

MUZEJI NA OTVORENOM - HRVATSKA ŠANSA

IVO MAROVIĆ

Kraj ovog stoljeća u kojem održavamo prvu ozbiljno utemeljenu raspravu o problemima muzeja na otvorenom u Hrvatskoj istovremeno je i vrijeme stote obljetnice pojave prvoga takvog muzeja u dalekoj Skandinaviji, na sjeveru Europe. Bez obzira zbila li se pojava prvoga takvog muzeja u Norveškoj ili u Švedskoj, Skansen, taj Hazeliusov pokušaj da na mjestu stare utvrde iznad stockholmske luke prenese niz kuća razne namjene, provenijencije i vremena izgradnje, ostavio je vidna traga u povijesti mujejske djelatnosti u Europi, postao je termin za muzeje na otvorenom u nekim zemljama i označio neke nove puteve kojim se počela kretati europska, a usporedno s njom i američka muzeološka misao. Muzej na otvorenom postao je skladna kombinacija između prezentirane zaštićene kulturne baštine u prvenstveno seoskom prostoru i mujejskog načina prikupljanja i tumačenja vrijednosti koje su nadživjele vrijeme i svjedoče o njemu.

Briga za seosku kulturnu baštinu u prostoru počela se javljati u Hrvatskoj početkom dvadesetog stoljeća, najprije kao interes za seosku kuću kao oblikovni fenomen. Publikacije o značajnim seoskim kućama iz Turopolja, Posavine, Slavonije i Srijema poteklo je iz interesa prvenstveno arhitekata, koji su u tim oblicima prepoznivali hrvatske gradevine oblike. Zanimanje arhitekata za seosku baštinu u

prostoru ne jenjava do današnjih dana. Spomenemo li samo imena M. Pillar, A. Freudenreich, A. Miličić, D. Salopek ili Z. Živković, vidjet ćemo da ona pokrivaju raspon od 1910. do danas. Etnologija se u Hrvatskoj veoma sporo odlučuje baviti se seoskom arhitekturom. Ona se bavi fenomenom stanovanja i oblikovanja stambenog prostora u procesu izučavanja načina pučkog života, ali nije potaknuta arhitektonskom strukturom unutrašnjeg i odnosima s vanjskim prostorom. Unapređivanje seoskog života, potaknuto iznimno snažnim i brzim promjenama koje su se zbivale tijekom proteklog stoljeća, dovodilo je do bitnih promjena seoske prostorne strukture i unutar nje, seoske okućnice i kuće kao stambenog fenomena. Tek se šezdesetih godina javlja poseban interes za zaštitu seoske nepokretne kulturne baštine. U zavode za zaštitu spomenika kulture ulaze etnolozi koji se počinju baviti fenomenom očuvanja seoskih prostornih vrijednosti. Stasa niz značajnih konzervatorskih imena koji se bave fenomenom seoske arhitekture i seoskog prostora od tih dana do danas. Naveo bih tek nekoliko imena M. Gamulin, B. Gothardi-Pavlovsky, N. Duić-Kowalsky, K. Marković, A. Mlinar. Etno-park, kako se u nas nazivao i još uvijek naziva muzej na otvorenom seoskog tipa, javlja se u Hrvatskoj kao ideja tek šezdesetih godina. Prvenstveni poticaj za takve muzeje dolazio je iz potrebe zaštite seoske baštine, a tek potom iz potrebe mujejske prezentacije te baštine u prostoru. Mogu se prepoznati dva različito utemeljena pristupa. Jedan je išao prema malim cjelinama u kojima bi se očuvala i

dijelom rekonstruirala proširena seoska okućnica zgradama iz neposredne okolice. Ta je cjelina imala pretežito lokalni karakter i zadovoljavala je potrebe očuvanja tipične arhitekture toga kraja. Drugi je pristup bio tipično centralistički, državni, s kojim se planiralo osnovati zajednički muzej "jugoslavenskog" tipa. Ideje o smještaju takvog muzeja u okolini Sarajeva kao zemljopisnom središtu tadašnje države razvijale su se početkom sedamdesetih godina i trajale dosta dugo, bez realne osnove da se ostvare.

