

N Á R O D O P I S N Á

revue

5/2013

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY 5/2013 – AUTHORS OF STUDIES AND MATERIALS:

PhDr. Barbora PŮTOVÁ, Ph.D., (*1985) graduated in Culturology from the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague. Since 2012, she has worked there as a lecturer; currently she is an assistant at the Institute of Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University. Her main research interest is the anthropology of art: Upper Paleolithic and Neolithic art. **Contact:** barbora.putova@ff.cuni.cz

PhDr. Stanislav BROUČEK, CSc., (*1947) graduated in Czech language from the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague (1965–1970). Since 1974, he has been working at the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague. Apart from the history of the Czech language and the theory of ethnicity, his research focuses on migrations (Czech ethnic group abroad or immigration to the Czech Republic, e.g. Vietnamese ethnic group). **Contact:** broucek@eu.cas.cz

Doc. PhDr. MARTINA PAVLICOVÁ, Ph.D., (*1964) graduated in Ethnology from the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, and continued with an internal research assistantship there. Since 1992 she has been working at the Institute of European Ethnology at Masaryk University. Apart from the theory of ethnology and historiography, she focuses especially on the study of folklore and folklorism. She has been the editor of the *Journal of Ethnology* since 1998. **Contact:** pavlicov@phil.muni.cz

PhDr. LUCIE UHLÍKOVÁ, Ph.D., (*1969) graduated in Musicology and Ethnology from the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno. Since 1994, she has been working at the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic; since 1998, she has held the post of secretary and executive editor of the *Journal of Ethnology*. In addition to ethnic stereotypes in folk culture and present-day society, her research interests are folklorism, musical folklore and the editing of folklore sources. **Contact:** uhlikova@seznam.cz

Mgr. Martin ŠIMŠA (*1974) graduated in History and Ethnology from the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno; he works at the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice. He concentrates on traditional handicrafts with a focus on textile, wood, and ceramic materials with respect to the production of tiles for stoves and the construction of tiled stoves. His other research interest is European folk and historical clothing. **Contact:** martin.simsa@nulk.cz

PhDr. Petr JANEČEK, Ph.D., (*1978) graduated in Ethnology from the Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, and in Humanities from the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague. He works as a lecturer for the Seminar of Folkloristics at the Institute of Ethnology, the Faculty of Arts, Charles University. His professional interests include prosaic folklore and the theory, methodology and history of folkloristics; nowadays, he deals especially with contemporary (urban) legends, rumours and anecdotes. **Contact:** petr.janecek@ff.cuni.cz

PhDr. Hana DVOŘÁKOVÁ (*1948) graduated in Ethnology from the Faculty of Arts of Masaryk University in Brno. She is the head of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno and a curator there as well. She focuses on folk religiosity and minor themes related to traditional culture. **Contact:** hdbрно@seznam.cz

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MOVING BEYOND BORDERS: VRÁZ, FRIČ AND KOŘENSKÝ

Barbora Půtová

While different versions of the real world, which are created by descriptive texts, have been modified over and over and attacked as false ones, the fiction world – as constructs determined by the text – can be neither changed nor cancelled.

Lubomír Doležel

The present study is devoted to three little so far unappreciated Czech travellers who – during their travels to foreign countries – went beyond the cultural borders that separated the world of Europeans from the exotic world of “the other”. Like ethnography, this focused on stories of people in ethnic groups other than their own with the intention to describe, understand, and interpret a different cultural reality. These travellers, balancing between belles-lettres, ethnography and ethnology, included in their travel books ethnographic material, presented in the form of involved observation, photographs from exotic environments, and artefacts. From this point of view, their work can be declared an important milestone in the history of ethnographic thinking, as well as the source by means of which the phenomenon of authentic exoticism reached the Czech lands.

A topos exotic¹ is characterized by the attractiveness and disclosure of the unknown, strange, and dangerous. The travel and colonial discourse arose as a secondary consequence of discovering, getting to know and understand cultures that existed beyond the horizon of Jewish-Christian society (Connelly 1995). Apart from colonialism, the construction of the phenomenon of exoticism was significantly contributed by travellers who reflected the ethnocentric interpretation of foreign cultures in their travel books, diaries and reports, which often resulted in concealing, distorting, or annihilating an objective exotic reality. The travellers’ wonder at exoticism often related to the desire of the Europeans to usurp the world of “the other” intellectually and to get control of it by means of scientific knowledge (Greenblatt 1991). The social experience of a traveller constructs the representation of the other and the different; the form of it is determined by culture and society, and it leads to the projection of the traveller’s own cultural values and

norms. In travel books, the different is transformed into the other within the intentions of the author’s personality and culture. The traveller’s own interpretation of the world is at the same time emphasized and consolidated by means of the strange and the different. The travel book genre, which forms and structures the social reality, has been influenced significantly by the persistence of cultural stereotypes (Gergen 1994). In a travel book, the hegemonic thinking of its author has been a priori encoded. Moreover, the creation of a travel book is part of a dynamic process of interaction among individual writers. Anybody who deals with the theme of otherness in his/her writing must define and limit it within the context of the writings of other people.

A certain kind of narrative discourse, which forms the structures of typical images and motives, becomes part of travel texts. Each object of exploration as well as a literary text is the subject of a certain narrativization. It does not exist but as a correlate of a certain discourse formation only. The consideration and creation of a text passes through epistemic violence and it is the subject of power that is exerted over the text. Based on the processes of selection and organization of the themes, the text is given a meaningful form and derives an order of disciplines that describes it. An author of a travel book participates in the reflection and reproduction of statements that relate to his/her scientific competence, rate of knowledge, and power (Foucault 1971; Said 1977; Miňovská-Pickettová 1998; Barbaras 2003). Usually in contrast to aboriginal people, travel books feature the travellers’ interest in exotic artefacts, animate and inanimate products of nature (Rozhoň 2005). When collecting tribal art and artistic artefacts, travellers take the given selected items out of their original context. As a result, these items were viewed as ridiculous, decorative, ugly or as caricatures. Native art presented an opposition to the traditional European canon and did not fit [European] criteria of beauty (Torgovnick 1991; Rozhoň 2008; Winter 2008). When collecting exotic artefacts and writing literary works, travellers applied etic² description, which describes and compares the cultures from the point of view of an observer based

on an a priori specified theoretical scheme. Therefore, a literary presentation of the world of “the other” was sometimes discriminating, patronizing, and marked with prejudice (Petrusek 2004; Soukup 2011).

The phenomenon of exoticism entered Czech travel books especially in the works of three personalities: Enrique Stanko Vráz, Alberto Vojtěch Frič, and Josef Kořenský. The reflections of their existence in the world of other cultures provide examples of a literary corpus which combines interests in collecting, observing, research and anthropology. When analysing their travel books we can see valuable results of field research, such as the description, the comparison and the interpretation of exoticism as well as a way they understood an unknown reality. Traditional travel books usually include a description of foreign cultural customs, and the lifestyle and rituals of indigenous cultures which were considered exotic, improper and remarkable (Greenblatt 1991). Exotic forms of government, diet, clothing, and even diseases became an object of travel-book narration. Different travel books were connected by the aspiration of their authors to provide a complex picture of a different and unknown world because “the bit that has actually been seen becomes by metonymy a representation of the whole. That representation is in turn conveyed, reported to an

audience elsewhere, and seeing turns into witnessing. The person who witnesses becomes the point of contact, the mediator between ‘ourselves’ and what is out there beyond our sight.” (Greenblatt 1991: 122)

Enrique Stanko Vráz

Czech traveller and photographer Enrique Stanko Vráz (1860–1932) occupies a leading position among the pioneers of Czech ethnography and ethnology. His desire to understand the essence of his own culture led him into dialogue with the cultures of other nations and ethnic groups. He therefore decided to visit a number of foreign countries where he studied different ways of life and focussed attention on gathering exotic artefacts including strange flora and fauna. His travel books and exotic ethnographic research included both the description of a strange culture and the comparisons as well, a kind of comparative ethnography. Vráz intentionally disguised his personality “in a veil of rumours and even false judgements at times. His life – that meant his travels. He lived and created there.” (Jerman 1947: 5)

The first of Vráz’s journeys was in northern Africa in 1880. He tried to get from Morocco to the Saharan town of Timbuktu disguised as an Arabian tradesman or a poor Jew. Here he became aware of the low social position of some individuals. “The position of a Jew in Morocco is horrible. [...] He has nearly no rights, he is not a citizen but just a tolerated, despised being.” (Vráz 1941: 31) In the end, Vráz decided to reach Timbuktu from the North-African coast in 1883. He settled down in today’s Banjul in The Gambia. Shortly after his arrival, however, he got ill and joined a slave expedition heading inland. Along the journey, they met members of the ethnic groups Fulah, Mandinka and Bambar with whom they exchanged “cola for chewing, which has the same meaning here as the pipe of piece among the North American Indians” (Vráz 1941: 72). When Vráz became sick with dysentery and fever, his guides left him alone on the bank of the river (Vrázová 1937: 26; Jerman 1947: 13). This was his last unsuccessful attempt to reach Timbuktu. In 1885, Vráz moved to the Gold Coast (today’s Ghana) and he wandered through the territory of the Ga tribe. He took notes of the hairstyles of the tribe members: “Oh, so many strange hairstyles! To make them they needed even wooden sticks around which they wound their hair. The hairstyles featured the shapes of an antelope, an ox, four



E. S. Vráz – *Little Water Seller, Maturin, Venezuela, 1892–1893.*
Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

horns or a porcupine.” (Vráz 1941: 133) At the settlement of Christiansborg, Vráz acquired his first rather heavy camera from the missionaries. (Todorovová – Klápšťová 2003: 345; Kandert – Todorovová 2010: 38). His “notes written sometimes on paper glued on the glass negative, or directly in the negative in Indian ink” (Scheufler 2001: 201) are of documentary importance. Here he began his collector’s activity and visited uncharted places. “Especially along the Volta River, in Akim, along the Afram River he filled many white spots on the map.” (Jerman 1947: 13) Until 1888, Vráz was travelling among the Ashanti (the capital Kumasi) commenting on their art, but also their cannibalism, their habit of eating the hearts of courageous enemies, and human sacrifice. “They kill fewer women than men but even six-year-old children do not escape the headsmen’s knives.” (Vráz 1941: 190) There Vráz collected here about fifteen thousand insect specimens, more than two thousand birds, various mammals, and three thousand other natural products, which he sent to Václav Frič’s shop in Prague and to the National Museum (Todorovová 2006: 9; Kandert – Todorovová 2010: 40).

In the Canary Islands, which he visited for the third time, Vráz met his friend, Czech entomologist Jaroslav Brázda (1861–1918), whom he had met before in Morocco (Vrázová 1937: 54). He declared the Canary Islands a paradise that he did not hesitate to compare with industrial Prague. “Poor golden Prague in your dirty smoke, how deep would you sink if being compared!” (Vráz 1941: 199) Supported by Polish Prince Adam Woroniecki, whom Vráz met there, he left together with Brázda in July 1889 via the Antilles archipelago for South America. After several stops in the Caribbean islands of St. Thomas, Martinique, Trinidad, and Guadeloupe they disembarked in Venezuela. Vráz noticed the behavioural patterns typical for Venezuelans which he remarked on as follows: “One day they would strip you naked asking why you are so stupid, while tomorrow they would share their last bite with you.” (Vrázová 1937: 71) After the death of Prince Woroniecki, Vráz and Brázda settled down in the eastern part of the country (Maturín, Caripe, Punceres). Vráz devoted himself to collecting orchids, hunting, and searching for products of nature, which Brázda sold to European tradesmen. Vráz dispatched, however, voluminous consignments to professional institutions (The National Museum in Prague and the Náprstek Museum).

From the Indians, they learned how to process the balata tree sap (*Mimusops balata*) which served as a substitute for *gutapercha* used for undersea cables (Scheufler 2001: 200). Although they were short of expected receipts from balata in stock, Vráz did not intend to give up planned journey across equatorial America (Vrázová 1937: 88). Vráz started this journey on board the steamer *Bolívar* on 23rd November 1892. First, he sailed up the Orinoco to Ciudad Bolívar, where he spent some days while meeting its inhabitants and getting to know the forms of social entertainment. “There is enough feeling here, but the soul is in fetters of conventional banality. A local beauty can be a lady but never a companion for intellectual life.” (Vráz 1984: 24) Vráz continued to Caicara, from where he sailed the South-American great rivers (via the settlements of Periko, Atures, Maipures and San Fernando de Atabapo) through Venezuela inland on a purchased Indian *curiara* called *Praga*, made from a hollowed-out tree. His departure was watched by Caicara inhabitants. “All the dogs were barking angrily and were angry with the strangers who spoiled their noon siesta, because some of the Caicara inhabitants shot with their rifles and revolvers to greet me and to entertain themselves.” (Vráz 1938: 101) In the South-American pampas Vráz experienced the countryside when riding a horse “and as long as he



E. S. Vráz on a Horseback, Venezuela, 1892–1893. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

was devoted to me, I could roam the wide and far *llanos* happily and jauntily” (Vráz 1938: 188). It was especially the Piaroa and Guahibo Indians who drew Vráz’s attention. They accompanied him on a leg a part of his journey because “he provided them with a little rum three times a day, although he was not too happy and full of fear doing this” (Vráz 1984: 62). The thing is that the Guahibo “know and prepare many intoxicants in an unusual way. Firstly they smoke the tobacco they grow, secondly they sniff substances with toxic effects [...] and they make some alcoholic drinks.” (Vráz 1938: 333) On his journey to equatorial America, Vráz differed from “the others” and behaved like a stranger. “I was something of a mystery to the San Fernando inhabitants. I did not drink, I did not play and I did not possess a wife [...]” (Vráz 1984: 72) Nevertheless, Vráz had to “submit to the customs and magic ceremonies of tribes just to be allowed to sail through their territory” (Jerman 1947: 24).



E. S. Vráz – Woman Grinding Maize with a Hand Mill (Grinding Stone), Hopi people, Arizona, Walpi Pueblo, 1900. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

It was the Makiritare tribe that made the best impression on Vráz on his way along the Orinoco. Their basketry art became an object of his admiration. “At no barbarians’ I could see more tasteful and perfect products than these Makiritare flat baskets, baskets, and cases...” (Vráz 1984: 73). On 21st March Vráz left the Orinoco and moved to the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon, to reach San Carlos on foot on 10th May 1893 (Vrázová 1937: 118). On 2nd July 1893 Vráz departed on board the steamer *Perseveranza* from the Amazon port of Manaus to a small town of Tefé, founded by the Czech missionary Samuel Fritz (1654–1725) in 1698. On his voyage up the Amazon, he reached the Peru border on 12th July 1893. According to his interpretation, the calm life in the Amazon valley is “ruined by the belief in the evil powers of the primeval forest and rivers” (Vráz 1984: 144). There Vráz visited Indian tribes, such as the Shuar or Shipibo-Konibo Indians (Vrázová 1937: 127–128). Vráz even recorded the mummification of shrunken Shuar heads called *tsantsa*, each of which has “long human hair, ears, eyelashes and a human nose but with its dimensions it rather looks like a middle-sized monkey’s skull or a child’s skull” (Vráz 1984: 167). From the primeval forests in Peru, Vráz set out to elevated planes and then to the Pacific coast. On 21st October 1893 Vráz left the town of Moyobamba and continued his journey to Chachapoyas, which “gives a stranger the impression that he has been transferred to another era, to the late Middle Ages” (Vráz 1984: 222). Vráz finished his journey on 30th November 1893 in the small port of Pacasmayo on the Pacific coast where he went on board the Chilean steamer *Maipo* (Vráz 1984).

In mid-June 1894 Vráz visited Prague and became a member of a patriotic society which would meet at Vojtěch Náprstek, a renowned Czech patron. Vráz gave his first lecture at Žofín on 26th November 1894. By the spring of 1895, Vráz had held more than 200 lectures in Bohemia and Moravia. In November 1895, Vráz set out for North America where he gave lectures for expatriates in their settlements. On 18th January 1896 Vráz departed on a ship from San Francisco to Japan. “I have been here for two months and it makes me feel dizzy” (Vrázová 1937: 161).

As a consequence of deep-rooted Euro-centrism, Vráz wrote that Japan is a nation “our idea of which we derived from small tea cups, fans, trinkets and small netzucas, as well as from theatre stages painted on silk paper, from masquerades and flaming paintings” (Vráz 1942: 274).

Vráz also visited Tokio and noticed the everyday and typical beauty of cherry blossoms. “The cherry is reigning now; even beautiful momos or camellias or pears or late wild plums in blossom have to step aside and worship the incomparable rival and ruler of the Japanese maturing spring” (Vráz 1942: 315). From Japan, Vráz headed for China to visit Hong Kong, Singapore and Nanjing. Here he caught sight of the Ming graves. “Having been enchanted, and with the feeling we are used to calling ‘pious awe’, I was standing there in front of the ruins of the true China – a magnificent, fruitful and peculiar China – a China I used to dream about” (Vráz 1940: 66).

Vráz headed next for Borneo (Kalimantan) to Sarawak which he desired to visit because of hunting and observing the life of orang-utans and butterflies. For two months he lived among Dayaks (head hunters) by the Sarawak, Sadong, Sebang, Batang Lupar and Simujan Rivers. His aim was to familiarize himself with the indigenous people and their cultural habits, behavioural patterns and experiences. “The family life is much warmer here, women are equal to men here, and all of them eat together.” (Vráz 1942: 108) Vráz also commented on Dayak clothing, especially that of girls and women. “A knee-long skirt, tight at the waist; the rest of the naked body is covered by brass wire” (Vráz 1942: 183). Vráz stayed with headhunters, but “as early as twenty years ago, this tribe gave up head-hunting. That is why I slept peacefully, if I did not sleep soundly, than at least I slept as one who is tired of so many impressions. And I fall asleep fast, in spite of the reckless, rumbling gongs and rolling drums.” (Vráz 1942: 184) At the Dayaks’, Vráz drew attention to the intercultural variability of status symbols, as a result of which the women required a skull from the men as a proof of their bravery and a condition to marry them, while a European woman “requires a doctor’s or at least professor’s degree as a condition for her consent” (Vráz 1942: 187).

Vráz succeeded in getting the orang-utan bodies. As a stranger, he did not manage to conduct himself with dignity when paying for the sacred animal that was shot dead by his unfailing companion Wilson in a duel with a young Dayak whose life he wished to rescue. “I fell down into the hammock laughing so much that it started swinging: I did not care anymore if my laugh was appealing to our hosts or not” (Vráz 1948: 15). Vráz’s cultural experience led him for example to different interpretations of brotherhood (financial expenses, loss of barter goods) offered for the rescue of the young Dayak, while Wilson

was flattered. “What I read in adventure and travel books was supposed to be put into effect” (Vráz 1948: 21). Vráz recorded the form of how they worship the trees in which there are ghosts “A poor savage! He has so many real enemies and moreover, with his mental disturbance he animates any small shrub, tree or a more visible hill with evil gods that are hostile to a human.” (Vráz 1948: 48) Despite their superstition, he held the Dayaks up as an example for the Europeans. “Yet they have a dozen strong points for every bad one so they could serve as an example for the Europeans” (Vráz 1948: 126).

In October 1896 Vráz left for New Guinea and settled down in Doré (today’s Manokwari) in the north of the island where he collected insects, hunted and took photos (Halászová 1989). On 12th December 1896 he made an expedition to the Arfak Mountains in the territory of the Hatam tribe. Following in the footsteps of the Italian natural scientist and traveller Luigi Maria D’Albertis (1841–1901) he visited the settlements of Small and Big Hattam.³ The



E. S. Vráz – Children on a Donkey, Hopi people, Arizona, Walpi Pueblo, 1900. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

A black and white photograph of three women from the Mende tribe in Sierra Leone. The woman on the left is wearing a beaded necklace and a wrap with a dark, intricate pattern. The woman in the center is wearing a tall, feathered headdress and a wrap with bold diagonal stripes. The woman on the right is wearing a beaded necklace and a wrap with large, light-colored circular patterns. They are all standing against a plain, light background.

8

The Boxer Rebellion in 1901 in China (1898–1901) encouraged Vráz to visit East Asia (Vrázová 1937: 219). He considered Beijing (Peking) to be an uninviting and derelict town even though “Beijing is the soul of China, of the governmental China, one of the wonders of the world” (Vráz 1940: 174). Vráz drew attention to the role of rituals and customs in the life of a Chinese person: “For him the rules of courtesy are rather the festive attire that he

wears whenever needed in order not to be embarrassed in proper behaviour under any circumstances.” (Vráz 1940: 243) Vráz also commented on the Chinese people’s liking for entertainment that included joke-tellers as well as street poets and actors. “The sensual Chinese people who love obscenities can withstand even the strongest spices.” (Vráz 1940: 281) Vráz also paid attention to the Chinese cuisine that included dogs, goats, cats, ducks, as well as grasshoppers, caterpillars and beetle larvae. “I tasted them as well and I witness they did not displease my stomach” (Vráz 1940: 322). On 26th February 1901 Vráz observed a public execution of mandarins: “They take those sentenced to death by beheading to the place of execution in a basket hung on a rod. The condemned man’s head protrudes from the basket.” (Vráz 1940: 406) Vráz continued his journey from China to Manchuria and Korea, where he spent about three weeks. He considered visiting Korea already in 1896 when he was in Japan. Vráz is apparently the first Czech person to be photographed standing with a Korean man on the imperial palace staircase. Vráz recorded their behavioural patterns, cultural traditions and habits (Klösslová 2007; Todorovová 2011). From the port of Incheon Vráz continued his journey to Vladivostok, Moscow, and the United States of America.

Between 1903 and 1904, Vráz travelled in South America and Mesoamerica and visited their towns. He opened his journey in Brazil continuing to Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Panama, and Cuba (Todorovová 2002: 167). During the journey, Vráz visited Mexico for the second time. In Chichan Itza Vráz assisted American archaeologist Edward H. Thompson (1857–1935) in research of a well of sacrifice, cenote (Vrázová 1937: 240). Between 1907 and 1910, Vráz stayed in Prague. It was his authorization by the National Council to found its American branch that encouraged him to return to America in 1911. Because of that, he gave numerous lectures in locations inhabited by Czech immigrants. In 1921, he returned to Prague where the money he gained from lectures and publications were his only means of earning a living.

Alberto Vojtěch Frič

Alberto Vojtěch Frič (1882–1944), traveller, ethnographer, and botanist, occupies a very special place among Czech scientists and writers. His research and journeys to exotic countries were always marked with an

effort to understand the natives, their languages, cultural behavioural patterns, habits and customs. Frič as a field anthropologist succeeded in integrating himself into the aboriginal society; the evidence of this are his many Indian names which he got from South-American Indians, for example White Crocodile or White Eagle from the Chamacoco people, White Indian from the Angaité people and White Sorcerer from the Bororo tribe. Frič appreciated that he was accepted by indigenous people as a member of their society: “I was not a stranger, I was their friend, I was one of them” (Frič 1957: 115). Frič took place in several ceremonies that were taboo for the whites at that time, for example in the Chamacoco male ghost dance (Frič 1906; Frič – Fričová 1997; Fričová 2001). He managed to overcome his Euro-centrism soon, approaching the Indians from the point of view of cultural relativism even though he had to face his own ethnocentric prejudice.⁵ Thanks to his open approach to the natives Frič often got their reflection of the whites. “You white people are mostly crazy: Some more, some less. But you invaded our country, you have guns and power and we have no choice but to obey.” (Frič 1995a: 19)

When he was fifteen years old, Frič was one of the leading specialists in growing cacti, which triggered his journey to South America (1901–1902). During the



A. V. Frič – Self-portrait with the Pilaga Indians in Gran Chaco, around 1903. The Frič family archive.

eight-month-long adventure journey, sailed the Tieté, the Paraná, the Verde and the Verdão to the Brazilian inland (Fričová 2001). In the wasteland of Mato Grosso, he first showed his interest in the Indians, which had grown from an initial boyish enchantment to a systematic study. This first journey of Frič's was terminated earlier when he met a jaguar. "I killed him but I nearly lost my leg. After a year, the wounds still suppurated, I could not bend the knee and my leg was in wooden splits." (Frič 2011: 5) For his journey back to Europe, Frič had to earn money by carrying bags with coffee beans in a Brazilian port.

