

Hutsul folk costumes in the collection of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow: a contribution to research*

Stroje huculskie w zbiorach Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udziela w Krakowie:
przyczynek do badań

Rationale for collecting the Hutsul folk clothing

The Hutsul region is one of the most researched historical and ethnographic areas of Ukraine and the Carpathian region.¹ For almost two centuries its mountain landscapes, Hutsul traditions, culture and folk art have amazed

and attracted the attention of both scientists and amateur researchers. This has largely contributed to the mythologization of the Hutsul region, in the context of which the clothing of the highlanders can also be considered.

In the research on the Hutsul folk costume in the collection of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, or any other ethnic groups, it is important to take into consideration several important factors. Firstly, the chronological framework determines the fact that the Hutsul traditional attire, for example from the mid-19-century and the interwar period, differed in typology, fabrics, materials and ways of decorating, which is related to the historical and socio-cultural changes that took place at that time. It is also essential to take into account the territorial boundaries of the Hutsul region, its neighbourhood with other ethnic groups, and the influence of foreign cultures, all of which were vividly manifested in clothing. It is also important to understand the issue of multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism of the Hutsul region (Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Romanians, Germans), as well as a social and professional diversity of the population (peasants, burghers, aristocracy, craftsmen, traders, educational workers, etc.). All these factors had an impact on local artistic and stylistic features of garments. Each of these issues is partially analyzed in this text or will be developed as a subject of a separate study.

From the second half of the 19th century to the mid-20th century, the folk costume was one of the important elements of ethnic diversity, which reflected social and marital status, aesthetic passions and centuries-old customs of specific groups of the population. The Hutsul folk costume is a conspicuous and noteworthy example of how tradition, uniqueness and distinctiveness can be simultaneously preserved. According to Jakow Hołowacki, "the folk costume is not a coincidence, it is inevitably conditioned by the country

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¹ According to the historical, ethnographic and administrative division of Ukraine, the territory of the Hutsul region includes the regions of Verkhovyna, the greater part of Kosiv region and the southern part of Nadvorna region in the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast (the so-called Galician Hutsulshchyna), the southern part of the Vyzhnytsia and Putyla regions in the Chernivtsi Oblast (the so-called Bucovinian Hutsulshchyna), Rakhiv region in the Transcarpathian Oblast (the so-called Transcarpathian Hutsulshchyna) and several towns in the territory of Romania (Suceava and Maramures). However, in publications from the second half of the 19th century to the 1930s, the territorial definition of the Hutsul region is slightly different from the contemporary one formed at the turn of the 21st century. Classification of some areas of the Hutsul-Pokuttya or Hutsul-Boyko borderlands that are in ethnically transitional contact zones remains debatable as to whether they belong to the Hutsul region.



A Hutsul woman spinning wool, wearing an apron (*zapaska*), jewellery (beads and *sylanka*), with a bag (*dziobenka*), Kosiv region, around 1880, Juliusz Dutkiewicz's photography studio in Kolomyia, inv. no. 12850, collection of the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine



A Hutsul wearing a felt hat (*kresania*), shirt (*sorochka*), sheepskin coat (*keptar*), and trousers (*hachi*), with a bag (*tobiwka*), Kosiv region, around 1880, Juliusz Dutkiewicz's photography studio in Kolomyia, inv. no. 11012, collection of the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

and the climatic conditions in which the nation lives or has lived before".² In the absence of other means, the folk costume can serve as a tool for researching the culture of an ethnic group. In his opinion, traditional folk clothing remains unchanged. On the other hand, the ethnographer Chwedir (Fedir) Wowk claims that "the so-called folk costumes are neither as folk nor as old as they were earlier believed to be, but they are just a remnant of the old fashion, borrowings and other conditions that change very often, depending not so much on geographical or ethnic conditions, but mostly on the social ones".³ However, both authors are unanimous that national costumes are an important reflection of socio-cultural events and phenomena at a specific period of time.

Through the prism of research on the Hutsul folk costume, which became one of the most recognizable in the late 19th and early 20th centuries,

the above-mentioned trends can be observed mainly due to distinctive local peculiarities. The variety of forms, multicolour, original techniques of processing materials of different quality, and sophisticated patterns were shaped under the influence of ethnic and socio-cultural factors, the influence of the borderland and cultural transformations. The combination of all these ingredients, with a shift of emphasis, created this mythical "Hutsul style", which is so vivid and unlike anything else.

Exhibitions held in the second half of the 19th century (e.g. the Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow in 1867, the General Exhibition in Vienna in 1873) were one of the first attempts of "promotion" of the traditional Hutsul folk clothing. They offered the contemporary society an opportunity to learn about the folk art of Galicia and Bukovina, and the highlanders of the Eastern Carpathians, including the Hutsuls. As a result of the admiration for the Hutsul region following the exhibitions, there was a strong desire to collect original folk items (e.g. clothing, ceramics, tapestries, chests, icons) both by private individuals and museum institutions (including the

² Я. Головацкий, *О костюмах или народном убранстве русинов или русских в Галичине и Северо-восточной Венгрии*, Петроград [Petrograd] 1868, p. 67.

³ Ф. Вовк, *Студії з української етнографії та антропології*, Київ [Kiev] 1995, p. 125.



