

# An Overview of the Findings of the Research Accompanying the Exhibition *Of Animals and Humans*:

## **A DOG, A WOMAN, A CAT, A MAN<sup>1</sup> – IN SEARCH OF THE LOST PAST**

- The information presented in this paper provides an overview of the research conducted in order to prepare the exhibition entitled *Of Animals and Humans*. The exhibition was partly dedicated also to the unique relationship with animals, or more specifically pets, established by humans, which, from the documentary aspect, has almost disappeared. The interpretation started from a concise chronological overview of the perception and the position of dogs and cats in the societies of Ancient History and the Middle Ages and the appearance of the bourgeoisie as the promoter of spreading of the practices of owning pets. It ends on the territory of Croatia, during the period ranging from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, based on the views collected in the Miscellany of the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs and enhancing them with legal (veterinary) regulations from the same period. The ending is dedicated to the steps that need to be taken in order to record the actual, primarily, urban culture of pets, as well as the decay of museologically valuable materials linked with this topic, of which there is an overall shortage in museums in general.

Key words: pets, a dog, a cat, cultural animalistics, museum exhibitions

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1 The idea behind the title originated from the drama performed by EXIT Theatre *Dog, Woman, Man*, directed by Zijah A. Sokolović based on the text by Sybilla Berg, inspired by the early book *Pure Love* by Yeal Heday, whose premiere was on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2004.

## INTRODUCTION OR THE ISSUE OF PRESENTATION

The idea behind the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* (22<sup>nd</sup> April – 12<sup>th</sup> November 2017), the author – curator of the Ethnographic Museum – Željka Petrović Osmak, Tea Rittig Šiško and Gordana Viljetić, was to present a long common history of humans and animals. The exhibition was intended to show how our ideas, feelings and behaviour towards animals in the nature, as well as within our social environment, changed over time. Animals that live in our homes or pets<sup>2</sup> play a special role within the latter category. Their simplified definition is that they are animals that are allowed to stay indoors, inside the house or the flat, they have a name and they are not intended for food. Their roles in the lives of humans, both in the past and in the present and vice versa, considerably exceed those encompassed by the definition, whilst their relationship with humans is complex and culturally conditioned.<sup>3</sup>

Following the initial deliberation about the presentation of the issue of pets within the broader context of the topic addressed by the exhibition, it became clear that the available material was insufficient in order to paint a concrete picture of this relationship, rather than only a visual one (there is only one object intended to present working dogs and two objects made from a dog's or a cat's skin). On the other hand, a potential borrowing of materials could include only several objects and photographs from the holdings of the museums in Zagreb (the Archeological Museum in Zagreb, the Croatian School Museum, the Zagreb City Museum, the Museum of Arts and Crafts) and the Graphic Art Cabinet of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.<sup>4</sup> Considering the fact that negative information is still information, there is still the issue of the adequate method of presentation that is both conceptually intriguing and concrete from the museological aspect, of a topic with which average visitors are extremely familiar. In addition, attention needs to be paid in order to avoid falling into the trap of delivering an easier presentation, primarily using the widely popular and available modern, so-called, pet industry (products and services linked with pets).<sup>5</sup> Consequently, in autumn 2016, five short documentaries were filmed

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2 More about this terminology in Viljetić 2017.

3 More about theoretical orientations of the nature of the relationship between humans and animals intended as pets in Viljetić 2017.

4 I would also hereby wish to express my gratitude to the esteemed colleagues at the Archaeological Museum, the Croatian School Museum, the Zagreb City Museum, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and the Graphic Art Cabinet of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts for their professional assistance and the implemented lending of the objects, as well as for the granted rights of the reproduction of photographs.

5 Denial of trends in this field would not be correct from the aspect of the presentation. As an integral illustration of contemporary product range for pets, during the exhibition the precedence was given to Croatian design – an example of a dog collar (Peepnee), a dog bed (Robowsky) and a dog robe (Vau design). Due to the kindness of the exhibitors, dogs that visited the museum accompanied by their owners were allowed to use the dog bed, which was placed in the improvised auditorium of the hall intended for film screening. Following the closing of the exhibition, the dog bed was donated to the Shelter for Abandoned Animals of the City of Zagreb.

that show urban co-existence of pet owners and their pets in Zagreb nowadays and they are included in the cycle entitled *The Four-Legged City*.<sup>6</sup>

Hence, considering what has previously been stated, as well as the spatial constraints and the purpose and the interests of the public, a decision was reached to give precedence in the catalogue to the contemporary approach and the recent topics of zooanthropology/cultural animalistics (e.g. the notion and the function of a pet, pets as human exclusive, the reasons for keeping them and cultural relativism of household animals, anthropomorphisation of animals, pets as a source of social support and therapeutic effects/indicators of adherence to fashion/status symbol and indicators of identity, theories of similarity between pet owners and pets, the nature and the consequences of this relationship for animals, etc.), whilst the research (primarily conducted through professional literature) and the collected information from the aspect of archaeology, history and ethnography, provided the sources for the exhibit labels and the material for further work and hence also for the preparation of this paper. A special emphasis was placed on the relationship between humans and two animal species – cats and dogs (according to statistical data they are currently the most frequent and the most popular pets) during the period at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. That was the period in which monographs were written about the co-existence of humans and domesticated animals in Croatian villages and simultaneously also the period of huge changes in the attitude towards animals kept indoors, inside the homes in the cities (and in the world) – indoor pets.

Irrespective of traces of evidence concerning the existence of animals used for keeping company and entertainment in ancient civilisations (the Pharaohs in Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, Ancient Rome, etc.), it was only the appearance of modern cities and subsequently the modernisation of villages that caused an absolute distancing of the useful, domesticated animals from properties/households. Simultaneously, a new lifestyle, stripped bare and separated from the nature, opened up the road towards affectional bonding of a large proportion of population with animals kept in homes – indoor pets. The position of cats and dogs in villages – as the subject of research interest of traditional ethnology/ethnography, is significantly different from the position of animals in cities. Utilitarian roles here frequently provide the principal motive during the purchase or getting of a pet and the care for it. The remnants of such rationalisation are currently still evident. Both categories (urban and rural) of pets can be reconstructed only based on fragmentary evidence of their cohabitation with humans – the comprehensive written history concerning this issue is non-existent. Consequently, archaeological discoveries, works of visual art and literary work, legal documents, photographs, personal histories and sporadic records within the documentation of human past provide the foundation for the creation of an image about the development of the relationship between humans and animals in which the boundaries between species are eliminated and emotions are expressed – ranging from love to hatred.

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6 Films from the cycle *The Four-Legged City*: *Damir and Tango*, *Here it is*, *Grgal*, *Marina's Cat Story*, *Neven's World* and *Vedran's Cube of Joy*. Directed by: Nikola Šiško, Script: Gordana Viljetić, Tea Rittig Šiško; Production: Art Design for the Ethnographic Museum.

## 1. TWO CENTURIES OF (URBAN) PETS

Never separately (intentionally) documented, the history of dogs, the first (self)domesticated animal<sup>7</sup> and cats, currently the most popular pet in the world<sup>8</sup>, follows the human history, built from a wide range of factographic data from common daily life, in which the position of animals frequently reflects the position of humans in a specific time and space. In other words, what influences the relationship towards a specific animal is what regulates the way of life in a specific society (religion, philosophy, social class differences, the practices of spending free time, customs and beliefs, etc.). Notwithstanding the current image, according to which cats and dogs in the Western World have been highlighted as synonymous with pets, the history of both animals has been permeated with emphasised contradictions in human attitude and the treatment by humans. The dichotomy can be identified back in the Ancient Egypt<sup>9</sup>, Greece and Rome.