The second journey of Frič to South America on 11th August 1903 was supported by Frantz de Laet, a Belgian company dealing in cacti. Frič made a pioneering map



A. V. Frič – Paraguayan Girl, around 1905. The Frič family archive.

of the Pilcomayo River, the river which all previous expeditions failed to conquer (Kandert 1983). During that journey, Frič discovered a place in the marshlands on the Picolmayo middle reaches with the the grave of Enrique Ibarreta (1859–1898), a traveller and geographer. Ibarreta was attacked by the Pilagá Indian tribe and died there in 1898. Frič, on the contrary, became closer to the Pilagá and took part in their hunting and war life. He found out that Ibarreta's death was caused by trespassing on local behavioural patterns. "Ibaretta perpetrated a crime by shooting their horses and their dogs and moreover instead of apologizing and paying for the damage, he offended the chieftans." (Frič 1977: 206) Immediately, the circle of chieftains killed him, hitting him with clubs made from the *jacaranda* tree, which Frič received from the Indians.⁶

Frič then visited the Toba, Sanapana, Angaité, Kaduveo, Bororo and Chamacoco Indian tribes. There Frič recorded examples of various forms of marriage, infidelity, property, human body modifications, pictures script on vessels made of calabazas, and counting. He described the method of counting for the Pilagá tribe, where the natives do not answer directly but they point to the notches carved on a vessel. "They count: two, two, two, but they are not aware of how many times two is mentioned. What use would it be to know the age of anybody?" (Frič 1977: 112) Frič observed theft amongst the Indians because "to steal anything from a white man is becoming a kind of sport. I could not hold it against them if I imagine how the whites rob them and how they exploit their ignorance and credulity." (Frič 1957: 179) Frič focused on members of the Kaduveo tribe whose famous ornaments he himself transferred to pottery. "I was able to just copy the ornaments from their faces and bodies. What a variety, how many variants, ideas and natural skill! The ornaments are not always symmetric, but yet they adhere to certain rules." (Frič 1977: 66) It was exclusively the women who painted ornaments on bodies using the juice of *genipapo* tree fruits (*Genipa Americana*). Its deep sky blue fades away after some weeks and the ornament can be modified to be the acme of perfection. Frič dazzled the women, skilful sewers, when he showed them how to make a knot in a thread. "Something so simple and common; and the Eves sitting around me cried and shrieked astonished." (Frič 1957: 135)

Frič was accepted by the Chamacoco Indians; an Indian girl, Loray (Black Duck), and Frič became very

close to each other. When Frič was departing, she sang wistfully: “Loray, Black Duck loves White Eagle, she will never forget him – she will sing of her loneliness. The white man cannot stay here – he would not be happy. Black Duck would just see sad eyes.” (Frič 1918: 215) After Frič’s departure, Loray gave birth to her daughter Hermína (1905/1906–2009). Frič, however, did not mention his daughter anywhere and one can deduce he did not know about her existence (Frič 2011).⁷ The Chamacoco considered him to be a sorcerer; for example he blew off a blood-sucking mosquito whose weight did not allow it to fly up from his arm. “When I met the Chamacoco next day, they continued to be friendly, yet they behaved in another way than they normally did. It seemed to me that they were stiff, dismayed, and abashed.” (Frič 1957: 186)

It was laughter that introduced Frič to the Bororo in a positive way: “the joyful, almost childish laughter – it decided in favour of me with them” (Frič 1957: 40). At the Bororo tribe, Frič experienced the custom *couvade* whose apparent ridiculousness was neglected by him. “Their opinion of life might not be right – anyway, can we be sure that ours is the right one?” (Frič 1977: 24) There he was given his own shed, sorcerer’s equipment and chieftain’s insignias. Frič noticed that only a person who could sing could become a chieftain of the Bororo people. “While singing his commands in verses, which he often must improvise, his singing becomes a religious rite and his words become a law which even the council of the elders has to submit to.” (Frič 1977: 21)

It was the Italian painter, photographer, and traveller Guido Boggiani⁸ (1861–1901), who stayed with the Chamacoco and Kaduveo tribes on both banks of the Paraguay River before Frič. His published knowledge constituted a valuable study material for Frič. Between 1896 and 1901, Boggiani mounted probably 415 pictures on glass gelatine plates with different formats. On 24th October 1901 Boggiani left for Gran Chaco, called ‘the green hell’ by the whites, from where he never returned (Métraux 1943).⁹ Between 1904 and 1908, Frič found and rescued almost all Boggiani’s estate in different places in Paraguay, Brazil and Argentina. The estate included diaries, copies of correspondence, lists of photos as well as about 175 glass negatives and eleven stereophonic photos, some of which Frič used as illustrations for his own texts.¹⁰ These included mainly impressive portrayals,

and the largest group of negatives, which he made with the full knowledge and consent of the model (Fričová 1997; Frič – Fričová 1997; Fričová 2001; Krebs 2002).

In September of the same year Frič returned to Prague and at the beginning of 1906 he worked in the Museum of Natural Sciences in Berlin. On 21st August 1906 Frič set forth on a new expedition to South America where he visited the Kaduveo and Kaingang Indian tribes in Brazil and witnessed the Botocudo Indians hunting¹¹ (Crkal 1983). “If the whites can sell their black slaves why couldn’t we chase after our escaped slaves and bring them back to our villages in order to help us?” (Frič 1918: 134) On the Brazilian coast, Frič carried out archaeological research in sambaqui mounds.¹² On the basis of his excavations he formulated the hypothesis on the existence of cannibalism in an original population at the time of colonists’ arrival (Frič 1977, Crkal 1983, Frič 1995a).¹³ From Brazil, Frič headed for Argentina to visit the Tehuelche, Picunce and Pehuenche tribes. Then he travelled back to Brazil and Paraguay where he visited



A. V. Frič – Lorai, a Chamacoco Girl, around 1905. The Frič family archive.

the Chamacoco tribe again, whose members suffered from an unknown kind of disease.

On his way back to Europe Frič was accompanied by Čerwuiš Piošád Mendoza, called Červíček, the chieftain's sick son, who was successfully cured with calomel and santonin in Prague. Frič and Červíček first visited the Congress in Vienna and they stayed in Prague until 1909. "Čerwuiš did not move one step from me, he turned into my shadow. I could understand this. I think the city must have been worse for him than the old-growth forest for an inexperienced European." (Frič 1993: 27) However, he was attracted by some ways of town life. For example, Čerwuiš took a fancy to the begging in Prague and he liked giving the beggars some gifts. He evaluated women very negatively because of the odours of their perfumes since the members of his tribe covered up their lack of hygienic standards by natural fragrances. "This grew gradually so in the end he simply turned each lady visiting us out of the door." (Frič 1993: 63) Step by step, Čerwuiš discovered the importance of collecting and he cut off a tram driver's button, for example. "At home he put it into his travel case, beside his hat. This was the basis of his European ethnographic artefacts." (Frič 1993: 75) Vaudeville made a better impression on him than theatre. "He fell in love with trapeze acrobats. He implored me to introduce him to them so that they could teach him to jump just as they do. How useful it would be for hunting!" (Frič 1993: 85) Gradually, he adjusted himself to the new conditions and he was able to apply anthropology upside down. "Čerwuiš could see what I failed to see long time ago – pretence, dissimulation, false morality, and social prejudice." (Frič 1993: 122)

On his fourth journey to South America in 1909, Frič set out to the Kaduveo tribe again. He collected their native artefacts systematically and took photos of them. He succeeded in curing a malignant disease in the members of the Chamacoco tribe. Čerwuiš, who returned to his tribe together with Frič, observed the world in another way, influenced by new experiences, because "he penetrated so deeply into the world of white people that he actually changed himself." (Crkal 1983: 65) After Frič's departure, Čerwuiš was cast out of the tribe, and based on his narration about Europe he was labelled a liar and windbag.

Frič returned to Europe in 1912 and the war did not allow him to plan another expedition. In May 1919, he made his fifth journey in the diplomatic service of

the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the newly founded Czechoslovak Republic; he stayed in Argentina and Uruguay. In April 1923, Frič made his sixth journey focused on collecting cacti. At its beginning, he visited Washington and New York in order to sell the rest of his ethnographic collections that were to cover the costs for his following botanic expedition to Mexico. From there, Frič brought about 200 species of succulents and cacti and their seeds including very unique rarities. With his finds, he encouraged the period interest in growing cacti as well as in trading in this branch. His next journey to South America in order to discover cacti followed in January 1927. During that time he headed for Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina. From this journey he returned already in June of the same year. Frič made his last expedition in October 1928, once again to Uruguay and Argentina, and further to Bolivia and Peru. Besides other sites, he discovered rich fields with cacti and other rare plants in the Andean localities. This journey ended in March 1929 (Crkal 1983).

On his Mexican journey, Frič noted the narcotic and medical effects of cacti alkaloids (for the treatment of sclerosis or heart disorders). He personally tried a narcotic cactus and described its effect. "On contours of trees, stones and the whole surroundings I could observe colourful visions as if we were looking through a glass prism I guess." (Frič 1995b: 46). By crossbreeding, grafting and radiation Frič created a new species of cacti. However, just a fraction of his discoveries were acknowledged because he refused to follow the internationally valid rules for plant identification. Since 1939, he has experimented with growing useful plants (Crkal 1983).

Frič gathered rich anthropological, ethnographic, and ethno-linguistic material and he took thousands of photographs. His photos of the never before portrayed Indians are of utmost value, especially those of the Botocudo tribe (Halászová 1989). Frič recorded mythologies of many Indian tribes as well as his findings about the lifestyle of the natives and colonists on the Upper Paraguay, in South Brazil and in the Argentine Pampas. Moreover, he compiled 36 dictionaries with Indian languages and dialects following the methodology of German museums.

However, Frič did not consider ethno-linguistic research in the central region of migrating South-American tribes to be significant because he was aware of the continual changes in native Indian languages. "When I visited the

Chamacoco for the second time, they used quite different words for certain things.” (Frič 1918: 76)

Frič did not avoid criticism of the conditions in the Czech lands and many people became his enemies because of his bluntness. After he had returned from his journeys, Frič often felt like “a stranger at home; worse than a stranger. I was in an enemy’s territory” (Frič 2011: 5). For example, after his first South-American journey, Frič addressed the experienced traveller Vráz, asking for advice regarding a lecture. Vráz branded him as incompetent, and denounced his naivety. Of course, Vráz identified him as a newly emerging difficult competitor. Frič was very popular among the general public: he published several books and also numerous popularizing scientific articles in newspapers and magazines, as well as stories and memories of his stays with Indians and practical recommendations for gardeners and cactus-growers. Some of his ethnologic and anthropologic works were published abroad at that time. There he was acknowledged as an expert¹⁴ able to provide unique evidence of the decline of original population in South America (Crkal 1983).

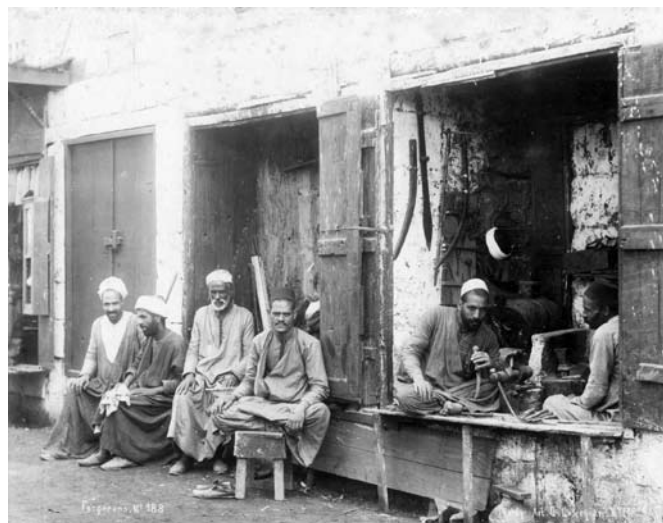
Not all research by Albert Vojtěch Frič has been fully appreciated so far. This concerns for example Frič’s contacts with the Kaduveo tribe members who later on became an object of the research by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009), the French social anthropologist and ethnologist. In contrast to purposeful ethnographic descriptions, which predominated in the books written by authors of his period, Frič was able to use the timeless emic description which observes the culture in question from the point of view of the natives, and to apply the methods of anthropologic field research, which are based on erudite observation. The emic description of aboriginal cultures as well as the interpretative approach made it possible for Frič not only to describe the lifestyle of the indigenous inhabitants of South America but also to take an authentic part in it. “Which of them, which person in general had a more beautiful life than me? Who was able to relish it like a gourmet like me? Who experienced the joy of discovering unknown corners or unveiling new secrets of nature on the glass of his microscope?” (Frič 1977: 8) As a man familiar with the culture and its members, he acted as a mediator, reporter, and an interpreter of the culture.

For the Indian Protection League in Brazil, Frič created a model of Indian reservations, which has been

appreciated up to the present day. Throughout his life Frič fought for the aboriginal people rights (Kašpar 2005). For his ethnographic collections, he had the villa Božínka¹⁵ built in the Prague district of Košíře, surrounded by large greenhouses with exotic plants (Frič 1977). Artefacts which Frič gathered on his journeys among aboriginal peoples are displayed and archived in ethnologic and anthropologic museums in St. Petersburg, Berlin, Vienna, New York, and Washington, D.C. A small part of his collections is located in the Náprstek Museum in Prague (Kandert 1983). Nevertheless, a complex treatment of the monumental ethnographic and anthropologic legacy of Alberto Vojtěch Frič has still been a principal challenge for Czech science. From the perspective of the contemporary world of social and cultural anthropology and ethnology, it is evident that Frič, who has not yet been fully appreciated at home, is one of the exceptional personalities in world science.

Josef Kořenský

Besides Frič and Vráz, it was the Czech traveller, natural scientist and educator Josef Kořenský (1847–1938) who depicted the exotic world of ‘the other’ in an original way on the pages of his travel books. His lifestyle of an old bachelor, his profession of an educator and



G. Lekegian – Blacksmiths, Egypt. The photograph by courtesy of Josef Kořenský. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

an abundance of finances allowed him to travel. One of the early influential supporters of Kořenský's travels was Vojtěch Náprstek. Kořenský was mainly a natural scientist; that is why he paid close attention to geology, flora and fauna on his journeys. On his expeditions he collected plenty of products from nature and ethnographic materials, which then enlarged the collections at Czech and Moravian museums and school laboratories. On his two journeys around the world, Kořenský focused on detailed research and collecting activities; he was not interested in discovering the new and the unknown. He mostly described the places and cultures in a holistic way and created their copybook models (Todorovová 1996).

Attending the Paris World Exhibition in 1878, Kořenský first stayed abroad for a longer time, and on his journey he travelled across England and Germany. By 1893, Kořenský managed to explore Russia, going as far as the



Zangaki Brothers – Wandering Comedian, Egypt. The photograph by courtesy of Josef Kořenský. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

Urals, Siberia and the banks of Lake Baikal. On 21st May 1893 Kořenský and his friend, landowner Karel Řezníček (1845–1914), were the first Czech travellers ever to set out on a journey around the world. “In my imagination, I could clearly see a majestic picture of the countries and nations we hoped to visit, and I eagerly reached for them as if they were paradise fruits.” (Kořenský 1896: 3) The first continent they visited was America. In New York, for example, Kořenský took the Brooklyn Bridge as a wonder of the world and a symbol of civilized America, “which floats at a dizzy height of 41 metres over the bay and has been up to this day a work admired by all people” (Kořenský 1896: 69). In Chicago, Kořenský visited its Chinatown, where he paid attention to the poor life of its inhabitants. “They live in cellars, attics, corridors, yards, above doors, and under ceilings. They climb ladders to reach their hutches and hovels. A house inhabited by them looks like a wasps’ nest or sometimes like a dovecote.” (Kořenský 1896: 258) The travellers continued across the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, China, Malaysian Peninsula, and Java. They crossed the Indian Ocean to Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the island of Madura and further to India. After a visit to India, they continued sailing the Red Sea to Egypt. In Sri Lanka, Kořenský paid attention to the influence of culture on physical modification of the human body. For example, he commented on the consequences of betel chewing, the hairstyles and shaving. “Many of them shave their heads, and they look even uglier, being spat over and slobbery because of chewing the betel leaves.” (Kořenský 1900: 152) In the island of Madura, Kořenský was fascinated by the Indian temple dancers, bayaderes. “In a rich assortment of people, they cannot escape your eyes and hearing. They wear expensive clothes and decorate themselves with expensive jewels. The sound of small bells accompanies each step of theirs.” (Kořenský 1900: 208)

In September 1900, Kořenský set out to southern Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand (Kořenský 1908a). In his description of Australia, Kořenský named the vegetation as fascinating, while describing the aborigines ethnocentrically in the category of ugliness (Kořenský 1907b). “When the Creator handed beauty around, he completely forgot the Australian race. I have not seen uglier faces anywhere.” (Kořenský 1907a: 70) Nevertheless, Kořenský was aware that the indigenous population of Australia and Oceania became victims of the white people’s expansion to a large extent. “Until the Europeans’

arrival, the life of the native blacks in Tasman Island was happy and peaceful. Although they were barbarians at that time, they never behaved cruelly and did not know what bloodthirstiness meant.” (Kořenský 1907a: 120) In New Zealand, Kořenský described the development of trade between the Europeans and the natives which included European rum on the one hand and “New Zealand hemp and mats, coats and bags made from it, and nephrite axes first, then women and girls, and in the end the cut-off heads of beaten enemies” (Kořenský 1908b: 28) on the other. In addition to fauna, flora, exotic countryside and artefacts, Kořenský commented on Maori manners. “The Maori ladies greet each other poignantly. Although they do not fall into each other’s arms to kiss each other, they shake their right hands and they bring their faces close to each other to keep touching the tips of their noses for a longer time.” (Kořenský 1908b: 40). Kořenský also expressed his opinion on Maori cannibalism as related to the tattoos on their faces: the tattoos gave a menacing look to previously calm and peaceful looking Maori. Kořenský regarded their wild dances as a remnant of their cannibalistic rituals. In depicting the Maori, Kořenský intentionally set specific cultural elements and complexes typical for the Maori culture against European civilization.

At the beginning of 1901, Kořenský travelled through a part of Oceania, mainly the Samoan archipelago and the islands of Tongatapu and Fiji. In Samoa, he commented wittily on the natives, who offered him coffee: “They also presume that a white man would prefer a drink from the stone-crushed root of intoxicating kava-kava to a coffee made from the root chewed in their mouth.” (Kořenský 1903: 315) After his Pacific voyage, Kořenský visited Australia, Makassar, Java, China, Japan, and Korea. In Java, he described both shadow theatre and actors’ theatre and its realistic dimension. “At a night performance in Solu, the actors played the scene with childbirth so faithfully that I believed I was rather in a hospital than at the travelling actors’ theatre company.” (Kořenský 1903: 507) After his second visit to Japan, Kořenský drew his attention to the blending of the sacral and the profane. “In the morning, the people amuse themselves looking at church dances; in the evening they flock to teahouses to look at allegoric profane dances.” (Kořenský 1903: 619) Kořenský did not omit to describe the fan, a necessary symbol of the Japanese world and a traditional clothing accessory: “Nobody lacked a fan. Even a beggar does not go out without a fan.” (Kořenský

1903: 594) Kořenský’s journey back home was via Vladivostok, the Trans-Siberian railway and Moscow. The circle of his travels around the world was completed.

Josef Kořenský shared and spread his knowledge and experiences from his journeys with the largest possible audience of readers and listeners. His educational activities were enriched essentially due to his explorations of the world of “the other” and his trans-cultural personal experience. Kořenský’s dozens of articles and about fifty books contributed significantly not only to discovering foreign countries but also to the establishment of educative description and interpretation of the non-European civilizations within the Czech cultural context. On his journeys, Kořenský neither took photos nor aspired to compile a representative ethnographic collection. Yet he systematically purchased photographs on his expeditions as an illustrative component of his books, and even more: he brought back home plenty of exotic items from nature, publications and artistic artefacts.



G. Lekegian – Street Player, Egypt. The photograph was brought by Josef Kořenský. Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague.

Vráz, Frič, and Kořenský: different approaches to understanding cultural boundaries

Travellers Enrique Stanko Vráz, Alberto Vojtěch Frič, and Josef Kořenský represent three different approaches to the understanding of cultural boundaries and to the studies of different ethnic groups and nations. Vráz is a typical representative of classical ethnography and collecting efforts, marked heavily with a Euro-centrist approach; nevertheless, he was able to perceive the negative consequences of the ethnocentric approach for the members of foreign cultures. Frič was very close to the doctrine of cultural relativism and emic description; it takes into account the perspective of the natives concerned during the research: he himself was accepted as a member of an Indian tribe during his journeys. At the same time, with his approach to the world of 'the other', he accomplished the presumption that "the idea of studying the native perspective goes deeper than just a physical

approximation" (Have 2004: 118). In contrast to this, Kořenský distinguished himself with an ethnocentric point of view of a foreigner and scientist who on his journeys collected, described, and interpreted the foreignness and otherness within the intentions of European power and cultural supremacy.

Despite the theoretical and methodological limits of their ideas about an 'exotic ethnography' of the period, Kořenský, Frič, and Vráz represent so far unappreciated pioneers of the emerging social and cultural anthropology. In their courage to meet 'the other' in the boundaries of cultures, they needed the ability to face different worlds of thinking and ways of communication. Moreover, in their articles and books these Czech travellers managed to submit to their readers a picture of the otherness of the natives, to interpret their peculiar customs, and in this way to construct a specific picture of the distant and the strange.

My thanks go to PhDr. Yvonna Fričová for her valuable advice and comments she gave me on the chapter on A.V. Frič. Also, a very special thanks belongs to my colleagues at the National Museum – Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures in Prague who have provided advice, help and support during my research stay here in years 2011 and 2012.

NOTES:

1. A topos exotic is a theme of thought and expression, which distinguishes itself by the ability to change, revive, and reproduce the way of conception, stylization of a native figure or an exotic place within variant cultural and historical context. A topos exotic shapes realization of native cultures and their environment. In a topos exotic, the stories are "implicitly present; they show through it and come alive in it to a different extent with each use of it" (Hodrová 1997: 20).
2. The term *etic* approach is based on the English word *phonetic* and represents an external aspect of the research reality.
3. He was the first individual to travel with a camera there.
4. Although he published the name in the *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen* 44, 1898, p. 234, it has not been mentioned on the maps so far.
5. See <<http://www.checomacoco.cz/checo-a-v-fric>>.
6. One of these clubs is in the Frič family's possession now.
7. Hermína (Hermínia Fric Ferreira) was discovered in 2000. A personal meeting of Hermína, Frič's grandson Pavel and his wife Yvonna was held in 2002. "She said she had been awaiting us and she was astonishingly positive about our get-together" (Frič 2011: 231). Hermína had kept telling her descendants since their childhood she would be once sought out by her European relatives.
8. A prominent representative of Lombard Naturalistic Landscapes studied at the Academy in Milano. He was a self-taught photographer but his extraordinary artistic perceptiveness as well as his sense for aesthetics led him already in the late-19th century to the visionary use of the 'direct photography' that is based on realistic, objective and sharp picture with natural light, as being understood by European inter-war photographic avant-garde twenty years later.
9. Even though plenty of witnesses and hypotheses were recorded, it is supposed that Boggiani was killed by a Tumraha Indian because of his distrust in the camera and the fear that the depictions would rob the Indians of their souls.
10. It was Oliver Boggiani who gave the documentary and photographic estate of his brother to Frič in order to compare and complete Frič's own research and texts (see the correspondence in the archives of the Frič family and the Náprstek Museum in Prague).
11. Czech linguist Čestmír Loukotka in his book *Do Brazílie za Indiány* (1961) paid attention to the Botocudo tribe, its language and other knowledge about South-American Indians in the field of linguistics. Loukotka treated and published many of Frič's materials.
12. It concerns the loads of shells, stone instruments, human bones (the whole skeletons and crushed bones as well) and later on common kitchen rubbish.
13. His conclusions were later confirmed by a re-discovered work by German soldier Hans Staden (1525/1528–1576) *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* (True Story and Description of a Country of Wild, Naked, Grim, Man-eating People in the New World, America, 1557), who – in the service of the Portuguese and Spanish King – made two journeys to South America in the years 1548 and 1550.
14. Frič was recognized and appreciated for example by the American anthropologist of Czech origin Aleš Hrdlička (1869–1943), Russian ethnographer and linguist Vasilij V. Radlov (1837–1918), and German Americanists Eduard Seler (1849–1922) and Karl von den Steinen (1855–1929).
15. Villa Božinka was demolished by its new owner in 2005.

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Summary

This study provides a theoretical analysis of the lives and works of three Czech travellers and pioneers of exotic ethnography of the turn of the 20th century: Enrique Stanko Vráz, Alberto Vojtěch Frič, and Josef Kořenský. These pioneers of the emerging social and cultural anthropology found themselves in different cultures and were among the first white men to step into the exotic world of ‘the other’. With their travels, vividly described in their literary works, they did an extraordinary job when introducing authentic ethnographic material in the form of literature, photographs, and exotic artefacts to the Czech cultural context, as well as when deconstructing the doctrine of Euro-centrism. The present study focuses mainly on the literary heritage of Vráz, Frič, and Kořenský, and their desire to describe, understand and interpret a different cultural reality. The works of these travellers represent an original effort to integrate collecting, observing and research activities. Their travel books represent a specific gnoseological tool enabling an analysis of their field discoveries ranging from description to comparison and interpretation of the exotic and the unknown social and cultural reality. The present study also stresses the fact that the travellers in their books transformed the different into a cultural construction based on their own personalities and [Czech] culture. Through the strange and the different, the travellers provided an authentic and complex picture of a different and unknown world, which inevitably included the author’s own description and interpretation of different forms of cultural reality. The present study also aspires to prove that the works of these travellers represent three types of individual approach to the perception of cultural boundaries and to the studies of different ethnic groups and nations.

Key words: travellers; travel book; ethnographic research; cultural contact; cultural boundaries; exoticism; otherness.