Hutsul men in felt and straw hats, sheepskin coats (*keptar*), vests (*serdak*), with neckerchiefs and ties on their necks and staves (*palice*), Żabie (now Verkhovyna), 1924, photo by Mikołaj Śeńkowski, inv. no. 11072, collection of the Ethnology Institute of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Museum of Art Industry in Lviv, the Museum of Technology and Industry in Krakow).

Another exhibition took place in Kolomyia in 1880.⁴ It was the first Polish ethnographic exhibition organized with the support of the Chornohora branch of the Tatra Society, which was visited by Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria.⁵ Hutsul clothing was presented there in various ways and aroused the admiration of visitors. The Economic and Industrial Exhibition, organized by members of the Kaczkowski Society is lesser-known.⁶ The aim of this exhibition was to raise the viewers' interest in folk art, as well as in the development and promotion of folk industry: "to capture, as far as possible, everything that is needed to get to know people who live in these poviats: to present clothes and costumes, dwellings, domestic appliances, home industry".⁷ The sophistication of the workmanship was most clearly visible in decorative features of hand-made items. So it was in the case of the folk costume, which "expresses the talent and taste of our peasant women; because girls do not use French, artificially designed fashions, but create their own patterns; they choose

colours for their costumes not from fashionable colours, [...] but following their imagination, their gift of emulation. And among these peasant workers, you can meet female artists: they invent new ornaments, new patterns or a combination of new ones [...] and their patterns are spread further".⁸

The Hutsul traditional attire was also exhibited at the Ethnographic Exhibition in Tarnopol (1887)⁹, the National Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in Krakow (1887), the General National Exhibition in Lviv (1894), the First Ukrainian Agricultural Exhibition in Stryi (1909), the Home Industry Exhibition in Kolomyia (1912) and other local exhibitions in Galicia under the patronage of the League of Industrial Assistance at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁰ The interest in Hutsul traditional clothing abroad is evidenced by the exhibition in Gdansk in 1931, where knitted Hutsul socks, so called *kapczury* with a multi-coloured pattern enjoyed great popularity – "a new world that attracts and delights a foreigner who is not used to bright colours".¹¹

⁸ А. Ничай, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

⁹ E. Pietraszek, *Muzeum Etnograficzne w Krakowie w pierwszym okresie istnienia (1910–1948)*, "Lud", Poznań–Wrocław 1993, Vol. 76, p. 67.

¹⁰ О. Козакевич, "Ліга Промислової Допомоги" та її значення у розвитку промислів та ремесел Галичини в першій третині ХХ століття, [in:] *Українці і їх сусідзи на przestrzeni wieków: polityka, gospodarka, religia, kultura i życie codzienne*, Vol. 2, ed. R. Drozd, B. Halczak, Słupsk–Warszawa 2021, p. 31–45.

¹¹ В. Вільшанецька, *По виставці українського народного мистецтва в Данцигу*, "Нова Хата", Львів [Lviv] 1931, Vol. 9, p. 2–3.

⁴ Oskar Kolberg was responsible for organizing the interior of the pavilions of the Ethnographic Exhibition, as well as for the evaluation of selected exhibits. On the basis of the sets of clothes, local peculiarities, including the Hutsul ones, were analyzed in detail. In addition to the traditional so-called peasant "rustic" clothing, burgher and petty nobility garments were presented.

⁵ М. А. Туркавський, *Wystawa etnograficzna Pokucia w Kołomyi*, Kraków 1880.

⁶ А. Ничай, *Виставка господарско-промислова в Коломые*, Станиславов [Stanislaviv] 1881.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 42.



A *keptar* decorated with chamois leather, embroidery, cords, buttons, and sequins, Żabie (now Verkhovyna), 1930s, inv. no. 82024, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

Equally popular were scarves from Kosiv – “colourful and warm, because they are completely woollen”.¹² The exhibits were often bought or donated to museums or private collections, and it was actually one of the main methods of gathering and creating collections of Hutsul folk costumes in museums in the late 19th century and until the 1930s.

Another effective factor in popularizing the Hutsul traditional clothing were visual sources such as photography and paintings. One of the most famous photographers who captured the types of inhabitants of the Hutsul region at the end of the 19th century was Juliusz Dutkiewicz.¹³ Some of his photos are featured in the album of the 1880 Ethnographic Exhibition in Kolomyia. The folk types, including the Hutsul ones, were presented by photographer Alfred Silkiewicz during the Ethnographic Exhibition in Tarnopol in 1887. The inhabitants of the Hutsul region and its landscapes were captured by Henryk Poddębski during his travels in the interwar period. The

unique colours of the Hutsul traditional costume from the years 1920–1930 (mainly from the Verkhovyna region) are visible in the photographs of Mykola Seńkowski, and from the Transcarpathian Hutsul region – in the works of Rudolf Gulka. These photos were distributed to museums, scientific and sightseeing societies, printed as postcards, published in magazines, and displayed at foreign exhibitions.

Painters of the late 19th century and first three decades of the 20th century greatly contributed to the promotion of the Hutsul folk costumes. Thanks to the works of Artur Grotter, Juliusz Kossak, Seweryn Obst, Fryderyk Pautsch, Kazimierz Sichulski, Władysław Jarocki, Teodor Axentowicz¹⁴, Janusz Świeży¹⁵, Edmund Bartłomiejczyk, Władysław Skoczyła, Władysław Rozwadowski, Iwan Trusz, and Olena Kulczycka, the exceptionally decorative Hutsul garments fascinated viewers with their archaic uniqueness.