“Hold me, lest I flee, and return me to my master Viventius on the estate of Callistus.” (the inscription from the Roman identification tag for a dog or a slave from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, British Museum)<sup>10</sup>

The appearance of monotheistic religions, primarily of Christianity, encouraged the development of specific attitudes towards animals, encompassed by the notion of dominionism, that highlights the right of humans to dominate the nature and animals in accordance with God’s will (Sepell 1996 according to Johnson 2009: 11). The plague

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7 As opposed to other animal species that humans started interacting with only in the period of sedentary lifestyle, or agriculture, the domestication of dogs started before the Agrarian Revolution, between 32.000 and 18.800 years ago (Morell 2016: 32). Nevertheless, the framework of sustainable domestication was moved to the period between 16.000 and 17.000 years ago (Morey and Jeger 2015: 420).

8 Cats live in one third of American households, whilst at the beginning of the new Millennium (2001) 784.000 cats were registered in Croatia (in relation to 725.000 registered dogs). Over 600 million cats exist in co-habitation with humans throughout the world. Data according to zooportal.hr (20 September 2017) and Rak Šajn 2001.

9 According to archaeological remains of Egyptian mummies, there are three levels at which humans perceive animals: adored animals – deities, pets and sacrificial animals/food for the dead. All the three categories include cats and dogs, as well as animals that are currently referred to as exotic pets, and simultaneously also embodiment of Ancient Egyptian deities, such as the crocodile (Sobek), ibis or baboon (Thoth), falcon (Horus), amongst others. (Petar 2012: 84; Mark 2016). A mummified ancient Egyptian cat specimen (AMZ E-657), is the only such specimen in the holdings of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb that was available to the visitors to the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* in the segment dedicated to cat domestication, whereas the Egyptian stela Djehuty-hestia (AMZ E-572), depicting a man (the owner?) and a baboon (a pet?) on a leash, dating to the New Kingdom (1550-1069 BC), simultaneously included in the permanent collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, for the exhibition purposes was temporarily replaced with another specimen during the period from 22<sup>nd</sup> April to 12<sup>th</sup> November 2016 exhibited at the Ethnographic Museum. I would hereby yet again wish to express my gratitude for the flexibility and collegiality to the Museum Advisor Igor Uranić, M.A., Ivan Radman-Livaja, Ph.D and Tomislav Bilić, Ph.D, as well as the Director of the Museum, Sanjin Mihelić.

10 According to Thurnston 1996: 51. The omnipresence of dogs in the Ancient Rome at the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* was shown also by a Roman brick with dog footprints (A-ŠČ-13714), probably made during an accidental passage of a dog over bricks that were still wet and were drying by the road. The specimen was also provided by the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

epidemics in Europe, and the flea as its transmitter, additionally complicated the relationship in question. Due to the role of the psychopomp – the guide to the afterlife, heritage from the religions and the mythology of the Ancient Egypt and Greece, enhanced with the naturally acquired immunity and the inclination (necessity) towards eating of corpses, dogs were associated with epithets of a dirty and filthy animal, frequently the embodiment of Satan (cf. Thurston 1996: 88). Cats did not fare much better. They were rejected by Christians as the remnants of pagan polytheism – from the essential benevolent symbol of female fertility, sexuality and motherhood, a cat becomes the antithesis: a malevolent demon, the assistant of the witches, necromancers and yet again Satan (cf. Sepell 1996 according to Johnson 2009: 10). In the spirit of the Inquisition, (male) hierarchy and the sharp division between human and animal, each more affectional bond with animals was perceived as perversion and the potential connection with the supernatural. On the other hand, an exception was made concerning higher social classes and dogs were used (and necessary) in hunting – the sport of the nobility. Hence, they were attributed epithets of courage and value and they also assumed a privileged status.

Upon the end of the feudal system, hunting (with dogs) ceased being the privilege of the aristocracy, whereas upon the appearance of the bourgeoisie there is additional interest in keeping dogs and dog breeding (cf. Thurston 1996: 96-97). 19<sup>th</sup> century was the period of huge changes in attitudes towards animals, which in England was known under the notion “the Victorian cult of pets” (Ritvo 1987 according to Johnson 2009: 13). That period was considered the inception of the practices of pet keeping in the modern sense of the word. It implied intensive breeding, exhibition activity, stores with pet supplies, including fashion accessories, with a tendency of connecting animals with the social and economic class, primarily in Great Britain, France and North America. Darwin’s *The Origin of the Species* dating back to 1859 and *The Descent of Man*, dating back to 1871, marked a serious progress from the traditional human domination over animals (and over nature in general), or anthropocentrism of that time. The first animal welfare organisations appeared in Britain through raising of the awareness about the conditions in which animals were kept and the ways in which primarily working animals were treated. Hence, it is important to highlight the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, founded in 1824 and the Cruelty to Animals Act, dating back to 1835. As many times before, this issue of animal protection followed other social upheavals – children’s rights movements, abolitionism, women’s rights and the right to vote (Irvine 2004: 9, Zeller 1984: 85 according to Johnson 2009: 14).

At the time in urban environments in Croatia, European trends of animal protection and raising of the public awareness about the needs of animals, both of pets and wild species (continuously or occasionally present in the cities) were followed, with a minor or major time lag. This can be considered as the start of active involvement in the achievement of animal welfare and animal protection. Consequently, primarily due to the publicist and city councillor Gjuro Deželić, 1885 saw the foundation of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (*Societas zoophilia Zagrabienensis*), which after only several years brought together a significant number of some 400 members out of the total city population, which at the time included 30.000 inhabitants. In 1894 in the

publication entitled *Živobran* the Society published the Book of Regulations in order to “protect animals, especially domesticated animals, from cruelty and strive to make sure that animals are treated well and kindly”. Moreover, through emphasis of “good practices and the moral primarily focusing on youth, through arousing compassion for animals and feelings of disgust towards cruelty and torture”. Similar objectives and missions were simultaneously shared by the Zagreb-based St. Jerome Society, which in 1896 published an educational booklet entitled *Protect Animals*<sup>11</sup> by the German authors Gehring, Weiser and Renk, which included stories about animal suffering and provided encouragement to protect animals. It was primarily intended for children and youth (e.g. “never torture animals, because they can feel pain in the same way as you do”; “if you are favourably inclined towards animals, you will also be kind towards humans”, “the richer a boy’s insect collection, the more innocent animals he kills”, etc.), which largely corresponded with modern trends in this field (cf. Visković 1996: 432, 433).

The perception of animals kept inside homes – indoor pets - in the cities, as well as in villages, was certainly affected by the compulsory elementary education, which was introduced in this region upon the education reform implemented by the Archduchess of Austria, the Queen of Hungary and Croatia Maria Theresa (1740 – 1780). The picture storybooks from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century in their illustrations frequently presented (a desirable) an image of the culture of civic life. Pets were a part of that culture. They appeared in idyllic scenes of family life and childhood. Similarly, books for preschoolers and school textbooks frequently addressed the topic of adventures with dogs, cats and also wild animal protection, such as birds, for educational purposes in working with young children.<sup>12</sup>

Organised breeding and selection of dogs in the territory of Croatia was also considerably on a par with the trends at the time. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the British Islands were the centre of development of cynology and felinology. The first dog show was held in Newcastle in 1859, whereas the first cat show was held in 1871 at the Crystal Palace in London. The trend of shows was followed by the first product range for pets available on the market, in general with scarce knowledge and a poor sense for meeting the requirements of animals kept inside homes – indoor pets<sup>13</sup>. The inception of cynology in Croatia were linked with the breeding of hunting dogs. In 1881 the first Croatian Society for Defence of Hunting in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was founded in Zagreb. *A Small Exhibition of Hunting Dogs* was held in Vrbovsko (Gorski kotar) in 1894, whereas the *First Dog Show* was held in Zagreb in 1906, within the *Economy Exhibition*. Concerning the latter, it is important to point out the fact that *Narodne novine* recorded and provided an interesting piece

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11 The original specimen was exhibited during the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* (lended from the Croatian School Museum).