ON REFLECTION OF THE PAST IN MEMORY. CZECHS IN THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Stanislav Brouček

The paper deals with the possibilities of interpretation of the resources of a subjective nature, such as narrations of Czech settlers who migrated to find their new home in the second half of the 20th century. The author of this paper had an opportunity to visit groups of Czech settlers in different parts of the world in the period stretching from 1990 to the present, and to study them in their authentic environment. This paper focuses on the position of Czech people who resettled in the Republic of South Africa. The author took two study journeys there, for a total duration of two months. In 2004, the journey was to the Cape Province, and in 2007 it was to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and their surroundings. The author got in touch with and visited about fifty families of Czech and Slovak expatriates, mostly those who left the country after the invasion of the Warsaw Pact armies to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in August 1968. The majority of meetings were recorded on cassette tapes; the second journey was recorded using digital technology. Apart from the recorded and transcribed interviews, the research includes photo and video documents, and copies of various private written documents.

First of all the present paper provides a short summary of general ideas on the reflection of the past in the memories of Czech migrants; then it takes into consideration the theme of the migration process as such, as it was kept in the minds of individual people with whom the conversations were held. Logically, it pays attention to the relation between the memory and the development of an individual on his/her way to independence. The closing part of the study provides an authentic, uncommented example of coming to terms with the problems of apartheid.

History and Memory

In principle, we can look on the role of collective and individual memory of the members of the Czech diaspora in the world in two ways. Firstly, individual narrations can be taken as information about the events in the past, paralleled to the history, and they can be considered as sources of historical understanding. Secondly, such oral

or written narrations are an integral part of social memory, which has a wide range of forms of expression. The memory can be compared to the function of a flywheel creating continuity in different fields of society.

The relation between history and memory is attractive in a way. There is a natural intellectual need of a human being to be well versed in the period that is historically close to the experienced present, that means in contemporary history; there also is awareness of each individual bearer, to a certain extent, of his/her own capability to pass by the recent historical processes. By his/her memories, he/she appropriates the experienced past on the one hand; while on the other hand he/she identifies more or less with the history; that is with what was researched and described by experts, and historians in the past.

For the purpose of this paper we can briefly summarize the interrelation between history and memory. Here we are interested in the responses given by the Czech diaspora members concerning their procedural attitudes during their adaptation within the multicultural environment abroad. *History* and *memory* are two different categories that are probably not fully compatible. Their relationship might be expressed in the way that history can enter memory (to influence both individual and collective memory), but an entry of memory into history is inadmissible for some historians; for other historians, such entry is possible only under special circumstances; while for some historians personal memories might be a corresponding historical source. The claim of J. Le Goff (2007: 17) that all history must be social history containing ideology, political practice and events, could be supplemented with the thesis that also memory relates to these social aspects. However, in spite of the existing collective or social memory, it is the *subjective manipulation level* that remains the memory basis with a certain amount of objective point of view.

History is to as large extent as possible an objective (or better said objectivised) view of the past. Memory registers history through individual experiences, in spite of the fact that we can consider recollections (memories) to be a socially constructed phenomenon in the final

effect. In the process of recollecting, we can notice several levels. Two of them seem to me to be the most important ones. The first phase of memory is that of a recorder; the second phase is that of a subjective *interpretation*, which depends on many individualized factors, including the current mood of the narrator. Both levels (recorder and interpretation) are subject to author's licence whereby the *purpose* of this communication dominates in the end. Nevertheless, the purpose cannot be connected solely with the profit of an individual; that means with a fully individualized shift in reported facts, because the speaker cannot, in principle, remember outside the group or the social context (see Olick 1999).

If memory (recollections, memories) cannot substitute history, there remains a question whether memory can be a historical source; that means a source for history. Of course, it depends on which historiography we use as an example. The positivistic historiography working on the assumption that it carries out the *reconstruction* of the past based on verified sources, has (had) a tendency for example not to understand written memoirs as a source but as a literary genre on another professional level. However, written memoirs can be a historical source e.g. for a historian who writes a monograph about the author of such memoirs, but not about events described in the memoirs. This claim does not stand for disqualifying the memoirs, recollections and phenomenon of memory in the process of discovering our past. Rather the opposite is true. It is the need to pinpoint the place and the importance of the responses given by the Czech diaspora members who – when speaking about the past – have in mind, subconsciously or consciously, more their *personal role* or the role of their local community (or a club) *at the present*.

Allow me one remark about the reconstruction of the past. Just as history itself cannot be an identical and fully verified description of the past, it might not be its reconstruction either – simply because everything was blown away and it is not possible to re-create the reality, which disappeared ages ago, from the relicts available for a present historian. It is only possible to draw a more or less truthful picture of the past. At least both history and memory have one common position: although they speak about the past and originate in the past, they head more for the present.

The issue of memory is of principal importance for historical sciences and ethnology. I am of the same opinion as Jurij M. Lotman, who says, “**Everyday life** is an important

accumulator of culture (i.e. memory – he who has no memory, stands outside the culture). The most horrible are the catastrophes that destroy everyday life, because they destroy the memory and the potential substrate of future culture” (as in Vašíček 1996: 202). This means, however, that as far as our present existence is concerned the past still survives in us. Everything we do, be it consciously or not, relates us to the past, or even connects us directly with it; so the memory enters our present social practice, influencing it – whether this concerns the inherited language, or various ideas about the past, behaviour, habits, customs etc. (Connerton 1989).

Reflected past in the memory

I am interested to know how a man, after relocation, reflects his own past in his memory. I proceed from the fact that telling a life story is probably the most basic memory practice (alongside recollecting important events); therefore, I rely on the spontaneity, immediateness and informality of the situation in which the narration takes place. Of course, I put aside the methods of collecting such narrations (discussing methods of collecting is not significant here). I attempt to introduce some basic findings that I have acquired among the expatriates in the Republic of South Africa.

Let me begin with my own experience regarding J. Le Goff's remark about commentated (verbal) presentation of family photo albums, which usually accompanies the life story telling. However, I will not pay attention to other spheres or media of collective memory than to spoken word; the following example is an exception closely related to manifestation of memory by means of spoken words. Le Goff quotes Pierre Bourdieu saying that family albums present rituals of family integration, and he adds that not always the father but mostly the mother is the portraitist. In it, he can see a relic of the woman's role as a memory keeper or, vice versa, a result of feministic effort to dominate the memory of a group (Le Goff 2007: 102–103).

Even in this case of memory encoded in pictures – as such albums might be defined – as well as in the case of verbalized memory I would stake on the fact that the *purpose* dominates, that means the purpose of arranging such an album. As far as migration of a family with children was concerned (after 1948 or 1968) and if there were conditions for taking pictures, the pictures were mainly taken by the person who initiated the relocation. It was

mostly the husband. The family albums I could see and even copy monitor mainly successful settlement in the present place, including school and professional success of children, grandchildren, or even great-grandchildren.

The photos show the above-mentioned rituals of integration after the relocation in generational continuity, declaring that *the relocation was rewarding and made sense*. The one from a married couple, who initiated the relocation, did indeed do a good thing for the family. The albums fulfil the function of a basic document, especially in the cases when one of the married couple needs to prove for all his/her life, that the emigration, which he/she chose and the other one joined this decision (influenced by external circumstances or emotional relation), has been an extraordinary positive change.

Migrations are mostly considered a natural part of human existence. It is also usually declared that it is more natural to stay at home, that means in the original place, and not to relocate with a definitive finality. However, the relation of a person to *tradition* in the sense of following a long-ago commenced line passing through many generations makes migration more problematic on the level of social relations as well as with respect to the fate of an individual. On the other hand, emigration, exile or a position of a refugee represent situations that form extraordinary incentives for someone. They often fully differ from the situation that would have occurred, if they had not relocated. The entire set of assessing elements in reflections of people who relocated is based on comparison of two variants: real life experience within foreign and different ethnic environment after the relocation, and constructed, i.e. anticipated life conditions with the variant: if they had stayed in the original place and had not emigrated (and had continued life in Czechoslovakia). Both possibilities occupy the mind of a Czech living abroad for many reasons, not only when they visit their former homeland. One of those reasons relates to the considerations about qualities of experienced Czechness in the sense of an ethical identity within historical continuity. In fact, an intellectual perception of a Czech emigrant of the second half of the 20th century begins with a feeling that the power, the unpleasant political authority, which forced him out, really deprived him of his history (Krouťvor 1990:125) and cut him off from the past. Then he is forced to incorporate his own past into different historical contexts. For this reason, everything depends on the ability to process the

fact of *disengaging himself*, either as a voluntary and in the end targeted matter or, on the other hand, as an external manipulation.

After a certain period of the time, approximately after seven to ten years, when the people who relocated reached the moment that they mastered the language and learned to know their new environment, they realized they would be *foreigners in this new country* until the end of their lives, despite all the success they achieved. Even though each of the Czechs living abroad felt the degree of foreignness in different ways, the feeling of foreignness became an opposite pole to the surviving feeling of home and homeland that they left. To be a foreigner in one country and to 'carry' the other one with you as an opportunity for return or at least for an abstract escape from the reality of strange environment, which is hard to digest, is not a very normal and encouraging condition for the natural development of a human. As a result, migration brings another *big contradiction* into the life. It includes the above mentioned specific situation and location (a person living in a real environment which they perceive as a foreign country more or less in contrast to their home, i.e. the place they left for this foreign country), and it reflects the feelings of an individual with different combinations of thoughts (Brouček 2007: 10).

On the one side of the migration process, there is free will to choose a place to live; on the other side, there is the awareness of split existence with all its complexity of possible and impossible returns back to the original place. Between the time of departure and the time of first returns passes a certain period, in which both the relocated person and the actual environment where they came from some time ago change. It is usually not easy to enter into broken-off relations (communication). People are different: the Czech emigration and exile of the second half of the 20th century provide exceptional evidence. One person is able to get used to the new conditions without being embittered that somebody wanted to evict him from his former home; another one understands his forced departure for all his life as an expulsion (exile) that the contemporary Czech society in his opinion refuses to understand as an expulsion. He still feels injustice and demands rectification or at least a possibility to be heard. These poles or extreme tendencies limit not only the range of feelings, but they also constitute lines demarcating the space for communication of Czechs living abroad within their diasporas.

From personal experience of people, who were forced by political events to leave their homes suddenly, one can come to some partial conclusions. First of all, the bearers of such authentic experiences experienced the world *here and there*. This fact became an important value for them, because they gained real experience of what democracy means and what it does not: when they moved from a totalitarian regime to a concrete form of democracy. It was a long time from a bitter experience of a more or less forced departure to the first victory in the new environment, which consisted for example in mastering the language of the immigration country, or in success in a profession. However, most of them understood that with the moment of leaving they accepted all the *responsibility*. It was Jindřich Nermut, one of the leading exile personalities in Oceania, who expressed this feeling exactly and on behalf of everybody: emigration meant “great experience and great challenge” for him. At the same time, this man, like many of his contemporaries, understood that “emigration means an existential experience in the true sense of the word, it is indeed a tragedy but also a chance to experience yourself, to experience the existence in its raw state in an authentic way” (Kroutvor 1990: 132). In other words; After relocation, a man feels he has *nothing* but he is surrounded by chances to get *everything*.

The people who left the country in connection with events like February 1948 (Communist coup d'état in Czechoslovakia) or August 1968 (invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies), have undoubtedly many things in common; at the same time, their fates are *different as to generations, situations and individuals*. Another observation needs to be added here. The reflection of the Czech emigrant's way of life is a strange individual combination of two principal parts. The first one is the *declared construct* about the sense of emigration and the sense of existence for a Czech ethnic group's member within a foreign culture environment. A respondent uses the above-mentioned construct if he for example explicitly replies to a question in a questionnaire, or if he is aware that his narration relates to a form of future publication. Another reflection consists in presenting the migration (including the reasons for departure) by means of the main factography of the everyday reality. In this case, he follows the narration of his life story only as a free communication of life experience, or better said, as a message addressed to an uninformed listener, however with a necessary amount of confidence in him.

Both parts (situations) pervade, fit and simultaneously they can contradict each other. The first part, speaking about the sense of emigration, coincides more or less with the objective causes for the departure of a specific wave; such as the wave immediately following August 1968, which was caused by the invasions of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the Warsaw Pact armies. The other part, relating more to personal positions, allows more motivations for a particular departure, including well-known coincidence.

Memory and Identity

The identity of a Czech living abroad in relation to sources of a subjective nature can be interpreted by three levels of changes in individual attitude towards relocation. During my field research among Czechs living abroad, I persuaded myself that these three levels accompany the overwhelming majority the narrations:

(1) The first level represents the process of acquiring new personal qualities that can be connected with changed behaviour standards, new acquired skills or education, mastering one or more languages etc.

(2) The second level represents a shift or change in the role of a person within the communal environment. The situation of a Czech who left for Brazil, differs from that of a Czech who settled in Vienna or the Cape Province, of course. Yet each of them passes through a change, which is formulated explicitly, or which can be interpreted based on their different expressions and attitudes.

(3) The third noticeable level represents a changing or developing relation to the central power including the respect for the laws, the condition of the civil society to which they adapted themselves, etc.

The verbalized form of a life story is one of the basic materials to study the adaptation of the Czech diaspora. Although I put stress on informality of communication, I try to direct the stream of information to four thematic units that correspond to four stages of the process of migration:

1. Objective causes and subjective ways to justify the leaving for emigration (exile, expatriation).
2. The way of leaving, departure, and relocation.
3. Adaptation to the foreign culture environment, its stages and present state.
4. Communication with the environment of former home.

Social memory is a bearer of continuity. Therefore, sustainability is its main effect. It intervenes in the

functioning of social structures and, secondly, it takes part in people's behaviour. The memory used for personal recollections, registers the relations to his/her own community (towards the Czech immigration in the new location and to the Czech diaspora as such, spread all over the world, and consequently to the Czech society in the Czech lands), to the communities of foreign ethnic migration in the accepting countries, and to the inhabitants of a specific country, whom it considers to be autochthons.

The level of adaptation has indisputable indicators, such as language knowledge, professional success (at work) or the living standard of the family.

These indicators are objective and easy to compare. Anyway, there is one more important indicator, and this is the *field of feelings*. Here it is necessary to highlight the phenomenon (issue) of home. There are many considerations and definitions of this term available. The dichotomy of home and homeland often is emphasized in these terms. We can put this aside, and focus on other two oppositions: the principle of continuity and the principle of change. Relocation and location in a new place is undoubtedly a change, in some cases even a serious hit on the originally established system of personal activities covering all the spheres of life before the relocation, especially in the intimate sphere.

The category of home is usually specified by two frequent adjectives: the *old (original) home* and the *new home*, whereby the change in place itself is a very relative component in how the phenomenon of home works with an individual or the whole family. Home is not just the material side of social reality; it is a set of emotional relations among specific people in a specific environment and at specific time. Apart from this neither the old nor the new home show the emotionality absolutely unambiguously; on the contrary, it is often the dichotomy in feelings that works – the *old* home for an emigrant is both a very close quantity and a quite distant sensory perception; the same is true in the case of the *new* home.

Disappointment resulting from the perception of home (caused by the loss or change of home) closely connects with interrupted continuity in the existence of an emigrant from the point of view of the everyday life in tradition. Historians call it 'the loss of historical dimension', or in other words, the loss of history or the expulsion from history. Such a 'lack of culture' is usually

substituted in emigration by a strong inclination to history. Josef Kroutvor (1990:134) expressed it this way: "For emigration, history is the most subtle hypothesis, a spiritual bridge over a chasm in time. It is an arc vaulted between foreign country, private mythology and historic facts."

Individual Interpretation of Personal Relocation (Resettlers in South Africa)

This imaginary arc includes individual interpretations of the personal migration process of contemporary Czechs living abroad. Each of them is unique both in the time of leaving the Czech lands and the particular situation in the accepting country, and in the ideological background of each speaker. Apart from that, the reasons for leaving the country fit many patterns. In the present paper, I will refer to materials, which I have selected from various sources, namely: audio-recorded, transcribed and published life histories of individual narrators as published in *České listy*, www.czech.cz/ceskelisty, series from 2004–2008; *Compatriots' Panorama* in the supplement to the Czech version of *Welcome to the Heart of Europe*; www.theo.cz; *Nový polygon*; and *Český dialog*. I will focus on several important features of the changing way of life of the Czech resettlers in South Africa.

The Czech and the Slovak migration to South Africa increased in the years 1968–1969 from several dozens of individuals to an estimated five or more thousand people. The main communities were established in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, and in Durban in the south. The migrants came here almost exclusively via Vienna and the absolute majority of them were skilled workers with technical professions. Although the environment they entered was so different that it was a shock for them, the new immigrants had an opportunity to compensate everything by almost unlimited possibilities in active engagement. In the course of the 1970s and 1980s, they improved their situation significantly as to financial security for their families, and for most of them, the experience with the new environment meant an unprecedented increase in individual securities.

The immigration terms for the Czech and Slovak resettlers derived from the fact that the embassy of South Africa in Vienna was able to reply to the Czechoslovak emigration offer, by means of which it could cover its immigration needs favourably, and therefore, it attracted thousands of runaway people to its country. At the same

time, it could place requirements that differed from the immigration demands made by other countries that came into consideration for the Czech and Slovak emigrants. Other immigration countries, such as Chile, Australia, USA or Canada, did not require evidence that a visa applicant was/ was not a member of the Communist Party. In contrast to this, the immigration officers of the Republic of South Africa assessed membership in the Communist Party as the first argument for not allowing the applicant to enter the country. The people migrating together (mostly families or friends) had to split. Those with a Communist past were forced to choose a different destination country, not South Africa. There were for instance three brothers; one of them was a mechanical engineer, the other one was a physician and the third one was a journalist. Their father, who died long before their departure, was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which complicated the applicants' situation to a certain extent. The fact that the mechanical engineer had never been a member of the Party, while his brothers were members, became a serious and crucial point in the end. As a man with a technical education, highly in demand in South Africa, and in the favourable age between twenty and forty, the engineer had no problem getting the visa. His brothers and other relatives had to keep waiting in Vienna, as refugees, for another opportunity to emigrate to other countries, and they managed to get to Sweden in the end.

The embassy of South Africa in its selective interviews preferred young married couples, preferably with children. The respondents tell how they found out, after the relocation, about the clear immigration intention, namely that it was exactly the second generation of immigrants who the country cared for, especially because of their easier adaptation. Following the young married couples with technical education and children, the country preferred the category of young single men, provided they were not members of the Communist Party. Single women or widows had no chance to get to South Africa at all, unless they managed to get married while in Vienna. There are several cases recorded where a Czech priest in Vienna helped a Czech couple to get married, which allowed the woman to comply with one of the most important requirements for getting the visa.

People who managed to relocate to South Africa reached individual progress in all aspects of the living standards. They appreciated this especially when they

compared themselves to the post-1950s emigrants from other European countries, although these had gone through adaption under different circumstances (there was an estimated number of ten thousands of people of German nationality in Pretoria itself). After having reached the country, the newcomers experienced a huge shock followed by mixed feelings, this all caused by an immediate opportunity to get a job and quite good earnings on the one side, and by cultural and civilization differences on the other side. The first shock was caused because of a poorly equipped airport in the destination, terrible hot weather, and all the accompanying effects following the mass transport by bus from Vienna to the airport in Munich, from there by air to Stuttgart, then to Johannesburg and then by bus to a hostel in Pretoria. The major disappointment came in the final discovery that the provisional position of a refugee in Vienna was to continue in a different form in South Africa.

The emigrants were ready to accept the temporary situation in Vienna as a natural necessity, as a makeshift link before the departure to a destination country. A new place was not to be a paradise, but they understood it as an acceptable place to live under certain conditions. To their disappointment, after having arrived in South Africa, they found themselves in another temporal situation. This caught them off guard by the burden of definitiveness. Women could not face it. Many of them burst into tears at the first moments of their contact with African reality. In their memories, they describe how they began to push their partners to look for a different final destination than South Africa.

However, once they began to understand everyday processes, their progress of adaptation slowly increased. This was caused by several facts:

- the family started getting on well financially;
- the family's adult members could choose a suitable job or business,
- in comparison with their situation in Czechoslovakia, they could get their own convenient dwelling without difficulties.

The immediate employment was made easy by an extraordinarily high demand for technical experts, which meant not only the corresponding education, but even a certain level of skilfulness was often sufficient. It was always a question of how the person was able to succeed when doing a job and required activity. It was no exception

that an apprentice hairdresser became a draughtswoman in an engineering factory without any training, or an apprentice bricklayer became a welder, and so on.

Apartheid: a shocking obstacle and the possibilities to overcome it

Discussing personal progress, almost all respondents agreed that they were able to adapt to or even to master the social situation in South Africa. They did not accept apartheid as their own standard for the relation between different races and cultures; some of them, however, found in this enforced and with human rights inconsistent ideology two conditions, acceptable even for them to a certain extent. One condition was that apartheid meant clear rules or borders which the other party (the black population in this case) was not allowed to cross. Another condition consisted in the immigration terms for entering the country. They were exceptional when compared to other countries in the world, and they contained impassable ideological and race limits. The respondents assess both conditions retrospectively, considering especially the changes in and after 1990 in both in their old home (Czechoslovakia) and the new home (South Africa). They understand the change in their old home as a change for the better, and, on the contrary, they feel endangered in the society of their new home (in Africa). Nevertheless, they proceed from an essential experience of an individual who acts under compulsion of an oppressive and at a given moment unchangeable power with totalitarian manners, which they see to the same extent both in their old and the new home. One of such comparisons was described by the mechanical engineer in his reflection': *"The difference between so-called big and small apartheid can be explained a little bit in the following way. Big apartheid – it should be an elevated idea similar to that of communism – which is unreal belief in the future, where everything will be beautiful, people will be perfect and they will work joyfully, there will be abundance of everything and so on. The great idea of apartheid is similar: all people will have the same rights, but only within their territory, in which every nation will rule by itself. This could not be implemented, of course. It degenerated into different nonsense of small apartheid, trivialities, restrictions that had no sense. For us, for the whites, everything was basically super."* (Brouček 2004: 76)

During the interviews at the Embassy of South Africa in Vienna, the applicants for immigration had to confess they did not condemn apartheid and and promise they would not protest against it. They also agreed they would not get a job with a black boss and would not have sexual intercourse with the members of black population, and would not attempt any form of cohabitation with them.

The following extract comes from the recollections of Czech refugee J.B. He emigrated from former Czechoslovakia in 1968 without having the slightest idea about what apartheid meant in reality. As a twenty-year-old boy, he did not know what emigration meant either, especially emigration to such a country like South Africa was at that time. His personal experience with apartheid contains in crystalline form a conflict of two eternal tendencies in civilized societies: the fierce bureaucratic enforcement of rules on one side, and the promotion of humaneness, humanity, that means of what makes a man a man, on the other.

In a town, I met a beautiful black woman, I got together with her and invited her to my apartment. I smuggled her into my flat in the evening, because any intercourse with black people was prohibited, it was against the law. They could condemn and put you in prison for this.

And they say that one could even be beaten or whipped?

Well, they would beat you up, they would gave the girls also a trashing: they were considered a completely different caste of people which were not acknowledged. You got an instruction pursuant to the law that you had had a sexual intercourse with a black person. Moreover, there was another accusation, because she was in the white neighbourhood without a permit, it was against the law as well. Well, so I would meet her regularly and suddenly she told me she was in the family way. And I literally thought that was a joke. Well, and because of this I was confronted with totally weird problems. Some time ago, in 1976, there were huge demonstrations in Johannesburg and the whole South Africa. In Cape Town, white South-Africans shot the blacks wherever possible. There was huge hatred between the black and the white races, especially among those [coloured South] Africans. And on 27th December 1997, two days later, the black girl came to my apartment beautifully dressed. She

came to visit me and I asked what happened to you? I noticed she did not have such a big belly any more. She had given birth to a daughter. So I locked her in the apartment and suddenly I started waking myself in a fully different world. I say now I have a coloured baby. How will I mask it, how will I solve it? Well, I gave her some money, and asked, what name would we give this little girl? Well, I had some names I chose at that time, and I noted down the name Shelly in various ways, in English, French, and I always asked somebody, how do you like this name? And we gave her the name Shelly and problems occurred. The baby got ill some weeks, so the mum always came and said: the baby is ill. So I always gave money to the baby's mum to take her to the doctor, to ensure her ordinary treatment, so that the baby could undergo normal treatment. Some weeks later, this happened again, so I gave them money again. Then I went to the ghetto to see the baby. It was the original black ghetto, established in 1961, when the Mandela's era started. I could see the baby's health was not in danger. I asked the mother where she had the drugs from and which doctor she had seen. And because the mummy liked wearing nice clothes, I found out suddenly she had normal vials with a medical mixture which the blacks got for free. The thing is that she went to the clinic and there it was for free, of course. And then I noticed the money I used to give her was not for the baby. She bought clothes and it was going on like this until the baby was six months old. One day the mother appeared in the white residence, in the white area. She knocked on the door, my maid opened and she brought me the baby, she was ill again, what should I do? Well, I was shocked by this and I told myself, this is really a problem what will I do with this? So I called my close friend telling him my maid's baby was ill.

The maid was black, I guess?

Yes. [I asked] Could you help her? This was not a problem at all. I was to come to the ghetto where he was on duty sometimes, and he could examine the baby there. I should never bring the baby to the surgery where I went to see the doctor myself. So I took the baby to the black ghetto so that the doctor could cure her. He tells me – why are you doing this? I say, you know, I help people. He said it was necessary to start proper medical treatment, some injections. Three days later I came for the next treatment and the baby recovered.