Sightseeing societies played an important role in the popularisation of the Hutsul culture, as they developed interesting tourist routes, compiled guidebooks, discovered folk craftsmen and local workshops, and presented the highlanders' way of life. To some extent, their activities motivated tourists to visit the Hutsul region (especially in the interwar period), and the goods acquired during these journeys travelled far beyond the borders of Galicia. They enriched private collections or were donated to museums, which led to the formation of collections of Hutsul traditional clothing in Polish museums.¹⁶ The Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum of in Krakow is one of such museums, featuring the oldest and quite numerous collection of Hutsul folk costumes.

¹⁴ A. Jankowska-Marzec, *Między etnografią a sztuką. Mitologizacja Huculów i Huculszczyzny w kulturze polskiej XIX i XX wieku*, Kraków 2013, p. 308.

¹⁵ M. Surmacz, *Huculszczyzna oczami Janusza Świeżego. O pierwszych fascynacjach malarsko-etnograficznych*, “Studia i Materiały Lubelskie”, Lublin 2020, Vol. 22, p. 35–46.

¹⁶ Collections of Hutsul folk outfits are also stored at the National Museum in Krakow, the Ethnographic Museum in Wrocław, the Upper Silesian Museum in Bytom, the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum in Łódź, the National Museum of Przemyśl Land, the Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw, the National Museum in Poznań and others. Some contain rich collections, others only single objects.

¹² О. Козакевич, *Косів – осередок в'язання ХХ ст.*, “Мистецтвознавство '05”, Львів [Lviv] 2005, p. 79–87.

¹³ In the MEK archive there is a collection of Dutkiewicz's old photographs (III_390_F (III_00390_F) III_658; III_396_F; III_14508_F; III_88450_F; III_33936_F; III_33938_F).

Research on the Hutsul folk costume: publications and sources

Among the ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of modern Ukraine, the Hutsul traditional attire is the most well-researched thanks to various studies carried out from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s. Most researchers, however, gave sporadic or general information that did not fully reflect the local typology of the artistic peculiarity of the folk costumes of the Hutsul region. This can be explained by the fact that the authors did not attempt to carefully examine the traditional folk clothing. Besides, they did not have the appropriate background and knowledge to professionally characterize the techniques of making clothing, its components or decorative peculiarities. Their accounts were mostly based on the narratives of local inhabitants and often used subjective and emotional descriptions rather than scientific ones, which resulted in some inaccuracies perpetuated in the scientific circles.¹⁷ The Hutsul clothing from the end of the 19th century to the 1930s was described in the works that became the primary sources for further research on this subject.¹⁸ These were written by: Sofron Witwicki (*Historical overview of the Hutsuls*, 1863), Wincenty Pol (*A few features to describe the Hutsuls in Bukovina*, 1866), Jakow Głowacki (*О костюмах или народном убранстве Галичине и северо-восточной Венгрии*, 1868), Oskar Kolberg (*Carpathian Ruthenia*, 1882), Leopold Wajgiel (*About the Hutsuls. Ethnographic outline*, 1887), Ludwik Wierzbicki (*Patterns of rural industry in Ruthenia*, 1887), Izydor Kopernicki (*About the Ruthenian highlanders in Galicia*, 1889), Rajmund Kaindl (*Die Wetterzauberai bei den Ruthenen und Huzulen*, 1894), Jozef Schneider (*From the land of the Hutsuls. Ethnographic materials*,

1899), Wołodymyr Szuchewicz (Гуцульщина, 1899), Sergiusz Makowski (*Народное искусство Подкарпатской Руси*, 1925), Adam Fischer (*Ruthenians. An outline of the Ruthenian ethnography*, 1928), Zofia Walnicka (*Галицький жіночий народний одяг*, 1929), Jan Falkowski (*From the eastern Hutsul borderland*, 1936), (*Western borderlands of Hutsulshchyna. Along the river valleys of the Prut, Bystrytsia of Nadvirna, Bystrytsia of Solotvyn and the Lymnycia*, 1937), (*Northeast border of*



A georgette blouse in the Hutsul style, bought in the 1930s in the Hutsul region, inv. no. 74113, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

the Hutsul region, 1938), Stanisław Vincenz (*On a high mountain pasture*, 1938) and others. During this period, articles about the Hutsul folk costumes were also published in the popular press and magazines.

In the second half of the 20th century, Ukrainian researchers analyzed the Hutsul folk clothing in the context of folklore studies. Some authors thoroughly described ethnographic and artistic characteristics (Kateryna Matejko, Olena Polańska, Iryna Gurguła, Olena Nykorak), while others considered it in the context of traditional Ukrainian folk attire (Halyna Stelmaszczuk, Tamara Nikolajewa, Mira Kostyszyna, Jarosława Kozolanko, Hryhorij Kozolanko). At the beginning of the 21st century, some researchers presented a vision of the Hutsul ethnic costume not only as an archaic rustic phenomenon, but as a synthesis of local traditions, multicultural influences of the borderland, and the permeation

¹⁷ This turned out to be a problem in following research in the second half of the 20th – early 21st centuries: some authors rewrote the data without verifying the information by means of their own field research. There is also a lack of comparative analysis and anthropological approach. This, to some extent, is inconsistent with the understanding that the Hutsul folk costume of the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st century experienced significant transformations, and differs significantly from the folk clothing worn in the previous epoch.