12 The selected specimens of the previously mentioned materials were also exhibited during the exhibition (lended from the Croatian School Museum).

13 Visitors to the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* were given the opportunity to see that with their own eyes, through the dimensions and forms of luxury pet accessories dating back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, actually a fish tank (MUO 789) and a cage (MUO 44523) – borrowed from the Museum of Arts and Crafts.

of information about the first commercially produced dog food – meat pies (Lovrenčić 2008 according to Špoljarić 2008: 262).

Cynological activities intensified in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whilst the increase in the number of pets was recorded, as in other countries, between the two World Wars. During the 1930's in Zagreb there already were several dog grooming saloons ('Trimer' I. Cvikel at Svačić Square 6 and 'Grooming Department' at the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine). Furthermore, at the address Samoborska 1 there was the Animal Station (Živinobranska postaja) owned by the Animal Shelter where the citizens could take their animals for "relaxation from house arrest" and bathing in the summer bathing area that also included a pavillion for drying (Špoljarić 2008: 261). The growing popularity of dogs, especially those intended for hunting, amongst women was interpreted as a form of women's emancipation in the predominantly male-dominated environment. This was accompanied by an international dog show at the Zagreb Assembly (Zagrebački zbor) in 1935. The competition entitled *A Lady and Her Dog* was held within the dog show.<sup>14</sup>

As was the case throughout the world, the cynological activities in Croatia stagnated during the Second World War. During the postwar period dogs, cats and other pets yet again saw an upswing in popularity (cf. Špoljarić 2008: 268, Herzog 2011: 75), with accompanying development of the so-called pet industry (food and accessories for pets), which was all in accordance with the philosophy of modernisation and striving to facilitate the everyday life of the busy pet owners. We are still witnessing a similar situation. In accordance with the roles assumed by these animals, the product range provided includes everything from the birth to the death of a pet.

This information that is indicative of the status of pets in our (urban) environments is the fact that the pet cemetery in Rijeka, built at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is one of the oldest similar cemeteries in Europe (by comparison, the London-based pet cemetery was informally opened in 1881, whilst the Parisian pet cemetery, as the oldest public pet cemetery, was opened in 1899).<sup>15</sup> According to oral tradition, the land plot in Kozala was first used by the hunters to bury their hunting dogs and they were joined by other members of the public who wanted to bury their pets there. Such practices lasted until 1994 when the pet cemetery was closed down and protected as a cultural good. The works on the first pet cemetery in the city of Zagreb are currently underway. It will be located near the Shelter for Abandoned Animals of the City of Zagreb in Dumovec. Moreover, the first pet crematory in Croatia was opened in Samobor and it has been operating for the last several years. It is being propagated as a dignified alternative to

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14 The sample of poster for this competition signed by Sergij Glumac was indicated by the Museum Advisor at the Zagreb City Museum, Mrs Željka Kolveshi, who I would also like to thank on this occasion. The original poster about the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* was lended from the Graphic Art Cabinet at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts and it was exhibited simultaneously with the reproduction of the photograph by Đuro Janeković *A Lady with a Dog*, showing a well-known Zagreb lady at the time, Mrs Melanija Lowi and her greyhound, allegedly taken on their way to a dog show. The photograph, in addition to two more works by the same author, was borrowed from the Museum of Arts and Crafts.

15 Reported by Jutarnji list (s.a.), The Telegraph (Soteriou 2015) and Daily Mail (O'Hare 2013).

the cremation of a dead animal – a family member – at the rendering plant, which is the common practice in accordance with the Law and veterinary regulations.<sup>16</sup>

## 2. CROATIAN ETHNOGRAPHY – PETS IN TRACES

“Almost every house has a dog. But not indoors, inside the house, God forbid!” (intellectual A. Ž., born in 1923 in Drvenik<sup>17</sup>)

As opposed to Anglo-Saxon countries in which the culture of domestic animals,<sup>18</sup> directly or indirectly documented, has existed for centuries (during the Victorian era in England, as has been previously stated, there was a sudden increase in interest in dogs, cats, birds, as well as in different exotic animals, in the function of the philosophy of connecting with nature, as well as evidence of human dominion over it), the history of pets in Croatia can be only partly reconstructed, based only on fragments of legislation, different documents, personal objects, photographs and general (monographic) descriptions of life in the cities/villages.

### 2.1. MEMORY AND FUNCTIONS OF ANIMALS INSIDE (AND AROUND) THE HOUSE

Concerning the historical connection between urban environments and pets, it is not surprising that every attempt of search for concrete examples of co-habitation with animals living inside (or, based on the accommodation and the role – around the house) in Croatian ethnography, which abounds in information about the relationship between humans and domestic animals, as a source of food and as working animals, and folk medicine (veterinary) care for them, which shows the importance of livestock and poultry in the life of rural population in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it all comes down to brief descriptions of cats and dogs. They were primarily intended for tackling the issue of rodents in the household or on rural properties.

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16 The pet urn for the ashes of an animal cremated at *Pet Memo* crematory, with a touching personal testimony, yet without the remains of the dog, was exhibited during the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans*. Most of the randomly selected and questioned visitors reacted very positively at the exhibit and/or showing surprise that such an option existed in Croatia.

17 The transcript from field research conducted in Dubrovnik and in Konavle, September 2016.

18 The expression *Pet Culture* stands for owning pets and co-habiting with it (habits, communication, external signs of the relationship, etc.) the owner and the animal living inside the house, primarily in the contemporary (urban) conditions in the Western world (cf. Viljetić 2017: 121). Notwithstanding an increasing number of research studies whose findings confirm exactly the opposite, the notion of culture is currently still regularly attributed to humans and negated for animals. An exception is provided by the efforts made by post-humanistic theorists in the direction towards the so-called “multispecies anthropology” that prevails over anthropocentrism, very much like what post-colonialism did to ethnocentrism (cf. Hurn 2012: 204-205). In the context addressed above, the semantic determinant of common behavioural patterns within a specific society is normally followed, such as the coffee culture, entrepreneurial culture and the beer culture, to name a few.



Hunting and shepherd dogs were sometimes considered as exceptions, but yet again in the context of working animals.