What was wrong with her?

Common cold, sniffle, cough, but it was untreated. Well, and I told the mother – here is your recovered baby and go back to the black ghetto. The mother of Shella did it twice, three times in this way. I always went to the black ghetto and the doctor of mine started giving me strange looks and he might have told himself – there is something wrong there; why do I take care of a black maid's baby? Frankly said, it was strange when they could see me in that surgery. It was a surgery for the blacks, and suddenly a white man comes from the town with a black baby. The entire situation was precarious. When I brought my daughter there for the third time I said we couldn't continue like this because it could end tragically. I started to get used to the role of the father. What about such passing up and down, when the family has no money, they do not want to take care of the baby and they are used to putting all the kids together, they pile them up like sardines in the ghetto. Imagining that was too much on me, I couldn't come to terms with it. I suggested it would be better if the baby would be with me, with all the risks for me and for the baby. Within this decision, another funny detail occurred, that my daughter's grandfather, a former policeman, invited me and his other daughter to a place behind the town where I had some land property. Well, then we could be on my piece of land, far from other people. He invited me for a meeting there.

He was still a policeman at that time?

Yes. In that ghetto. Simply he knew that his daughter had given birth to a baby and I had violated their tradition and I would have to pay some fine or give him money. Well, and because they adhere to rules, so in accordance with these rules I had to give the money to him, the grandfather, the father of the mother of my child. And I asked why should I give it to you? Because she is my daughter and you have a child with my daughter and you are a white man. If I go to the police, they will put both of you in prison. Both my daughter and you. At that time, my child's mother had a sister who emigrated to Canada later where she married a doctor, and now she gives lectures at a university, I think in Toronto. She was on my side and told me – do not stick to these rules, even if my Dad wants to have his money. It would be better if you could settle up with him. That passed, I disregarded that. Suddenly, you see, I received an invitation from a legal organization to come for a negotiation in Johannesburg. In the letter, they

asked whether I was aware that I had committed a crime, that I had had intercourse with a black woman, that a baby had been born and all the other articles which were part of that. Well, I set off to Johannesburg and there to my surprise I ran into the baby's mother.

Where? Did you meet her in the corridor?

In the corridor. And before they invited us in I told her – why did you decide to do this? It was my father who did it, he filed this information. They thought they would force me to pay. They brought us to the office and started intimidating me with those articles. And I said in my own defence to them – who is feeding the baby, who is paying the doctor, who is buying clothes for the baby? Me. What else do you want from me? Well, they found out that the mother of my daughter had suddenly no answer, and said – why have you come here anyway? Only because your father believed he would get some money? And the case was closed. We left Johannesburg and finished the first part as to information to some bodies that might have required a financial compensation from me. The baby stayed with me and my maid looked after her.

How old was she when you took her?

Six months. Because I was single and there were neighbours around me I built a tent of quilts in my apartment so that the baby couldn't be heard. In the tent, I fed the baby; I did not have to give her a bath because the maid did it before she left. I returned home then and took over the night shift after my work. I did not have any white guests.

Nobody knew that you had the baby there?

No, nobody knew it. I was very cautious about it, when the baby got ill I asked a black woman to bring her to the car or to come with me. Simply, I said this is my maid's baby. And I kept that in principle for all the time the baby was there.

How long was it?

She was there until she was four, I guess.

You were both there on your own?

We were on our own there, then I bought a luxury villa because I could see suddenly that too many eyes looked at me and even other people noticed it. I had organized a group of parents, who took turns at delivering

their children to the Catholic kindergarten, which was established by British nuns, to take her in the morning. Well, my maid used to wait with my daughter outside the building in the morning, and they brought the child to the Catholic private kindergarten.

Did they know the baby was your daughter?

They knew she was my daughter.

How did they discover it?

I covered it up, indeed, but I started visiting selected Jewish families who knew that. Some selected families I kept in touch with knew about that, and Jews especially supported me in that. I told myself I couldn't imagine sending the baby back to the ghetto once I cured her. I really couldn't imagine that. From our side, I met a lady whose name I don't want to mention, she is well aware of my dissatisfaction with her.

That means a Czech lady?

A Czech lady who told me – no matter that you earned a good reputation here, that you were a successful man here among us, successful even for South-African conditions, because of this will you be taken as a loser, you won't get away with it.

Because you confessed to having fathered the child and because you brought her up?

Exactly, because I have a coloured baby with a black woman, you won't get away with it and it will be better if you return the baby back to the ghetto to her mummy and depart from here.

What education did the lady have?

She had finished elementary or secondary school I think. And what I remember her latest job was as an insurance agent and she was paid only for what she sold among the blacks, some policies. It was her latest job. Well, and I kept the baby and began to bring her up and to send her to the kindergarten. I took her everywhere, for example I used to take her to Johannesburg. One of those families had a textile shop and they received some samples from abroad. The dealers usually left them the samples. I dressed the baby of mine in good quality clothes. The reason was so that the baby did not look like a commonly dressed coloured baby from a shopping centre. On walks or trips we travelled solely to Johannesburg, we stayed

at five-star-hotels to avoid what somebody could say in front of her – look at this beautiful black baby. And it would be me standing not far from that baby. Nobody asked me about that at a five-star-hotel. They knew I was the father because she called me – Daddy, Daddy. The more luxury the hotel, the safer place for me because it would have not occurred to anybody that I lived in South Africa permanently.

That means because you stayed in hotels with her, you gave the impression you were a tourist?

She was very lovely and it was interesting with her. I was sitting with her at the table and I was a little strict to her, she was so lively. Other people tried to get her attention, they were interested in who she was, what did she look like or how did she smell. Frankly said, it was strange. Then the people introduced themselves to me and gave me their business cards. We came here to make a film, we came to see it here and now this. We are from America and we have not seen anything like that here before. I met interesting people in these places.

How often did you go to those hotels?

Actually once a week in Johannesburg, I could move freely there. When I appeared at home on Sunday morning, for example when I did not have a performance on Saturday night (when I worked at discos) my maid brought the baby and we left for another trip, let's say until Monday morning or until Tuesday. We travelled a lot.

Well, did you travel solely to Johannesburg?

It was easy for me in Johannesburg, I could disappear in a crowd, and I felt safe in those places. Nobody would start signing at me or picking on me. At some hotels, which I visited regularly, there always was somebody in the reception who watched over my baby. I could go out alone to have dinner in a club and then return to the room. The babysitter went her own way and everything was fine. Of course, at each dinner, should we eat in the room or predominantly in a restaurant, the baby was in the spotlight. She was really lovely, likeable, and nice. People were curious to find out more.

And what about the mother? How often did she meet her daughter?

The mother had not seen her since I took her. The mother has not seen her since she was six months old.

Because then I said it would not be good and then I took her away. She had not seen her, I guess, until she was seventeen or eighteen. But at that time my daughter pushed me and whenever we went visiting my friend or we travelled to Johannesburg, she always asked – where does my Mummy live? Why don't we go there? Why can't I see her? I said I cannot find her. The child kept pushing me, I postponed it again and again because I was scared they could take her away from me. They could take the child from me any day – state authorities, social care, the police. Because the reason for the crime I committed was that she was born, she was coloured. And as a coloured person she was not allowed to live in the white neighbourhood. Moreover, she lived together with a white man – that means me. Nobody would be interested in the fact I was the father. But they would have taken my child easily away from me, and I don't know what would happen in the end. So I was really scared for all those years.

All the years you were out of your home, weren't you? At discos. And your food distribution business came later on?

My business was to distribute meat products and juices first, and then I opened the way to Swaziland. I slowly started planning I should move my daughter to a safer place, where the white South Africans could not reach me. And I managed to do that. I guess she was four and half or five years old when I relocated her for good to Swaziland. However, in the meantime, when she was younger, I used to bring her with me when I went to Swaziland.

Does that mean that she used to travel with you?

I had her in a box behind the seat in the lorry. When they killed the former leader in South Africa, the checkpoints were along the whole road to Swaziland. People from the African National Congress, who had to move there from South Africa, were in exile in Swaziland. At each checkpoint I couldn't help feeling terrible that the baby would wake up behind my back. I had to cross the borders while she was sleeping. Therefore I needed a passport for her so that she could cross the border legally, and that's why I attended the blacks' administration. Well, I used to go up and down there with the mother of the baby, and without the baby. I told her, please, come with me, sign here you agree for Shelly to get a travel document. And they, perhaps intentionally, issued the document for her for fourteen days or one month, so after fourteen days I

was back there again. Then the chief of the department asked – why do you want to take the baby with you? I say, please this is my maid and she queues here all day long, I have no idea how she does it, but she tells me, she stands and queues here and then she doesn't get a number, that means she cannot get to you. She has some relatives in Swaziland and she wished to get there, also there is somebody who would help her send the baby to hospital because the baby is not healthy. And similar tales which explained why she was to travel abroad.

So in the end – did you get a document?

A travel document, which the blacks were given, with a child's photo. She has kept some of them up to now. I travelled with her to Botswana, Swaziland and to other countries. But in short, the administration for blacks always took fourteen days. A kind of bullying, really. Then they issued a new passport for her because the dates overlapped. And when I came there once with the papers of my so-called maid, or the mother of my baby, a man, who always helped me, called me – it was the head of this department. I always tried to behave with decorum, without problems and well. He called me, shut the door and there was written on the passport – father, mother. He told me – sign it here. His name was Ferieras, a South-African. I said – I cannot sign it – I am not the father. He looked at me and told me – feel free to sign it, don't worry. So I signed it and since that time, I have visited only him because it became confidentially official. Otherwise I refrained from visiting that place because when I entered among the blacks they wondered what I as a white man was doing there. It was the administration solely for the blacks and I was on the black's side. I had awful feelings that somebody would come, knock on the door and say – come with us. Where is the child? Where is the mother? And all the administration was full of racist laws, just to inform you, in Czechoslovakia, what South Africa was like at that time. However, nothing happened. I don't know how I did it, but nothing happened. I had other difficulties with those papers because whenever I came to the borders, there were three queues: the whites, the coloured, Indians and others, and the blacks. The queues respected these orders, because there was much traffic between Swaziland and South Africa, because huge

numbers of people worked in South Africa: especially miners in the diamond and coal mines. The blacks moved either to South Africa or to Swaziland. I didn't know at that time, where I should position the baby, which queue should she join.

Didn't she fit in any one?

She fitted in every one. With the white one, I was afraid because she was registered under the name and family name of her mother but I accompanied her because she travelled in a lorry with me. I didn't know where I should position her. When I placed her among the blacks, the blacks were so fair, they let her wait among them and I joined the whites. I told her – wait here. But the blacks moved her forward, you see. They were all speaking at once, telling the one, who stood in front of them – let her go forward, the white here takes care of her. Of course, here and there they discovered I might be her father. They moved her forward to the counter and she was finished in the queue sooner than I was in the white queue. They knew me there then.

Did that happen many times?

That happened many times. From time to time, I tried to take her to the counter for the whites, but there was an annoying African woman, she took my passport and that of hers and said: this one belongs to another line. So they threw her off the counter and I had to send my daughter to the other queue. I was processed in the white line. She had her passport issued from the blacks' administration, where they categorized people as blacks, coloured and Indians, and whites. Well, there were more border crossings there, on the Swazi side without problems, and on the South-African one it was so unpleasant.

How many kilometres did you travel to Swaziland?

It was 450 kilometres, and I always travelled at night. Even if I closed the disco, for example, I took her with me in the box, locked it and we left.

Where did you stay in Swaziland?

I had an apartment in Manzini, where I met another girl after some time, maybe in 1982 or 1983, and since that time I used to leave my daughter in Swaziland.

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Summary

Memory can be compared to the function of a balance wheel creating continuity in different areas of the society. History and memory are two different categories. History can enter memory; on the contrary, memory entry into history is an inadmissible matter for some historians; for other experts, the memories are adequate history resources. Subjective level of manipulation is what continues to be memory base. On the contrary, history is – to the maximum extent possible – an objectified view of the past. Memory records the past through individual experiences whereby several levels can be seen in the process of remembering. Especially: memory includes both a stage of a storage device and a stage of subjective interpretation depending on plenty of individualized factors including the current mood of the narrator. Both levels (storage device and interpretation), however, are subject to the author’s license whereby the purpose of this communication is dominating. On the other side, the purpose cannot be related only to an individual’s profit. The contribution summarizes some knowledge of the author gained at the collection of life stories among the members of Czech ethnic groups abroad with concrete examples from the Republic of South Africa.

Key words: emigration; Czechs abroad; memory; memories; traditions; the Republic of South Africa.

FOLKLORE MOVEMENT AND ITS FUNCTION IN THE TOTALITARIAN SOCIETY (ON AN EXAMPLE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC IN THE 2ND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY)¹

Martina Pavlicová – Lucie Uhlíková

Folklorism as both a phenomenon and movement has been defined and studied many times in the Czech ethnologic literature. It was mostly its relationship to folklore and folk traditions in general (such as transfer and transformation of folk culture expressions into the second existence and with other functions); furthermore it was the role of folklorism during the cultural and historical development of the society and in the process of forming the national, regional and local identity, as well as the role of folklorism in the education of the youngest generation. In spite of the fact that folklorism became a subject of ethnological research as late as in the second half of the 20th century, it expanded relatively soon from the original German conception (Bausinger 1970) to other national scientific schools, where it must always be considered in its given historical and geographical contexts.

In Central Europe, the roots of the emerging folklorism could be noticed very early. According to music sources, the infiltration of folk melodies and dances to the aristocratic environment was already documented after the second half of the 17th century. These sources also include various performances of rural folk at aristocratic courts, as well as occasions when the nobility put on folk costumes and danced rustic dances. It was a specific rustic trend of its time which appeared under the influence of the coming Romanticism not only in music, but also in literature and fine arts. Enlightenment and Romanticism brought an ideal of a pure rural man which was successively integrated into various social significances. The popularity of the rural idyll in the Czech environment was connected with the [Czech] National Revival. Symbolically and factually (especially in the language), it had formed a newly defined nation for the entire 19th century.

In the 20th century, the use of folk culture continued further in the Czech territory with relatively large intensity, particularly after the formation of the independent Czechoslovakia in 1918. The interest in folk culture and especially the cultivation of folklore increased in the same way as traditional phenomena disappeared from its original environment. The rising interest in folk culture was reflected in the development of the folklore movement,

and especially in the formation of folklore groups and ensembles, ceremonies and festivals. This part of folklorism was even intensified after the World War II, under new social conditions, which especially after the Communist coup in 1948 strongly determined the period image. Surprisingly, these changes also partly predetermined its development after the fall of the totalitarian regime 40 years later. Exploring the period from 1948 to 1989 and its social conditions in the Czech Republic, the folklore movement may not be ignored, belittled, or even unilaterally judged. At that time, the folklore movement was part of a wide stream of amateur culture, which it exceeded in many respects, and formed strongly not only the professional and personal lives of individuals, but also knowledge of folk culture in general.²

Based on contemporary field research (not only) in the Czech Republic it is evident that the folklore movement implements several tasks: it may be an active way of spending leisure time and at the same time implementing personal needs (such as the need for self-realisation, respect and self-respect, solidarity, cognitive and aesthetic needs, Cf. Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2008); for others it may be a mere component of genre diverse culture which may be accepted in different ways (from simple tolerance through neutral watching according to current mood and selection on offer, to preference) or it may not be accepted (from merely ignoring to a denial or even an aversion to the genre). Deconstruction of this approach in the past appears to be a more complicated issue. It also includes an answer to the question of what role the cultivation of cultural heritage played within the folklore movement in a human life during the totalitarian rule of the Communist party. For many reasons, this is mainly a sphere of culture which in the Czech lands – as it has been outlined above – since its inception has been associated with the political context of that time. This all has been happening irrespective of the state system and the ruling political power.

Since the very beginning of the development of the organized folklore movement in the Czech lands, which can be dated back to the 19th and 20th centuries,³ three characteristic features may be observed, which followed

and helped to determine the development. They include a romantic vision of the traditional countryside and entire folk culture, censorship of some traditional expressions (this was associated with the romantic vision only to some extent), and a close relationship to experts' circles, which gradually formed the disciplines of folkloristics and ethnography (nowadays ethnology). In the present paper, we will focus on these aspects especially in the period of the so-called construction of socialism, a period when the Czech Republic (or rather Czechoslovakia) and all human life aspects were subordinated and controlled by the totalitarian political power. One cannot say that such a definite period evaluation reflects the same definite characteristics of the everyday life of society, however, the totality interfered in all cultural and social spheres. Many of these have already been analysed by experts, for example literature, films, religious life etc.; nevertheless, the field of socialist folklorism is still waiting for evaluation. Here it is not only the approximation of functions and social positions which were associated with the use of folk traditions during the totality, but also the folk culture image which was further being made and remade in favour of political contexts.

1. Folk culture in the second half of the 20th century: the socialistic culture idol under censorship

The 1950s were an extreme period which left lots of devastating traces not only in the culture but also in the entire society. The Czechoslovakian⁴ totalitarian regime was remorseless and inventive in particular while searching for and punishing ideological enemies; simultaneously, it caused numerous human tragedies and ruined thousands of lives. These practices were based on the ideal of its role model, the former Soviet Union. The relationship of the Czech Communist totality to cultural spheres which held spiritual and religious freedom was totally disapproving. The former state system was not very familiar with the syncretics of folk traditions and was tolerant only when a religious aspect was not noticeable at first sight. Cultural politics at that time, followed by phrases about a new historical era, a new human mentality and about creative working rural people, attributed a new function to the folk culture, mainly to folklore: they should have become a foundation of a new socialistic culture and art which were intended not for the privileged classes (which meant the bourgeois in communist diction) but to the working masses, thus the people. Art was supposed to be understood by

everyone, and primarily it was supposed to replace culture which was produced and shared by the anti-state elites of the society. Inconvenient intellectuals and artists were sentenced in various fabricated political trials which were supposed to destroy the cultural hotbed of the past.⁵

Efforts coming out of folk culture were officially approved but with some restrictive conditions. Only single components were ripped out from folk traditions, there was no respect for their multiplicity, syncretics, aesthetics and particularly their crucial linkage to Christian belief and culture. The 'New folk art' in the socialist realism spirit was intentionally cultivated and supported. It was based on traditional forms of folk expressions, but it worked with a modern, politically marked and propagandist content. Nowadays, the view of this 'new production' can be perceived rather comically. However, it is a tragedy that it was meant and accepted absolutely seriously at that time. There were songs about tractors or the foundation of socialistic collective farms, lyrics about punishing rich peasants and all class wreckers, about peace and its enemy: the capitalistic West. There were ensemble performances depicting cooperative-farm weddings and harvest festivals, but also programmes about guerilla fighters in the World War II.⁶ These all, and direct and lowbrow fine art of that period, Communist decorations and mass propaganda of the folklore movement still represent warning mementos these days. As we have already commented on in the foreword to the *From Folklore to Folklorism* dictionary (dedicated to the folklore movement in Moravia and Silesia), these attributes seem to be ridiculously naive, but at the same time it is frightening how manipulative they may be (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997: 7). It is absolutely clear from many of written and visual sources how massively they were accepted at that time.

It was in this connection, when a general feature of totalitarian and nationalistic societies was expressed significantly in its relationship to folk traditions. Ernest Gellner: "Cultures, which it [nationalism] claimed to defend and revive, are often invented or recreated indistinguishably. Nationalism usually wins in the name of alleged folk culture. Its symbolism is derived from a healthy, original, energetic way of life of village people, the folk (*das Volk*), a nation." (Gellner 1993: 67, 68)

The manipulation described by Gellner, despite varying intensity and differently motivated intention, was nothing new in the Czech lands. It followed an effort for

national emancipation virtually for the entire 19th century and can be noticed until the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918. Folklore and other folk culture expressions became symbols of Czech and Moravian efforts and inspirational sources for forming Czech culture. As it has been shown in ethnological literature many times, folk traditions were offered to the nation in an aesthetically and ethically determined variety of choices.⁷ Moreover, it was pressed down by our unfortunate heritage – Austrian political censorship.⁸ The effort not to sin against religion, state, and good manners affected the appearance of many publications, including song collections. This aspect was associated with a romantic view of folk culture and with an emphasis on the positive features of folk production especially. It does not refer to selections of songs solely; songs were also being edited: editors used to connect different versions to ideal final forms, or they separated commonly used inorganic texts; they used to change the meanings of texts and remove erotic or vulgar expressions that were inappropriate and intolerable for the publishing practice of the period. As a result, among other things, most of the published folk song collections virtually from the whole 19th century provide an inconsistent message. In fact, they represent basic editions from which the folklore movement takes inspiration until today (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2011: 10).

This type of direction gained more serious social connotations with the rise of non-democratic governments after 1948, and it touched not only the Czech lands, but also a considerable part of Europe. Interestingly enough, although the countryside image was changing, the ideal of a countryman as a holder of traditional culture was kept. It continued to represent the ideological struggle which substituted an old, 'bourgeois art' for something new: 'folk art' available for the new classless society.

Principally, the totalitarian power actually continued censoring traditional folk culture as it was practised during the period of the above mentioned Habsburg monarchical censorship. While under the Monarchy issues against the Kaiser, God and good manners were prohibited, then the Communist rule allowed nothing concerning God, or rather nothing which reflected Christian belief, its values or mere attributes. Taboos were, for example, folk door-to-door processions based on the birth of Jesus Christ or the lives of saints, Christmas and Easter carols with New Testament motives, as well as non-religious songs which included a hint of Christianity. As a paradox of that

time, it is possible to use an example of a song about a vicar who preaches nicely and hands out nice pictures to girls. František Sušil (1804–1848) was not allowed to publish the song in his first collection⁹ of Moravian folk songs, which was justified by containing an inappropriate interpretation of preaching (Uhlíková 2012: 23). It was published after cancellation of censorship. It lasted less than one hundred years till the same song (and scores of others) became inappropriate for another ruling power; the declared reasons were different but the result was the same: a distorted image of folk traditions was introduced to the public. An interest in folk culture in the Czech lands went through various twists and turns. It is obvious from historical studies that many impulses for the perception of this part of culture were based on needs of the society that often manifested its intentions by protecting itself with folk traditions. Most obviously it was expressed during periods of effort to establish the nation, the statehood, and then during the Communist regime period after 1948. It is one side of a coin which may not be ignored as well as the other side, where the inner development of the human personality is reflected, interfaced not only with social occasions but also with hidden psychological processes. It would be unfair to perceive folk culture during the incriminated years only through ideological commands and the official voice of the media of its time. Participants in the folklore movement used to form very heterogeneous groups whose characteristics are difficult to generalize. Besides official art ensembles committed to a professional base (such as The Czechoslovak State Ensemble of Songs and Dances), whose dramaturgic line had to be in accordance with the state ideology, there was particularly an amateur platform of the folklore movement. It ranged from municipal ensembles (often politically covered) to village groups, which were based on local traditions and which were often the bearers of local traditions in the original environment. Censorship was also exercised there but not to such a large extent. Simultaneously, it was often disobeyed irrespective of unpleasant sanctions.¹⁰

Without searching for the relations and coherence of both spheres, the socio-political and the personal ones, it is impossible either to explain the existence of culture and its everydayness or to evaluate their expressions. For example, when Karel Vachek's film *The Moravian Hellas* (1963) was made, it was immediately banned for political reasons, and the author, born 1940, became gradually

persecuted by the regime which led to his emigration in the 1970s. The film represented a clear view of folk culture for a certain part of the artistic public. Professional polemics of ethnologists, which started over the content and which disproved certain clichés contained in the film, did not get wide publicity (cf. Tomeš 1964). Originally a personal artistic statement, which intended to point at a problem of political exploitation of folk culture, it was consequently mistaken for a documentary. This did not become an objective testimony about reality but it irreconcilably linked various expressions of folk culture and folklorism in order to reach its aim. In his own words, the author wanted to show that “folklore is not as ambitious as art, that it refers mostly to sentimental pop-culture, and in comparison with philosophical music, which was composed for instance by Smetana, it is just fun” (Nezbeda 2008).

From the folk culture perspective of that time, the film only extended a stereotype which had been noticeable in the Czech society in connection with folk culture (folklore) and politics since the late-1940s.¹¹ Just as the director Karel Vachek did not proceed on the real knowledge and state of affairs in this case, it often did not happen in other positive cases either. The mixing of professional, leisure-time, educational and political views was so wide-spread that at a cursory glance it is nearly impossible to find a way to the core issue. It is important to realise that the Czech folklore movement of that time had its own roots and its predecessors. Research which was conducted by a professional worker in community culture, Jan Miroslav Krist (in 1970), puts some light on the folklore movement in the 1960s; ethnologist Josef Jančář in his work (2002) explored the 1990s. They provided evidence of the rich history of various groups, gatherings and societies connecting people interested in folk culture since the second half of the 19th century; they also showed their connection with political organisations and exploitation of ensemble performances within the promotion of political programmes in various historical periods.¹² Concurrently, these activities led to the preservation of folk traditions and to their fixation.