¹⁸ This is a selected bibliography. An analysis of the literature on the Hutsul folk costume is a topic for a separate article.

of urban and rural culture (Olena Kozakevych¹⁹, Wasyl Kocan²⁰).

At the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century Poland experienced another wave of fascination with the Hutsul region and its sacral architecture, culture, folk costumes, customs, and traditional products. Scientists and students of Polish educational institutions participated in field research, which became the basis for thematic monographs, articles, exhibitions and conferences. Among them, there are several works on the Hutsul folk costume (including the Hutsul garments from the MEK collection).

The most reliable description of the MEK collection of the Hutsul folk costumes was written by the curator of the MEK Department of Clothing and Textiles Elżbieta Pobiegly²¹, and of the

jewellery collection – by Barbara Kożuch.²² The authors quoted inventory numbers of the items, defined the types of clothing and jewellery, and described their artistic features (material, cut, colours, patterns). This information has been sufficient for museum purposes, but there is still a need to study the collection in more detail from different angles in order to better understand the uniqueness of the Hutsul folk costume, its combination of monolithic archaism and local diversity, the role of clothing in customs and traditional rituals, and the identification of ornamental features that changed under the influence of socio-cultural factors in the borderland area.

Another important research paper on the Hutsul traditional clothing was written by Alicja Woźniak.²³ It was based on the author's field research in the Hutsul region as well as on the analysis of museum collections in Poland and Ukraine (Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź and the National Museum of Folk Art of the Hutsul Region and Pokuttya in Kolomyia). Woźniak's work is a thorough dissertation illustrated with numerous photos.

Adrianna Jemczuk's²⁴ general publication reviewing the collections of Hutsul art at the MEK was compiled on the basis of the data from "The Yearbook of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum" and descriptions of the exhibits on their inventory cards. However, the information on the subject of folk clothing is limited to individual types of clothes, as the author concentrated more on the large collection of jewellery (over 200 objects) and accessories. There is no ethnographic and artistic analysis exploring local peculiarities of the Hutsul folk costumes in the museum which would explain to a wider audience why this collection is truly unique.

Polish researcher Arkadiusz Jełowicki has been studying artefacts of Ukrainian culture in the collections of Polish museums, including the

¹⁹ О. Козакевич, *Осередки текстильного виробництва на Станіславщині: передумови створення, діяльність, асортимент* [Centres of the Production of Textile Product in the Stanislawiv region: beginnings, activities, assortment], [in:] *W obliczu nowej rzeczywistości. Stanisławów i Ziemia Stanisławowska w latach 1918–1923. Polityka – Wojskowość – Administracja – Kultura*, ed. P. Hawrylyszyn, M. Kardas, A. A. Ostanek, Warszawa–Ivano-Frankivsk 2019, Vol. II, p. 221–247; *eadem*, *Strój ludowy "kolorowych" wsi na północno-zachodnim pograniczu Huculszczyzny: cechy etniczno-lokalne i artystyczne*, [in:] *Na pograniczach. Instytucje i ludzie pogranicza*, ed. R. Lipelt, Sanok 2020, p. 173–194; *eadem*, *Sztuka dziewiarstwa na Huculszczyźnie w końcu XIX i na początku XX wieku*, [in:] *Na pograniczach. Kultura – literatura – media*, ed. A. Chudzik, R. Lipelt, Sanok 2017, Vol. VIII, p. 71–86; *eadem*, *Гуцульські народні в'язані вироби XIX – початку XXI століття: традиція і сучасність*, [in:] *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini. Historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa*, ed. B. Halczak et al., Słupsk–Zielona Góra–Świdnik 2014, Vol. 5, p. 603–617; *eadem*, *Kosów Huculski – ośrodek dziewiarstwa na Ukrainie Zachodniej w XX wieku*, [in:] *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini. Historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa*, ed. S. Duda et al., Zielona Góra 2009, Vol. 3, p. 271–279; *eadem*, *Локальні особливості народного одягу "кольорових" сіл Надвірнянщини XX – початку XXI століття: порівняльний аспект (на польових матеріалах)*, [in:] *Український феномен Гуцульщини: національний та європейський контексти*, Коломия [Kolomyia] 2017, p. 42–47, etc.

²⁰ В. Коцан, *Традиційний народний одяг гуцулів Рахівщини: XIX – перша половина XX ст.*, Ужгород [Uzhorod] 2012, p. 29–30; *eadem*, *Традиційний народний одяг як джерело вивчення та популяризації культурної спадщини Закарпаття*, "Historical and Cultural Studies", Львів [Lviv] 2015, Vol. 2, no. 1, p. 53–60, etc.

²¹ Е. Pobiegly, *Ubiory huculskie*, "Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli. Przewodnik po zbiorach huculskich Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krako-

wie", ed. U. Janicka-Krzywda, K. Barańska, Kraków 2009, Vol. XV, p. 99–117.

²² B. Kożuch, *Biżuteria huculska*, "Rocznik Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli. Przewodnik po zbiorach huculskich Muzeum Etnograficznego w Krakowie", ed. U. Janicka-Krzywda, K. Barańska, Vol. XV, Kraków 2009, p. 119–134.

²³ A. Woźniak, *Wyróżnienie strojem. Huculszczyzna tradycja i współczesność*, Łódź 2012.