U Hrvatskoj je, i to prvenstveno u njezinim sjevernim krajevima, ideja prikupljanja i očuvanja grupe seoskih stambenih i gospodarskih zgrada lokalne provenijencije zaživjela sedamdesetih godina. Tu ne možemo mimoći utjecaj i djelovanje M. Gušić, koja je na nizu lokacija poticala ostvarivanje tih novih ideja. Ideja začetka etno-parka najprije se ostvarila u Donjoj Kupčini, gdje i danas još uvijek stoji izrazito zanimljiv sklop seoskih kuća, koje su relativno dobro održavane, koje u unutrašnjosti imaju izložene etnografske predmete s kojima se dočarava tamošnji život i običaji, ali koji imaju izrazito siromašnu muzeološku interpretaciju. Ne smijemo zaboraviti nešto raniji pokušaj prijenosa četiri seoske pokupske i posavske kuće na prazni prostor uz Stari grad u Sisku koji je, na žalost, propao jer je bio nerealan, usmjeren više komercijalno nego muzeološki. Kasnije se ova ideja proširila i ostvarila u nizu lokaliteta, da spomenemo tek Veliko Trojstvo i Ozalj.

Ostvarenje najvećeg i najznačajnijeg muzeja na otvorenom seoskog tipa u Hrvatskoj,

"Starog sela" u Kumrovcu, nosi posebne značajke i potpuno je atipično. Najprije se radi o očuvanju i rekonstrukciji ranijeg izgleda zagorskog sela koje je do tada živjelo na specifičan način ali u svojoj potpunosti, a ne o prijenosu izabranih vrijednih seoskih kuća na novu lokaciju. Prema tome, to nije zbirka kuća već seoska cjelina kao izložak. Ovaj tip muzeja na otvoreno znatno je rjedi od onoga prvog. "Staro selo" u Kumrovcu duguje to političkim okolnostima, jer se u njemu rodio Josip Broz, utemeljitelj i dugogodišnji predsjednik Jugoslavije. Taj politički input omogućio je ostvarenje ove ambiciozne i vrijedne zamisli, ali je vrlo brzo nestao promjenom društvenog sustava i uteviljenjem hrvatske države. Ostale su vrijednosti koje su nesporne.

Ideja da se "Staro selo" u Kumrovcu rekonstruiranjem nestalih zgrada i vraćanjem izvornih razina cesta, mosta i toka potoka Škarnik vratи izgledom u početak dvadesetog stoljeća bila je vezana uz djetinjstvo Josipa Broza. Bio je to veliki izazov istražiti etnografsku podlogu, projektirati i ostvariti takvu koncepciju, s time da "Staro selo" ne ostane izolirani, ogradieni muzejski areal, već prostor za razgledavanje unutar živoga sela. On je muzeološki koncipiran i izведен tako da rekonstruirane građevine, zajedno s onima koje su se očuvale i koje su obnovljene i restaurirane, predaju izgled "Starog sela" s početka stoljeća. Unutrašnjost rekonstruiranih kuća ne slijedi njihov izvorni izgled, već je uredena kao izložbeni prostor. Unutrašnjost, pak, restauriranih kuća zadržala je izvorni izgled i raspored prostora,

ali služi kao izložbeni prostor za izloške i na način koji neće umanjiti dojam autentične unutrašnjosti.

Time je postignuta jedinstvena koncepcija inačica, koja je rijetka i u svjetskim razmjerima, glede muzeja na otvorenom seoskog tipa. Ona ima i niz organizacijskih poteškoća u funkciranju muzeja. To je prvenstveno pitanje osiguranja, kontrole pristupa, uporabe komunikacija, reguliranja prometa i sl. No, zbog toga taj muzej više sliči živom kontrolirano zaštićenom selu negoli artificijelnoj tvorevini zbirke kuća. Teoretski rečeno, u "Starom selu" u Kumrovcu došlo je do prožimanja primarnog i muzeološkog konteksta.