2. Folk ensembles: a basic folkloristic platform at the time of totality

The historian Jiří Knapík divides cultural politics in the after-war Czechoslovakia into positive and negative. Positive cultural politics is understood as steps of the Communist regime aiming at the formation of ‘a desirable

model of socialistic culture’, whereas negative cultural politics is represented by a set of individuals, groups of people, and values, which were supposed to be repressed, or rather eliminated (Knapík 2006: 8–9). According to this division, it is crystal clear that the folklore movement belongs completely to the first category. Nevertheless, it has had a significant ideological connotation for many people in the Czech Republic, and therefore they have an ambivalent or even a negative attitude not only to the folklore movement, but also to folklore as such and the entire folk culture. [Under Communism], former community educational activities were transformed into extra-curricular cultural activities supported by state administration. Folk ensembles used to perform precisely in this framework. Competition shows and lectures were organized; on the other hand the surveillance of Communist bodies used to operate as well. They were particular about ensuring proper content of given activities. Particularly in the 1950s, this was clearly proclaimed and not hidden in any way.

In the scholarly literature, the emergence of the ‘organized’ folklore movement is regularly associated with the after-war development, which is basically coincident with the political coup in 1948. In after-war Czechoslovakia, however, the development in this field fluently followed the tendencies from the First Republic, and many activities which were – sometimes controversially – implemented also during the Nazi occupation. The folklore movement was considerably intensified already in the euphoria years immediately after WWII. Simultaneously, it was organized and controlled by ‘ethnographic sections’ at educational boards which were executive organs of national committees.¹³ General awareness of the public popularity of the folklore movement may not have been related to all the activities. Just after the war, the folklore movement was confronted with Soviet role models. This is documented, for example, in the text by the ethnographic researcher Vladimír Úlehla. He describes the establishing of The Ensemble for Moravian Folk Songs, Music and Dance, of which he and his wife Maryna Úlehlová-Hradilová became directors: “She [M. Úlehlová] entered the liberated republic with a strong intention to form an ensemble which would create our distinctive movement, musical and vocal expression based on our folk heritage which was restored reliably and truthfully. The performance of the Soviet State Ensemble for Folk Songs, and then the Ensemble for Folk Dance in the USSR, both in autumn 1945, attracted public opinion to

intentions of this kind.” (Kosíková 1998: 178) In another document, the Úlehlas formulate a justification for their intentions in the following words: “The recent performance of the Soviet state ensembles showed how much we are able to extract from folk art to get a distinctive artistic expression of the whole nation, and how much the output growing from the national roots constitute a political and social factor.” (Kosíková 1998: 180)

Despite discussions to what extent the above mentioned formulations are tributary to their time or whether their purpose mainly was to obtain financial support from official sites, considering the following cultural-political development, it is interesting how accurate the words about the social and political function of folklorism were, and how soon they unwillingly anticipated things in the future... The change of the social situation after 1948 was remarkable enough for the folklore movement to take another direction. A new regime built on ‘the rule of people and class struggle’, a new ‘righteous’ order which needed a ‘new’ man¹⁴ and his ‘new’ culture, stripped of all ‘bourgeois mud’ and all influence of the ‘western-like pseudo-culture’. All this was definitely accomplished by folk culture: a culture made by oppressed people and “completed, garnished and improved for centuries”, which has “permanent and imperishable value by far incomparable with an ephemeral life of pseudo-folk songs and hits composed during the bourgeois-republic period”, which were not entertaining for a group, but only “couples enjoyed themselves, guided this way of entertainment to individualistic self-reflection.” (Kašpar 1954: 54) The doctrine of that time dictated a diversion from any individuality, also from artistic self-expression, because it meant underpinning wide layers of the society: “It means [...] art created by people to people.” (Machov 1948: 122)

As the philosopher Hannah Arendt (2004) shows in her comprehensive work dedicated to totalitarian regimes, one of the characteristic features of totality is a tendency to organise all life aspects according to the ruling ideology, to eliminate public life (= an isolation of people) in connection with the destruction of a private life. Exactly according to this screenplay, associations and organisations which were found to be inconvenient, suspicious, or dangerous for the regime were gradually prohibited. One of the important goals of the Communists was also to eliminate the influence of political parties and organisations and related folklore collectives, which differed politically, and provide them with an appropriate motivation.

In the 1950s, the number of folk ensembles increased rapidly not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in other socialistic countries and particularly, within newly formed mass organisations such as the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the Association of Czech Youth.¹⁵ As Zdeněk Jírový stated (2005: 118), many of them based their activities – ideologically and by their working method – on the activities of First Republic workers’ ensembles, and Soviet collectives, for example. Among the benefits of the existence and activities of folk ensembles for its members was the fact that the best, selected ensembles could represent their country abroad. This was one of few possibilities, although controlled to a certain extent, to travel behind the state borders, and even to countries behind the Iron Curtain.¹⁶

The activities of folk ensembles were set within a platform which nowadays is called extra-curricular cultural activity. It represented leisure time activities supported by the regime and its structures. Supervision of folklore music groups, dance groups and ensembles (but also other cultural branches) did not happen only from the point of view of political collective loyalty and correctness of presented repertoire. The quality of work was also controlled: music groups used to have regular ‘pre-performances’, which were organized by district and regional cultural centres. Expert committees evaluated not only the repertoire, but also the technical level of players; their verdicts affected the permission to perform publically and get money for it. Before they went on a foreign tour, the level of all folk ensembles was evaluated by a committee.

When considering evaluation committees and pressure put on folk ensembles, it is necessary to highlight that the high quality of folk ensembles in the socialistic block countries (high interpretational level, but also choreography and music arrangement) was related to the leisure-time phenomenon in the socialistic period. It included, on the one hand, various part-time jobs, socialistic commitments, collective tasks, work in youth or interest structures; on the other hand, a lot of free time resulting from the work attitude at that time as well as the exactly given and only seldom exceeded working hours in the state sector: the only one which was permitted in the Communist regime. The legal work obligation (those who did not work were sanctioned) was followed by too many people in the work sector resulting in low productivity of work, little work occupancy and large

space for cultivating hobbies. Leisure-time activities, within the already mentioned controlled structures by the Trade Unions and the Communist party, were supported not only financially, but also by granting days off work (paid or unpaid) for foreign tours, as well as for participation in top rounds of competitions or exhibitions of folk ensembles if they were held on weekdays.

The amount of leisure time during socialism also affected the age structure of folk ensembles in the socialistic block. The member base ranged from the youth and adults in the productive age to elderly people (multi-generational folk ensembles were common) whereas folklore groups from non-socialistic countries were organized in unions or within an extended family.

3. The folk ensembles as an erudite form of interest in folk traditions

The centrally provided methodical instructions for work of folklore collectives were not only based on Soviet patterns, but also on professional erudite local sources, which were typical in connecting the folklore movement with ethnography. Although Czech science kept a distance from folklorism during the interwar period (see Chotek 1926; Zíbrt 1929), after World War II, the linkage folkloristics – ethnography – folklore movement is already evident. At that time, many young ethnographers worked in the discipline; they were personally involved in folklore collectives as members, and their relationship to the folklore movement was logically specific. However, it is not possible to conceal the fact that after the climax of the strongest influence of ideology at the beginning of the 1960s, ethnographic disillusionment was seen.¹⁷

Various records about establishing new ensembles of extra-curricular cultural activities (in the discourse of the period) show many similarities across ethnographic regions. Věra Šejvlová (1919–2004), the director of the Ostravica ensemble, says: “The ensemble was formed in 1949 and the first rehearsal was in December. Preparations started at least two years prior to it. First, we focused on a traditional regional folk costume which in fact nobody was familiar with. It was reconstructed based on oral descriptions and suggestions by people who still remembered it. Then, we started to collect songs and dances. The local national committee became interested in our work and later helped us obtain material for costumes.” (Dymerová 1952: 59) Some ensembles tried to transform the activities which commenced already in

the interwar folklore movement, and some ensembles originated under the social pressure of that period.¹⁸

Paradoxically, the issues of the Eastern-European folklore movement, which were criticised most in the years to come (such as a significant political support, an ideological and art influence of the Soviet Union, and so on) were, on the contrary, accepted with admiration among those interested in the folklore movement in West Europe in the after-war period (Pavlicová 2005: 20). It is necessary to say that foreigner admirers appreciated what was visible in the ensembles (the high quality of production, or the state support with obtaining equipment), but they were not aware of frequent ideological undertones. Czech and Slovak documents of the period use an official [ideological] language and speak about the formation of the folk ensembles' cadre, about ideological ten-minute meetings, completing socialistic contracts, and so on (cf. Dymerová 1952). Simultaneously, they also speak about terrain recognition, collecting dances and songs, and not restricting themselves only to published folklore collections.

The building up of collection funds (particularly, song and dance folklore collections) which was intentionally integrated to the work of folk ensembles appears to be an unexceptional, positive fact of given activities of its time. The use of these funds was reflected in the repertoires of folklore collectives, as well as in the nature of cooperation with experts. The cooperation was mostly voluntary, because many younger ethnographers participated in the work of folk ensembles as their members or leaders. To a certain extent, the cooperation was commanded officially as it is documented by the resolution from the nationwide conference of ethnographers from 1952. Furthermore, the focus of editorial activities of ethnomusicologist and ethnochoreologists was adjusted to the folklore movement as well. The publishing of song and dance collections was obliged to respect ‘an actual social commission’ represented by the needs of folk ensembles. Nevertheless, as a consequence, the collection volumes were limited in their contents: the priorities were choreographic descriptions of dances, whereas songs [tunes, lyrics], their analyses and comparative notes were neglected (Toncrová 1998: 150). Moreover, for example, sacred folk songs as well as folklore material of ethnic minorities were never included in the editions. (The displaced German population, and the Croats in Southern Moravia who proclaimed themselves of German nationality represented a highly sensitive social issue) (cf. Pavlicová 2012: 142).

At the turn of the 1950s, a dramaturgy was supported of folk ensembles based on 'a new production'.¹⁹ Although it was short-lived (and often considered totally absurd), it makes the core of a long-lasting major criticism of the practices of the period. It left a sensitive trace in the perception of the folklore movement as a complex, which was later augmented by the participation of folk ensembles in national Spartakiads (national sport games) and award ceremonies of State Prizes, and so on. A part of the culture public and experts from former ethnographic circles, who were often forced to participate in the folklore movement, tried to cope with "the burden of folklore"²⁰ at the end of the 1950s; nevertheless, no significant evaluation of the era was expected. The Communist regime did not reflect on its own errors, so even a professional reflection was impossible.

Political matters may not be ignored when considering the establishment and the development of ensembles. For instance in 1953, before the World Festival of the Youth and Students held in Bucharest, an appeal of the board of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth addressed not only the Union's members, but also folk ensembles (cf. The Appeal 1953). The new state power perfectly managed to use an interest in folk traditions for the state's needs (also in connection with the Soviet doctrine): an interest which was cultivated willingly in the European context since the 19th century and which always intensified during tense political periods. It was mainly the young generation which was ideologically exploited; not only via their interest in folk ensembles, but also in choirs and theatrical, recital or ballroom dancing ensembles. However, folk ensembles remained the most important options (Langášek 1954: 145).

It must not be forgotten that members of the folklore movement were not meant to be a unified element, and their motivations varied a lot, evolving differently over time, and that there were differences between activities in the city and in the country. This is documented by memories of numerous witnesses, which are actually subjective, as well as the oral history method. These memories, however, contribute significantly to a rather sterile evaluation of the after-war folklore movement in the Czech lands. As the ethnologist Petr Lozoviuk remarks, real socialism should "not be studied by ethnologists merely as 'a totalitarian dictatorship'. It did not refer only to the imposed ideology but it was an immanent part of the given social system that was further influenced by plentiful historical, social,

cultural, and other factors." (Lozoviuk 2007) A recorded narration documents the atmosphere in the society, which was ambivalent and whose numerous excesses crossed the lines to extremes. The ethnographer Karel Pavlišťík (*1931), a long-term organiser of the folklore movement in Moravia, commented on the situation in the early 1950s: "When the [political] processes started, the nationwide propaganda hit with such terror as to make people feel frightened even to think about it [...] The more repressions escalated, the more people were afraid to speak differently from what the official press stated... People whose family members were hit directly did not attend ensembles, they did not."²¹ The regime exploited the young inexperienced people, an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty was induced: this all in the name of ideals which in fact were a utopia: "...official places preferred to see folklore as the most significant expression of anti-cosmopolitanism (cosmopolitanism was seen as a hostile ideology) and as the most significant feature of national culture. It clearly had the most significant national character. This, I think, played a big role. Another point is public attraction and popularity. When an organiser was supposed to find performers for a peace celebration or a similar event, a folklore ensemble was the most convenient option. Every genre simply fits a special environment, and an open-air stage performance of a folklore ensemble was not a problem at all."²²

From the late 1950s, the activity in folk ensembles started to operate on a different basis. The Central House People's Creativity, which was the covering institution for amateur culture, provided methodical activities towards ensembles focused on traditional regional material and a diverse stylisation of stage performances; a principle of political non-exploitation of folklore material was established (Jírový 1997: 219).²³ Dramaturgy of ensembles worked with more source materials, but this did not mean complete freedom. A typical attribute of the regime was the already mentioned censorship. The strongest pressure of this institution is noticeable in the 1950s and subsequently after August 1968, approximately until the mid-1980s, when the social atmosphere was gradually being released. Sanctions began to disappear and the function of the Christmas carol "Jesus Christ Was Born" as a protest song was diminished due to repeated non-problematic performances. Officially, carols were allowed to be played on the radio only on Christmas Eve, then only during two Christmas days. The release happened very slowly and the lyrics about the birth of Jesus or the Virgin

Mary used to appear in mass media only occasionally until November 1989. This trend included all music genres, not only folk ensembles. Christmas time was celebrated by [ideologically] safe works of classical music, later by the optimistic popular song “Christmas Time Is Coming” (“Vánoce, Vánoce přicházejí” written by J. Vomáčka and Z. Borovec), “The Purpura Christmas” (“Purpura” written by J. Suchý and J. Šlitr), or later even songs translated from English into Czech such as “Jingle Bells” (“Rolničky”) and “I’m dreaming of a White Christmas” (“Já sním o Vánocích bílých”).

Texts of traditional Christmas carols were corrected especially in the mass media for public presentations, terms like a baby son or a little boy were used in the totalitarian Czechoslovakia instead of Baby Jesus. However, practically any type of lyrics might have become problematic depending on how the Communist body, or its individual members, understood and judged it. A long-term music editor of [the state] Czech Radio in Brno Jaromír Nečas (*1922) said that censorship commands were transmitted verbally and that in the 1950s, there were censorship departments in the media where programmes were submitted for approval.²⁴ If the given rules were broken, there was not only a reprimand from above, but often also the option of losing one’s job. Anything might have been marked as a provocation, even a folk song which was favoured by the first Czechoslovak President T. G. Masaryk, who was rejected as ‘persona non grata’ during the socialist era.²⁵

In the second half of the 1960s, folk ensembles began to present themselves within the system of extra-curricular culture activities from the point of view of stage expressions. This was even intensified by establishing national and nationwide competitions of folk ensembles. There was a new way open, not to a ‘pseudo-artistic’ production of these collectives, but to searching for an artistic expression based on various stylistic standards of folklore material. Choreographic and arrangement cooperation was developed; representatives of artistic professions were invited to be on competition juries, as well as ethnologists, who evaluated work with sources, regional styles and folk-costume equipment.

After overcoming “the burden of folklore”, especially events after 1968 stirred up the development of the folklore movement in the Czech Republic. The official line of forming cultural policy, as Jiří Knapík said in an introduction to his article, became a paradox in the case

of the folklore movement. Under the disguise of a so-called positive cultural policy, numerous individuals were hidden for many years; their attitudes after August 1968 turned into negative politics. Many people looked for and have found refuge there. For example, Ivo Stolařík (1923–2010), a folklorist and editor of [the state] Czech Radio in Ostrava, claimed in an interview in 2003: “...later, the Party view was felt more and more and politics tended to affect broadcasting.People who did not like it were wise enough to hide within ensemble activities and folk songs. Thus, they demonstrated a meaningful activity and moreover, they gained support if youth activities were concerned. Therefore, ensembles survived all that strange era and I think that folklore and music did well because it was given great space.” (Bukovský 2007: 65)

The space gained was conditionally determined by plenty of compromises of which active participants of the folklore movement were aware. Tense participation, ideological pressure and a politically determined new production of the 1950s were gradually left behind. In the 1960s, the interest in folklore came back to the roots and preservation of traditions. The attention of the society was paid not only to city ensembles and the stage presentation of folklore, but also to village groups. The professionals, who studied folk culture, were fully aware of this fact, and simultaneously, they participated in organizing music festivals. The differences between the folklore movement in the city and in the countryside were reflected there. Whereas the folklore movement in the city was perceived mostly as a hobby, the countryside still kept functional relations to traditional culture irrespective of the traditional culture change. In a number of localities a latent folklore basis was sustained, which was expressed on various occasions and often connected with religious awareness.

The conclusion

The folklore movement in the Czech Republic during the period of the totalitarian government of the Communist regime cannot be judged unilaterally either in a negative, or a positive way. Even if it may be stated that – similarly to most other fields of culture – it was subordinated to the official power and cooperated with it to some extent, on the other hand, it made possible space for ‘inner emigration’ but also for conscious and often very well-informed cultivation of cultural heritage. Thanks to this platform, some already distinct traditions were revived, not only in the field of activities organised by the folklore movement.

As the German researcher Hans Strobach showed, so-called folklorised folklorism is consequently perceived as a tradition (cf. Smidchens 1999: 53). Some expressions of folklorism returned to the original environment on a similar principle as in traditional culture: by a direct inter-generational transfer. From stages of folklore festivals, they moved to the everyday life of families and also to a festival calendar of each village. Some traditions were revived and others – in some place for better, in others for worse – were reconstructed; some of them were fabricated idealistically referring to the traditional culture. This is a phenomenon defined by some ethnologists as the third existence of folklore: traditions, very often transformed or formed thanks to folklorism, are accepted by the local society as their own. The phenomenon is closely associated with the cultural or local identity from which the personal identity grows.

It may be stated that folklorism, not only in former Czechoslovakia but generally, in the whole of Eastern Europe, may be studied as a space among three poles which, as it was outlined, are as follows:

1. The censorship of contents or signs which the totalitarian Communist power considered unacceptable and rejecting the doctrine (the Christian symbolism, motives and ethics, the topic of fighting against the pressure and deprivation);

2. A romanticizing attitude to the entire field of traditional folk culture and its bearers, which developed into a certain type of censorship: this time in the aesthetical and ethical respect: as it was showed in the study devoted to the romantic image of folk culture as the base of folklorism in the Czech Republic after 1989, the general image of folklore traditions is built on romanticizing ideals as they were conserved in the 19th century (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2011: 13);

3. The erudite, professionally managed or supervised approach to searching for ethnographical materials, the cooperation of scholars specialized in the field of folk culture as experts in methodology, supervisors, but often also members or directors of folk ensembles. Connected to this is a net of methodical facilities (district cultural centres, regional cultural centres) which organized and guaranteed various folklore festivals and competitions: apart from the representatives of state, the juries and committees also involved ethnographers, ethnomusicologists and ethno-choreologists; although the activities were predominately positive, the official

supervision codified certain views of using folk culture on the stage. Paradoxically, it was ethnology that contributed to the defining opinion on what this sphere was supposed to look like despite not being allowed to interfere with the object of its own research.

Basically, all the three above mentioned aspects are linked by the same thing – an external intervention to perception of folk traditions and consequently, from this point of view, also their partial interference. Its character varied because it was based on motivation of the folklore movement members, or rather people interested in folk culture. When observing the situation in socialistic Czechoslovakia then it could be stated that apart from admiring interests in folk culture, the work in folk ensembles was 'a valuable expression of the social commitment' in the 1950s; while later it meant a possible self-realisation within the given social conditions for some people, for others it was a sort of 'spiritual asylum'. Obviously, it was a conditioned asylum that needed to be more or less complied with (but always to some extent) and subordinated to. Otherwise, there was a threat of 'cadre purges', problems with the managing structures of an ensemble, difficulties with travelling abroad (in terms of individuals or all collectives).

Although folklore collectives fulfilled various functions during their existence, they always represented a combination of social and personal needs. This was not different during the real socialistic period: some people saw self-fulfilment in an ensemble work, some saw a greater chance to travel abroad, others searched for a way to earn some extra money, some others were looking in the ensemble community for someone they could trust in such troublesome conditions, for people with the same approach to life. Scores of young people found their moral or art idols in the folklore movement without dependence on political doctrine. It is true that despite all images of folk ensembles as a so-called socialistic shop-window, the motivation for work was non-political for the majority of members.²⁶ The social pressure, which leaders of ensembles were exposed to, did not affect all members and responsibilities primarily. As well as other fields of extra-curricular cultural activity in the former socialistic system, the folklore movement outwardly implemented the official social needs (by performing on cultural and political occasions, representing the socialistic state in foreign countries, exhibiting work in ensembles as a certificate of the social commitment). However, it could not

exist without implementing the personal needs: socializing, getting together, having a good time within a circle of like-minded people, developing folklore traditions and creating something new.²⁷ The development after 1989 shows how important the mechanism was of the work of the folklore

movement: the social context has changed but the folklore movement has remained a strong stream of the Czech culture. A closer look suggests that it has implemented many features which have been accompanying the use of folk culture in the society for more than two centuries.

NOTES:

1. The present study represents a reworked version of the text *Folklorismus v historických souvislostech let 1945–1989 (na příkladu folklorního hnutí v České republice)*, published in the journal *Národopisná revue* 18, no. 4 (2008): 187–197.
2. Elaborate reviews about personalities, festivals, folk ensembles and institutions which drew on folk traditions in the Czech Republic are presented in two volumes of the dictionary *From Folklore to Folklorism* (cf. Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997; Vondrušková 2000) published by the Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice [today's National Institute of Folk Culture].
3. We take for granted that conscious interest in folk culture evolved during the whole of the 19th century, but the formation of ensembles and groups presenting folklore heritage is of a younger date.
4. The current Czech Republic was a part of the Czechoslovak Republic (excluding the development during the World War II) in 1918–1960, and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1960–1990. Further name changes were made after the fall of the Communist regime when the Czech and Slovak Federation was divided into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic on 1.1.1993.
5. In the last twenty years, many scholarly volumes as well as commemorative literature have been published which documented the despotism of the Communist regime on the intellectual environment, church and traditional rural and religious environment.
6. Partisans, the guerilla fighters, were to replace traditionally the most well-known representative of fighting against feudal lords a brigand. However, he was tolerated by the governing power and performances with the brigand theme were and are popular in repertoires of folk ensembles.
7. Efforts to rescue the folk culture were based on romantic visions about its former high artistic and aesthetic quality by a lot of ethnographic experts and collectors, on ideas about the soul of the nation – about a perished, in a certain aspect ideal and pure world of traditional countryside that must be necessarily revived and sustained for next generations. Simultaneously, they criticised a lot of cultural expressions of the same people because of their topical decadent nature, because in reality they found some cultural expressions which were not sophisticated enough for their imagination about the beauty and so-called authenticity (Pavlicová – Uhlíková 2011: 5).
8. Political censorship was established during the reign of Ferdinand I in the Czech lands and it was executed by clergy. In 1707, Emperor Josef I removed censorship of political and clearly secular issues from church. In the following period, censorial regulations were liberated and tightened alternately; however, censorship was applied by 15.3.1848 when it was substituted by press law. The criminal responsibility was transferred to authors, publishers and printers (Pokorná 2009: 306–307).
9. Sušil, František. *Moravské národní písně [The Moravian National Songs]*. Brno: Josef Jiří Trassler, 1835.
10. The Ride of the Kings might be taken as an example of a traditional habit from South Moravia, which is followed by improvised call-outs of participants towards the audience. While performing in public, the call-outs represented a sort of protest against the existing regime in the period of social oppression (Pavlicová 2007: 137–140).
11. The ethnographer J. Tomeš remarks in his film note: “In the heat of outrage, there is often a fight against an imaginary enemy. However, we may agree that the current social task of our folklore has been overestimated lately, and folklore has been often exploited. This must be agreed by all honest people who are aware of the theme. Vachek cannot see the culprits and he is not interested in the causes. He is not looking for a way out.”
12. Such organisations were Dělnické tělovýchovné jednoty [Worker Gymnastics Unions], Jednoty agrárního dorostu [Unions of Agrarian Youth], Národní jednota pro jihozápadní Moravu [National Union for South-West Moravia], Sdružení venkovské omladiny [Rural Youth Union], Orel, Sokol etc. (comp. Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997).
13. Provincial boards for public education (in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia) took over the activities of the First Republic autonomous educational corps pursuant to the decree by the President Beneš “About the State Educational Care”, Act. No. 130/47 Coll., on 26.10.1945, based on organized and censored political and cultural education of the people. They represented executive organs of national committees at which educational inspectors and also school or librarian inspectors were appointed (Jírový 2005: 112).
14. “A new man” was meant to be mainly the youth in the propaganda language: “...the youth of all occupations, both rural and urban, young people [...] discovering means of expression of their life optimism and activism in movement and rhythm, young people discovering in the interpretation of folk dance. [...] more up-to-date, vivid kinds of entertainment and relaxation [...] Our new, recent folk dance expressions are and will be carried particularly [...] by a new generation of people.” (Ždímal 1948: 60)
15. In 1950, all amateur associations were cancelled and transformed into mass organisations, mostly to enterprise clubs of The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement for which directives about the political leadership of the clubs were issued (Jírový 2005: 121).
16. An open form of political supervision represented the people who accompanied the folk ensembles during their foreign tours. They were usually overseers from district and regional party organs or from the Ministry of Culture but they also could be politically reliable people from deputing organisations. They often cooperated with State Security (secret political police serving as an intelligence and counter-intelligence agency, it deals with any activity that could

- possibly be considered anti-communist) or clerks who had to report politically about the action, behaviour of ensemble members and their contacts with foreigners.
17. As it is possible to observe e.g. during discussions about the concept of the Stražnice Festival which were conducted in 1964–1965 on the pages of The Ethnographic News journal. It needs to be stated that vanishing traditional culture (and especially folklore) did not offer other options to the specialisation whose other aims were not defined yet at that time.
 18. For example, the Brno Ensemble Javorník was established originally in 1951 as a choir group called The Flag of the Youth and its repertoire contained constructive songs. From 1954, it cooperated with a precursor of the current the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Science of the Czech Republic and participated in folkloristic research from Southern Wallachia (comp. Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997).
 19. The new production, or rather its politically determined part, was supposed to create “new folklore”, real “socialistic art” performed by folk ensembles. It refers to the most significant exploitation of folklore, resp. its forms, by the ruling ideology. Contemporary constructive contents, which were grafted to folk songs and which affected scenic repertoire of most ensembles, are not related to folklore even though they were connected with it.
 20. In 1958, the writer V. Mináč published an article called *Tiha folklóru* [The Burden of Folklore] subtitled *Dopis z Bratislavy* [A letter from Bratislava]. In the first plan, the article criticising the situation in Slovakia started a well-known discussion about an impasse in exploiting the use of folk art in the then Czechoslovakia (Mináč 1958: 1).
 21. An interview with K. Pavlišťík, Zlín, October 20, 2008.
 22. An interview with K. Pavlišťík, Zlín, October 20, 2008. Additionally, folklore collectives due to the structure (music and dance parts, often girls', women's or men's choirs) could react very flexibly to all the demands of the organizers including free entertainment of participants accompanied by the ensemble music group after the official programme finished. This applies until today.
 23. From 1972, the Institute for Cultural and Educational Work continued in its methodical activities.
 24. In the radio, there was a department called The Press Surveillance Headquarters
 25. An interview with J. Nečas, Brno, 23. 10. 2008. Exactly such dates, which reminded pressed history (e.g. dates associated with the first Czechoslovakian President T. G. Masaryk, with the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies in August 1968), were considered to be critical.
 26. The state power used to ensure the surveillance by other indirect ways as it is indicated by lists of collaborators of the State Police in which a number of folklore movement members figure.
 27. An article about the folklore movement in the Czech Republic during the totalitarian regime is written mainly from the social point of view of functioning of this phenomenon within the state power which was trying to form its structure and its content because of easier surveillance and because of an opportunity for political manipulation. It does not mean that it was always successful everywhere. Despite a lot of negative connotations, the folklore movement strengthened interpersonal relationships and within the bounds of possibility, it formed a more liberal cultural platform where a number of persons realised themselves and where expert and artistic values were created. At present, their quality is appreciated in many ways since there is a sufficient time distance for a comparison after almost a quarter of century from the Fall of Totality in Czechoslovakia.