²⁴ А. Ємчук, *Пам'ятки культури і мистецтва Гуцульщини в музеях Кракова*, [in:] *Сучасний контент. Музейна галузь. Історія, здобутки та перспективи*, наук. ред. Я. Ткачук, А. Королько, Коломия [Kolomyia] 2016, p. 226–228.



A woven kilim apron (*zapaska*), Kosiv, turn of the 20th century, inv. no. 1159, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



A fragment of the template with Hutsul embroidery patterns, Jaremcze, the 1920s–1930s, inv. no. 1956, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



A scarf, Kutu, 1920s–1930s, inv. no. 10978, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



A woven belt (*kraika*) bought in Mikuliczyn in 1850, inv. no. 1568, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



A men's cap (*klepanya*), Kosiv poviat, early 20th century, inv. no. 30656, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



A necklace with brass crosses (*zgarda*), Kosiv region, turn of the 20th century, inv. no. 27145, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow



Woven bag (*dziobenka*), Kosiv region, late 19th–early 20th century, inv. no. 11228, collection of the Ethnographic Museum in Krakow

MEK²⁵ for a long time. However, in his publications and doctoral dissertation²⁶, he focused on the issues of museology (history of the museum, the origin of collections) and recorded the number of objects and their place of origin (according to the inventory cards prepared during the queries). When referring to the collection of the Hutsul traditional clothing, Jełowicki provided information on its age and number, but did not determine nor analyse their origin and the local and artistic features of the Hutsul folk costume.

A brief summary of exhibitions on the Hutsul region in the late 20th and early 21st centuries

An increased interest in the Hutsul region reappeared in the second half of the 20th century, which led to the opening of several temporary exhibitions in Polish museums: in Łódź (1977)²⁷, Poznań (1983)²⁸, and Rzeszów (1985)²⁹. The exhibitions differed in conceptual design and the number and variety of exhibits presented. They often displayed the same objects because the majority of exhibits had been borrowed from the collections of only few museums, mostly from the MEK.

After nearly two decades, an exhibition on the Hutsul region was organized at the Ethnographic Museum in Gdańsk-Oliwa (2002)³⁰. The next event entitled "On the high mountain pasture. The Art of the Hutsul Region – The Hutsul Region in Art" was held in Krakow (2011)³¹ in the exhibition halls of the National Museum. It attracted great publicity and gained admiration of the visitors due to the fact that it presented the best items of applied art of the Hutsul region kept in Polish museums. Most of the exhibits were selected from the MEK resources.

²⁵ A. Jełowicki, *Etnicyzowanie przedmiotów i jego skutki. O roli ukraińskich zbiorów etnograficznych w Polsce*, "Muzealnictwo", Warszawa 2017, no. 58, p. 208–213.

²⁶ Idem, *Zbiory etnograficzne kultury ukraińskiej w Polsce. Charakterystyka i recepcja*, Poznań 2014.

²⁷ B. Wróblewska, *Sztuka huculska: przewodnik po wystawie czasowej*, Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne w Łodzi, Łódź 1977.

²⁸ *Sztuka ludowa Huculszczyzny: wystawa*, Z. Toroński, M. Baumann, R. Lewandowski, Poznań 1983.

²⁹ A. Karcmarzewski, *Sztuka Huculów, exhibition catalogue, Regional Museum in Rzeszów*, Rzeszów 1985.

³⁰ *Odkrywanie Huculszczyzny. Exhibition catalogue*, ed. W. Blacharska, G. Niewiadomy, Gdańsk 2002.

³¹ *Na wysokiej poloninie. Sztuka Huculszczyzny – Huculszczyzna w sztuce. W 40. rocznicę śmierci Stanisława Vincenza. Exhibition catalogue of the National Museum in Krakow*, Kraków 2011.

The successful Krakow exhibition acted as a stimulus to other events on this subject. In 2012, the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography in Łódź hosted an exhibition entitled "Distinguished by attire. The Hutsul Region – Tradition and the Present", devoted to the traditional folk costume. Less outstanding, yet very interesting presentations of Hutsul art were held in Krosno (2008)³², Przemyśl (2014)³³, Wrocław (2016)³⁴ and other locations. All of the events relied on exhibits borrowed from the MEK, which proves the uniqueness of the MEK collections, and their historical and artistic significance for the common Ukrainian and Polish heritage.

General observations on the Hutsul folk clothing in the MEK collection: value, attribution, research perspectives

The present collection of the Hutsul folk costumes stored at the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum of Krakow has been developed in several stages and is related to the history of two museums: the Museum of Technology and Industry (MTP)³⁵ (closed in 1950) and the National Museum in Krakow (MNK), where most of the MTP collections were transferred after its liquidation. These collected exhibits were transferred as a deposit from the National Museum to the MEK in 1939 and entered into the MEK Inventory Book in 1989.³⁶ The origin of the artefacts is evidenced by the metrics on the objects, which to some extent emphasize the historical

³² *Szlakami Huculszczyzny. Exhibition catalogue*, Krosno 2008.

³³ *Huculskie skarby. Sztuka Huculszczyzny ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego Ziemi Przemyskiej, Catalogue*, Przemyśl 2014.

