

A Discursive Analysis of 1950-1990 Articles on Croatia's "Non-European" Ethnographic Collection: A Contribution to Digital Art History



Diskurzivna analiza članaka
o hrvatskoj „izvaneuropskoj“
etnografskoj zbirci od 1950.
do 1990.: doprinos digitalnoj
povijesti umjetnosti

IZVORNI ZNANSTVENI RAD
Primljen: 13. siječnja 2024.
Prihvaćen: 20. svibnja 2024.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31664/zu.2024.114.04>

ORIGINAL SCIENTIFIC PAPER
Received: January 13, 2024
Accepted: May 20, 2024
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31664/zu.2024.114.04>

SAŽETAK

Cilj je ovog rada pratiti i artikulirati promjenu diskursa koja se dogodila u kontekstu „izvaneuropskih“ etnografskih zbirki u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća na primjeru Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu i njegove zbirke „izvaneuropskih“ kultura. Skup podataka za ovo istraživanje nastao je primjenom OCR-a u Pythonu na sve dostupne novinske članke i članke iz drugih specijaliziranih časopisa u razdoblju od četrdeset godina (od 1950. do 1990.) na temu „izvaneuropskih“ artefakata i umjetničkih djela iz arhiva etnografskih muzeja u Zagrebu i Splitu, koji su zatim analizirani kroz *Natural language processing* (NLP) u programskom jeziku Python te Spacyju. Proučavajući članke napisane o zbirci, sagledava se pomak u percepciji Drugoga u hrvatskoj javnoj i kulturnoj sferi kroz vrijeme. Prikupljeni podaci, sastavljeni od osamdeset i jednog članka na hrvatskom jeziku, predstavljaju vrijedan skup informacija o jezičnim odrazima političkih i kulturnih promjena. Kroz njihovu analizu, istraživanje se fokusira na jezične obrasce povezane s kolonijalnim diskursom i anticolonijalnim stremljenjima. Ovo razlikovanje postignuto je razdvajanjem riječi na „kolonijalne“ i „anticolonijalne“, simbolizirajući time jezik kolonijalnog diskursa i diskursa povezanog s anticolonijalnom teorijom. Rezultati analize prezentirani su kroz grafove u Pythonu, ilustrirajući rastući broj „anticolonijalnih“ i smanjenje broja „kolonijalnih“ riječi kroz vrijeme. Rad slijedi pretpostavku da je ova promjena u percepciji, između ostalog, bila povezana s time što je Jugoslavija bila ne samo članica nego i jedna od utemeljiteljica Pokreta nesvrstanih, s obzirom na to da su mnogi artefakti predstavljeni u ovoj zbirci potjecali iz zemalja koje su također bile države članice NAM-a.

→

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to follow the change in discourse that occurred around the “Non-European” Collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb in the 20th century. The dataset for this research was created by applying OCR in Python to newspaper articles and articles from other specialized journals in the time span of forty years on the topic of “non-European” artifacts and art from the archives of ethnographic museums in Zagreb and Split, which were then examined through natural language processing. By studying the articles, a shift in the perception of the “Other” in the Croatian public and cultural sphere over time is reviewed. The paper follows the assumption that this shift had, among other, to do with Yugoslavia being one of the founders of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) since many of the collection’s artifacts originated from member states of the NAM. Yugoslavia’s standpoint towards the Global South as friends and allies and its efforts to implement an anti-colonial discourse is visible through a change in words chosen to describe the aforementioned collection in the articles of the period. These altered narratives also coincide with similar shifts in some of Europe’s biggest colonial museums that stemmed from an attempt to highlight their newly acquired anti-colonial standpoints.

KEYWORDS

Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia, anti-colonial discourse, colonial discourse, natural language processing, digital art history

Martina Bobinac

Antikolonijalno političko stajalište Jugoslavije prema Globalnom jugu kao prijatelju i savezniku te njezina nastojanja da promiče i provodi antikolonijalni diskurs, posebno tijekom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća, jasno je vidljivo kroz promjenu riječi odabranih da se opiše zbirka „izvaneuropskih” kultura u Zagrebu u člancima iz tog razdoblja. Međutim, u članku se postavlja pitanje odgovara li takva promjena i stvarnoj promjeni unutar stalnog postava kolekcije. S druge strane, ovi izmijenjeni narativi koincidiraju sa sličnim pomacima u nekima od najvećih europskih kolonijalnih muzeja, što upućuje na to da su takve promjene istodobno povezane s glavnim europskim muzejskim „trendovima” tog perioda, koji su bili rezultat pokušaja isticanja njihovih novostečenih antikolonijalna stajališta. Kroz opsežnu analizu zbirke „izvaneuropskih” kultura Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu i proučavanje njezine povijesti od samog nastanka pa sve do 1990., tekst pokušava odgovoriti i na pitanje mogu li se takve zbirke u Hrvatskoj promatrati kao kolonijalne unatoč odsutnosti izravne upletenosti Hrvatske u kolonijalnim osvajanjima.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI

Pokret nesvrstanih, Jugoslavija, antikolonijalni diskurs, kolonijalni diskurs, *natural language processing*, digitalna povijest umjetnosti

INTRODUCTION

The inception of ethnographic museums in Croatia during the early 20th century marked a significant endeavor to preserve and exhibit diverse cultural artifacts, reflecting the material culture of various societies worldwide. The establishment of the first ethnographic museum in Split in 1910 and its subsequent counterpart in Zagreb in 1919 laid the foundation for a curated exploration of humanity’s cultures. Central to the discussion in the present article is the “non-European” collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, a repository of over 3,000 artifacts and works of art spanning from all over the world: South America, Africa, Asia, Australia, Melanesia, and Polynesia. The question that looms over such ethnographic collections pertains to their colonial undertones. While numerous scholars have written about this topic, a considerable number of ethnographic collections continue to exist without critical examination, mirroring the legacy of former colonial collections. Established at the outset of the 20th century, the collection has, with only minor changes to its permanent exhibition, endured various political systems and societal transformations, with its permanence raising questions about its colonial legacy. The focal point of this work is the transformative period between 1950 and 1990 when Croatia was an integral part of socialist Yugoslavia.¹

Two main research questions are addressed in this text: Did Yugoslavia’s role as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) influence the discourse surrounding the “non-European” ethnographic collection in Zagreb, and did the permanent exhibition follow those changes? Can these collections be considered colonial, even in the absence of direct participation by Croatia in the colonial project? To address these questions, a comprehensive dataset was generated using optical character recognition (OCR) in Python to analyze newspaper articles and specialized journals spanning four decades. This dataset, derived from the archives of ethnographic museums in Zagreb and Split, underwent natural language processing in Python and Spacy for examination. By examining articles about the “Non-European” Collection, this paper aims to trace the evolution in public and cultural perceptions of the “Other” in Croatia over time.