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With institutional support RVO: 68378076.

Summary

Folklorism as a phenomenon and a movement was defined many times in Czech ethnology. The interest in folk culture and its using increased in proportion to the decline of traditional phenomena in their original environment; the researchers' views reflected especially positive evaluation of these activities. After the World War II, folklore movement (folk ensembles, festivals) began to develop in a massive way. Between 1948 and 1989, however, the totalitarian regime powered over then Czechoslovakia, which influenced the entire society, not excepting the folklore movement. The submitted study contemplates the relation of the Czech folklore movement to the ideology of that period, and the situation inside the movement. It shows that it is not possible to give one-sided positive or negative assessment of the folklore movement's activity even during the Communist regime. The period conformity to the regime, provable in many official activities, was balanced by creating a "micro-environment" that was important for personal and professional realization independent on political interests. The folklore movement contributed in the totalitarian period to the development of cultural heritage and helped revitalize many declined traditions.

Key words: folklorism; folklore movement; totalitarian society; censorship; Communist power; Czechoslovakia.

LONG WOOLLEN CLOTH TROUSERS – MEDIEVAL HERITAGE OR CARPATHIAN ATTRIBUTION OF SHEPHERD CULTURE?

Martin Šimša

Folk dress research has been a frequent subject matter of Czech and Slovak ethnologic science and has been conducted by many experts for a long period. Based on their research, a lot of studies have been made which focused on descriptions and documentation of local and regional items of folk dress. Much fewer investigations have been focused on comparing separate items of clothing and their cuts as well as on their relations to neighbouring regions, ethnic groups or stylish dress. In my study, I would like to fill the gaps and summarise my previous pieces of work focused on the male outer and under layers of trousers in the Middle Ages and their relations to folk clothing in the 19th and the 20th century. Not only would I be interested in the evolution of current opinions about its origin and genesis, but in particular, I would like to analyse iconographic and historical documents, cuts, their spread, and inter-relationships.

Designated as long woollen cloth trousers, they are commonly described as an item of clothing covering both legs separately together with the lower body from the ankles to the waist, with a tight-fitting or semi-tight-fitting silhouette, a specific cut, and decorations. The name is not united in the examined area since the wearers' origin, local traditions and emphasis on material are reflected. Basically, there are three possible names: ***nohavice***, ***portky*** and ***chološně***¹ The name *nohavice*/trouser legs² is used in the whole of Eastern Moravia as far as Cieszyn Silesia including the Polish part (***nogavice***). The same name (*nohavice*) may be found in neighbouring areas of Western and Central Slovakia.³ The name *portky*⁴ occurs in some localities of Orava, Liptov and Spiš. It refers rather to a territory inhabited by Gorals, which is located on both sides of the Slovakian-Polish borders and is associated with the Polish regions Podhal and Zagor. As can be seen, both names – *nohavice*, *portky* – refer to older designations which were transferred on to new garments on purpose. This fact is underlined by the attributes highlighting the difference from common clothes. Frequently, it is often a profession or origin which is emphasized – *a Wallachian pair of trousers* or also material of various kinds – *woollen cloth trousers*, *nohavice postavné*, *hunové* [*fur and raw woollen*

cloth] *nohavice*, *portky guniane* etc. From these specifying names, separate meaningful semantic designations were evolved – *valaščoky*, *sukénky*, *guniorky*, *gunie* etc. On the other hand, the names such as *chološne*, *hološňe*, *kološne* are not associated with this kind of attributes and they always describe long woollen cloth trousers. The spread of the name is almost identical with the Slovakian region of Prešov extending a little to the neighbourhood including all locations where the descendants of the Lemkos settled down.⁵ The same designation for woollen cloth trousers may be heard in their residences in Ukraine – *chološni* (холошні), designating winter trousers made from rough home-made woollen cloth. It is interesting that the same trousers are called *gači* (ґачи) by Huculs and light canvas trousers are called *portinici* (портиниці).⁶

Opinions so far presented about the formation and development of woollen cloth trousers

Obviously, conceptions of the origin of woollen cloth trousers are much older than investigations into folk dress. Historic Czech painters and sculptors from the Romantic period participated significantly in the emergence of such conceptions in the 19th century. Their paintings and sculptures, dedicated to tales from Czech history and mythology, were full of male figures wearing archaic-looking items of village clothing of that time – those scenes from Czech history may not have been presented without men wearing traditional folk leather shoes, close-fitted trousers girded by narrow or wide belts. The stereotypically repetitive usage of these selective garments of “Proto-Slavonic clothing” must have resulted in a certain prejudice which was revealed at the moment when the first researchers started to investigate the field and write their dissertations about folk clothing, its origin, and the age of separate clothing items.

The pieces of work of three researchers – Jan Koula, Čeněk Zíbrt and Lubor Niederle – revealed noticeably the collision of out-of-date opinions, rather emotional than argued, with new knowledge based on archival field research. The architect, builder, artist, and ethnographer Josef Koula (1855–1919) may be considered a represen-

tative of the senior laic group of researchers. His work was based on the defined picture of the historic unity of Proto-Slavonic clothing culture whose relics remained preserved in the clothing worn by Slovakian and East-Moravian villagers. His knowledge was published in a series of lectures and on the pages of an ethnographical journal called *Český lid* [Czech People] (Koula 1892). He helped expand the views of the origin and the age of several garments, such as women's underskirts (*rubáč*), women's blouses (*rukávce*), women's woollen cloth and fur coats (*šuba*) or long woollen cloth trousers (*nohavice*). These garments, as the author assumes, "....are some of the oldest items of clothing in Central Europe going back to the prehistoric times...." (Koula 1892: 279)



A man and woman from Lužná wearing festive attire, late 19th century. Muzeum regionu Valašsko [Museum of the Wallachia Region], Vsetín, Item 15378.

The image of Czech medieval garments was the research subject for the cultural historian and ethnographer Čeněk Zíbrt (1864–1932), who had a completely opposite approach. He explored historical sources and only on their basis did he try to describe cautiously the occurrence of each garment item at that time and – based on iconographical documents – to prove their appearance. He strictly avoided identifying the items of clothing with present country clothes. Informed by available historical literature, he was the first one to present the idea of double layers of the male medieval garment composed of two separate gaiders (trousers legs, *nohavice*) completed with canvas lower-body underpants (*hacě*). He was rather reserved when commenting on the relations to the later-occurring woollen cloth trousers and canvas trousers (Zíbrt 1892: 48, 63, 64).

Surprisingly, his precisely conducted outputs were not accepted by another researcher, Slavist, anthropologist, ethnologist and also archaeologist Lubor Niederle (1865–1944). He also examined the garment issue in his comprehensive work *Slavonic Antiques*. In the chapter focused on trousers (Niederle 1913: 897–901) he collected a variety of philological, archaeological and historical materials, both written and visual. When interpreting them, Niederle kept a slightly older hypothesis, formulated and published by Koula. According to him, rough trousers made from natural white woollen cloth, used “still in many places” in the Carpathians, are considered to be the remaining Proto-Slavonic piece of clothing. This intellectual structure resulted in identifying ancient Barbarian clothing from the Trajan Obelisk in Rome or mausoleum in Adamclis with garments of Carpathians Highlanders. In his profound considerations, he pondered the placement and the number of slits in the upper hem although he inclined towards the opinion that there was only one slit placed slightly aside. Not only did he ignore Zíbrt's data, but unfortunately, he did not intend even to dispute such matters. In his remark to no one in particular, he only mentioned the issue offhand when referring to the German influence in the Czech background which resulted in wearing two separate gaiders, and to a pointless statement that *gatě* represents an underwear item of clothing despite being generally known as a highly-hygienic outer garment.

The refusal of such an expert, whom Niederle undoubtedly personated, had fatal consequences for the following history of Zíbrt's hypothesis. This continued to

be perceived as an irrelative self-contained phenomenon valid only for the medieval period which had absolutely nothing in common with the occurrence of long woollen cloth trousers in Carpathians. Zíbrt's work remained long isolated and not only did it have no dignified followers, but it also did not arouse any professional interest in historical clothing which would have approved or disproved his conclusions. Researchers focused only on ethnologic studies of folk dress where Neiderle's results were so crucial and reputable that they may have been revised only very gradually.⁷

The ethnographer Drahomira Stránská (1899–1964) chose a completely different research approach. She was familiar with European trends in folk and historical clothing research and she was more cautious in drawing unilateral conclusions arising from external characteristics of garments (materials, colours, and seeming simplicity of the cut). On the contrary, she was profoundly focused on studying cut constructions. Conversant with clothing items, she was able to compare them more efficiently and took a stand on their origin and expansion. Although she did not investigate long woollen cloth trousers⁸ in any of her studies, she outlined some issues in her more comprehensive pieces of work. Her article *Lidové kroje* [*Folk costumes*] published in *Československá vlastivěda* [*The Czechoslovakian History and Geography*] (Stránská 1937: 230) was already challenging and innovatory. In her opinion, trousers (*nohavice*) represent a very old item of clothing, pictured by antique authors among the Northern Barbarians and then Slavonic tribes. Unlike Niederle, she related them not to woollen cloth, but canvas trousers whose occurrence had been evidenced within nearly all Slavonic nations. The cut of woollen cloth trousers seemed to be “more complicated and seemingly emerged later. An issue of its origin as well as trousers’ origin has not been clarified yet. The Old Germans were known for trousers evolved from two separate trunk hose, in other words, two high gaiters which were fastened at the waistline and which were attached and later sewn-up into a single piece. Maybe also our name *nohavice* is related to such a devolvment.” (Stránská 1949: 230) Her considerations were extended ten years later in the sense of the development of this garment which must have been composed “of two separate trousers legs, a covering front flap and a belt” (Stránská 1959: 20), i.e. similar to what the already mentioned canvas trousers have. Sharing the same opinion was the Polish ethnologist Kazamier

Moszyński (1887–1959) who in accordance with the opinions of the Russian linguists and ethnographer Dimitrij Zelenin (1878–1954) derived the origin of long woollen cloth trousers with a vertical saddle from canvas trousers consisting of two trouser legs and extending inserts in the crotch which used to appear in the Eastern-Slavonic environment (Moszyński 1967: 467).

Stránská's work, focused on investigating clothing **cuts** as the starting point for comparison studies, has affected a number of her followers. One of them was also Alena Jeřábková, who examined the delimitation of regional folk clothing types at the borderline of Czech ethnographic areas – Wallachia and the Slovácko region (Jeřábková 1968–1969: 13). Considering woollen cloth trousers from home-made natural white raw-cloth



“Guralski” folk costume from the environs of Jablunkov; the man is wearing woollen cloth trousers with the “fork” type of the cut. Photo by courtesy of the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice.

material, the author distinguishes between a single-slit type which is, in her opinion, distinctively Wallachian and a double-slit type typical for the Slovácko region and showing signs of Slovakian influence. Jeřábková considers the finer dyed woollen cloth and trousers made



A soldier wearing tight-fitting trousers with a seam in the back of calves and thighs; the intersection at the buttocks creates a remarkable fork, Albrecht Dürer, engraving, *Die sechs Krieger*, slice, 1495.

thereof to be evolutionally younger. They occurred rather among well-off inhabitants because of the price and they substituted generally wide-spread material from natural white and brown raw-cloth and sheep fur.

A new point in Alena Jeřábková's thesis is the idea that the occurrence of white cloth trousers in South-Eastern Moravia is related to the Carpathian area. This seemingly out-of-date opinion is not supported by the idea of the Slavonic clothing unity but by a newly-formed hypothesis about the existence of a specific kind of folk culture in the Carpathian area.⁹

From another perspective, the whole hypothesis was formulated in her current piece of work called *Lidová kultura na Moravě* [*Folk culture in Moravia*]. In the chapter describing folk clothing, the occurrence of white cloth trousers is related to male shepherds' clothing. The separate parts – woollen raw-cloth trousers, a shirt, traditional leather folk shoes and a coat (*huňa*) occurring in the mountainous areas of the Carpathians, range from Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia and Poland to Moravia where they were transferred by Wallachian colonisation in the 16th and 17th centuries. In contrast, tight trousers, made from dyed workshop cloth with distinctive textile applications on the thighs occurring in Moravia in the ethnographic Slovácko region (former Moravian Slovakia), are inspired by West-Slovakian and Hungarian pieces of clothing (Jeřábková 2000: 121, 127).

More than a century may seem to be long enough to discuss opinions about the origin of just one item of clothing and to form a hypothesis which would deny some statements and highlight the others to complete an integrated concept. However, the opposite is true. Researchers' opinions, starting with an idea of remained relics of the original Slavonic clothing unit, through the medieval heritage including the cultural benefit of the Carpathian colonisation, continue to exist side by side and are accepted and presented by Czech and Slovak science, which was noticeable in the term "nohavice" in the Czech and Slovak ethnographic encyclopaedia (Plesingerová 2007: 628; Nosálová 1995: 405).

From the above-mentioned, it is more than apparent that the existing analytic ways based on analysing formal attributes (the kind of silhouette, the number of slits, material, decorations etc.) are not sufficient to qualify some definite types. More detailed analysis has to be used based on the description of the cut construction. All available types of long cloth trousers have to be

documented, either high-medieval or folk ones, from the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Only after comparing their cut designs, and their inter-relations, may the origin and geographical expansion be evaluated.

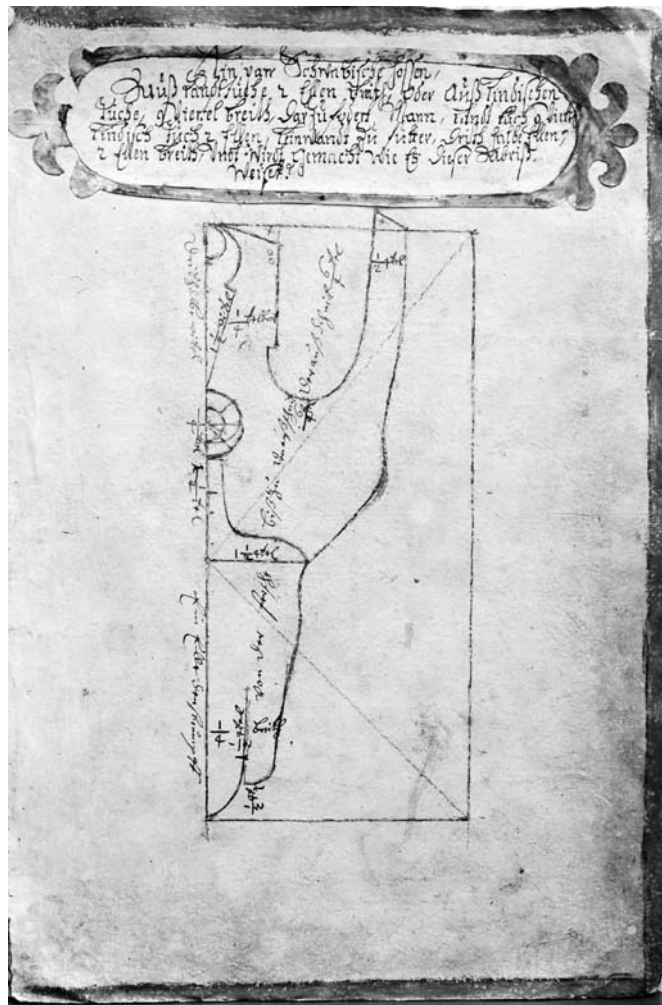
The construction of medieval types of long trousers

In the past, the genesis of long medieval trousers was a matter of consideration for plenty of clothing historians and it has been sufficiently examined within the European context.¹⁰ The process in the Czech lands became the subject matter of former studies (Šimša 2009, 2011a) which extensively overview domestic historic, iconographic and etymological sources. The focus will be limited only to description and construction analysis of trousers which will be used as comparative material.

Undivided trousers emerged in the High Middle Ages. Their construction was a sort of completion of their former development, which originated with two separate gaiders, firstly covering the calves, then also the knees and in the end, reaching the thighs. Based on several well-preserved exemplars (Nockert 1985: 98), a conclusion may be made that the cut of medieval undivided trousers was rather simple, composed of one single down-tapering trapezoid piece,¹¹ which is wrapped around a leg so that the attaching stitch was running along the back part of the calf and the thigh. The bottom corner made a shelter for insteps (*přikopiti*); the top corner reached the waist where it was attached by lace.

With the emergence of tight-fitting, shorter and shorter coats, trousers were also getting successively longer. At first, only below the buttocks together with laces attached to the waist not only in front but also at the back. In the first half of the 15th century, they got extended to the bottom part of the buttocks so it was necessary to sort out their penetration into the sitting-body part and connection by a crotch seam. Within the process, the old symmetric cut was preserved and so were the connecting stitches. Trouser legs were equally extended and from the part where they were attached, a shallow arc was cut out of the bottom sitting part where both trouser legs were joined and sewn together to form a crotch seam. However, the connecting seams were not kept in parallel, but from the practical point of view they were diverted into a central crotch seam wherewith on such spots they formed a typical crotch (Gutkowska-Rychlewska 1968: 181). For the time being, the sides were overlapped by the bottom hem of the coat which was laced to the trousers. During the second half of the 15th century, the bottom part was gradually shortened

while trousers were lengthened, at first on the back and later on the front part, so that both pieces could be attached by laces, which was an accustomed way of fixing them to the body. The mutual rate was stabilized at the beginning of the 16th century when trousers reached the waist on both sides. A conjunction of back seams on the trousers together with the crotch seam formed a crotch which remained a preserved and characteristic feature of this type of trousers.



Cut for long tight-fitting trousers depicted in the picture by Pieter Bruegel sr., The Tailor's Book from Liberec, mid-17th century, Státní okresní archiv [State District Archive] Liberec.

From iconographic documents of that time it is apparent that trouser seams were made rather unobtrusively and without any decorations. A perfect tight-fitting appearance is reached by the lining alongside the stretching of a trouser leg whose bottom hem is passed through under the heel and the top hem is laced to the bottom rim of the coat. Getting dressed is simplified by non-sewn, just laced slits in the calf seams. Despite all this, tight trousers had to be put on, literally like shoes, as was mentioned in sources of that time (Šimša 2009: 37, 57). In addition, the crotch slits were laced in the frontal



A village man wearing long tight-fitting trousers with seams in the back of calves, thighs, and buttocks. This type was widespread in the second half of the 16th century. Pieter Bruegel sr., *Harvest*, tempera, slice, 1565.

part of the trousers, which was a smooth elongation of the crotch seam. Besides this, the crotch slits could be overlapped, sometimes with a sizeable overlap to the right and left side. The wearer was able to cover himself better and at the same time, trousers could be loosened or tightened according to current needs. The bottom part of the central seam was completed by a variously shaped codpiece covering a gap for urination.

Successive domestication of a new type of trousers and its cut also brought various corrections and simplicity. Particularly, the width of low-quality cloth was not wide enough, which resulted in the cut overlapping the fabric edges. A missing piece (which means mostly a strip near the crotch seam on the back part of the trousers) had to be attached additionally. As a result, the cut was modified. The missing part was not sewn on but was measured as the crotch extension, whereby seams running over the buttocks were modified. A new point was that they were not attached in the central crotch, but continued in parallel with the crotch seam up to the waist of trousers. This cut variant became more common in the second half of the 16th century. In detail, it may be investigated e.g. in the paintings by Peter Bruegel sr. where he captured the Flemish countryside and its inhabitants (Neumann 1979). In the Czech background, such drawings picturing the cut of that time may be found in *Knihy krejčovských stříhů* [The Books of Tailor Cuts] from Cieszyn (1564), Chomutov (1604) and Frýdlant (1711).

The occurrence of late medieval undivided trousers was documented in all significant European Royal courts, starting with Burgundy and ending with Hungary, where they were transferred due to the humanist-oriented court of King Mathias Corvinus from Italy. (Gutkowska-Rychlewska 1968: 526, 862). With a certain time distance, they could be found both in the cities and later in the country.¹² Undivided trousers were apparently considered a sign of prestige and social class, so painters and engravers did not forget to emphasise the characteristic features: running of seams on the back leg part, a remarkable crotch on the buttocks and also a fly – *coverage* (Flemand 1934: 39).

In Bohemia, during the 15th century, which was ravaged by several waves of wars connected with decadence and destruction, the first visual documents originated from its second half. Frescoes are exemplary visuals depicting a coinage theme in the southern part of St. Barbara's Basilica in Kutná Hora (Husa et al. 1967: 179, 181).

A coiner making coins is wearing a tight-fitting coat – a *doublet*, whose bottom rim is laced to completely compact trousers. Interesting evidence usually comes from the repainting of representational rooms in significant noble residences (Švihov, Blatná). In paintings, some young men are captured playing a match or watching knights' tournaments. Their trousers reveal the re-popularity of *mi-parti*, at this time manifested by varicoloured stripes on trouser legs (Homolka 1985: 300). Fashion trends were demonstrated also by the settled iconographic scheme; therefore hereafter soldiers whipping Jesus Christ would be wearing fashionable trousers, as is noticeable on frescoes from 1489 in St. Barbara's Chapel in Horšov (Homolka 1985: 289). They may also be found on a tableau picturing St. Gregory's Martyrdom portrayed in *Jena Code*.¹³ There are more proofs which appear during the 16th century, when plenty of richly illuminated manuscripts were produced, depicting the trend. From the beginning, it is captured on catchpools and executioners as in the case of St. Sebastian's Martyrdom¹⁴ and John Hus' Burning at the stake,¹⁵ later also as clothing of townsfolk and villagers as was captured by the *Žlutice Hymn Book*¹⁶ around the mid-16th century. All of them depicted figures wearing long tight-fitting compact trousers with a flat cover, and in some cases, even the running of the back seams is emphasised.