³⁴ *Bartki, tabiwiki, zgardy... Huculiana z kolekcji Ewy Załęskiej-Szczepki i Andrzeja Szczepki*, <https://mnwr.pl/bartki-tabiwiki-zgardy-huculiana-z-kolekcji-ewy-zaleskiej-szczepki-i-andrzeja-szczepki/> [accessed 02.08.2021].

³⁵ P. Hapanowicz, *Działalność Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowego i jego likwidacja w latach 1949–1950, "Zarządzanie w kulturze"*, Kraków 2007, Vol. 8, p. 62; *Przewodnik po zbiorach Muzeum Przemysłowego dr. A. Baranieckiego*, Kraków 1928; *Miejskie Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowe*, Kraków 1912; A. Kilijańska, *O kolekcjach rzemiosła artystycznego w Muzeum Techniczno-Przemysłowym oraz Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie do 1918 roku*, <http://muzeumpanieci.umk.pl/?p=339> [accessed 02.08.2021]; S. Till, *Powstanie Muzeum Przemysłowego i Krajowego Instytutu Popierania Rękodzieł i Przemysłu w Krakowie. Przeszłość. Stan Obecny. Ogólne sprawozdanie za 1911 do 1913. Szkic planu na przyszłość*, Kraków 1914.

³⁶ E. Pobiegły, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

value of the collections and provide some data on the approximate age of the objects. The main part of the collection dates from the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries (until the outbreak of World War II). The Hutsul collection was assembled thanks to private donors (Seweryn Udziela, Helena Dąbcańska, Cecylia Śniegócka, Helena Krasuska and others).³⁷ It is worth noting that even today there are cases of donating Hutsul cultural artefacts to the museum by individual collectors.

The MEK collection consists of traditional clothing and accessories that complemented and added an air of uniqueness to the folk costume of the Hutsul region. This collection includes women's and men's garments and a few children's items: shirts, headgear, footwear, leather and woven belts, aprons, trousers, scarves, outerwear made of wool and leather (known as *serdak*, *bajbarak*, *petek*³⁸, *gugla*³⁹, *keptar*, *koruszyna*⁴⁰). There are many fragments of shirts embroidered with various patterns, and other accessories such as: women's and men's jewellery made of different materials, decorative bags and various walking sticks (*bartky*, *palice*, *kelef*), powder pouches, pipes, etc. These items have characteristic local features and peculiar decorations, some of which are very rare and unique. Detailed research on a topic requires a separate article, or even a monograph, whereas the aim of this text is to focus attention on the issues of scientific study of the collections of the Hutsul costumes at the MEK, their attribution and the artistic features of a number of exhibits. It is important to establish and corroborate the origin of the object, its terminology (local name), together with manufacturing techniques and patterns.

During the query, objects from the "Hutsulshchyna" boxes and cabinets were selected, and marked in the inventory cards as "Hutsul". The artefacts were photographed (a general view and close-ups); sketches of the cut and measurements were made; the most characteristic elements (ornaments, manufacturing method) were appropriately marked; and descriptions on labels were verified and compared with the actual state to determine whether they come from

the Hutsul region. It was established that some of the objects classified as "Hutsul", "Hutsul region" or "Ruthenians" are in fact of a different origin. There were incidental cases where the article was named after the place where it was made or purchased from. For example, several male Bukovinian shirts from the beginning of the 20th century (not from the Hutsul Bukovina region) were signed as "Hutsulshchyna" (inventory no. 1086, 1088, 8296, 48501, 47635, 8774, 47636, 35114, 34573, 34574 and others). A similar situation took place during the examination of the outfits and fabrics. For example, several women's shirts originating from the vicinity of Sokal, stored in the "Lviv" chests, were labelled as "Ruthenians" (no. 1862, 1863, 1965, 1966, 1968) even though they were similar in cut and ornaments to those in the Hutsul collection that come from Bukovina (also often called "Romanian"). Museum employees explained that the artefacts were usually labelled with the name of the place from where they had been donated or purchased from by the donors. This indicates a need for detailed study of the items in the MEK collections, because only a proper analysis of artistic features can reliably determine their local origin and age.

The reason for the "migration" of Bukovinian shirts may be attributed to the fact that the bright colours and the richness of patterns made them extremely popular and resulted in the publication of an album of Bukovinian embroidery patterns⁴¹. This made it possible to embroider shirts with this type of design outside Bukovina, not only for personal use but also for sale. In the interwar period, traditional folk products were often made by Jews in their own workshops, as evidenced by numerous archival documents⁴². Such embellished shirts were sold at local fairs, for example, in

⁴¹ Е. Кольбенгаєр, *Взори вишиванок домашнього промислу на Буковині* [Ukrainian Bukovinian cross-stitch embroidery], Віндзор [Windsor] 1974.

⁴² О. Kozakevych, *Działalność gospodarcza Żydów w Galicji: branża tekstylna i odzieżowa na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [Господарська діяльність Євреїв у Галичині: текстильна та одягова галузь на зламі XIX–XX століть], [in:] *Wielokulturowe dziedzictwo Euroregionu Karpackiego na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. J. Potaczek, Rzeszów 2020, p. 76–93; *eadem*, *Єврейські осередки текстильного виробництва в Галичині кінця XIX – першої третини XX ст.: тенденції, осередки*, [The Jewish manufactures of textile in Galicia at the end of 19th – the first three decades of 20 century: trends, assortment], "Art and Design", Київ [Kiev] 2019, no. 4, p. 34–41; *eadem*, *Мистецтво українського традиційного в'язання: історичний аспект*, "Народознавчі Зошити", Львів [Lviv] 2013, no. 5 (113), p. 885–906.