The hypothesis proposes that a shift in these perceptions is intertwined with Yugoslavia’s status as a founding member of NAM, reflecting its anti-colonial political stance and efforts to propagate a corresponding discourse. This proposition is based upon the assumption that the political standpoint of NAM, emphasizing solidarity among nations in the Global South, would have influenced how these collections were perceived, interpreted, and presented to the public. Furthermore, the paper aligns these altered narratives with contemporaneous shifts in some of Europe’s major colonial museums, suggesting a correlation with prevailing European museum trends that sought to adjust to the changed circumstances brought about by the decolonial project. Anticipated findings included shifts in language, terminology, and

¹ Fromm, “Ethnographic museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 90.

themes within articles coinciding with the aforementioned global and local circumstances.

The second research question delves into the conceptualization of the “non-European” collection in Zagreb as colonial, despite Croatia’s absence from direct colonial endeavors. This question investigates the complexities of colonial legacies embedded in ethnographic museums and challenges the assumption that only direct colonial participation defines such collections as colonial. The paper hypothesizes that the “non-European” collection in Zagreb, despite the country’s non-participation in direct colonial ventures, can still be considered colonial in nature. This is based on the premise that colonialism, as a system, extends beyond direct political involvement, influencing cultural perceptions, power dynamics, and representation.

The article starts with an exploration into the colonial dimensions of ethnographic museums, seeking to discern the defining characteristics of a “colonial” museum. Drawing upon the perspectives of eminent researchers in the field, the discussion aims to provide an understanding of the multifaceted nature of colonial legacies within museum contexts. Following this theoretical groundwork, the focus shifts to a detailed examination of Croatia’s “non-European” Zagreb-based collection. The narrative unfolds by tracing their origins, historical trajectories, and evolving curatorial approaches, with a specific focus on the enduring permanent collection in Zagreb. Subsequently, the article outlines the methodological framework, clarifying the creation and analysis of a dataset derived from newspaper articles about Zagreb’s collection spanning forty years. The ensuing section presents the outcomes of quantitative analysis, offering an interpretation within the context of the research questions. Engaging in qualitative analysis, the article discusses the findings, examining both insights from the dataset and scholarly discourse on colonial aspects of ethnographic collections. Finally, the article concludes by synthesizing key insights derived from the research.

COLONIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS

What makes an ethnographic museum or its collection “colonial”? This question has been answered numerous times by many museum experts and researchers, and yet, to this day, a large number of ethnographic collections remain intact and not spoken about critically, even if they bear an uncanny resemblance to former colonial collections that were mostly a materialized product “of global expansion and the emergence of nationalism.”¹ Needless to say, famous museums like the *Tropenmuseum* in Amsterdam, the Imperial Institute in London, the Museum of Belgian Congo in Ter- vueren, and the *Musée de l’Homme* in Paris couldn’t have turned a blind eye to the dissolution of colonial empires after the Second World War nor to the new world maps and ideologies that were brought with it.² Their implicitly and

unequivocally colonial collections had to be adapted, and with it, a new, anti-colonial, and later, decolonial discourse was supposed to be implemented due to the changing circumstances surrounding them. Even so, many smaller, less known “non-European” collections throughout Europe remain unchanged to this day, flying under the radar of the grim history that forged them in the first place.

Can an ethnographic collection that showcases “among other things, musical instruments, fossils, ethnographic objects, weapons, books and paintings”³ brought from outside of Europe and exhibited in crammed glass cabinets, arranged in an atemporal geographical manner by ethnical attribution,⁴ and anonymous in the sense of authorship, exist without being liable for its colonial implications?

As Ana Sladojević states, “[m]useum visitors are always exposed to certain narratives that are repeatedly revived in a perpetual conjunction within a museum space.”⁵ It could be argued that the first time people were exposed to colonial narratives in a museum space was in the 17th century, when the word “museum was being used in Europe to describe collections of curiosities,”⁶ where wealthy aristocrats and “explorers” exposed themselves and their families and friends to collections of “exotic artifacts” that they either bought or brought with them from their expeditions from colonized “non-Western” societies. These “artifacts” were, in reality, much more complex objects, ranging from artworks to everyday objects and weapons. The aforementioned collections, called *Wunderkammer*, or Cabinets of Curiosities, served as a tangible testament to the European colonial project and the grandeur of imperial nations, amplifying and highlighting their position as those looking from the inside (“us,” “the Westerners”) out (“them,” “the Other,” “the exotic savages”). In this way, the question of defining the nation becomes solved by opposing its identity to a different, “less developed” one.⁷ The duality created through these narratives was perpetuated for a long time, with 18th and 19th century World Fairs following the path set by private collections and Cabinets of Curiosities,⁸ and, finally, the ethnographic and colonial museums as its final form. Some of these forms existed simultaneously, gradually forming themselves into late-19th- and early-20th-century public ethnographic collections.

If the *Wunderkammer*, essentially comprised of glass cabinets filled with trophies taken from colonized countries, was ethically questionable, then the events taking place at World Fairs could be deemed cruel. Both the 1851 Great Exhibition in London and the 1878 Universal Exhibition in Paris presented live exhibits, recreating villages “displaying peoples and their countries.”⁹ Such exhibits, extremely popular at the time, were also known as “the human zoo” and were deeply racist, treating people, the “Others,” as objects of entertainment and curiosity, oftentimes in cages for the “cultured Westerners” to see. “Foreign and mysterious peoples presented in this context amounted to commercialized exoticism,”¹⁰ and their way of life was meant to be seen as

“underdeveloped,” “primitive,” “exotic” and “savage.” It is not hard to see the paradoxicality of this concept.

First 19th-century European ethnographic museums were nothing more than publicly accessible versions of Cabinets of Curiosities or institutionalized variants of World Fairs that “collected, preserved and exhibited materials to construct a collective memory in line with the leading power groups.”¹¹ Ethnologists hid behind the cover story of scientific advancements, traveling on what they called “missions” to colonized areas. From their travels, they brought back objects and placed them in ethnographic museums in the name of progress and research. These objects served as a kind of trophy or testament to the explorers’ travels and conquests.¹²

“NON-EUROPEAN” COLLECTIONS IN 19th AND 20th CENTURY CROATIA

The first ethnographic museum in Croatia was founded in Split in 1910. The purpose of such a museum was described as “to collect objects of material culture: clothing—costumes, furniture, household inventory, musical instruments, ritual objects, etc.”¹³ In 1919, the Ethnographic Museum of Zagreb was founded. Its Collection of “Non-European” Cultures holds over 3,000 artifacts and works of art, a small portion of which is on display within the permanent exhibition. The items within the collection originate from South America (Brazil, Paraguay), Africa (Congo, Ethiopia, Zanzibar, Madagascar, Somalia), Asia (India, Japan, China), Australia, Melanesia and Polynesia.¹⁴