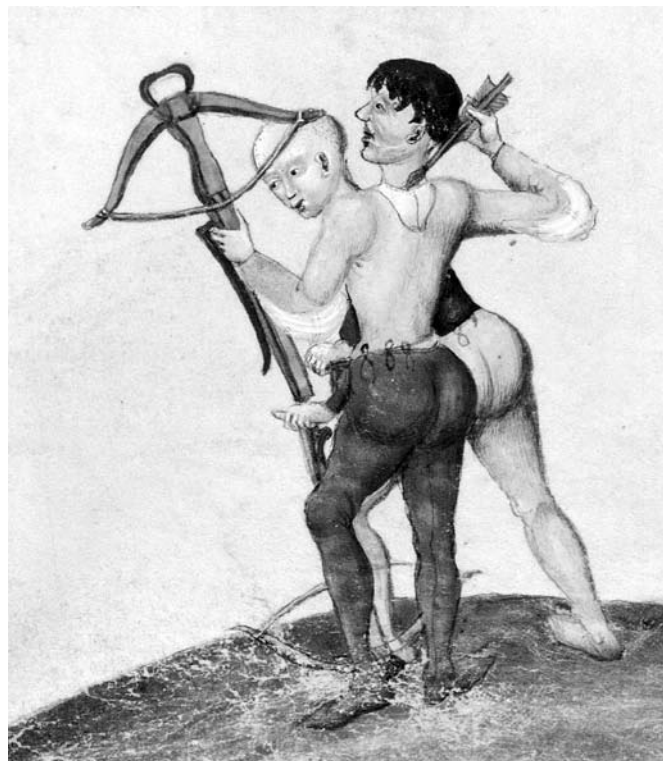
Thanks to inherited estates, trousers are known to have been worn both in villages and in cities until the end of the 16th century and only then were they substituted for short trousers above knees (Petráňová 1994). Still, purely Czech calendar woodcuts, by Johann Willenberg (1571–1613) from the beginning of the 17th century, show villagers depicted in long trousers while short below-knee trousers (*breeches*) are assigned for representatives of specific professions, such as butchers (Petráň 1995: 59).

Probably for the longest time, this type of trousers was kept in Hungary after being introduced through active contact with the royal court of Mathias Corvinus with Italy. Not only did the nobility of that time accept such trousers into their wardrobes gradually, but with hindsight, they were promoted as a part of national garments (Balassa – Füzes – Kisibán 1997: 634), which nearly became a uniform for the upper and lower nobility and army. Trousers here preserved their unchanged appearance (with seams on the back sides of calves and thighs with the distinctive crotch on the buttocks) and were worn and used till the first half of the 18th century

(Embar 1968: 154). Their sewing patterns became a component of various manuscripts, books of tailor cuts originally from Hungary, Austria and Bohemia (Hámpel 1960: 272, Staňová 1970).

Cuts of Modern-Age Types of Trousers

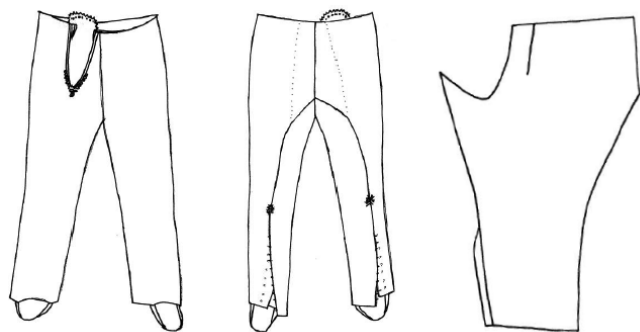
After having described the image of high-medieval trousers thoroughly, we can try to compare their cut with the cuts of trousers documented in Moravia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. There are two different types. In *Dialektologie moravská [Moravian Dialectology]* by the ethnographer and dialectologist František Bartoš (1837–1906) it is written: "Tight-fitting woollen cloth Slovak trousers and Wallachian are called *nohavice*. The Wallachian ones are sewn either using a type of seam called 'plate' (seamed only on one side) or 'fork'



Crossbowmen in the scene of St. Sebastian's martyr death are wearing closed trousers in the back part of which seams are visible. The Mladá Boleslav Gradual by Jeníček Zmílelý from Písek, gouache, slice, early 16th century, Okresní muzeum [District Museum] Mladá Boleslav.

(sewn up into two common seams).” (Bartoš 1895: 467) Despite limited records, it was possible to document both cuts after studying literature and exploring museum collections. The main differing attribute represents an attaching seam on the trouser leg. In the first case, it runs along the lateral side of the leg, whereas in the second case, along the back side of the leg.

Long woollen cloth trousers with seams running along the back side of the legs are shown only by a few pieces. They are among the oldest exemplars of museum collections: originating mostly at the end of the 19th century.¹⁷ Again, they are based on two sewn-up trouser legs, whereby each one is cut altogether, from one piece of cloth, all including a compact design of the saddle part. An attaching seam of each trouser leg runs through the middle back side of the calf, the thigh and the bottom part of the buttocks. At this spot it is coiled to the central crotch seam attaching both trouser legs to form a remarkable curve, sometimes also called *a spike – a fork*, which is used locally as a name. The attaching seams are not accented or decorated, just a slit, preserved in the bottom part of each trouser leg and buttoned by little brass hooks (*hanklíky*), may be accented by a ribbon and completed by a woollen rosette. Similar simple decorations may be found around the front slit, of which there is consistently just one, located on the left side (from the viewer’s perspective). Rims are lined by red woollen cloth and hemmed by tiny loops of tailor embroidery from a blue or purple ribbon. The trouser legs are held by a belt passed through a tunnel in



Cloth trousers with back seams – Moravia: Frenštát pod Radhoštěm (“fork” type of the cut, dark-violet cloth).

the upper rim and moreover, twisted around twice more. The correct look of trousers, which are supposed to tighten calves and thighs, is supported by a strip of fabric sewn into the bottom rim of the trousers passed under a heel. It is totally identical with late-medieval trousers from the beginning of the 16th century.

Available news and literature (Stolařík 1958: 147; Urbachová 1972: 12), prove the usage of a cut with back running seams which is documented either on workday¹⁸ or festive trousers. The first type is made of home-made white or natural brown woollen cloth. The construction is rougher overall, the cut is looser and the lining is missing, substituted by canvas trousers worn underneath. Contrary to this, festive pieces are made from coloured (violet of dark blue) workshop woollen cloth. Preserved pieces are provided with the lining as evidence of having been worn just on a bare body which was definitely suitable for their tight construction.

Characteristic features of this type of trousers, apart from the original cut, may include long calf slits as well a single slit in the upper part, simple decorations on rims and total absence of seam decorations. The mentioned separate items help us identify this type in written and iconographic sources where the cut appearance is not explained sufficiently. Concurrently, they may point to a possibly older stage of the cut spread occurring in locations where it was later supplanted by the cut with a lateral running of seams,¹⁹ however, preserving all the mentioned details²⁰ at the same time.

The dissemination of the trousers cut with back running of seams was limited just to South-Eastern and Eastern Moravia within the reach of the ethnographic regions Wallachia, Lachia and Cieszyn Silesia with a few overlaps to Poland and Slovakia (Šimša 2011b: 129). Thanks to museum collections, the occurrence of such woollen cloth trousers may be evidenced in the villages Lužná (white and blue), Valašská Polanka (white), Hošťálková (blue), Hřčava (white) and Mosty u Jablunkova (white). The majority of collection objects originated at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and besides this the usage of the folk costumes from Lužná was evidenced at the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition in Prague in 1895.

Older information about the occurrence of the trousers may be found in iconographic sources. In the set of gouache paintings from 1814, blue trousers from a serf from the Vsetín domain (Ludvíková 2000: 170)

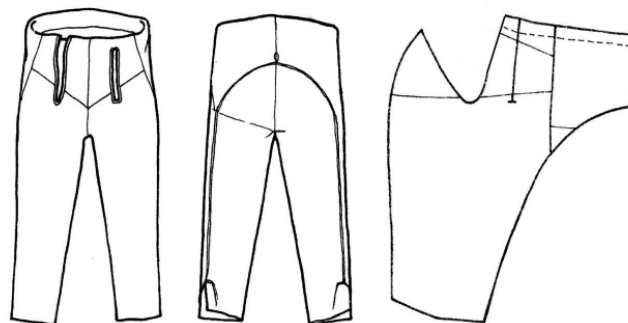
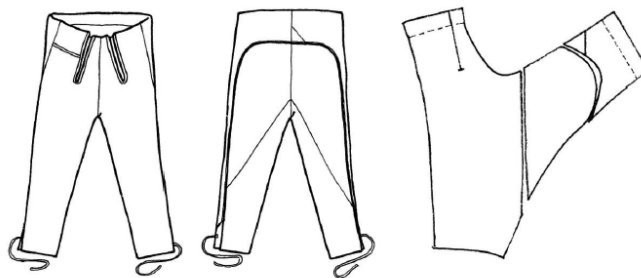
were depicted. A close-fitting shape, just one upper slit, only a little decorated, and accented slits on the calves indicate the same type which was captured in Lužná and Wallachian Polanka a hundred years later. Slits and hooks on calves reveal the fact that the same type could be applied on the male folk costume from Frýdek-Místek (Ludvíková 2000: 175). The trousers worn by the Wallachians from Hukvaldy and Křivé as well as the garments of a *portáš* (a mountain guard) from the Přerov region (Ludvíková 2000: 172, 173) are more challenging items to assess since the upper pieces of garment and the high boots cover all the characteristic details. The only clue for assessment may be the absence of any decorations of side seams which is not sufficient enough for a definite classification.

All essential details are provided by depictions of folk costumes from the surroundings of Veřovice, in which the trousers are literally depicted as close-fitting, with slits on calves attached by hooks (Klvaňa 1892: 29). Near Frýdek, trousers of a similar description were worn which also used to have remarkable slits on both calves attached by hook fastening (Vluka 1899: 277), which refers quite clearly to the characteristics of trousers with seams running at the back. Apparently, the separate local occurrence is seen as the relics of a historically older compact spread, covering areas of Eastern and South-Eastern Moravia, and obviously related to the expansion of late medieval trousers.

Long woollen cloth trousers with lateral seams are represented far more frequently, besides which they may be detected ordinarily not only in museums, but also in the field. They consist of two mutually sewn-up trouser legs; in addition, each leg is cut from one piece of cloth. The characteristic attributes include long seams running along the sides of each trouser leg and vertically over the buttocks where a saddle is attached forming an oval shape (called a plate). In most cases, the entire long seam is accented either by inserting a colourful piece of fabric between the stitched parts, or by sewn on braids of various widths which represents the key attribute of this kind. At the waistline they are held up by a long belt passing through a tunnel (*lémec*) which is formed by folding the upper edge of cloth inside. Getting dressed or undressed is simplified by one or two front slits hemmed by a colourful strip of cloth, or a braid, which in the bottom split corner, forms a decorative knot shaped as a tomato or a shamrock hemmed skilfully by swirled loops which may reach down the tights. In

addition, the correct appearance of the trousers – tightly fastened calves and thighs – is maintained not just by wearing a belt, but also by a strip of fabric stitched to the bottom hem of the trousers passing under the heel. Apart from the rough raw cloth trousers from the surroundings of Valašské Klobouky and Cieszyn, which used to be worn over canvas underpants, the majority of the others were lined and worn on a bare body.

The expansion of the cut with lateral seams may have been observed in the large area of South-Eastern Moravia (the Slovácko region) spreading from Břeclav, over Strážnice, Veselí nad Moravou, Uherské Hradiště, Uherský Brod towards Starý Hrozenkov and Luhačovice, as well as in southern Wallachia near Valašské Klobouky, sporadically in the district of Vsetín, in the valley of Horní Bečva, around Rožnov pod Radhoštěm and also in the



Cloth trousers with side seams – Moravia: 1. Javorník (white *huňa*), 2. Nová Lhota ("plate" type of the cut, white cloth).

Cieszyn district. The usage of the cut may be applied on woollen cloth material of many kinds, either white or colourful: violet, dark blue, light blue, black and red, distinguishing either handmade or industrially made woollen cloth.

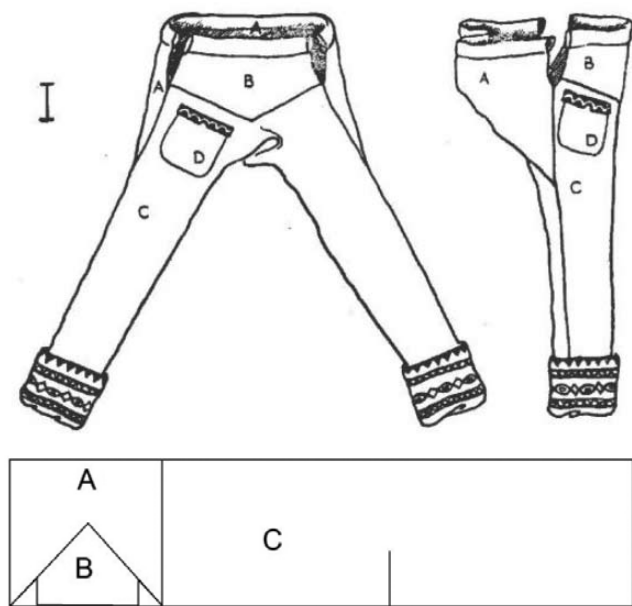
The Origin of the Cut

The search for historical parallels of the trousers with lateral seams is not as unambiguous and conclusive as in the case of the cut with back running seams. On the other hand, a wide-spread occurrence has been preserved enabling an exploration of various development modifications and grades of this cut in the field or in museum collections. If the material outside the Czech Republic is investigated, the above-mentioned cut from the Carpathian part of Poland and Slovakia absolutely predominates (Šimša 2011c: 48) and is not found distinctively diverse by domestic explorers (Bartošová 1957: 136). The Carpathian mountain arch may be followed further along to get to Western Ukraine, where the occurrence of trousers was transcribed by Moszyński (1967: 466). Accurately, he deduced that the only significant divergence of the Polish,

Slovakian and Moravian exemplars was the saddle size and lateral gussets, which seemed to be bigger or smaller here and there, depending on the cloth width. Nevertheless, he no longer explored any related types clarifying their genesis in the Carpathian Mountains, but on the contrary, in the East-Slavonic habitat, which restricted his research outreach from a considerable source of information.

If Romania is in the spotlight where the essential part of the Carpathian mountain arch is located, the occurrence of trousers with extensive varieties of cuts may be observed, which shows diverse construction approaches and successive genesis of each type. The ample field material is sorted into the well-arranged systematic (Formagiu 1974: 56–63) categorizing trousers with regard to trouser leg design and the number of consisting parts. As far as our research subject is concerned, most attention is paid to trousers made from different kinds of woollen material in particular (Šimša 2011c: 54). These are trousers (*cioareci*) occurring in Romanian Transylvania in the areas such as Cluj, Tîrnave, Alba Iulia, Pădureni, Braşov, Muscei and Făgăraş. They were sewn up from woollen heavily-fuller materials which, considering the quality and ethnicity, were called *panura*, *aba*, *dimie*, *cioarec*. Materials were home-made, woven on narrow looms so after fulling, their width ranged only from 40 to 50 cm, which essentially affected the cut formation.

Apart from the well-known type of trousers composed of two single trouser legs, the archaic construction (Irimie 1955: 42) is preserved here as well, specific for sewing both trouser legs (*cracii*) from one single uncut strip of cloth. At first, the strip is folded in half, then the folded piece is cut only half-way and inserted between the legs. Then the front parts of fabric fit tight to the front part of the thighs and shins while the part inserted into the crotch forms a sufficiently deep back part and fit close to the inside part of the thighs and calves. The edges of the strips are attached on the sides of the thighs and calves where the binding stitches run, and sewn along the edges. The size of the cloth is not sufficient enough to cover the bottom part, therefore it is extended by the separate saddle piece (*turul*). The shape includes not only the vertical part, but also the lateral gussets. The front part is enclosed in the underbelly area by a little acuminous saddle (*turul mic*) which is sewn in between the cut edges. At the waistline, the trousers are laced or held by a belt which is passed through the folded upper rim. Getting dressed is simplified by two slits which are left in the front part of the attaching



Cloth trousers with side seams – Romania: Cuciulata (white huña).

side seams. In the basic modification, they may be found on both sides; however, the inclination is to get the saddle smaller and to remove the slits to the middle of the front part, which is achieved by the vertical cut-through edges of the central cut slit (Vuia 1955: 30). The familiar arrangement is formed with a little central saddle, with two lateral slits and the lateral parts of the front saddle are completed by strips from the leftover material.

The characteristic features of this version are considered to be the particularly tight attachment of all clothing details with the construction. The trousers are narrow or even tight, because they are made from a narrow strip of cloth. In the upper part, the attaching seam runs along the side of a trouser leg since the material width does not allow wider enlargement. From the same principle, at the bottom where the leg is narrower, the seam is directed to the middle. The trouser bottom is composed from an individual saddle since the strip used for the trouser leg is not wide enough to cover it all. The slits at the waist are situated in the side seams, and later in the diagonal front saddle cutline, and therefore they are always binary. Most characteristic details are applied even after extension of the cloth width which enabled a separation of both trouser legs. As a result, new constructions of trousers were composed, which also may be observed in this area (Irimie 1955: 51).

The above-mentioned lines apparently indicate the fact that the just-described type of trousers with the vertical saddle alongside the trousers with the side seams constitute one single development complex whose different grades they refer to. The issue, whether this correlation is based on the original genesis in those areas with similar natural conditions or whether it concerns a particular item of a garment migrating along the Carpathian arch, cannot be undoubtedly clarified for the time being. The hypothesis made by Hungarian researchers (Palotay 1937: 338), assuming that the spread of the woollen cloth trousers with side seams was caused by the military uniforms of the Hungarian army, is also quite significant. These were supposed to be patterned by the trousers of the Sikuls/Szekels working in the army as semi-military rangers who settled in the Transylvanian Carpathians in the neighbourhood of the explored area.

Conclusion

The analysis of woollen cloth trousers occurring in the past in Central and Eastern Europe has resulted in recognition of not only one single pattern, but several different cuts appearing near the Czech and Slovak border line influencing each other in details.

The trousers with the back seams, whose occurrence is limited to the Beskyd foothills, show a considerable level of accordance – a tight-fitted silhouette, back plain seams, slits on calves, dyed woollen cloth of a good quality and lining – with the late-medieval undivided trousers, which were widespread in Europe throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. Their presence along borders appears highly likely to be the last relics of former extension which were elsewhere supplanted by short below-knee breeches. Nevertheless, in this area they remained preserved due to the close relations with the neighbouring Carpathian area and their garment culture until the beginning of 20th century.

The trousers with side seams and the vertical saddle at the bottom part may be observed all around the Carpathian area including Romania, where the basic types of such trouser garments may be found. It was undoubtedly their cut construction from which a number of characteristic details was derived – such as side seams, two slits, a vertical saddle etc., which can be seen in the Carpathians and also elsewhere in the Balkans. Possible derivations do not refer to the pattern construction, but on the contrary, they refer to adjusting to specific cloth options, which may range from 40 cm to treble this with respect to technical production options.

The development of woollen cloth trousers seems to follow at least two different ways whose origin diversified geographically and historically. In general, it must be acknowledged that the genesis of trousers should be perceived as a far more extensive process than the published literature has recognized so far. At the beginning, there may have been several variant strategies of human body coverage which allowed various construction solutions to emerge with apparent similarity. The identification, depiction and clarification of their correlations should be the research subject of further exploration in the future.

NOTES:

1. Apart from local names, there are also names such as *spodky/underpants*, and *galaty* (Silesia) to highlight the mixed Czech-Polish-German environment, using both the Polish term *spodni* and the obviously originally German transferred term *galaty* designating a modern form of trousers.
2. The word is strongly related to the Medieval Czech language where it may be noticed already from the end of the 13th century. From the beginning, the name designated higher felt footwear, later woollen cloth gaiters covering both legs separately, and finally undivided stitched-up trousers (Šimša 2011a: 37–39).
3. It concerns the provinces of Bratislava, Nitra, Trenčín, Tekov, Zvolen, Hont, Novohrady, Orava and Liptov.
4. In Russian and Ukrainian, the word *portky* designates light canvas or woollen trousers, made from right-angled pieces of woollen cloth with one gusset or more gussets in the crotch. The word indicated a piece of canvas (*port*) (Machek 1968: 487).
5. See „Lemkos“, *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rusyns> (accessed March 20, 2012).
6. Compare a word Huculové (Гуцули) in Ukrainian Wikipedia. <http://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%93%D1%83%D1%86%D1%83%D0%BB%D0%B8> (accessed January 19, 2011).
7. A thesis by Věra Trčková (1982) is an exemplar revision of former opinions and hypothesis on the development and the types of men's trousers appearing in the Czech lands in the Middle Ages. Based on iconographic sources of Czech provenience, the author documented either the occurrence of two tight separated trousers legs, or longer loose underpants, which were worn underneath. Undoubtedly, she evidenced the relationship of the Czech lands with the West-European environment. The possible relation of the men's trousers to the later appearing folk costume in the 19th century was commented on in a very reserved way. More detailed work dedicated to men's underwear clothing (*hace*) and outer clothing (*nohavice*) in Medieval Bohemia has been produced just recently (cf. Šimša 2009, 2011a).
8. For analysing woollen cloth trousers she had profound knowledge of all basic types occurring in the East of Moravia and neighbouring Slovenia as is evidenced by the analysis of the ethnographic terminology: “The term NOHAVICE is defined as a type of long, ankle-reaching trousers, made from woollen cloth, either raw or smoother and coloured, with close-fitting trousers legs, side or back seams, two parts sewn in front by one or two slits next to the central seam. This type was worn in South-Eastern Moravia, in the Cieszyn Beskid Mountains and in Slovakia from which further to the south and east....” (Stránská 1959: 9)
9. The idea was gradually formulated on the basis of the International committee for folk culture research in the Carpathians and the Balkans, which was found in 1959 and was gradually accepted by a number of countries of the former Eastern Bloc. Within the Czechoslovakian national section, several subcommittees, which used to solve separate issues, were established: The Income of Wallachian shepherds to our area (Ján Podolák), The Way of Working and Living (Jaroslav Štika), Architecture (Václav Frolec), Artistic Culture (Richard Jeřábek) etc. With a longer time distance there was then a subcommittee for Clothing culture (Alena Jeřábková). Cf. Botík 1980: 386–387.
10. Thus far published foreign literature is comprehended in the compilation thesis I *Historie odívání [The History of Clothing]* (Kýbalová 2001). For Central and Eastern Europe, the Polish thesis *Historie ubiorów* seems to be the most significant (Gutkowska-Rychlewska 1968).
11. It is interesting that trousers found in Bocksten and Hedeby are measured so that the material is put not horizontally but diagonally. Whereby a top tip forms the trousers apex running to the belt, from the bottom tip, the cloths covering feet are cut out. Side tips are cut off and in some cases even sewn on the sides of a top tip extending the trousers' length.
12. Images of mentioned social classes on woodcuts and copperplates expanded significantly and were authentic to a large extent with which artists react on clothing exchange. For all, the collection of engravings by Albert Dürer, Hans Sebald Beham, Hans Holbein jr. and others, whose engravings are available on the Internet at: <<http://www.wga.hu/frames-e.html?/welcome.html>> (accessed October 20, 2013).
13. *The Jena Codex*, The Library of the National Museum in Prague, sig. IV.B. 24, fol. 79r.
14. *The Mladá Boleslav Gradual (Gradual of Janíček Zmlelý from the Písek city)*, The District Museum in Mladá Boleslav, Item 21691, fol. 259r.
15. *The Litoměřice Gradual*, The District Museum in Litoměřice, fol. 182).
16. *The Žlutice Hymn Book*, The Memorial of National Literature in Prague, sig. TR I 27, fol. 271v. By mistake, three central scenic figures of a village fest were interpreted as mercenaries. Nevertheless, possessing and carrying weapons – fangs and spears – was quite common for subordinate peasants in that time. On the other hand, armour and weapons were obligatory part of homesteads and were quite frequently mentioned when being sold. The central scene has to be interpreted as welcoming of incoming quests with all the attributes – greeting by taking hats off and offering a drink from a tankard, in other words symbols which can be observed still in the first half of the 20th century.
17. Trouser legs sewn as a fork type are most deposited in museum collections in Brno, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm, single pieces in the Zlín Museum, in Rusava, Czech Cieszyn and the National Museum in Prague.
18. Trousers made with a fork cut are, in larger amount, mostly deposited in museum collections in Brno.
19. Drahomíra Stránská proved such a substitute eg. in Cieszyn area, where the too tight and not very comfortable pattern cut construction called *forks* was replaced by the cut called *plate* so in the end, the older cut was preserved only in several mountain villages (Stránská 2000: 205).
20. A combination of both cuts is noticeable on the first type of trousers from Rusava, produced around the middle of the 20th century. The cut called *plate* is systematically used, however, side seams are not highlighted and slits in the bottom part are cut through so that they could pass the centre of the calf.

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Summary

Folk dress research has been a frequent theme of domestic ethnology for many years. The studies to which it gave rise paid attention rather to research into women's garments while men's dress did not meet with great interest. In my contribution, I would like to fill this gap at least partially with an example of woollen cloth trousers – a very typical men's garment. In the past, trousers were one of the characteristic features of traditional male dress in East and South-East Moravia. Contemporary ethnological science considers their origin to be in the High Middle Ages. At that time, the previous evolvement resulted in undivided closed trousers. Although the scientists assume that folk trousers originated in these undivided trousers, no study has tried to investigate and analyse this relation. Therefore, our work shall be based on the confrontation of cuts used for medieval and modern trousers, taking into account their regional spread.