³⁷ E. Pietraszek, *op. cit.*

³⁸ A traditional outer garment made of wool for women and men in the Hutsul region.

³⁹ A traditional white wedding garment made of wool for women and men in the Hutsul region.

⁴⁰ A sleeveless leather garment for men and women in the Hutsul region.

Chernivtsi, Kosiv, Kolomyia, Sniatyn, and Stanislaviv. In addition, when a girl got married, she took her shirts as a dowry. Financial difficulties could also have caused shirts to be resold. This model of clothes circulation can be applied to Hutsul clothing, which was worn far beyond the boundaries of its ethnographic territory and had a significant impact on the artistic features of folk costumes of other ethnographic groups.

There are three scarves from Kuty (no. 1097, 1098, 1099), supposedly of Hutsul origin, however, the author has never seen such unique items during numerous studies of available museum collections in Ukraine and Poland in nearly twenty years of scientific activity. The appearance of this type of scarves as an element of the Hutsul folk costume can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, when silk neck scarves resembling a tie (plain or with a floral ornament) began to appear in traditional men's clothing. Such scarves were worn by wealthy farmers and young men to emphasize their status. It can also be presumed that the scarves had a useful role of covering and protecting the neck and shirt collar against contact with leather and woven outfits. Such neckerchiefs and scarves are a vivid example of the influence of the European urban fashion and new trends at a given period of time. In the 1930s, tricot scarves began to gain popularity. Their production centre was located in Kosiv, where they were made by local Hutsuls, but mostly in knitting workshops owned by Jews. It is important to mention that the scarves were not only handmade, but also produced with the use of special equipment.⁴³ The company of Ośtasz Gerthner and Landaw "Gasorejg" was the first joint-stock company of weaving and knitting products.⁴⁴ In a month, for example, the Wilhelm Rand weaving plant produced 800 sweaters and 400 scarves.⁴⁵ It produced men's, women's and children's sweaters, men's stockings, gaiters, and men's winter scarves.⁴⁶ There were also

Lojs Ekhaus's weaving plant, Sznejberg's⁴⁷ looming plant, Majer Simon's tricot factory, and the "Hucul'ske mystectwo" company. In the 1920s and 1930s, as a result of the development and popularization of tourism in the Hutsul region, knitted winter sets (hats, scarves, gloves) with Hutsul patterns became extremely fashionable. Kosiv tricot products were of good quality and gained popular not only in local areas but also outside the region, as evidenced by the recollections in the pages of magazines: "And where are the colourful and warm woollen scarves that they make in Kosiv? But actually, it's very difficult to buy these scarves".⁴⁸ Apart from Kosiv, in the interwar period, knitted scarves were also produced in Jewish ateliers in Kolomyia and Chernivtsi, from where they were distributed to farther areas. Such scarves from weaving and knitting workshops became a fashionable element in the men's Hutsul attire and were widespread in the post-war years. The brightly coloured scarves from the MEK collection were made with the use of special equipment. They added a colourful accent of the outfit but the claim of the "authentic Hutsul origin" of these products is quite contradictory.

Among the most valuable exhibits in the collection there are woven decorative belts and ribbons dating back to the second half of the 19th century – for example, a woollen belt (no. 1568) donated by Helena Krasuska in 1918, with a note that it had been bought in 1850 at the market in Mikuliczyn. This item is primarily of historical value as it is over 150 years old and still in perfect condition for its age. Hutsul belts were primarily made from wool while cotton as a fabric for Hutsul textiles is an interesting occurrence. In terms of quality, this belt is much thinner than the woollen ones of the later period, dated back at least to the first 30 years of the 20th century.

It can be presumed that such woven ribbons, straps and belts were also used for women's handbags (called *dziobenka*, *dziubenka*, or *dziubecka*). The handbags were usually small, square-shaped, and very practical for carrying necessary things and food to "peck" on the way (hence the name). They were manufactured by professional weavers (no. 11256, 11070, 11228, 1134, 1132, 1570, 66464, 1133) and differed in decorative features.

⁴³ Eadem, *Kosiv – осередок в'язання ХХ ст.*, op. cit.; eadem, *В'язання. Мереживо*, [in:] *Етнографічні групи українців Карпат*. Гуцули, ed S. Pawliuk et al., Харків [Charkiv] 2020, p. 232–252.

⁴⁴ ІФДОА (National Archive in Ivano-Frankivsk), Z. 263, Vol. 1, F. 969, "Копии ведомостей на выдачу зарплаты рабочим трикотажной фабрики акционерного общества 'Гассорейг' в г. Косове (1935–39)".

⁴⁵ ІФДОА, Z. 2, Vol. 2, F. 751, "Анкетные сведения о состоянии промышленных предприятий Станиславского воеводства (1938–39)".

⁴⁶ ІФДОА, Z. 263, Vol. 1, F. 1183, "Копии ведомостей на выдачу зарплаты рабочим трикотажной фабрики Ранда Вильгельма в г. Косове (1936–39)".

⁴⁷ ІФДОА, Z. 262, Vol. 1, F. 333, "Акты обследования мастерских по выработке ковров в городе Косове и переписке об использовании рабочих свыше восьми часового рабочего дня (1929–1938)".