Some sources address the issues that are unacceptable from the contemporary Western stance of the use of individual animals, currently considered as animal species living inside the house, for magic or medicinal purposes (e.g. licking of injured body parts by a cat or a dog for a faster wound healing, dog's fat/stool as a cure for lung diseases/goitre, dog's bone as a sprinkle for skin injuries, cat's blood as a therapy taken orally), or considering animals as disease agents (e.g. upon contact with faeces or a trace of a dog/cat), as well as, comprehensively described, poisoning of unwanted abandoned "strays", as a well-known method used almost throughout the territory of Croatia and beyond, i.e. through placing glass shards inside sugar or matchstick heads made of phosphorus inside food – bread (Ivanišević 1987: 194):

"Bad dogs are poisoned in the following way: glass shards are placed in bread and dried. If they taste it, their intestines are ruptured and they die. Some people make raw dough and spread butter oil on it. That inflates the dog and it dies." (Poljica)

The *Miscellany of the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs* is a collection of monographs that describe the lifestyle in the Croatian villages. In addition, from the comparative aspect, they include particularly valuable descriptions of lifestyle in the neighbouring countries, from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Cats and dogs were not dedicated as much attention as other domestic animals and the same applied to the general phenomena that make up the everyday life and the festivities of rural communities. Nevertheless, they were mentioned. A brief reference was normally provided at the end of the chapter about domestic animals, as well as sporadically throughout the text, primarily with the category of folk beliefs, incantation, divination and magical practices (for example, ways of exerting influence through containment of animals) – through words, in addition to notions about life and the world whose interpretation is beyond the scope and the objectives of this paper. Concerning the context, the most widespread belief in Croatia<sup>19</sup> needs to be mentioned, that a dead body can become a werewolf if one is not careful, i.e. if a cat or a dog, in some areas even a rooster, jumps over it or if these animals walk under the catafalque. Consequently, the vigil for the deceased, in addition to showing respect, was also for the purpose of prevention, a precaution (cf. Grbić 1998: 298). Forebodes of death were also commonly linked with the sounds of specific animals, frequently dogs (Smičiklas 1896: 207, 211):

"If dogs howl or ravens chase one another calling outside the house where there is a sick person, it is a clear sign that the person is going to die (...) The household members also make sure a cat does not enter the room in which there is the deceased person's body, as it would instantly bite off their nose; hence, in the evening one needs to search around the room, before the body of the deceased was left alone." (Sv. Jakov, near Bakar)

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19 Nevertheless, in some villages in the wider outskirts of Zagreb, this custom was not known at all (cf. Grbić 1998: 298).

In the context of beliefs and incantation, ways of exerting influence on the containment of animals (Horvat 1896: 253):

“If a person wishes that a domestic animal, e.g. a dog, a cat, a chicken, etc, whom they brought from somewhere, remains in their household, on a Sunday after crescent they need to take the animal and then “knock” three times with its head on the bread oven and its legs need to be pulled three times along the wall of the bread oven.” (Koprivnica)

Or (Kurjaković 1896: 258):

“Taming someone else’s adult cat is difficult without its returning to her former home. Such a cat needs to be taken home with its eyes covered in any way. Once you reach home, it needs to be measured with a rope the same length as the cat from head to the end of its tail; then this rope is inserted under the threshold where people most frequently walk. Then the cat will no longer flee from its new owner.” (Vrbova)

The previously described procedures show that cats and dogs were perceived as desirable and useful domestic animals. These were expressions of sympathetic magic<sup>20</sup> based on the assumption that spatially distant things can influence one another through a secret energy that connects them, or, in the previously described cases, on the procedures intended to directly or indirectly act preventively concerning the potential or threatening danger (cf. Grbić 1998: 319-320) – more specifically, the escape of the animal from the household.

Transformations of humans into animals, primarily into cats and dogs, are a segment of a special category of beliefs in supernatural beings, amongst which it is important to mention the transformation of an incubus and the witch (sorceress) into a cat (or some other nocturnal animal, such as a butterfly) and the belief in the freak - a man with the head of a dog. The incubus and the witch, besides strangling humans and sucking their blood, also have the power to transform into specific animals through the process of zoo-metamorphosis. This usually occurs at night. Moreover, there is the belief that their spirit can assume the form of an animal or transform into it in the process of zoo-metempsychosis, whilst their body remains motionlessly lying on the bed (cf. Marjanić 1999 according to Križanec-Beganović 2015: 32) (Milčetić 1896: 236):

“Some man suspected that his wife was an incubus (...) knowing that the spirit of such an incubus comes out of the body at night in the shape of a cat...” (Kastav)

Or (Jovović i Jovović 1896: 99):

“...as they say, it (incubus, author’s comment) can be heard as when a cat walks over a human.” (Montenegro)

As opposed to the category of miscellanies about everyday life in rural environments in which the focus was on domestic animals (‘livestock’ and ‘poultry’), the presence of cats and dogs, in addition to the beliefs, was recorded in sayings, proverbs, poems and short stories inspired by the animal world, created based on the experience of

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20 The name was introduced by the Scottish anthropologist James George Frazer in his work *The Golden Bough – The Origin of Religious Rites and Customs* (2002).

co-habitation with animals, with allusions to human relationships and frequently also with clear advice or moral, such as (Ujević 1896: 247): “When an old dog barks, one needs to see what is going on” (Vrgorac in Dalmatia), or (Žic 1915: 259): “At times it is a dog to run, at times it is a hare”<sup>21</sup> (Vrbnik on the island of Krk).

## 2.2. FOOD, SHELTER AND DEAD ANIMAL REMOVAL

“Dogs are fed with bread and when the owner eats meat, the dog gets the bones... There are several cats in the household; they are fed with bread, but women love them more and so they get even meat and bacon (...) When livestock, a horse or a cow dies, the dead cow, horse or sheep is skinned (stripped of skin, J. L.), taken into some hole and left there, for the dogs and birds to feast. That happens especially on the property<sup>22</sup> outside the village.” (Otok near Vinkovci) (Lovretić 1897: 260, 267)

Food, as well as shelter of cats and dogs was a topic of secondary importance for the former Croatian ethnographers. With the exception of the above cited note by Josip Lovretić and a slightly more detailed description provided by Ivan Žic about Vrbnik, *The Miscellany* provides no specific information about types of food that was given to animals, or the type of shelter provided, which may have been expected in the fragments of texts addressing the issue of farm facilities (cattle shed, chicken coop, pigsty, etc.).

Based on meagre information dating back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and more recently conducted field research (mid-20<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century), a conclusion can be reached that dogs roaming free off-leash (there were records about practices of letting dogs roam free off-leash at night) and cats that found a shelter by themselves (e.g. the basement of the house where cattle was located) and if a dog lived on a chain, it was frequently located by the livestock manure pile, especially in winter, because of the warmth (cf. Pavičić-Šunjić 1937: 106, 124). In rare cases, animals were allowed to enter the house (cats more frequently than dogs).<sup>23</sup>

Irrespective of the fact that a part of the records provided in the miscellanies (through quotes) addressed the issue of diseases that could affect (i) cats and dogs, it is important to point out the lack of information about dead animal removal and curing animals in cases of disease. As was concluded in the text entitled *Traditional curing methods and specific medical treatments of humans and animals in southern Gacka* published in the journal *Grad Otočac 7* by Milan Kranjčević (2003: 276, 277):

“Notwithstanding the fact that every household owns a dog and several cats and although these animals are considered useful, they are believed to be of good health

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21 “Luck is a fickle mistress” (Žic 1915: 259). A proverb from Vrbnik.

22 *Stan* or *salaš* (from Hungarian *szallas* → *flat, shelter*) is a family-owned land property located outside the village (at a half-a-kilometre distance, e.g. in Đakovački Selci to 6 km in Babina Greda), in most cases in Slavonia, where beside farm facilities, also a residential facility used to be constructed, often by the forest (Svirac 2002: 55).

23 More about the presence of domestic cats in Žic 2001.

and hence need no curing.<sup>24</sup> If they are ill, no efforts are taken to cure them (...) As a rule, sick animals were managed by killing them.”

### 2.3. COMMUNICATION

As opposed to occasional description of everyday life of humans, cats and dogs, the ethnography at the time almost regularly, within the wider context of the topic of communication with domestic animals, provided methods of communication between humans and cats and dogs (notes on animal sounds, calling animals by their name, chasing animals away).

“Dogs are called by their names and: ‘na, na’, ‘na, na, na’, people whistle to them; they chase them away by saying: ‘šip’, ‘marš!’