Citizens have been donating objects to Zagreb’s Ethnographic Museum continuously since the founding of the collection, which is subsequently mostly comprised of gifts, that is, donations. To a lesser extent, there were purchases of individual items, so the collection cannot be considered as a targeted, coherent, and harmonious assembly, as claimed by Marija Živković in a catalog that follows the history of the collection and its temporary exhibitions.¹⁵ The collection was largely founded and expanded as a direct result of sizeable donations from brothers Mirko (1871–1913) and Stevo (1871–1936) Seljan, Croatian researchers who spent part of their lives traveling and collecting objects from Africa and South America,¹⁶ Milka Trnina (1863–1941), a Croatian opera singer who donated objects from Japan, China and India, and many others, notably Dragutin Lerman (1863–1918), Croatian explorer of Congo.¹⁷ In the African state of Congo, Lerman was a member of the expedition of explorer Henry M. Stanley. In the service of the Belgian government and the ruler Leopold II, Dragutin Lerman became Commissioner General for Eastern Congo.¹⁸ Under the guise of exploring the Congo area, the expedition ended with Belgium colonizing said African country, after which it became an official Belgian colony at the Berlin Conference in 1884–1885. The reign of Leopold II in Congo was marked by great brutalities by the colonizers and resulted in the deaths of ten million

- 2 Aldrich, “Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe,” 143–145.
- 3 Carrer, “The Display of Art,” 83.
- 4 Sladojević, *Muzej afričke umetnosti*, 65.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 13.
- 6 Lewis, “museum.”
- 7 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 8 Fromm, “Ethnographic museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage,” 91.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Chen, Khoury, “Decolonization of Past and Present Identities,” 954.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 See: “Povijest muzeja.”
- 14 Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 9.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 16 See: “Seljan, Mirko i Stevo.”
- 17 See: “Lerman, Dragutin.”
- 18 Kus-Nikolajev, *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*, 85.

people.¹⁹ During his stay in Congo, Lerman gathered an extensive collection of artifacts and artworks from the area.

Pieter ter Kreuz argues in his article “Things of the Past? Museums and Ethnographic Objects” that there are five different categories or contexts of forming a collection that make it colonial. These are scientific expeditions, military expeditions, individual collecting activities, gifts and small-scale purchases from (non-professional) individuals, and colonial exhibitions.²⁰ To be able to apply each of the categories to the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum’s collection, it is necessary to examine each of the categories on its own.

Ter Kreuz states that “[t]he scientists [...] were sent on expeditions [...] that also had a political aim [...]. The authorities were very interested in discovering and mapping new areas, claiming authority over the area [...], and finding new possibilities for economic exploitation.”²¹ The first person who fits the glove when discussing Zagreb’s collection is Dragutin Lerman, whose donations to the Museum fall under at least two of the five categories — scientific and military expeditions. He was not only sent on political and military missions to Congo under the patronage of Leopold II but was also appointed to many leading political roles and was, finally, even awarded *L’Etoile de Service* and *L’Ordre Royal du Lion* by the Belgian king himself.²² In addition to that, it was repeatedly stated that Lerman’s “discoveries completely changed the existing knowledge of this part of the Congo. Cartographical data, which he noted for the first time, have been included in all future official maps of the Congo” and that he also “participated in demarcating the border between the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola.”²³ There was even a waterfall in Congo Lerman named after Petar Zrinski, a Croatian historical figure.²⁴ From what can be seen, Lerman was not only a part of a mission that exploited, conquered, and appropriated the Congo, but a valuable member and a decision-making figure. Seeing as the Collection of “Non-European” Cultures holds almost the entirety of what could be described as Lerman’s military pray, it could be argued that almost 50% of the collection is undoubtedly colonial. Two other of the five Ter Kreuz’ categories, individual collecting activities and gifts from individuals, describe almost the entire other half of the collection, namely gifts by Mirko and Stevo Seljan, Milka Trnina, and Katarina Carić.²⁵

Even so, can a museum collection be deemed colonial if the country housing it hasn’t directly colonized another country? Croatia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time of Dragutin Lerman’s and the brothers Seljan’s travels. Neither Austria nor Hungary participated directly in the European colonial project of overseas expansion, and Croatia itself was on the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, prompting some researchers to consider its “Otherness” in relation to the center of the Empire.²⁶ Even though “Slavic peoples in the Monarchy” cannot be perceived “in the binary opposition of the ‘colonial master’ and the ‘colonized subjects’ characteristic of postcolonial theory,” they can still be viewed as coming from “the position of minorities.”²⁷

¹⁹ Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 18.

²⁰ Ter Kreuz, “Things of the Past?,” 69–72.

²¹ *Ibid*, 69.

²² Slukan Altić, “The Croatian explorer Dragutin Lerman,” 10.

²³ *Ibid*, 1–2.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

²⁵ Doctor Katarina Carić (1920–2013) was part of the medical personnel of the World Health Organization (WHO). See: “Noć muzeja 2016. / Program u Etnografskom muzeju Zagreb.”

²⁶ Sauer, “Habsburg Colonial;” Bobinac, “The Habsburg Legacy.”

²⁷ Cf. Sauer, “Habsburg Colonial;” Bobinac, “The Habsburg Legacy,” 239, 244.

²⁸ Even the Collection of “Non-European” Cultures in Zagreb holds 26 objects donated by another Croat who worked in Congo under Leopold II, Franjo Marek. See: Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 15.

²⁹ Chen, Khoury, “Decolonization of Past and Present Identities,” 7.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

³¹ *Ibid*, 16.

³² Křížová, Malečková, “Central Europe and the ‘Non-European Others’,” 13.

³³ Jurica, “Blurring History,” 137.

³⁴ Křížová, Malečková, “Central Europe and the ‘Non-European Others’,” 26.

³⁵ Sladojević, *Muzej afričke umetnosti*, 22.

³⁶ Rein, “Competences and Responsibilities of Ethnographic Museums,” 196.

³⁷ Kus-Nikolajev, *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*, 9.

³⁸ Kus-Nikolajev, *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*, 79–80.

³⁹ Sladojević, *Muzej afričke umetnosti*, 84.

Furthermore, Lerman wasn’t the only explorer who ventured off to countries colonized by the West: many Austro-Hungarian civilians went on “exploratory missions,”²⁸ whether that be in a private or, more often, a formal arrangement, as representatives of certain institutions.²⁹ Upon his return, for instance, Lerman was praised for his great contribution to science and geography. Therefore, “by engaging in this Western model of ‘development’ and by exporting it overseas, Austro-Hungarian ‘explorers’ made an important political contribution to the colonial project as a whole”³⁰ and, as a result, were a part of it, both formally, through what is known as “imperialism of trade”³¹ and informally, through individual overseas “research” missions. Marketa Križova and Jitka Malečková mention Christoph Kamissek and Jonas Kreienbaum’s notion of the “colonial cloud” and Ulla Vuorela’s term “colonial complicity,” which show that mere “aspirations of non-colonizers to partake in the colonial hegemony over the non-European world”³² are enough to make them complicit through mentality and ideology.³³

The inspiration for creating this type of Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb in the first place was, without a doubt, drawn from the legacy of a typical colonial institution from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, together with the name it borrowed from other colonial museums—the “Non-European” Collection, which implies “an essential difference between Europe and the rest of the world and European superiority.”³⁴ Whether this was the mere byproduct of following the then-trends in most European museums, or a way for the Museum to try and align itself with the “West” by perpetuating and reproducing colonial ideologies, it cannot be conclusively determined. Ana Sladojević insists that “a museum that represents cultures other than the dominant one serves not only for the creation of a national identity in relation to what it is not but also for the extension of identity through the appropriation of what it is not.”³⁵

After the objects collected by the explorers had been removed from their original context and detached from their setting, they were placed within the museum walls. In the process of being housed in a museum, the objects went through a semantic transformation that ultimately prepared them for their final resting place: the permanent exhibition.³⁶ This way, the last point of Ter Kreuz’ colonial collection requirements, the colonial exhibition, has been fulfilled.