Zanimljivo je primjetiti da ideje za muzej na otvorenom seoskog tipa nisu naišle na plodno tlo u kraškim i primorskim dijelovima Hrvatske. Možda su Konavle bile najbliže takvom pristupu, ali su ih stradanja u Domovinskom ratu od toga udaljile. U istarskom se prostoru rađaju u novije vrijeme svježe ideje zavičajnog parka koje su bliže ideji muzeja ovoga tipa. Resursi primorskih i dalmatinskih otoka gotovo su neograničeni, kad bi se uspjelo razvitak otoka uskladiti s prirodnim resursima kulturnog i kultiviranog krajolika, povezati s ljudskim nastambama i njihovim grupacijama od zaselaka do sela, omogućiti doživljaj i interpretaciju života u krajoliku, čime bi turistička eksploatacija bila usmjerenija i ograničenija no vrhunskog doživljaja.

Perspektive muzeja na otvorenom u Hrvatskoj trebale bi prvenstveno težiti očuvanju i interpretiranju integriranih vrijednosti kulturne i prirodne baštine.

Koncepcijski bi se muzeji na otvorenom trebali usmjeravati prema uporabi postojećih resursa, a manje prema stvaranju artificijelnih cjelina. Primjerice, očuvani plemićki dvorac ili ruševine plemićkog staroga grada ne bi smjeli biti jezgra oko koje će se instalirati vrijedne seoske kuće ili okućnice, stvarajući interpretacijski Disneyland. Mogućnosti muzeja na otvorenom leže u korištenju prostora i interpretaciji svih sadržaja. To znači stvaranje punktova u krajoliku, poput antena eko muzeja, gdje će se moći doživjeti logična koegzistencija prirodnog i kultiviranog krajolika, sa svim značajkama onog ljudskom rukom stvorenog ambijenta koje pridonose sagledavanju njegovih prostornih i kulturnih kvaliteta. Tako bi se integracija prezentiranih arheoloških lokaliteta, očuvanih seoskih okućnica ili grupiranih vrijednih kuća, povjesne parcelacije terena s izvornim putovima, tokovima rijeka ili potoka, njegovanje autentičnih poljoprivrednih kultura, prezentacija napuštenih a značajnih povjesnih industrijskih postrojenja, dvoraca i utvrda na jednom definiranom području mogla smatrati cjelovitim prikazom odnosa čovjeka prema okolini sa svim povjesnim mijenama.

Raznolikost hrvatskog krajolika, bogatstvo i rasprostranjenost kulturne i prirodne baštine, skladan suodnos gradova i sela, brojnost i očuvanost povjesnih gradova i vrijednih seoskih cjelina otvaraju velike mogućnosti cjelovito državnog i specifično regionalnog, a posebice značajno lokalnog pristupa utemeljenju dugoročnih koncepcija očuvanja, muzeološke interpretacije i korištenja takvih definiranih resursa.

Gospodarska opravdanost, svestrano predstavljanje posjetiteljima iz cijelog svijeta i dugoročno njegovanje i razvijanje svijesti o vrijednostima vlastitog tla i njegove baštine sadašnjim i budućim naraštajima, vrijednosti su u čiji napredak i razvitak valja uložiti znanje i novac. Ovo je savjetovanje tek prvi ozbiljni pokušaj ukazivanja na dosadašnja iskustva, moguće puteve i perspektive koje su pred nama. Valja smoći snage i otvoriti mogućnosti da se rezultati ovakvog pristupa upgrade u kulturnu, prostornu i gospodarsku politiku Hrvatske, njezinih županija i lokalnih zajednica, a da se izbjegnu pseudostručni, ambiciozni a neutemeljeni, kratkoročni i primitivni pristupi.