Cats are called by saying: ‘mujc, mujc, mujc’, and chased away by saying ‘šic.’” (Lobor) (Kotarski 1915: 230)

There are records of animal names after their age and names normally based on their appearance, more rarely based on their temperament. The Franciscan friar Ivan Zovko was at the forefront in the systematisation. In his text entitled *Animals living around the house. Domestic or domesticated animals, their Croatian folk names*, published in *The Miscellany of the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs*, Volume I, dating back to 1896, provided a list of names for cats and dogs, recorded in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Herzeg-Bosna, as he referred to it), with a comment about the name *okokućad* (animals living around the house): “I heard this word in Veljaci, a village in Ljubuški District.” Zovko classifies cats and dogs as domestic animals (animals living around the house) and identifies them by gender, with a description, i.e. explanation of a specific name. According to the information provided, a conclusion can be reached that animals were named based on their appearance (the shape of their body or, most frequently, the colour of their coat<sup>25</sup>) and behaviour (hunting skills, laziness, ways of begging for food, their favourite places in the household etc.). Sweet-talking and praising (e.g. kitty, doggie) by their owners was recorded in the instances of ‘good’ behaviour, or the accomplishment of expected tasks (a cat chases mice, it does not trun away, does not roam), whilst anthropomorphic names were given in cases of extreme beauty/cleanliness of an animal (little girl).

A similar naming system, in addition to personal names (e.g. Amidor) and the categorisation of dogs in accordance with their working task (pigdogs, sheepdogs, cattle dogs), was presented also by Josip Lovretić for Otok near Vinkovci, with a brief overview of cats that are normally not named “but are called: kitty and using words such as cica, macica, mica, or are given human names such as Pero, Andrica, Persa” (Lovretić 1897: 262).

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24 Nevertheless, the author mentioned milk which, in cases of disease, was given to cats “as milk had medicinal properties for cats” (Kranjčević 2003: 277).

25 Zovko mentioned as many as nine names according to the colour of dog coat (*bjelov, cuni/cuna, garov, gigan, mento, pekin, šarov, štiglo, žutov*), out of around some twenty recorded names.

Irrespective of the fact that it was around a century later,<sup>26</sup> a similar approach was adopted by Božo Glavičić in the book entitled *Narodni običaji Labińšćine (Folk Customs in the Labin Region)*. He stated that hunters had hunting dogs, i.e. hunting hounds (for chasing animals) and bird dogs. They were also mentioned by Ivan Źic, whilst writing about the life of Vrbnik inhabitants on the island of Krk.<sup>27</sup> The households in which there were no hunters normally kept a mixed breed dog intended to guard the house and the livestock. The most popular dog names were Lido, Bobi, Bubi, Fric, Kolonbina, Furija, Iskra, Neguš, Turko, Leo and Lila. Dogs were affectionately called *kušić* (local idiom for doggie) and cats as *mumić* (local idiom for kitty) (cf. Glavičić 2003: 107-108).

Moreover, it is important to point out the Istrian (or rather typical of the Kvarner Region) custom of naming the Istrian Shorthaired Hounds as Kolonbino if male or Kolonbina if the dog was female (mentioned in the records provided in the miscellanies for both the Labin Region and Vrbnik). The association was to these dogs' white coat and interpreted through the symbol of purity and peace (from Italian colombina – white dove) or metaphorically interpreted as something beautiful, graceful and privileged. According to the cynologist Boris Špoljarić (2008: 30):

“In its history the Istrian Shorthaired Hound species was (especially during the period between 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century) owned by patricians and plebeians. They lived beside what were the wealthiest social classes during that period. They bred such dogs as their hunting hounds, with immense love. In addition, these dogs differed from other dogs. In order to own such a dog, one had to pay a fortune even at the time.”

#### **2.4. RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS ANIMALS – A RECONSTRUCTION BASED ON THE WRITTEN WORD AND (MUSEUM) OBJECTS**

In the context of the relationship between humans and animals, the observations about the perception of usefulness and punishment for the damage done were particularly interesting. The same applies for comparisons with human behaviour /character. The latter especially abound in the descriptions of co-habitation of humans and animals in the Poljica region, written by Frano Ivanišević. He provided a comparison between the mistress of the house (*stopanjica*) and a cat, a lazy man and an apathetic old hunting dog, as well as between children and dogs as the most frequent sources of conflict. Moreover, he provided a categorisation of dogs as guard dogs, hunting dogs, as well as keeping dogs “for entertainment (divertimento).”

“Male or female dogs are kept in many households and the same applies for cats. The mistress of the house takes good care about a good cat who chases all the mice in the house.

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26 A systematic record keeping and the research on customs in the Labin region commenced in 1989.

27 Concerning Vrbnik, Źic described an interesting communication between the hunter and his dog interesting from the onomatopoeic aspect (during hare hunting): “The hunter shouts at his dog calling him and telling him to chase the animal: “šu! šu ve! ut! utatata! šove tošo! uta! up! kvakvaka! šu, ala šu! daj maškarin! šu kolombo! čapa ga bizel!” and anything that comes to his mind.” (Źic 2001: 411)

She caresses it and considers her a faithful friend in the house. There is a saying: 'It is not the cat's fault that the mistress of the house is lazy', 'If there is a good cat in the house, there is also a good mistress of the house', they mean that there is order in the house; 'If you don't feed a cat, you feed a mouse.'" (Ivanišević 1987: 240)

"Everyone protects their own dog and takes it along, but someone else's dog joins in, too, when they reach someone else's property. That is why there is a saying: children and dogs are the first to cause a scandal (intrigue)..." (Ivanišević 1987: 240)

The assessment of the strength of this friendship through a comparison of treatment of a friend's dog was recorded also in the Poljica region (Ivanišević 1987: 240): "One says to a friend: I'd do that for your dog if it came to me, let alone you", as well as in Lobar, as recorded by Josip Kotarski (1915: 230-231):

"Lobar inhabitants caress animals (...) It is a serious offence when someone else beats their animal. In that occasion they would normally say: 'You are less intelligent than it!' They won't let anyone beat their dog and they say: 'Those who cannot stand my dog, cannot stand me either'."

The issue of affection of an owner for their dog, primarily in case of a shepherd and a shepherd dog, was addressed also by Josip Lovretić for the region of Otok near Vinkovci (1897: 265):

"People are normally fond of animals, especially horses and dogs (...) Dogs and pigs are scratched by them (shepherds, author's comment) under their neck and on the belly, which they really enjoy... cats and dogs are caressed primarily by children, yet also adults occasionally do that, at least on the head."

The other face of the medal, or cases of abuse and maltreatment of animals, as well as reactions of the others to such behaviour, was recorded yet again by Ivanišević for Poljica (1987: 243):

"...there are some people who are angry at heart and they (...) bludgeon, or throw stones at animals so you feel sorry for them. People do not like that, they bear a grudge against those who do it. They refer to those who torture animals in this way as animal catchers ...People say: (...) It's a God's creature, one needs to be merciful."