THE PERMANENT EXHIBITION THROUGH THE DECADES

The book *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu* [A Walks Through the Ethnographic Museum of Zagreb] by Mirko Kus-Nikolajev, a curator who worked at the Ethnographic Museum in the moment of the book’s publication in 1927, only eight years after the Museum’s founding, gives an insight into the opinion of experts on owning such a collection. Kus-Nikolajev states that “ethnology seeks to carry out its main task, especially to investigate the cultural history of

the primitive part of humanity, in such a way as to gather all cultural elements in their various forms [...]. The collection of these cultural elements must go at a fast pace because the cultures of primitive peoples, as well as the primitive strata of individual peoples that give us this material, are lost more and more on a daily basis under the pressure of aggressive penetration of European culture and its techniques.”³⁷ This is not the only startling notion given by museum workers at the time. In Nikolajev’s Guide, other peculiar descriptions of the countries, or, better said, continents represented in the collection, can be found. When writing about Australia and Oceania, Nikolajev states that “the Australian continent has retained the ethnological character of the greatest primitivism and underdevelopment... All this is the reason that both the material and spiritual culture of Australians is at the lowest level of all primitive peoples [...], especially in spiritual culture [...], and even if the Australian collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb is small, it still gives, considering the poverty of the culture... a fairly complete picture.”³⁸

The way in which the artifacts and artworks from the collection were first presented correlates with Nikolajev’s writings: a portion of the collection was presented in a separate room as a part of the permanent exhibition, while the objects were put in glass cabinets, which, one could argue, draw an uncanny similarity to the 17th and 18th century *Wunderkammer*. The Collection of “Non-European” Cultures was located on the ground floor of the building, in hall IX, where it resides to this day, sectioned off geographically by continents, starting with Asia and ending with Africa. All of the objects in the cabinets were and remain anonymous, with no mentions of the authors. Their entire identities become tied to the name of the explorer who donated them to the Museum and the colonized continent or country from which they were taken. With the exception of the *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*, there are not many sources that discuss the formal organization of the collection, the room, display cases, and lighting. This kind of topographical curatorial concept, where objects are classified by being “non-European,” is, as previously mentioned, typical of colonial exhibitions and collections.³⁹ It invites its visitors to take a look at the world as a map of its colonized parts, as a kind of trophy, showing all the nations that Europe’s colonial “forces” were able to “subdue.”

The Museum went through its first renewal and reorganization of permanent exhibitions in 1935. The authors of the new curatorial concept were Božidar Širola, Milovan Gavazzi, and Vladimir Tkalčić. At that point, the Collection of “Non-European” Cultures was slightly larger than in 1927, but the composition did not change significantly. More detailed information about changes to the lineup is lacking, but judging by the information on later versions, nothing was significantly changed until 1972.

By the end of the 1960s, an adaptation and renovation of the entire Museum started and lasted for almost four years. The collections were once again opened in 1972. The author of

the permanent exhibition of “Non-European” Cultures was Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, the Museum’s curator in charge of this collection. The Museum did go through a major renovation, but the “Non-European” Collection was mainly kept in its original form, still having glass cabinets holding mixed objects and divided roughly by continents from which they originate, while the storyline followed the lives of the donors to the collection (Fig. 1).

DATA AND METHODS

The dataset that was collected within this research consists of newspaper articles and articles from other specialized journals, published in the time span of forty years (from 1950 to 1990), on the topic of “non-European” artifacts and art in Croatian ethnographic museums’ collections that were available in Split and Zagreb. There were eighty-one articles in total: eighteen articles from the 1950s (1954: one article, 1956: eight articles, 1957: six articles, 1958: two articles, 1959: one article), twenty-seven articles from the 1960s (1964: one article, 1965: eighteen articles, 1966: five articles, 1967: three articles), seventeen articles from the 1970s (1972: two articles, 1973: two articles, 1974: one article, 1976: seven articles, 1977: three articles, 1978: two articles) and nineteen articles from the 1980s (1980: eight articles, 1981: two articles, 1982: five articles, 1984: one article, 1986: two articles, 1989: one article). Articles were written by both museum professionals, mostly Aleksandra Sanja Lazarević, and journalists, most frequently anonymous. Some of the other recurring authors are Anka Simić-Bulat and Josip Škunca. Newspapers that featured articles about the collection were *Borba*, *Narodni list*, *Pregled*, *Telegram*, *Večernji list*, *Vijesti INA-e* and *Vjesnik*. *Čovjek i prostor* and *Vijesti društva muzejsko-konzervatorskih radnika* were the two specialized journals that, from time to time, published articles on the topic of the collection of “non-European” cultures. It is interesting to examine the frequency and number of articles by year. In 1965, a record of eighteen articles were written about the collection, followed by 1956 and 1980, with each year having eight articles, 1976 seven, and 1957 six articles on the topic of the “non-European” cultures collection. The years that have a higher number of articles usually align with periods of time when large exhibitions were held at the Museum. For example, in 1965, two large exhibitions related to the “non-European” collection were taking place: *Kongo iz Lermanovih dana* [Congo from the Lerman Days] and *Crnačka umjetnost* [Black Art], and in 1980, the exhibition *Iz kulturne riznice nesvrstanih* [From the Cultural Treasury of the Non-aligned] was organized. All of the aforementioned exhibitions were related to and partly organized by UNESCO.⁴⁰

The dataset was created by extracting “colonial” and “anti-colonial” words from the eighty-one articles in Croatian language. After the formation of a thesaurus of colonial and anti-colonial words, natural language processing was applied to this dataset in Python and Spacy in order to analyze the change in discourse over the observed time period. It is



Fig. / Sl. 1 The Permanent Exhibition of “Non-European Collections” (1972 – today). Source: Živković, Marija (ed.), *Hrvatska i svijet: Afričke zbirke u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, Etnografski muzej, 2017. / Stalni postav „izvaneuropskih zbirki” (od 1972. do danas). Izvor: Živković, Marija (ur.), *Hrvatska i svijet: Afričke zbirke u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu*, Zagreb, Etnografski muzej, 2017.