IVO MAROEVIĆ: OPEN-AIR MUSEUMS - A CHANCE FOR CROATIA

At the end of this century, a time when we are carrying out the first serious discussion about the problems of open-air museums in Croatia, is also a time when we mark the hundredth anniversary of the first such museum in distant Scandinavia in north Europe. Regardless of the fact whether the first such museum first appeared in Norway or in Sweden, the Skansen, Hazelius' attempt to transfer to the site of on old castle above the port in Stockholm a number of various buildings built at different times has left a visible imprint on the history of museum activities in Europe; it has become

a term for open-air museums in some countries and has marked a new direction for European and American museological thinking. The open-air museum has become a harmonious combination of the presented protected cultural heritage, primarily in village environments, and the methods museums use for collecting and interpreting values which transcend time and bear witness about that time.

Concern for the rural cultural heritage in its environment first appeared in Croatia at the beginning of the 20th century, first of all in the form of interest taken in the village house as a design-related phenomenon. Publications concerning village houses in Turopolje, Posavina, Slavonia and Srijem stemmed primarily from the interest shown by architects, who saw them as examples of Croatian architectural design. The interest which architects take in the rural heritage has remained constant to our time. The names of architects M. Pillar, A. Freudenreich, A. Miličić, D. Salopek and Z. Živković cover the period from 1910 to the present day. Ethnologists in Croatia took their time in deciding to study rural architecture. They deal with the phenomenon of housing and home design in the process of studying the rural way of life, but not in a way which is concerned with the architectural structure of the interior and the relationship with the environment on the outside. The improvement of rural life, driven by the exceptionally profound and rapid changes over the past hundred years, has led to major changes in the spatial structure of the village, as well as of the village plot and the village house as a dwelling. It

was only in the 1960s that special interest was shown for the protection of rural buildings as a part of the cultural heritage. Ethnologists were employed by institutions for the protection of cultural monuments, and they began to deal with the phenomenon of preserving environmental values of villages. A number of significant conservation experts made their mark while dealing with the phenomenon of village architecture and the village environment from that time to the present day. They include M. Gamulin, B. Gothardi-Pavlovsky, N. Duić-Kowalsky, K. Marković, and A. Mlinar.

The idea of the ethno-park, the name given in Croatia to a rural type of open-air museum, appeared in Croatia fairly late, in the 1960s. The primary impetus for these museums came from the need to protect the rural heritage, and only later on from the need to present this heritage through in situ museums. We can recognise two very different approaches. One was focused on small units in which a village plot would be preserved and partially reconstructed with the addition of buildings from the immediate vicinity. The unit had a mainly local character and met all the needs of preserving the typical architecture of the area. The second approach was typically centralist, on the level of the state, and the intention was to create a joint museum of a "Yugoslav" type. The idea of locating such a museum near Sarajevo, the geographical centre of the former state, was developed in the early 1970s but there was no realistic hope of realising it.

In Croatia, and particularly in the northwest, the idea of collecting and preserving

groups of local village houses and farm-buildings took root in the 1970's. Here we need to mention the influence and work of M. Gušić, who initiated the implementation of these new ideas at a number of locations. The idea of creating an ethno-park was first realised in Donja Kupčina, where we still have an exceptionally interesting group of village houses which are reasonably well maintained, and inside the houses ethnological items are exhibited to present the local life and customs, but the presentations are museologically very poor. Also, we must not forget the earlier attempt to transfer four houses from Pokupsko and Posavina to the empty space in the Old Town in Sisak, but it unfortunately failed because it was unrealistic, and aimed more at being a commercial and not a museum venture. This idea was later expanded and realised at a number of locations, in Veliko Trojstvo and Ozalj, to mention but a few. The creation of the largest and most significant rural open-air museum in Croatia, the "Old Village" in Kumrovec, is a special and untypical case. First of all, it involved the preservation and reconstruction of a village in Zagorje which had till that time lived in a specific way, but in its entirety and did not depend on the transfer of selected valuable village houses to a new location. This is, therefore, not a collection of houses but a village itself as an exhibit. This type of open-air museum is much less frequent. The "Old Village" in Kumrovec owes its status to political reasons, since it is the birthplace of Josip Broz, the founder and long-time president of Yugoslavia. This political input enabled the realisation of

this ambitious and valuable idea, but it soon disappeared with the change of the social system and the foundation of the Croatian state. What remained there are values which cannot be denied.