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century affective relationships between owners and their currently most frequently owned pets – cats and dogs - in rural environments were considerably different compared with the current perception of affection of owners for their pets. Human focus on their usefulness was predominant, with the exception of direct testimonies, such as (Žic 2001: 391): "People are not angry with dogs, but they do not wish to feed them if there is no gain from them" (Vrbnik), or (Ivanišević 1987: 243): "Animals that are not very useful, such as cats and dogs, are sometimes hit when they cause damage" (Poljica). This was confirmed by modest, yet significant, materials by the Ethnographic Museum. Hence, there is a tobacco pouch (*duvankesa*) made of cat's skin in Svetvinčenat in Istria (EMZ Et 14794) and the bellows

of *dude* (a bagpipe-like musical instrument) of dog's skin from Rovišće near Bjelovar (EMZ Et 13854)<sup>28</sup>, both dated back to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

With the exception of the materials in the photo archives (a noticeably smaller number of cats and dogs selected as a topic, compared with other domestic animals) and illustrative descriptions of lives of humans and these animals from The Collection of Paintings<sup>29</sup> and, in relation to other species of domestic and wild animals, (yet again) a very rare appearance of the figure of cats and dogs intended as motifs and ornaments in textile, ceramic and wood materials<sup>30</sup>, in addition to the previously mentioned objects (*duvankesa* and *dude*) the holdings of the Ethnographic Museum include only one more object that can be (in) directly linked with the topic of pets in the Croatian history. Firstly, it confirms the fact that dogs were being used for commercial purposes, rather than considered as pets. Secondly, its locality is not included in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The object in question is a dog collar from a rural property (EMZ Et 10939), or a leather dog collar with an inserted metal ring with which a wooden pendulum was hung on the shepherd dog collar to prevent it from running faster, i.e. from running away from the herd, originating from Velika Kikinda in Vojvodina.

Such a small number of objects linked with human perception and the way of life of cats and dogs in rural parts of Croatia was probably due to a lack of professional interest in this topic during the period of intensive collection of materials (at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), characteristic for urban environments. The exception was the veterinarian and the historian of veterinary medicine Leander Brozović, who was also the first Curator and Director of the Koprivnica City Museum (1951-1963)<sup>31</sup>. It was

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28 Both objects were exhibited in the section of the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* dedicated to the topic of pets or a sub-topic of the perception of cats and dogs in Croatian villages at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

29 Specifically, tempera on paper *Evening at the Co-operative* (EMZ Et 2878) and two oil paintings – *Old Stove* (EMZ Et 2875) and, *Wedding at Slavonki Šamac* (EMZ Et 50272) by Slavko Tomerlin, exhibited at the exhibition, purchased/acquired for the Museum in 1923/1943, with a motif of cats in the company of elderly women from a family-owned co-operative, or a dog in the background of the wedding reception. Moreover, an illustration of a boy from Lika with a rabbit (EMZ Et 49807) and a boy from Srijem with a domesticated songbird (EMZ Et 49808) on colour etchings dating back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and a sacral illustration of Saint Rocco with a dog of a similar species as Istrian Shorthaired Hound during the vows in an oil on panel painting from the Parish Church in Vukštin Šipak near Jastrebarsko (EMZ Et 7061) dating back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The illustration of Saint Rocco with the attributes (travellers' walking stick and a gourd or a shell for water) linked with the gourd described below in several wooden carved sticks with hunting scenes (one of which illustrates a dog's head with a collar and a tie (EMZ Et 6586), given to the Museum as a gift in 1928, also from Bjelovar outskirts) and used as an illustration of the topic of medieval hunting with dogs in the segment of the exhibition dedicated to pets, or the sub-topic of a short history of co-habitation between humans and dogs.

30 E.g. a festive lunch in Slavonia – *a towel on a panel* with woven stylised motif of a dog (EMZ Et 22466) and a wool blanket – *ponjavac*, shown at the exhibition, with motifs of different animals and a dog - *ćukac* - amongst others (EMZ Et 22217), a clay carousel from Jerovec that shows hare hunting (EMZ Et 2573) dating back to 1923, a decorative gourd, which also presents hunting scenes, from Vrbanja, made in 1905 (EMZ Et 17360) and a figure of a cat and a dog, intended as children's toys, manufactured in Vidovec around 1945 (EMZ Et 14766m, 14766k).

31 According to [www.muzej-koprivnica.hr](http://www.muzej-koprivnica.hr)

due to him that the previously described shepherd dog collar, in addition to a wide range of objects linked with animals and traditional economy, became included in the holdings of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb.

### 3. THE PAW OF LAW – FROM THE HISTORY OF VETERINARY MEDICINE

Concerning the shortage of materials available for analysis, reconstruction and/or interpretation and, with a rare exception<sup>32</sup>, general sporadic (fragmentary) records of descriptions of cohabitation between humans and cats and dogs, usual for *The Miscellany of the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs* and monograph presentations, a more coherent picture, primarily about the obligations of dog owners and the way they treated dogs, as well as indications of dogs as pets, shown through classifications and the selected terminology, is painted through a comparison with the veterinary laws effective during that period.

The first legal regulations concerning keeping of dogs resulted from the fact of the outbreak of rabies and the relative danger for humans, whereas the prescribed methods of keeping and feeding of dogs, the roaming ban and the payment of tax for owning a dog, as well as the obligation of wearing a dog tag, irrespective of its primary objective – human protection, rather than animals protection, provided the foundations for the contemporary laws and regulations about the welfare and protection of indoor pets. Frano Ivanišević confirmed the outbreak of rabies amongst both animals and humans at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He presented the most common folk medicine procedures in the Poljica region during that period (Ivanišević 1987: 176):

“A rabid dog bite is treated as follows: 1. blood is let under the tongue for three consecutive Fridays; 2. a young kitten’s placenta is dried and ground into dust, it is drunk in water.”

*The Decree by the regional Dalmatian government* dating back to 19<sup>th</sup> June 1822 prescribed that dogs had to wear collars with engraved owner’s name. Furthermore, dogs (divided according to purpose into hunting dogs, guard dogs, dogs that fetch the prey, etc.<sup>33</sup>) need

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32 In comparison with the type and the quantity of information about co-habitation of humans, cats and dogs in rural environments, recorded by his contemporaries, Ivan Žic was certainly an exception. He was a teacher, a translator and ethnographer. In a section of his voluminous manuscript about the lifestyle in Vrbnik on the island of Krk, published in the Review of the Folk Life and Customs in 1917, he dedicated an entire chapter to cats and dogs, addressing this issue in the context of the previously mentioned categories addressed in such reviews. He dedicated them an entire chapter under the topic *Animal Breeding*. Concerning the uniqueness of the nature, the comprehensiveness and the vividness of the text, as well as the conclusions reached based on observation of animals (and the striving to understand them), the descriptions by Žic deserve a special attention of a scale that, unfortunately, exceeds the scope of this paper. Consequently, I leave the collected information for some other occasion.

33 Literary equivalents of the denominations in the previously provided classification are currently not known to the author of the text. It would certainly be interesting to conduct a research about their meanings, since they may indicate the purposes of dog keeping in Dalmatia at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.



to be walked on a leash, that the stores need to have a bowl of fresh water for dogs. In addition, if anyone came across a rabid dog or a dog suspected of having rabies, they need to make sure that dog is removed and the dead dog's body buried deep into the ground beyond the residential area. (cf. Džaja et al. 2014). The provisions were confirmed also in *The Review* (Žic 2001: 405):

“It is not currently allowed to act the way one would want to, but in accordance with the law. And the law prescribes that every owner shall report the death of their animal, especially during the period of illness and they shall bury them deep into the ground, so it does not smell badly and there is no chance for it to pollute the air.” (Vrbnik on the island of Krk)

*Statute about keeping dogs and tax on dogs* effective for the entire Virovitica County, Order of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Territorial Government dating back to 1893 prescribed that all dogs had to eat and drink sufficiently, they were never to be given stale bad smelling food, whereas the bread that was given to them needed to be fully baked, rather than half baked, not warm and not mouldy. In addition, they were not to be given food with spices. Moreover, according to the Statute, dogs had to be kept clean, combed, washed and dogs with long hair coats cut/shortened at least twice a year. In the summer dogs had to be given the opportunity to swim in the water. Furthermore, dog houses had to be kept clean. During the winter dogs had to be protected from the cold and they were to have a lot of clean water (cf. Džaja et al. 2014). In accordance the provision from 1902, owners who did not act in accordance with the *Statute* from any aspect, in case they did not take care about their dog in any way, were to be held accountable for it without delay and they were to be banned from keeping dogs (cf. Džaja et al. 2014).