Fig. / Sl. 2 The dataset of colonial and anti-colonial words. / Skup podataka kolonijalnih i antikolonijalnih riječi.

DIGITAL ART HISTORY | DIGITALNA POVIJEST UMJETNOSTI

crucial to emphasize that the “colonial” words stand for what would typically be labeled as colonial discourse, while the “anti-colonial” words stand for what is usually attributed to anti-colonial discourse. This research does not examine the existence of decolonial discourse in the articles. The words were divided by grammatical categories into adjectives and nouns. Verbs were not used in this research. By applying natural language processing on this dataset in Python and Spacy⁴¹ and implementing these lists of “colonial” and “anti-colonial” words on the whole dataset, an analysis of texts through time is examined.⁴²

The “colonial” words include, among others: racial and ethnic labels, such as the word *crnačko* [black], which perpetuate stereotypes and reinforce hierarchies; pejorative adjectives, such as *najprimitivniji* [the most primitive], *primitivni* [primitive], *divljački* [savage] and *polu-kulturni* [semi-cultured] that imply inferiority or lack of civilization and have roots in colonial justification for dominance; exoticizing and othering terms, such as *egzotični* [exotic], *uzbudujući* [exciting], *atraktivni* [attractive], *kuriozitetni* [that which attracts curiosity], *mistični* [mystical], *ostali* [other] and *drugačiji* [different] that perpetuate stereotypes and reinforce hierarchical views, which contribute to the objectification of cultures deemed different or exotic; and hierarchical and binary terms, such as *necivilizirani* [uncivilized], *strani* [foreign] and *nezapadnjački* [non-Western], that emphasize binary distinctions that align with colonial structures and empower them by contributing to the narrative of cultural superiority of the “West” and the inferiority of “Others.”

The “anti-colonial” words, extracted on the basis of their association with anti-colonial discourse are, to name some: terms emphasizing equality, such as *ravnopravnost* [equality], *zajednica* [community] and *integralno* [integral] that highlight equality and challenge norms enforced by colonial narratives (words such as *ravnopravnost* [equality] and *ravnopravno* [equal] suggest an inclusive approach that rejects hierarchical norms); terms indicative of collaboration, such as *suradnja* [collaboration], *prijateljski* [friendly] and *zblizavanje* [rapprochement or bonding], that hint at an inclusive approach, countering colonial tendencies of exploitation and dominance; and anti-colonial and emancipatory concepts, such as *europocentričan* [Europocentric], *kolonijalistička* [colonial], *političko* [political], *otpor* [resistance], *oslobođenje* [liberation], *nesvrstanost* [non-alignment] and *nezavisnost* [independence], terms representing a commitment to emancipatory ideas while challenging colonialism, Eurocentrism, and promoting political awareness, resistance, and liberation, reflecting a rejection of colonial structures.

The results are presented by using graphs in Python that show the number of “anti-colonial” and a decline of “colonial” words as time progresses, where the change of global consciousness on topics of imperialism and colonial expeditions as well as Europe’s and Yugoslavia’s attempt to start implementing an anti-colonial discourse is reflected in the Croatian collection and related articles (Fig. 2, Fig. 3,

40 More on these exhibitions later in the text. Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 64–65.

41 The programming was conducted with the generous help and expertise of Tomislav Bratić, mag. ing. comp.

42 Machine learning and Natural Language Processing (NLP) are highly valuable for research involving large textual corpora, such as linguistics, art history, literary studies, historical document analysis, and political science. NLP libraries like spaCy in Python help extract information by utilizing pre-trained models. This allows researchers to eliminate noise in the text in a custom, case-by-case manner, enabling them to focus only on important data and identify patterns in texts spanning significant periods or geographical areas. This is achieved through techniques such as tokenization and part-of-speech tagging. These emerging tools in digital humanities greatly support qualitative analysis by providing quantitative overviews of the subjects under study by processing human speech using computer algorithms and tools.

Fig. 4). The largest number of “colonial” words was present in the 1950s. The percentage of “anti-colonial” adjectives (12.7%) and “anti-colonial” nouns (33.8%) amounts to a total of 46.5%, which means that in the 1950s, there were more “colonial” (53.6%) words. This result is understandable since the Non-Aligned Movement was not yet officially established, and the decolonization of colonized countries was still in process. A significant change can be observed in the 1960s. The percentage of total “anti-colonial” words was 81.3%, which was almost double the amount from the 1950s, while the percentage of “colonial” words declined to 18.7%. This “anti-colonial” vs. “colonial” word ratio became more or less stagnant for the rest of the observed time period. The largest percentage of total “anti-colonial” words occurred in the 1970s, with 83.1%, while a slight incline from the number of “colonial” words (17.3%) in the 1970s can be observed in the 1980s pie chart. While the percentage of “anti-colonial” words remains high in the 1980s, a slight increase in “colonial” words suggests nuanced shifts. This could be influenced by changing geopolitical landscapes and Yugoslavia’s changed positionality in the late Cold War period.

ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUM’S ARCHIVES: WHAT JOURNALS WROTE ABOUT THE COLLECTION

The statistical shifts in discourse can be better contextualized by reading and examining the articles in question, or, by carrying out a qualitative analysis to add to the quantitative data from the previous chapter. As can be seen from the data, after the Second World War and all throughout the 1950s, a similar discourse to the one used by Kus-Nikolajev is present in most of the newspaper articles. The use of adjectives such as “exotic,” “distant,” even “savage,” and “primal” can be noticed, and it is quite visible that what could be seen as colonial discourse is still very much present. What is mostly written about are the Croatian explorers, predominantly the Seljan brothers and Dragutin Lerman, and their lives and adventures in the “wild” and “uncivilized” world. A clear difference can also be seen between the texts written by newspaper journalists, museum professionals, and art historians, who are much more prudent with their choice of words. This difference will be visible all throughout the second half of the 20th century but becomes more blurred as time progresses. One newspaper article from 1954, for example, states the following: “The most primitive culture is expressed in items from the Belgian Congo. Dwarves live almost exclusively in this area, living only by hunting and gathering roots, tubers, snakes, and other grubs. The swords, arrows, bows, clothing, and ornaments brought from Oceania belong to the tribes of the Philippines and the Fiji Islands, who once had a good taste for human flesh. A stuffed head with preserved hair is a valuable rarity for the museum. The exhibition will be very curious in every way. It will attract not only children who are interested in spears, arrows, tomahawks, and masks as a kind of curiosity but also older people who will observe the objects as a representation of

