija* and used it for a number of generations, until handing it over to the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in 1947. The two ethnographic films interpreting the *čupa* and promoting the exhibit as well as knowledge about it are also available on a DVD entitled ***Čupa Marija.***
All the above mentioned audiovisuals were produced by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum. Information about them and the material of which they make use (the collages include excerpts from films by other producers and the multimedia presentation *Who am I? Who are we?* also makes use of material produced by other institutions) is given in the bilingual brochure *Audiovisuals. Data on authors, producers, storage and content.* The content of the brochure is also available on the museum's web site (http://www.etno-muzej.si/eng_razstave_stalna_avdio.php).
The film ***Images of daily life in Slovenia's past*** is the introduction to the two parts of the permanent exhibition: *Between Culture and Nature* and *I, We and Others, Images of my World.* It is a brief presentation of the most important characteristics of the way of life in the Middle Ages, a period from which relatively little significant material evidence that could be displayed in a museum has been preserved. The film illustrates the settlement of Slavs on the territory of the present day Slovenia, how they made a living, what they ate, their dwellings, the appearance of castles and fortified towns, the development of crafts, peasant revolts in the late Middle Ages and the formation of Slovene language. The film combines documentary footage (frescoes and archaeological finds), recordings of reconstructions (the making of an axe and ploughs, the preparation of *kasha* on a fireplace in medieval fashion) and animated sequences (the custom of enthroning princes ar Karnburg, multi-field crop rotation). Of particular importance to Slovene cultural and linguistic identity are the 10th century *Freising Manuscripts*, which are presented, both visually and in spoken form, comparing the pronunciation of the time as well as that of modern Slovene. The film is also available on a DVD, in both Slovene and English.

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AUDIOVISUALS

Who am I? Who are we?

Concept: Inja Smerdel; script: Inja Smerdel, Alenka Konič; expert advisers: Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Bojana Rogelj Škafar, Nena Židov, Mirko Ramovš, Damjana Pediček Terseglav; camera: Alenka Konič, Miran Brumat, Matija Brumat; directed and edited by, animation and graphic design: Alenka Konič; sound: Boštjan Perovšek; a Slovene Ethnographic Museum production, 2005, 19 minutes.

Audiovisual collages

Expert advisers: Igor Cvetko, Ralf Čeplak Mencin, Andrej Dular, Marko Frelih, Sonja Kogej Rus, Daša Koprivec, Gorazd Makarovič, Bojana Rogelj Škafar, Anja Serec Hodžar, Polona Sketelj, Mojca Terčelj, Janja Žagar, Nena Židov; realisation: Nadja Valentinčič Furlan; a Slovene Ethnographic Museum production, 2004/2006, 19 collages on 19 DVDs, total duration 163 minutes.

Čupa, the vessel of the Slovene fishermen

Research: Polona Sketelj, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan; script: Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Polona Sketelj; directed and edited by, camera: Nadja Valentinčič Furlan; a Slovene Ethnographic Museum production, 2006, DVCPRO, DVD, 17 minutes.

Memories of a Nabrežina fisherman

Research and interview: Polona Sketelj; realisation: Nadja Valentinčič Furlan; a Slovene Ethnographic Museum production, 2004, DVCPRO, DVD, 13 minutes.

Images of daily life in Slovenia's past

Script and text: Gorazd Makarovič; illustrations and animations: Irena Romih; directed and edited by: Amir Muratović; camera: Bojan Kastelic, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Robert Doplihar; special camera: Rasto Novaković; music written and performed by: Tomaž Rauch; editorial committee: Andrej Dular, Bojana Rogelj Škafar, Inja Smerdel, Nadja Valentinčič Furlan, Janja Žagar, Nena Židov; a Slovene Ethnographic Museum production, 2004/2007, DVD, 12.5 minutes.

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