The obligations of dog owners were mentioned also by Josip Kotarski concerning the town of Lobar in the Croatian Zagorje Region (Kotarski 1915: 229):

“Not every household owns a dog; in the areas where there are many houses, there is only one dog per house. Every dog has to wear a “žulencija” (a dog tag)<sup>34</sup> on his neck, so that dog catchers would not take it away. Dog tags were given to those who paid the tax..., only to continue stating that every house had one or two cats, but their owners' obligations were not listed.”

The provisions of collection of dog tax – a tax on dogs - are also interesting. They divided dogs into several basic groups, which, yet again, showed the purposes of keeping dogs during that period. Hence, for each guard dog and a shepherd dog a dog tax was collected of 50 coins (kretzers, author's comment). For hunting dogs, the tax stood at 1 F (Hungarian forint, author's comment), whilst for any other 'luxuriant dog' 2 F. (cf. Džaja et al. 2014).

The adjective 'luxuriant' suggests dogs were kept as pets. Nevertheless, before addressing the issue of this category, comments provided in monographs about hunting dogs, in regions

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34 Dog tags – *žulencije* – from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from the territory of continental Croatia (Zagreb, Križevci, Sveti Ivan Žabno), as well as a specimen from Vienna, the visitors of the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* were given the opportunity to see them, as a result of the borrowing from the Numismatic Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

where people were involved in hunting with dogs, need to be pointed out. Concerning the Poljica region, Ivanišević stated as follows (Ivanišević 1987: 217):

“There are not many hunters who go hunting without a hunting dog, who follow the traces of wild animals (...) Hunting dogs are of hunting dog species, on each leg there is the fifth toe. When they are old, they tend to spoil and they do not care about prey any more. There is a saying about a dog, who is no longer good for hunting or guarding: neither for guarding, nor for prey – the same applies for humans, who are no good for any work.”

On the other hand, in the context of guard dogs, it is important to highlight an unusual information recorded (as stated by Kurjaković) for the town of Vrbovo near Staro Petovo Selo, about ways of dealing with dogs in order to commit a robbery (Kurjaković 1896: 257):

“The robbers calm down dogs located where they intend to break in if they throw a horn at them in which they put some lard and then they so their robber’s business.”

Information about guard dogs (and hunting dogs), as well as ways of dealing with them by putting on peasant shoes made of wolf’s skin in order to commit a robbery, as reported by Vladimir Ardalić, in the monograph entitled *Bukovica – Folk Life and Customs*, written based on texts published in *The Miscellany of the Folk Life and Customs of the Southern Slavs* (2010: 251):

“Every house, big and small keeps a pig, turkeys, chicken (ducks and more rarely geese). Big houses have a dog on a chain during the day. At night they let it off-leash to roam around free, its owner gives it food and it ingratiates itself with her and it growls at others.”<sup>35</sup>

In addition to guard dogs and shepherd and hunting dogs – working dogs, the last category that was mentioned of a suggestive name, luxuriant dogs, quite clearly shows the practices of dog keeping as pets. Considering the highest tax paid by the taxpayers of higher purchasing power, supposedly the public, the intention was to restrict the keeping of ‘useless’ dogs, yet again due to prevention of rabies and a threat posed by the disease for humans.

*The Statute about Dog Keeping and Dog Taxes for the Territory of the Požega County in the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Territorial Government*, dating back to 1910, introduced the category of a ‘household dog’ that was required for safety and was intended exclusively for that purpose (cf. Džaja et al. 2014:). The existence of a ‘household dog’ performing the same function, was recorded by Josip Lovretić for the region of Otok near Vinkovci (1897: 260):

“In family houses and especially in flats, people keep several dogs and cats. A dog that is always at home is called a household dog; during the day it is normally on a chain. There is a collar around its neck on which there is a ring and inside the ring there is a chain. At dusk the dog is released from its chain (e.g.: its collar is taken off).”

In the towns Daruvar, Lipik, Nova Gradiška, Cernik, Novska and Pakrac household dogs were considered those dogs that were kept outside of the place of residence, in

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35 With a comment (Ardalić 2010: 251): “Dogs are owned also by hunters. Those who are followed by them, give them food.”

vineyards, secluded houses, village outskirts and plots of land, amongst others, whereas dogs living in the city were considered as luxuriant dogs, unless they were hunting dogs or shepherd dogs. *The Ordinance Dog Keeping in Savska Banovina* dating back to 1938 goes even further and 'luxuriant dogs' are all dogs kept indoors or within an enclosed space. Moreover, conditions that the owners had to meet were defined – all the legal and natural persons, with the exception of the homeless, the Roma who were continuously on the move and the Roma living in tents, were allowed to keep a dog (cf. Džaja et al. 2014). Dog tax was not collected for military and police dogs, as well as dogs owned by cynological organisations, authorised dog dealers and dogs intended for circus performances.

The latter information confirms the expanded role of dogs in human lives during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During that period, both in Croatia and throughout the world a significant increase in the number of pets was recorded, primarily during the period after the First and Second World War. Consequently, profits in the economic sector were up (organised trade in pets, first pet food products, expansion of the range of pet accessories, burial of animals in pet cemeteries, etc.) and a continuation of practices against cruelty to animals and regulations of pet keeping (at least on paper) to date.

## **AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE CONCLUSION: CROATIA TODAY OR WHY EXPLORE (AND PROVIDE TANGIBLE DOCUMENTATION ABOUT) PET CULTURE**

Currently, in addition to a wide range of positive changes resulting from the new *Animal Welfare Act* (conveniently passed on the World Animal Welfare Day, on 4<sup>th</sup> October 2017)<sup>36</sup> and the current proposals concerning the introduction of a dog tax (with the exception of adopted dogs), as well as the creation of a DNA base that would be intended to expose the negligent owners concerning the public spaces protection, we can only hope the subsequent raising of collective awareness (i) about animals “more equal than other animals”. The therapeutic roles and the beneficial effects of cats and dogs on psycho-physical human health are being promoted throughout the media almost on a daily basis. Paradoxically, there is an immense number of individuals or both species that have been left in the hands of fate on the streets starting from the first day of their life or, even worse, after being worn out and old, sick, or due to their owners boredom or comfort. Efforts made by the organisations for the prevention of cruelty to animals

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36 Throughout the preparations and the duration of the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans* the new *Animal Welfare Act* was firstly the subject of public discussion, and then it was put forward and passed (4<sup>th</sup> October 2017). It provides a large number of positive provisions, such as: the bans on continuous dog tethering, animal appearances in circus performances, keeping of bears and dolphins in confinement, sexual intercourse with animals, live feather plucking of poultry, trading in domesticated ferrets (African polecats, domesticated polecats, ferrets, lat. *Mustela putorius furo*) in stores, throwing firecrackers at animals, partial ban on use of ungulates for pulling logs from the forests, etc. Moreover, the breeding of animals for trading is also regulated, as well as a serious problem of black market and negligent breeders ('puppy mills'), whereas a large number of new provisions will contribute to the enforcement of the Act and reduce the number of abandoned animals (cf. [www.prijateljji-zivotinja.hr](http://www.prijateljji-zivotinja.hr)).

and for animal welfare as well as shelters for abandoned animals<sup>37</sup> have been intensifying on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the real changes are always the result of activities performed by individuals and occur at the level of everyday life.