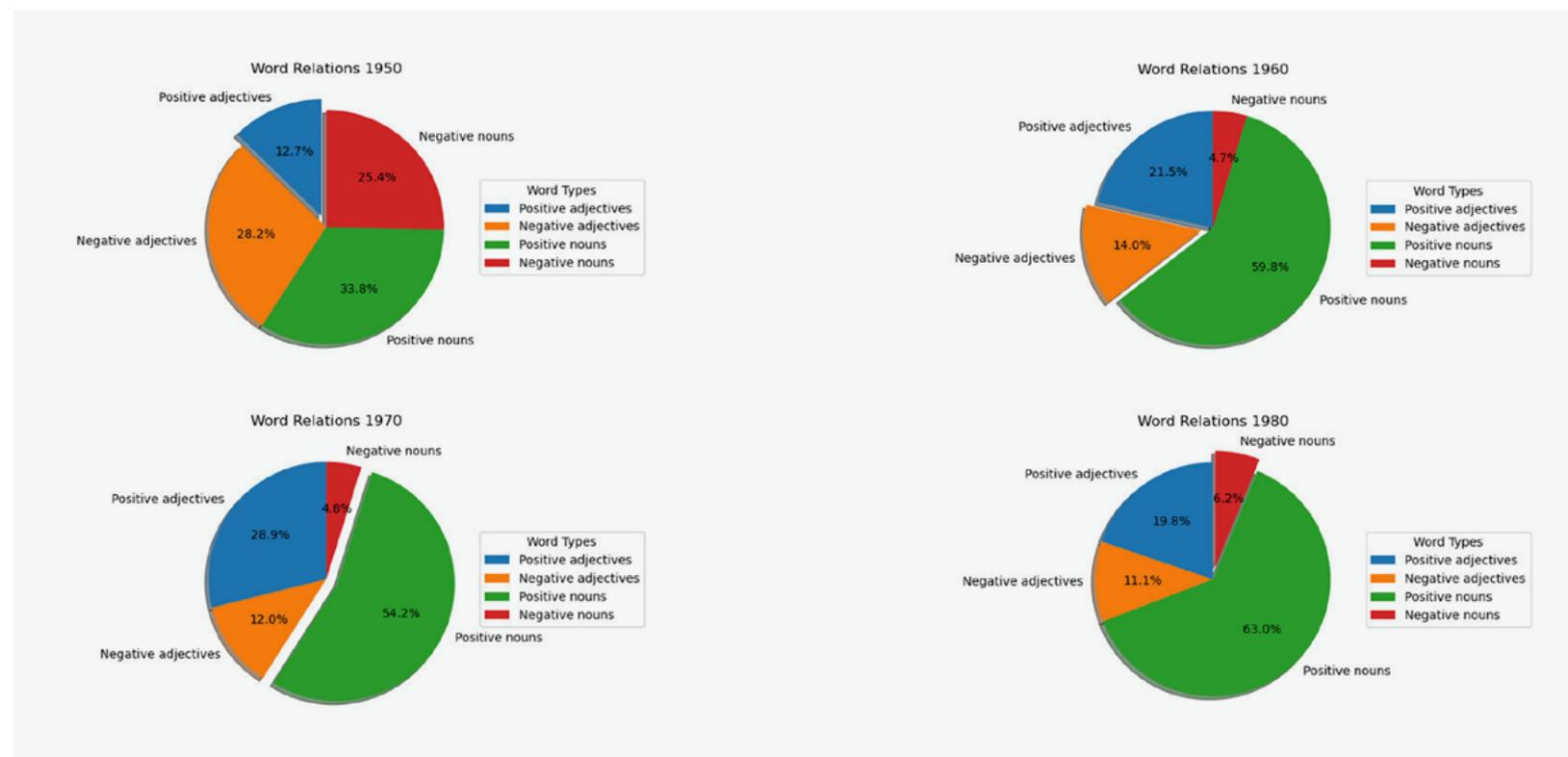


Fig. / Sl. 3 Pie charts created in Python that show the change in discourse over time. / Grafički prikazi izrađeni u programskom jeziku Python koji prikazuju promjenu diskursa tijekom vremena.

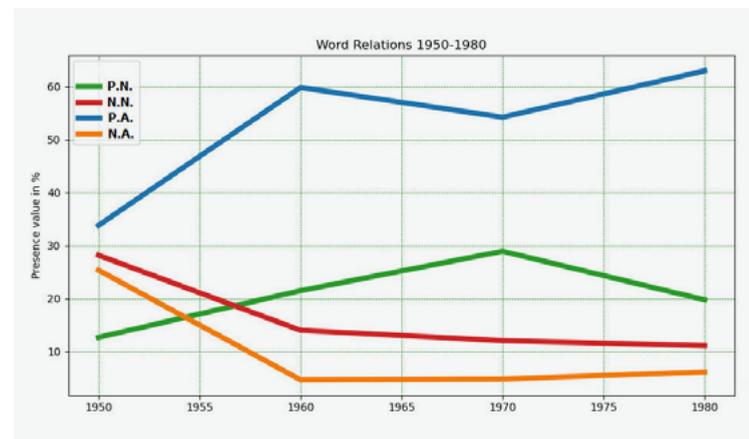


Fig. / Sl. 4 The chart of word relations through the decades created in Python. / Grafikon odnosa među riječima kroz desetljeća izrađen u programskom jeziku Python.

↑

the culture of less civilized countries on other continents.”⁴³

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a visible change in discourse. In 1961, Yugoslavia was one of the founding members of the Non-Aligned Movement.⁴⁴ This meant siding with the “third option,” stating itself as neutral between the “East” and the “West” while aligning with African, Asian, and South American countries, describing them as friends and allies. In turn, the alliance resulted in what seemed to be stronger cultural, political, and economic ties and exchanges with a number of the NAM states, which consecutively reflected on many cultural institutions across Yugoslavia that had to adapt to new cultural policies. During this period, the Museum’s approach to the Collection of “Non-European” Cultures changed significantly compared to the earlier years. An accent was put on the collaboration between Croatia and the cultures and nations whose artifacts and artworks were presented in the collection. It was manifested in multiple successful temporary exhibitions held in the second half of the 20th century,⁴⁵ where dialogue between countries existed, while Lazarević stated in numerous different articles in various papers that more emphasis should be put on mutual understanding and collaboration. For example, in an article published on December 11, 1965 in *Telegram*, Aleksandra-Sanja Lazarević wrote: “For the black world, the problem is that, in the twentieth century, it also participates in the universal aspirations [...] faced more and more, today, with works of black art and ‘blackness.’ [...] We approach it not as a fact that would define the term ‘racial’ but as content that reveals, indeed, the totality of a culture. Soon, a cultural balance between our and black art will be possible in the light of our common integral civilization.”⁴⁶

In the mid-1960s, a clear difference in discourse slowly started to be noticed in most articles. Phrases such as “integral civilization,” “international cooperation,” and “friendly nations” are a novelty that previously could not have been found in the newspapers and even in professional specialized magazines. Describing Yugoslavia’s positioning during the Cold War, Paul Stubbs has claimed that “[o]ften, it is the flexible liminality of Yugoslavia’s positionality that is striking: in some moments speaking on behalf of ‘developing countries;’ at other times standing back and differentiating themselves from those countries; and even, on occasions, presenting themselves as a developing country.”⁴⁷ This shifting of labels is also quite visible in the articles regarding the Collection of “Non-European” Cultures. The NAM itself is often mentioned in articles, accompanied by phrases such as “equality,” “friendship,” and “development.” A good example of this narrative is seen in the article “Dialogue with the Third World: Cultural Legacy of the Non-Aligned in Yugoslavia’s Museums,” written, once again, by Sanja Lazarević: “Between the two wars and in recent times, from liberation to the present day, a ‘third world’ has been created that warns the millennial heritage of how the entire opus, which we call Civilization, is incomplete unless that collection speaks the same ambiguous language as the national collections of these countries speak [...] by their genesis, the

43 Excerpt from an article published in the newspaper *Ljudska pravica*, Ljubljana, September 27, 1956. Archives of the Ethnographical Museum of Split.