The idea of rebuilding houses and restoring the level of the old road, the bridge and the stream äkarnik in order to give the "Old Village" in Kumrovec the look it had at the beginning of the 20th century was linked with the childhood of Josip Broz. It was a great challenge to study the ethnological background, to design and carry out the concept but in such a way that the "Old Village" does not remain an isolated, fenced-off museum area, but a space for looking around within a village which is alive. It is museologically thought out and created in such a way that the reconstructed buildings, together with the ones which had survived and were restored, present the look of the "Old Village" from the beginning of the century. The interior of the houses which were rebuilt does not follow along the lines of the original appearance, but has been designed as an exhibition space. On the other hand, the interior of the restored houses retained the original appearance and layout of the rooms, but serves as an exhibition space for exhibits in a way which does not lessen the impression of the authenticity of the interior.

This created a unique variation of the concept, rare even with respect to rural open-air museums abroad. There are a number of organisational problems in the functioning of the museum. They are primarily related to security, the control of access, the use of communications, regulating traffic and so

on. However, because of this the museum is more like a controlled protected village than an artificial creation of a collection of houses. Theoretically speaking, the "Old Village" in Kumrovec represents an interlinking of the primary and the museological contexts.

It is interesting to note that the idea for creating rural type open-air museums had not been well received in the karst and coastal parts of Croatia. Perhaps Konavle were the closest to adopting this approach, but the destruction sustained in the Patriotic War has moved them further from this aim. In the Istrian region new ideas about creating a native park have appeared recently, and they are closely related to this type of museum. The resources of the northern and Dalmatian islands are practically unlimited if they could only bring the development of the islands in line with the natural resources of the cultural and the cultivated landscape, and linked with houses and villages, enabling the experience and interpretation of life in the landscape, and this would provide the exploitation of tourism resources with more direction and focus of an exceptional experience.

The perspective of open-air museums in Croatia should primarily be aimed at preserving and interpreting the integrated values of the cultural and natural heritage. The concept of open-air museums should be aimed towards the use of existing resources, and not so much towards the creation of artificial entities. For example, a preserved castle or the remains of ancient fortifications should not be the nucleus around which valuable rural houses are installed,

thus creating an interpretational Disneyland. The possibilities of open-air museums lie in using space and the interpretation of all the contents. This involves the creation of spots in the landscape, like the antennae of eco-museums, where people could experience the logical coexistence of the natural and the cultivated landscape, with all the characteristics of a man-made environment which contribute to the appreciation of its spatial and cultural qualities. And so the integration of the presented archaeological sites, preserved village plots or groups of valuable houses, the historical parcelling of the terrain with original paths, the flows of rivers and streams, the cultivation of authentic agricultural crops, the presentation of abandoned, but significant historical industrial plants, castles and fortifications in one defined area could be considered to be an integral presentation of man's relationship to the environment through all the changes brought about through history.

The diversity of the Croatian landscape, the wealth and the distribution of the cultural and natural heritage, the harmonious interrelationship between cities and villages, the great number of and the preserved state of historical towns and valuable village entities provide great possibilities for an integral state approach, a specifically regional, and particularly significant local approach to establishing long-term concepts of the preservation, museological interpretation and exploitation of resources defined in this way. The economic justification, the all-round presentation to visitors from all over the world, and the long-term cultivation

and developing awareness about the value of one's own soil and its heritage for the present and future generations - these are values in whose progress and development we need to invest knowledge and money. This conference is just the first serious attempt at drawing attention to past experiences, and the possible ways and perspectives which lie ahead. We need to find the strength to open up possibilities for having the results of such an approach incorporated into the cultural policy, the physical development policy and the economic policy of Croatia, of its counties and local communities, as well as to avoid the pseudo-expert, ambitious and unfounded, short-term and primitive approaches.