Notwithstanding huge progress concerning the perception of pets, unfortunately, or luckily from the aspect of animals, which are currently (also in Croatia) allowed to travel by means of public transport, as well as stay in an increasing number of catering facilities (and even be integrated into their interior or included in their staff, depending on the stance taken), eat the finest dog/cat delicacies from local homemade pastry shops, go for a walk with ‘nannies’ and attend ‘daycares’ for pets, bathe on specially equipped beaches, use specialised pet taxi services, stay in hotels and/or apartments, visit museums, visit specially designed grooming salons, wear the ‘trendiest’ clothing and sleep on designer beds. All that at a ‘bargain’ price of a life in a luxury confinement or captivity, sterilisation/castration (required by the living conditions), diseases caused by human-induced selection and a life in cramped urban environments with a large number of animals living in small areas and diseases typical for modern humans, such as obesity and diabetes, to name a few, Medo is still there. Perhaps this is a generalisation, but he does not mind. Medo is an average Croatian dog who used to spend his days on a chain, which was in accordance with the law until recently. In the best of cases he has some kind of a cheap homemade roof above his head and is relatively regularly fed with human leftovers – his family considers him as their pet. Medo is luckier than Šarko – he can have 101 fates, but none of them with a happy ending, as was the case in the story about 101 Dalmatians – ranging from the story that the puppy survives the attempt of strangulation and being drowned in a plastic bag, to surviving a poorly shot bullet (that ended up in his spine, rather than in his head), since he is too old and no use for the hunter anymore, to the typical story in which his owners go on a summer holiday and he ends up on the streets or in a dog shelter. Until several months ago, and with no-kill exceptions, he was given 60 days during which he was either adopted by a new owner or euthanised.<sup>38</sup> All in accordance with the law.

On the other hand, in the daily newspapers we regularly read (good and bad news) about animals, national and commercial televisions are full of stories about humans and animals, pets are the protagonists of our profiles on social networks, we recognise and promote autochthonous breeds (during the last decade five out of seven Croatian

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37 The activity performed by the Shelter for Abandoned Animals of the City of Zagreb was presented during the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans*, in the segment that addressed the issue of pets. Due to conceptual, spatial and financial issues, it is anticipated that the room for the presentation of the interested associations will be provided within the accompanying programmes, which, in addition to the exhibition catalogue, are an integral part of the exhibition and its objectives. In addition, they simultaneously enable direct contact with the public and the potential adopters. The Zagreb-based associations Plava šapa (Blue Paw) and Merida Association for Assistance and Promotion of Animal Lives, as well as Nova arka (New Ark) Centre for Education from Stubičke Toplice have participated by the day of the submission of this paper, whereas children’s workshops and lectures for adults during the period 2015/2016, on the occasion when the Ethnographic Museum became pet-friendly, or prior to the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans*, Udruga za zaštitu životinja Sedma od devet (the Animal Welfare Association Seven out of Nine) was periodically held at the Museum.

38 Simultaneously, euthanasia of dogs in animal shelters was banned.

autochthonous dog breeds got their own specialised publications and one of them even a monument,<sup>39</sup> whilst their cultural, tourism and museographic potential became the topic addressed in final theses of the future museologists<sup>40</sup>, felinological and cynological federations are active at the international level. Moreover, reputable Croatian psychologists address the issue of benefits of co-habitation between humans and their pets, the number of animal welfare and protection associations (those who actually are what they claim to be and those that present themselves as such for different reasons, primarily due to the financial aspect) is unprecedented and they are increasingly busy. Nevertheless, our cities do not only have top officials, but also dogs, whereas the virtual world abounds in animal alter-ego.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, the relationship between humans and animals has become the subject of interpretation of museums and galleries<sup>42</sup> (also in Croatia). In other words, we document our life with animals on a daily basis, leaving many traces. Hence, it appears that history will not be lost again, unless we allow it (yet again). Perhaps we may even find ourselves down that road.

The attached photographs show the objects presented during the exhibition *Of Animals and Humans*, examples of positive practices, as well as illustrations of the selected materials made available for us by our associates, the audiences and the museum users as potential presents in the event of the foundation of a thematic, tangible and

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39 A book is currently missing about Posavina pointer and the small Medimurje dog – Medi in whose honour, together with the Medimurje swallow pigeon breed, whilst waiting to be recognised by FCI, in 2015 a monument was erected in Čakovec (Fuš 2015). In addition to the wall relief for the ‘construction dog’ Pluto in the Zagreb-based Bogovićevea Street, this is the only monument in honour of a dog in Croatia. Monuments are frequently erected as a token of gratitude to (most frequently for official working) dogs, as well as other animals throughout the world.

40 See Đuretić 2016.

41 During the last several years, human need to project one’s image to the animal world resulted in sub-cultures, such as furry fandom movement and that of Twitter users, which transcend the identity boundaries (cf. Wright 2016).

42 Some examples of animalist topics of exhibitions in (other than science and natural history) museums, galleries and gallery premises over the last several years: *Dogs in the Croatian Visual Arts from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to Date* (Prica Gallery, Samobor, 2013), *A Flight to the Past – birds in archaeological heritage* (Archaeological Museum, Zagreb, 2013), *Dog Angels* – exhibition of photography by Robert Orlić (Typhological Museum, Zagreb, 2014), *Zagreb City Zoo 1925-2015* (Zagreb City Museum, 2015), *Monumenta et animalia* (Archaeological Museum, Split, 2015), *All our Animals – animalist topics addressed in the Croatian modern art* (Modern Gallery, Zagreb, 2017), *People and Animals of Dalmatia* (Marko Marulić City Library, Split, 2017). At the global level, it is important to highlight the recent instances: *In the Company of Cats and Dogs* (Blanton Museum of Art, Austin, Texas, SAD, 2014) (BMA 2014), *How Cats Took over the Internet* (Museum of The Moving Image, New York, 2015) (Grossman 2015), *Wir kommen auf den Hund!* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2015) (SMB 2015), *Cats ‘n Dogs – An Illustrated History* (Toitu – Otago Settlers Museum, Novi Zeland, 2015) (TOSM s.a.) and *Play More* (Ugly Duck Gallery, London, 2016) (Wilcox 2016). It is certainly important to mention also the permanent collections at the Museum of the Dog in St. Louis, Dog Collar Museum in Kent, Cat Museum in Kotor as well as a large number of exhibitions, projects and workshops within the Animal History Museum in Los Angeles. Globally networked, virtual museums also operate and address the same topic, such as that addressing the issue of pets owned by American presidents (PPM s.a.) or autochthonous dog breeds (BCM 2014).

documentary Collection of Pet Culture Objects.<sup>43</sup> Simultaneously respecting the written heritage and rare historical materials, the experience of the recent interest aroused amongst the public for this topic has been confirmed multiple times through a large number of inquiries and interviews throughout the duration of the exhibition. This has been achieved through inclusion (and focus on wishes and needs) of the users as active participants in the formation of museum collections and the experience hence becomes literally objectified, which, in a museological context can be considered as highly significant (and indicative), primarily if the contemporary concept of the reconstructed Ethnographic Museum with a new permanent collection is considered, as well as new storage facilities and, especially, new contents for new (and loyal) users.

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43 Working name of the collection. Another proposal – A Collection of Objects of Multispecies Communities, following the principles of multispecies ethnology. Nevertheless, its disadvantage is the broad associativity and the unusual denominations.

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