44 Stubbs, *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement*, 3.

45 Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 64–67.

46 Excerpt from an article published in the newspaper *Telegram*, Zagreb, December 11, 1965. Archives of the Ethnographical Museum of Zagreb.

47 Stubbs, *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement*, 16.

non-European collection in our environment differs from identical collections in other parts of the world. It is neither the result of the colonial expansion nor the product of the passion of a professional collector who, in search of the ‘unusual’, irresponsibly devastates the cultural fund of a nation. With this kind of ideological and humanistic heritage, we have entered our days, recording only a few lonely ventures. Although the protagonist of the ‘third world,’ we focused on him only partially: politically and economically. The cultural dimension is almost completely absent. Instead of continuity, we note discontinuity. [...] For the art of the third world and the art of Yugoslavia, chronology is impossible, but not a dialogue [...] We are protagonists of the ‘third world.’ We have turned to it politically and economically. Let’s focus on it culturally in order to gain its trust.”⁴⁸

What is interesting is the Museum’s distancing from the colonial narrative by way of often emphasizing the fact that Croatia had never participated in the colonization process. Sanja Lazarević aligns Yugoslavia and the Museum with what she defines as the “third world,” stating that “we are (its) protagonists,”⁴⁹ even though, just a couple of decades ago, Kus-Nikolajev, previous curator of the exact same collection, was looking from the inside out, investigating “cultural history of the primitive part of humanity.”⁵⁰ As Catherine Baker argues, Yugoslavia drew “analogies [...] between ‘Balkanness’ and ‘blackness’ in imagined solidarity.”⁵¹ “The Third World” is not the only term utilized by Yugoslavia to describe the political imaginary of the Global South. Other terms such as “developing countries,” “non-aligned countries” and “underdeveloped countries” were used in its stead since, in reality, Yugoslavia was “firmly situated in the ‘Second World.’”⁵² The fluidity of being the “Other” or exploring the “Other” in the sense of Museum’s, Croatia’s, or Yugoslav identity is clearly readable through the changes of narratives in the articles through time. It is also important to stress that the discourse about the collection significantly changed during this period but that the curatorial concept had, as previously described, remained unchanged, which points to a dissonance between the visual (the collection) and the linguistic (the articles and the papers), where only one of the two embraced an anti-colonial narrative. There is also a key difference between what could be interpreted as decolonial and anti-colonial discourse. Ana Sladojević describes anti-colonial discourse as an “ideological discourse of non-alignment” that accentuated the friendship between Yugoslavia and the Global South but was not postcolonial “in the sense of postcolonial theory” because it was not questioning and officially recognizing the imminent colonial nature of every “non-European” collection.⁵³

However, the anti-colonial discourse present in Zagreb’s “non-European” cultures collection coincides with the same narrative European museums adopted within their colonial collections in the 1960s, 1970s, and, especially, in the 1980s. The *Tropenmuseum* changed its theme in the 1960s, focusing on “international cooperation, development aid and daily life in the Third World” and went through another

renovation in the 1970s, the goal of which was to erase ties with its colonial past.⁵⁴ The Museum of Belgian Congo also tried to lessen the colonial foundations upon which it was built by “broadening its area of interest” during the 1960s and 1970s, the Parisian *Musée de la France de l’Outre-Mer* was renamed *Musée des arts africains et océaniens* in the 1960s, and so on.⁵⁵ Renovations and reopenings of colonial museums and “non-European” collections in that period were more about creating a certain aesthetic of denial and erasure rather than taking accountability for their heritage. The same can be claimed for the Zagreb-based collection.

Another link between the “West” and Yugoslavia was its strong connection to the UN and UNESCO. Exhibition *Kongo iz Lermanovih dana* [Congo from the Lerman Days] was funded by the Yugoslav National Commission for UNESCO, while the exhibition *Crnačka umjetnost* [Black Art] was organized under the auspices of the Yugoslav Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.⁵⁶ Both exhibitions took place in 1965, while, in 1980, the exhibition *Iz kulturne riznice nesvrstanih* [From the Cultural Treasury of the Non-Aligned] was organized on the occasion of the Belgrade UNESCO conference.⁵⁷ Consequently, it could be argued that the change in discourse came from two directions—the connection to the NAM and to the dominant European cultural policies of the time, which are inevitably intertwined. In the mid-20th century, UNESCO emerged as a pivotal player in shaping cultural narratives globally. The Museum’s association with UNESCO became a lens through which we can decipher the dynamics of cultural diplomacy. UNESCO’s involvement also underscores the evolving role of museums in the mid-20th century. Museums cease to be just static repositories of artifacts. What they become, or at least try to, are spaces for cross-cultural dialogue and the promotion of a more inclusive representation of global heritage.

CONCLUSION

The journey through Zagreb’s Ethnographic Museum unfolds as a narrative that transcends temporal boundaries. The Museum’s trajectory shows a negotiation between postcolonial theory, geopolitical shifts, and museological practices. The initial decades, encapsulated by Kus-Nikolajev’s perspective, hold the weight of colonial urgency to “preserve” cultures on the brink of extinction. The permanent exhibition’s structure, reminiscent of earlier *Wunderkammer* practices, speaks to a Eurocentric museology that frames the “non-European” “Other” within an exoticized, primitive context.

As we enter the mid-1960s, what unfolds is a sort of linguistic metamorphosis that aligns with broader European narratives of the period. The discourse shifts towards “integral civilization,” “international cooperation,” and “friendly nations,” which is representative of Yugoslavia’s narrative within the Non-Aligned Movement. However, this transformation predominantly manifests in articles, not in the curatorial structure itself, which raises critical questions about the real extent of this shift. The mid-1960s semantic shift shows an attempt by the Museum to distance itself from its colonial roots. Yet, this appears more as an aesthetic denial than a sincere coping with its colonial legacy. This kind of disassociation between the evolving rhetoric in articles and the persistent colonial structure underlines a complex relationship between historical and contemporary narratives within cultural institutions.