⁴⁸ В. Вільшанецька, *Повиставові міркування*, "Нова Хата", Львів [Lviv] 1931, Vol. 6, p. 6.

Everyday handbags had hardly any ornaments and were sewn from a piece of chequered fabric or in the kilimee technique from pieces of fabrics, without a lapel (no. 11256, 1570, 1133). Patterned fabric was used to sew better quality *dziobenka*. If a lapel was made, it was decorated in various ways: with purchased haberdashery, buttons, or braided cords woven into ornamental compositions (no. 11070, 11228, 1132, 1134). The handbags from the MEK collection are from the late 19th–early 20th centuries, from the village of Riczka (no. 1135) and Krzyworywnia, dated 1881, and from Delatyn, dated 1882 (no. 66464).

The original artefacts also include samples of embroidery patterns (no. 1956) from Jaremcza, located in the north-eastern part of the Hutsul region. In contrast to numerous fragments of embroidery mostly on collars, cuffs, and sleeves inserts of Hutsul shirts (no. 14672, 7446, 7407, 24055, 24056, 24052, 11811, 11799, 1924, 7552, 7646, 1194, 8181, 11800, 11803, 72337) which are quite difficult to identify more precisely, these samples are well marked and aesthetically presented. On the oblong towel-shaped canvas, stripes of various embroidery patterns from a specific locality are arranged laterally. The high quality of embroidery and the variety of patterns suggests that such a patterned canvas was made intentionally, with a view to showing it in public. Perhaps this way of embroidering was done during needlework lessons at school, at special handicraft courses popular in the interwar years, and by local artisans to present at exhibitions (similar patterns to these from the MEK collection come from Eastern Boykivshchyna and Pokuttia).

There is also a large collection of Hutsul jewellery, dating from the last decades of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, which includes over 200 items made of various materials (brass, beads, Venetian beads). There are chains (no. 23893), necklaces with brass crosses called *zgarda* (no. 27144, 27145, 16671, 16672, 27146, 1117, 1738, 11118, 8922, 8905), brass necklaces called *szelest* (no. 9581, 71296, 71298), crosses (separate, on a chain or as part of *zgarda*) (no. 13766, 1126, 48613, 6430, 1792, 1123, 23640, 1131, 1126, 13766, 6430), woven bead necklaces called *gerdan*, beads, rings, *czerpaga*, and elements of bridal wreaths.⁴⁹ The number of pieces of jewellery adorning the Hutsul clothing testified to the wealth and status of the owner. There were certain rules of wearing jewellery based on the

age of the owner, social status and family rituals. A large metal cross on a solid long chain (no. 23640) could belong to a clergyman or a wealthy farmer. *Szelest* was a women's piece of jewellery consisting of a large number of brass balls (empty inside), often joined with crosses, strung on metal threads. When a woman was wearing it, the balls hit against one other during the movement and created a characteristic rustle-like noise (hence the name). Wealthy Hutsul ladies often combined several types of ornaments: *zgarda* (with crosses or coins), beads, Venetian beads, pearls, *sylanka*, and *luskawka*, which worn together covered practically the entire chest. On the basis of the MEK jewellery collection, it is possible to identify the local brass centres, the aesthetic preferences of the Hutsuls and external influences, as evidenced by Venetian beads, for example. The artistic skill and quality of brass jewellery is a great example to follow by contemporary artists who presently continue this tradition in the Hutsul region.

Conclusion

From the second half of the 19th century, Hutsul folk art became an ethnic rotor promoting the Hutsul region far beyond its borders. This popularization resulted in an increased interest in collecting Hutsul artefacts and researching the material and spiritual culture of the Eastern Carpathian highlanders. To some extent, this is the reason why there are numerous and valuable collections in museums in other countries, including in Poland. One of such museums is the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, which has unique historical artefacts of the Hutsul folk costumes and textiles, which come mainly from the end of the 19th century and first three decades of the 20th century. Original ornaments, colours and types of garments and accessories show a local variety of the Hutsul clothing. This can be a foundation for an artistic interpretation of the collection. Nevertheless, a number of objects require a more precise attribution, and the collection in general needs further elaboration – in the context of social, cultural, ethnographic and local factors – in order to define and identify the phenomenon of the traditional Hutsul folk costume.

Translation Małgorzata Tarajko

⁴⁹ B. Kozuch, *op. cit.*

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SUMMARY

Polish museums have outstanding collections of folk decorative and applied arts, including from the Hutsul region: they are characterized by local origin and an extraordinary variety of typology of items, workmanship and artistic features. They differ significantly in quantity and condition of preservation. The most valuable collection of Hutsul folk art, especially of traditional costumes and fabrics, is in the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, and dates from the last quarter of the 19th and first three decades of the 20th century.

The article discusses the need for an in-depth study of the MEK collection of the Hutsul folk costumes. It outlines historical determinants of interest in the Hutsul region, and in its traditional clothing in particular. A short review of the literature is given as well as the events that caused successive waves of fascination with the Hutsul region throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. The analysis included only some types of clothing that have conflicting descriptions and require detailed research. This article is a contribution to an in-depth research on the Hutsul folk clothing at the MEK and in the collections of other Polish museums.

Keywords: Hutsul region, Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, collections, clothing, folk industry, artistic features, research perspective