Gabriela A. Veronelli describes the term “the coloniality of language,” which refers to “the process of the racialization of colonized populations as communicative agents beginning in the sixteenth century and continuing until today,”⁵⁸ meaning that the history of languages, their expansion, and relocation, is tied to colonialism and imperialism. Ever since the conquests made by Spain and Portugal, and later France, England and Germany, language has served as an aid and tool in the expansion of the colonial influence of empires. However, there is a duality of colonization through language—the visible one, through the imposition of the colonizer’s language in the colonized country, as well as the subtle, linguistic one, through the relationship between the “signified” and the “signifier,” to use Saussurean terms. By using signifiers that perpetuate colonial stereotypes in everyday speech, the colonial subconscious and the division between “us” and “them”—“the Other”—lingers, solidifying the heritage of imperialism. In this way, colonial discourse remains embedded in cultural institutions. For instance, by once naming their collections “non-European,” cultural institutions (possibly unintentionally) created a binary opposition that became normalized and accepted by visitors.

The Zagreb Ethnographic Museum’s narrative, while embracing an anti-colonial rhetoric, refrains from fully embracing a decolonial perspective. Cultural artifacts from Africa, Asia, South America, Australia and Oceania have, without a doubt

48
Excerpt from an article published in the newspaper *Večernji list*, August 14–15, 1976. Archives of the Zagreb Ethnographic Museum.
49
Ibid.
50
Kus-Nikolajev, *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*, 9.
51
Baker, *Race and the Yugoslav region*, 1.
52
Radonjić, “A Non-Aligned Continent,” 307.
53
Sladojević, *Muzej afričke umetnosti*, 66.
54
Aldrich, “Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe,” 101.
55
Ibid., 144–145.
56
Živković, *Hrvatska i svijet*, 64–65.
57
Ibid., 66.
58
Veronelli, “The coloniality of language,” 108.

and by the mere nature of things, been subjected to Euro-centric interpretations or categorizations during certain periods, if not from start to end, by the Museum that embraced historically colonial practices and perpetuated them for decades. This broader perspective aligns with an emerging academic discourse that recognizes that manifestations of coloniality go beyond clear political engagements. Instances where ethnographic collections perpetuate stereotypical representations or hierarchical categorizations rooted in colonial-era frameworks, including those in Croatia, are crucial for understanding the complexities of postcolonial museology and advancing the dialogue on decolonization.*

•

*

This article is a result of research conducted at the project *GLOB_EXCHANGE. Models and Practices of Global Cultural Exchange and Non-Aligned Movement. Research in the Spatio-Temporal Cultural Dynamics* (HRZZ-IPS-2020-01-3992) supported by the Croatian Science Foundation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY / POPIS LITERATURE

Aldrich, Robert. "Colonial museums in a postcolonial Europe." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 2, no. 2 (2009): 137–156.

Baker, Catherine. *Race and the Yugoslav region: Postsocialist, post-conflict, postcolonial?* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.

Bobinac, Marijan. "The Habsburg Legacy from a Postcolonial and Postimperial Perspective." *Umjetnost riječi*, no. 3-4 (2015): 239–247.

Carrer, David. "The Display of Art: An Historical Perspective." *Leonardo* 20, no. 1 (1987): 83–86.

Chen, Yizhu; Khoury, Aline. "Decolonization of Past and Present Identities: Discussion on the Representation of 'Britishness' and 'Otherness' in UK Museums." *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research*, no. 554 (2021): 954–957.

Fromm, Anette. "Ethnographic museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: return to our roots." *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, no. 5 (2016): 89–94.

Jurica, Ivan. "Blurring History: The Central European Museum and the Schizophrenia of Capital," 137–147. In: *The Postcolonial Museum: The Arts of Memory and the Pressure of History*, ed. Ian Chambers, Alessandra De Angelis, Celeste Ianniciello, Mariangela Orabona, Michaela Quadraro. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014.

Křížová, Markéta, Malečková, Jitka. "Central Europe and the 'Non-European Others'," 11–30. In: *Central Europe and the Non-European World in the Long 19th Century: A Conceptual Framework*, ed. Markéta Křížová, Jitka Malečková. Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag für wissenschaftliche Literatur, 2022.

Kus-Nikolajev, Mirko. *Šetnje kroz Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu — Privremeni vodič*. Zagreb: Salamon Berger, 1927.

Radonjić, Nemanja. "A Non-Aligned Continent: Africa in the Global Imaginary of Socialist Yugoslavia," 302–328. In: *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Social, Cultural, Political and Economic Imaginaries*, ed. Paul Stubbs. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2023.

Rein, Anette. "Competences and Responsibilities of Ethnographic Museums as Global Actors." *Etnolog*, no. 22 (2012): 193–213.

Sauer, Walter. "Habsburg Colonial: Austria-Hungary's Role in European Overseas Expansion Reconsidered." *Austrian Studies*, no. 20 (2012): 5–23.

Sladojević, Ana. *Muzej afričke umetnosti: Konteksti i reprezentacije*. Belgrade: Muzej afričke umjetnosti, zbirka Vede i dr. Zdravka Pečara, 2014.

Slukan Altić, Mirela. "The Croatian explorer Dragutin Lerman (1863–1918) and his contribution to the mapping of Central Africa," 1–13. In: *Symposium on "Shifting Boundaries: Cartography in the 19th and 20th centuries"*, Portsmouth: Portsmouth University, 2008.

Stubbs, Paul, ed. *Socialist Yugoslavia and the Non-Aligned Movement: Social, Cultural, Political and Economic Imaginaries*. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2023.

Ter Kreuz, Pieter. "Things of the Past? Museums and Ethnographic Objects." *Journal des africanistes* 69, no. 1 (1999): 67–80.

Veronelli, Gabriella A. "The coloniality of language: Race, expressivity, power, and the darker side of modernity." *Wagadu: A Journal of Transnational Women's and Gender Studies* 13, no. 1 (2015) : 108–134.

Živković, Marija, ed. *Hrvatska i svijet: Afričke zbirke u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu*. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 2017.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES / ARHIVSKI IZVORI

Newspaper Archives of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Collection of "Non-European" Cultures.

Newspaper Archives of the Ethnographic Museum in Split, Collection of "Non-European" Cultures.

ONLINE SOURCES / MREŽNI IZVORI

"Lerman, Dragutin." *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža*. <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=36132> (date of access: September 10, 2023).

"Lewis, Geoffrey D." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-museums-398827> (date of access: June 17, 2024).

"Noć muzeja 2016. / Program u Etnografskom muzeju Zagreb." *Muzejski dokumentacijski centar*. https://mdc.hr/admin/modules/news/ajax/news.aspx?type=item&newsId=85178&date=29-01-2016&view=list&cbMdc=false&cbMuzeji=false&cbOstaleVijesti=false&cbMrezaMuzeja=false&cbSvi=false&_=1472256000000 (date of access: June 13, 2024).

"Povijest muzeja." *Etnografski muzej u Splitu*. <http://www.emz.hr/O%20muzeju/Povijest%20muzeja> (date of access: September 4, 2023).

"Seljan, Mirko i Stevo." *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža*. <http://enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=55318> (date of access: September 10, 2023).