Key words: male dress; trousers; cut; Middle Ages; Wallachia; Czesyn Silesia; Carpathians.

CURRENT STUDIES OF GAMES AND PLAY IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC¹

Petr Janeček

The game is probably one of the anthropological universals – various forms of games and similar playful activities can be found in all world cultures. There is therefore no reason to assume a different situation in the past and thus the game phenomenon appears to be as old as mankind itself. Some of the board games still played are older than the civilisations playing them today – such as *chess* or the Chinese *go* from the 2nd millennium before Christ. But even these board games may not be the oldest games. The first games played by people, at least according to interpretations of certain archaeological and written sources compared to present ethnographic parallels, were competitive hunting and military contests – i.e. tactical and strategic games. The primary function of these “games” was probably ritual – these activities were aimed at strengthening the mythic bonds between the human society and the transcendental, not at “entertaining” in the present sense of the word.

Games and playful activities in general, as a trans-cultural and all-human element, have probably been with us since the very origin of mankind, although their cultural and social functions were dynamically transformed in the course of history. Humankind therefore is, as correctly noted by the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga, not only *homo faber*, interesting for ethnologists, and *homo narrans*, interesting for folklorists, but also *homo ludens*, that is a playful being (Huizinga 1938, in English 1949, in Czech 1971/2000).

Despite their anthropological universality, games and playful human activities have long been at the margin of research interests – probably due to their implicit lack of “seriousness”, their frivolousness and infantility. That is why games first began to be studied by folkloristics, i.e. in the context of a research discipline focusing on phenomena outside the philosophical and artistic canon of the period. This discipline was therefore the first to study not only games but also other non-canon and exotic phenomena long scorned by “serious” research disciplines – such as oral narratives, folk beliefs, rites and customs. The founders of the folkloristic research of games, such as Alice B. Gomme (1853–1938) in the United Kingdom or František Bartoš (1837–1906) in the

Czech lands, mostly only collected games, in addition focusing on a single game type – formalised games of children and youth (Bartoš 1888), Gomme 1894).²

A Copernicus-like turnabout in humanities and social sciences only came with the book *Homo ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Huizinga 1938), foreshadowing the later emerging more extensive serious interest in games and playing.³ Further paradigmatic works on game were then represented by studies which tried to grasp the game theme generally – whether they were works in the area of cultural studies (Caillois 1958, in English 1961, in Czech 1998),⁴ philosophy (Fink 1960, in Czech 1993) or psychology (Piaget 1962). Most of these famous works grasped the notion of game from the viewpoint of comparative folklore studies in a relatively free manner, arbitrarily mixing playful and mimetic activities and dealing with a large number of heterogeneous and often unrelated cultural phenomena – from formalised children's games via general principles of playful behaviour to play as a metaphor of being. But no other works dealing with games became more widely known among the professional social science research community.

As games are a potential anthropological universal, the potential biological basis of playful activities cannot be denied as has been done by extreme cultural determinists. Natural sciences, especially etology and sociobiology, have been involved in research into playful behaviour for a relatively long time, and with surprisingly interesting results; they usually look for the origins of playful behaviour of living organisms with the support of five basic theories: the theory of surplus energy, the theory of relaxation, the theory of preparatory practising, the theory of atavism and the theory of substitute function (Bláha 2007: 29). Studies of games and playful activities might thus become one of the core themes surrounded with a real Wilson *consilience* – i.e. an interdisciplinary combination of natural sciences and humanities (Wilson 1998, in Czech 1999). Interesting research results of this type can be found for example in works following the anthropological works of Gregory Bateson and Victor Turner, usually originating from the environment of disciplines like behavioral anthropology, developmental

psychology or “marginal” sciences such as memetics or communication studies.

The purpose of folkloristic research of games – in addition to their description and classification – should be above all analysis of the individual local cultural differences in the playful behaviour of humankind. These studies should importantly be based on precise work with terms as a large number of languages – including Czech – often do not distinguish between informal, creative mimetic *play* – child imitations as well as stage plays or musical instrument playing – and the more rigid formalised *game* tied with rules.

In addition to this semantic problem game and play studies are further complicated by the implicit conviction of many experts that play and games are only connected with the world of childhood. This, however, appears more and more to be a great drawback, because playful and mimetic activities – especially in the modern globalised society – continue to gain relevance. Thus the game is no longer a privilege of children, fools and rich men and is not restricted to the periods of childhood, carnivals and holidays. Playful and mimetic activities – whether sports, hobbies or games as such – interfere with our lives more and more and ever more substantially. As noted by one of the most penetrative analysts of modern society, sociologist and folklorist Gary Alan Fine, we already live a substantial part of our lives in *leisure worlds* (Fine 1989).

From children’s games like “Hide and Seek” and “Wounded Knee” to the noble board games such as *chess* or *go*, from Nabokov’s *Luzhin Defense* to Hollywood movies *The Game* and *Jumanji* – game is omnipresent in our society. A significant role in the studies of contemporary forms of games and play should continue to be played by folkloristics, a discipline whose primary task is the description of the people’s day to day lives, the discipline that once helped to discover playful activities and games for academic discourse.

Current Themes of Czech Folkloristic Research of Games and Play

Games and play represent folkloristic themes par excellence by their very essence; however, there are a couple of interesting partial thematic areas whose research by local folklorists might substantially contribute to general studies of the playful activities of humankind. In my opinion it is in the first place the synthesizing

classification and catalogization studies of children’s games, further documentation of current children’s games, and last but not least the highly topical research into syncretistic, “postmodern” games and their overlaps with the gaming and entertainment industry and popular culture in general. The present list of three themes is far from exhaustive, though; a number of other themes would certainly deserve equal attention – such as the large and not yet too systematically analysed world of children’s and youth clubs with their group, camp and phase games, sports games of youth and adults (including adrenalin sports and outdoor activities), relations between game and collecting activities, the current renaissance of traditional board games in contrast to the ever growing popularity of computer and console games etc. The abovementioned themes in my opinion are some of the most interesting ones thanks to their topicality and relation to Czech and international traditions of playful activity studies.

Classification and Catalogization of Children’s Games

Games, together with other manifestations of children’s culture, were the focus of interest of folklore studies at the very beginning of this research discipline; the first specialised collection of children’s games, apart from the early partial notes in the collections by Václav Krolmus (1845–1851), was published by Štěpán Bačkora as early as in 1855. The frequent stimuli for period studies of children’s games – in addition to the efforts in obtaining knowledge of all aspects of rural life – used to be the implicit conviction that it is games that preserve memories of archaic pagan habits, customs and rituals, a conviction supported by the theories of nearly all mythology schools of the 19th century, followed by cultural evolutionism and its theory of anachronisms, in the folklore studies latently alive until today.⁵ The conviction that children’s games are residues of ritual behaviour of adults, further helped to confirm the ever more frequent contemporary ethnographic parallels (Lédl 2007: 69). Examples of ritual games actually found in many native cultures and locally understood as religious or magic activities are mirrored by children’s games in modern European culture. This conviction has been further confirmed by the more and more sophisticated general studies of human playful behaviour by Johann Huizinga and Roger Caillois, underlining the fact already postulated by Hans Naumann and his controversial theory of sunken high

cultural goods (*gesunkenes Kulturgut*) – namely that most European children's games actually originated in the adult environment and only "dropped" to children's culture or, more radically, "were trashed there" (Schmook 1993).

Reconstructions of historic forms of human playful behaviour, attempted at by early mythologists and evolutionists, obviously cannot be completely rejected even today; however, the problematic element of these studies is the fact that they were often not interested in games as such. Games were, on the contrary, rather considered a means of obtaining knowledge of other historic forms of cultural behaviour – most often rituals, habits and mythological projections. Older and newer studies of this type, whether aimed at reconstruction of archaic mythology, studies of anachronisms or the "mere" efforts to learn about the local cultural specifics, have still left behind in the first place large quantities of data which have not yet been systematically processed and summarised.

Therefore the prime task of – and greatly owing to – the Czech folklore studies of games and play appears to be an accumulation and subsequent classification of huge amounts of collected historic materials about children's play and games, on the basis of which a really sound scientific synthesis might be made. Despite the large number of partial studies and unpublished, more or less well processed collections, such a synthesis has unfortunately not yet materialised in the local context. Works on this material might ideally lead to a standard folklore catalogue, compiled by a method similar to the method of compilation of the modern catalogues of folk prose (Luffer 2006, 2014), considering the methods of processing the currently prepared domestic catalogues of folktales and traditional and current legends. A well-done structured proposal for an international index of children's games, developed on the basis of these methodological procedures, and focused on the English-speaking regions, has recently been presented in the *Folklore* journal by the British folklorist Gareth Whittaker. His study provides a survey of the basic international proposals for classification of children's games – from the classical works by William Wells Newell of 1883, Alice B. Gomme of 1894–1898, the classification by Georgios Megas of 1939 and Pertev Naili Boratav of 1964 to the most recent proposals such as the classification by Ute Schier-Oberdorffer, the author of the entry *Kinderspiel* in the standard *Enzyklopädie des*

Märchens of 1993, or Julia C. Bishop and Mavis Curtis of 2001 (Whittaker 2012). Gareth Whittaker, clearly listing the main game defining criteria (i.e. 1. *voluntary action*, 2. *contest or challenge*, 3. *rules*, 4. *uncertain outcome*), proposes classification into three basic categories further subdivided into:

1. *Purely Intellectual Activity Games*
 - 1.1 *Counting-out*
 - 1.2 *Guessing*
 - 1.3 *Identifying*
 - 1.4 *Imagining*
 - 1.5 *Remembering*
 - 1.6 *Paying Attention*
 - 1.7 *Thinking ahead*
2. *Physical Activity Games*
 - 2.1 *Propelling and Catching Objects*
 - 2.2 *Manipulating Objects*
 - 2.3 *Direct Bodily Contact Activities*
 - 2.4 *No Bodily Contact Activities*
3. *Willpower Games*
 - 3.1 *Enduring Discomfort*
 - 3.2 *Holding Position*
 - 3.3 *Refraining from Action*

The main output of this catalogue should then be a functional and more or less universal classification of children's games, similar, comparable or ideally compatible with the abovementioned proposal by Gareth Whittaker.

As stated already in 1975 by Olga Hrabalová (1975), there are a number of authoritative functional classifications in the Czech environment, the earliest being the founding classification by František Bartoš (1888), classifying country children's games of the latter half of 19th century into the following six basic groups:

1. *Play of small children, Party games and Racing and fighting games* (classified according to the age of the players)
2. *Ball games*
3. *Flee and startling games*
4. *Playing with beans and husks*
5. *Playing with fabricated instruments*
6. *Girls' spring games with singing* (classified according to the game accessories used)

More modern classifications are offered by regional and local collections of the latter half of the 20th century, such

as the local study *par excellence*, the unique collection by Zdenka Jelínková from the Horňácko region (Jelínková 1954), distinguishing seven basic types of local games:

1. *Exercise games*
2. *Exercise games with gear*
3. *Exercise games with verbal accompaniment*
4. *Sensory and party games*
5. *Small games and play*
6. *Ritual games*
7. *Counting and other rhymes*

The most authoritative classification of children's games and related folklore forms in the Czech environment was proposed in the late 1950s by Olga Hrabalová in her study essential for local game studies and entitled *K dětskému folklóru a jeho třídění* (On children's folklore and its classification) (Hrabalová 1959); her classification of children's folklore is as follows:

- A. *Expressions of adults towards children*
- B. *Riddles*
- C. *Children's songs*
- D. *Rhymes*
- E. *Games*

Although games can be found in other sections as well, most of them are included in the class of *E. Games*, further divided into four basic groups:

- E1. *Non-exercise games*
 1. *With a motto or command*
 2. *With a dialogue*
 3. *With a rhyme*
 4. *With a song*
 5. *With a story*
 6. *With a riddle*
 7. *With concentration*
 8. *With a creative art element*

- E2. *Exercise games*
 1. *With a command*
 2. *With a dialogue (dramatic)*
 3. *With a rhyme*
 4. *With a song (dance)*
 5. *With a story*
 6. *With a riddle*
 7. *With concentration*
 8. *Plain without text*
 9. *Water games*
 10. *Snow and ice games*

E3. Games with established objects

1. *Ball*
2. *Knife*
3. *Skipping rope*
4. *Scarf, "baton"*
5. *Stick*
6. *Stones*
7. *Buttons*
8. *Beans, peas*
9. *Eggs, nuts*
10. *Coins*
11. *Marbles*
12. *"Ring"*
13. *String*
14. *Mud*
15. *Matches*
16. *Snowballs, sledge*
17. *Unclassified arbitrarily chosen objects*

E4. Ritual games and carols

1. *Three Sages*
2. *St. Blaise*
3. *St. Dorothy*
4. *St. Gregory*
5. *Shrovetide*
6. *Ash Wednesday*
7. *Passion Sunday*
8. *Palm Sunday*
9. *Easter Monday*
10. *Little Queens*
11. *Christmas:*
 - a) *St. Stephen*
 - b) *Nativity scenes*
 - c) *Christmas Eve*
 - d) *New Year*
12. *Birthday and name day wishes*

An interesting alternative structural classification of children's games of a theatrical (dramatic) nature has recently been published by the ethnologist Dana Bittnerová (2010), who proposed their classification on the basis of quantitatively limited structural motives:

1. *Expositions of dramatic roles*
2. *Existence of antagonist relation (ban from doing something)*
3. *Existence of a thing, territory or status that is a subject of desire*

4. *A vivid picture of an aggressor / law enforcement executor*
5. *Reasons why an aggressor/executor/aspirant/fate may apply or escalate aggression*
6. *Selection of victim/partner*
7. *Fulfilment of desire of an aggressor/executor/aspirant*
8. *Options of escape of the victim/partner*
9. *Satisfaction of the aggressor/executor/aspirant*

She further proposes classification of children's dramatic games into four basic types:

1. *Social role in contemporary society*
2. *Nature*
3. *Belief and religious imagery*
4. *Appearance of things*

The summary compendium of Czech ethnology, the publication *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk culture. Folklore encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] (Mišurec 2007: 132–133) represents a successful first step towards future classification of children's games in its entry *Children's games*, where creation of game catalogues based on several potential classification criteria is proposed:

1. *Game season*
2. *Sex of players*
3. *Game content*, which may be subdivided into:
 - a) *Stationary games on a single spot*
 - b) *Exercise games*
 - c) *Games ending with tug-of-wars*
 - d) *Games with established objects*
 - e) *Ritual games*
4. *Characteristic game elements*, which may be subdivided to:
 - a) *Games with a motto or command*
 - b) *Games with a dialogue*
 - c) *Games with a rhyme*
 - d) *Games with a song*
 - e) *Games with a story*
 - f) *Games with a riddle*
 - g) *Games with concentration elements*
 - h) *Games with creative art elements*
 - i) *Games with gymnastic elements*
 - j) *Games with racing, competition elements, chases*

Apparently a functioning modern classification will only be possible after a profound analysis of the collected materials.⁶ International classification concepts should certainly be taken into account as they were formed on the basis of often similarly large or even larger corpora of analysed data. Here of course – in addition to the whole range of local classification proposals (Hrabalová 1958, 1959; for an attempt at a summary see Zapletal 1988: 59–62), Slovak summary collections by Kliment Ondrejka (1976), an attempt at a Pan Slavonic synthesis of play (Orlov 1928), game collections by Brian Sutton-Smith (1972), etc. – there is mainly the authoritative synthesis of the British folklorists Iona and Peter Opie, classifying formalised children's games into 11 basic types (Opie – Opie 1969), and classifying these activities as:

1. *Chasing Games*
2. *Catching Games*
3. *Seeking Games*
4. *Hunting Games*
5. *Racing Games*
6. *Duelling Games*
7. *Exerting Games*
8. *Daring Games*
9. *Guessing Games*
10. *Acting Games*
11. *Pretending Games*

The first step towards fulfilment of the previous task has already been taken, and not in the field of folklore studies; domestic and international folklore studies should certainly reflect the research results of the group of psychologists and teachers of the Prague Group of School Ethnography (Kučera 1992). This group has recently published a monumental summary work documenting 1621 formalised children's games played at Czech elementary schools at present, and representing one of the most interesting, largest and most valuable contributions to domestic studies of games and play in general (Klusák – Kučera 2010). Game classification by Miroslav Klusák and Miloš Kučera follows the international respected classification of the Opie couple, revised and updated on the basis of profound empirical field research; with the most important contribution comprising the introduction of two new game categories, Shooting and Gender. Their catalogue of children's games played at Czech elementary schools looks like this:

1. Chasing games
 - 1.1 Chases
 - 1.2 Piggy in the middle
 - 1.3 Step games
2. Catching games
3. Seeking games
 - 3.1 Hiding yourself
 - 3.2 Killing look
 - 3.3 In front of teacher
4. Hunting games
 - 4.1 With teacher
 - 4.2 Among children
5. Racing games
 - 5.1 Proceeding
 - 5.2 Observations
 - 5.3 Empty place
6. Duelling games
 - 6.1 Fights
 - 6.2 Groups and collections
7. Exerting games
 - 7.1 Balance
 - 7.2 Chains and masses
 - 7.3 Interferences
- 7* Structured games
 - 7*.1 Girls' games
 - 7*.2 Boys' games
 - 7*.3 Boys and girls' games
8. Daring games
 - 8.1 Truths and tasks
 - 8.2 (Risk of) damage and self-damage
- 8* Startles
 - 8*.1 Sudden touch
 - 8*.2 Other (mainly taking up a things)
9. Guessing games
 - 9.1 Rather traditional scenarios
 - 9.2 Territories and targets (with pencil)
 - 9.3 Verbal games
 - 9.4 Card games and board games
10. Acting games
 - 10.1 Traditional dramas
 - 10.2 Stigmatisation, ostracism, bullying
 - 10.3 Other
11. Pretending games
 - 11.1 Text and graphic art
 - 11.2 Explicit school (without scenario with animals)
 - 11.3 Explicit family, parents

- 11.4 Animals and other creatures
- 11.5 Small illusions and "morphing"
- 11.6 Big scenarios and roles – taste and style
12. Shooting games
 - 12.1 Fortune, gamble
 - 12.2 Pencil throwing (slip or skid)
 - 12.3 Other (often sports)
13. Gender games
 - 13.1 Party games
 - 13.2 See, touch, draw
 - 13.3 Camps (often criticism of the opposite sex)
 - 13.4 Pairing and selections

Documentation of Current Children's Games

In 1977 field research of a pentad of local female folklorists in the newly settled municipality of Loděnice in the Znojmo region with 108 local school children recorded a really large number of 110 different formalised games (Hrabalová et al. 1980). Eight years later the author of the popular *Velká encyklopedie her* (Big encyclopaedia of games) stated with astonishment that "at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s children in Bohemia and Moravia played more different games than recorded by all our famous collectors together in the previous century" (Zapletal 1988: 9). These and other field research results clearly show that formalised children's games still represent a living component of current collective culture and keep their immense vitality despite the huge demographic, social and cultural changes of the past decades – unlike other cultural phenomena documented by 19th century folklorists, remaining a fully authentic component of spontaneous collective everyday activities and not a "mere" element of folklorism or fakelore.

Therefore the idea that the game repertory of local children has greatly expanded in the past hundred years appears very relevant. The tradition of children's games may even be much richer and more vital now than in the past. However, this tradition has undergone a complex and maybe even stormy development. The current research suggests that the current repertory of children's games appears to be only weakly related to the "traditional" children's games recorded by local folklorists in 19th and the former half of 20th centuries (Hrabalová et al. 1980: 34). Only a minimum of the games collected in recent decades is identical with those collected by František Bartoš and his predecessors and followers,

while some games have completely disappeared from the collective tradition (such as some of the *girls' ritual games*, today only revived by various teaching institutions and folk ensembles), often for the practical reason of inaccessibility of particular accessories for the games (this is probably the reason for the disappearance of the *games with beans and husks*). Although there are still many children's games following the "traditional" game types (such as the various hide and seek games, blind man's buffs, cat's cradles etc.), domestic game repertoires, probably due to the increased mobility of the population, intense trans-local contact and overall generalisation and equalisation of local cultures of the recent decades, have been losing the once distinctive local features, taking over games from the supra-regional, nationwide and partly even Pan European repertory, and forming a more unified nationwide repertory with minimum local differences, rather represented by variants of otherwise identical games. If such change appeared in 20th century, then it needs to be carefully analysed – as research of this type may significantly contribute not only to domestic folklore studies, but to studies of domestic modernisation processes in general.

To implement this task it is absolutely necessary not only to create the abovementioned catalogue of children's games of the past, but also to document, analyse and interpret the current layer of formalised children's games. The data sources to be used for this purpose will necessarily include not only the existing partial studies but also a large number of successful and not yet published graduation theses (including those from the fields of pedagogy and psychology), the unpublished collections stored in museums and archives,⁷ the huge wealth of games saved in various forms on the Internet or some of the very informative publications with still inadequate academic acceptance – such as one of the most interesting applied collections of formalised children's games based on extensive knowledge of academical sources, including foreign – the *Velká encyklopedie her* (*Big encyclopaedia of games*). *Part IV* (Zapletal 1988) – or the successful publication on children's games published by the Regional Museum and Gallery in Jičín, even with a catalogue of games, freely accessible online (Gottlieb – Klipcová 2007). The museum environment also gave birth to the collective monograph *Folklor atomového věku. Kolektivně sdílené prvky expresivní kultury v České republice* (Folklore of the atomic age.

Collectively shared features of expressive culture in the Czech Republic) (Janeček 2011), accompanied by a pair of exhibitions introducing some game and play related themes in the context of the presentation of four age or leisure time defined subcultures (children, soldiers, Czech tramps, representatives of music subcultures).

This comparative study of children's games obviously needs a strictly synchronous depiction of their social, cultural and historic context which is relatively hard to reconstruct for the earlier layers of children's games.⁸ The reason is that children's culture does not mechanically follow the mere "tradition" but actively adopts the most current themes and motives from the society and from culture (Pospíšilová 2005), which – unlike the spontaneous culture of the adults – is then able to create a relatively long tradition of these adopted themes.⁹ Another interesting theme may be an investigation of the social and cultural causes of the survival of certain "traditional" games such as hide and seek, blind man's buff, the different types of structured games or cat's cradles (Dvořáková 2008: 14; Hrabalová 1957; Veselá 2007: 83–90), and the disappearance of other similar games despite the efforts of school and folk ensembles for their renaissance.

Folklore case studies should mainly be focused on the dramatic games of small children with their self-contained poetics and descriptions of extremely dramatic situations pointing to the themes of the traditional demonological legends or modern thrillers and horror films. These games – leaving aside their active closing part, usually ending with a short chase – are based on role playing, declamations of predefined sentences and ritualised repetitions, due to which they remind us of magic or religious rites. A typical example of such games is the *Wounded Knee* game, whose horror poetics and ritual continually increasing tension makes it a stable element of the game repertory of today's children from the ages of 5 to 12. The informative research of the author of the present essay seems to suggest that the basic structure of this game has been known across the Czech Republic in at least three different versions since 1940s or earlier. Its main variable features include – in addition to minor changes of exposition – the recited rhyme (in today's most widespread version probably inspired by Erben's ballad "Wedding shirts", a common part of school readers) and the name of the evil demonic creature. While in Bohemia in the past three decades this creature has usually been

named *Wounded knee* (originally the name of a field demon of traditional folk culture relative to the *rye hag*, now an amorphous pedagogic “ghost”), in Moravia it has been the *Bloody Greybeard*, while still in early 1950s the variant of the Hornácko region used the name of the game in the form *Bloody Man* game or *Fire Barrel* game (Klusák – Kučera 2010: 175–176, 369–372; Jelínková 1954: 82–84; Hrabalová et al. 1980: 34; Zapletal 1988: 343–345; Skopová 2008: 30–31). Versions of this still very popular children’s game can also be found in neighbouring Slovakia, where it has usually been called a *Grim Reaper* game, or in Germany and Austria in the form of a game of a *Witch in the Cellar* (Schier-Oberdorfer 1985), or in Great Britain where it has been known since late 19th century as the *Old Man in the Well* (Opie 1969: 305–307) or Australia and New Zealand as the *Ghost in the Yard/Graveyard* (Sutton-Smith 1972: 46–48). This game, so far escaping the systematic attention of local folklorists, certainly deserves attention, if for nothing else than for its strong impact on local art and popular culture – from children’s books (Krátký 1961) and children’s theatrical plays (Goldflam 2007; Tate iyumni 2009) to texts of a local rock band *Zuby Nehty* (<http://www.noise.cz/zubynehty/krvkol.HTM>).

The reasons for the surviving popularity of certain types of games may of course be primarily psychological; i.e. related to the particular stages of individual ontogenesis in childhood. But even here folklore studies should reach beyond the postulated psychological universals and take one more step towards a deeper description with a detailed account of their local versions, variants, social functions and cultural relevance, ideally in the form of case studies of the individual games.

Research into Syncretistic Games and their Relations to Popular Culture

The third significant area of current research into playful activities is represented by contemporary syncretistic games such as RPGs (role playing games),¹⁰ LARPs and various forms of computer and console games, i.e. those containing collectively shared and informally spread cultural expressions. These types of games are interesting for folklore by their syncretistic interconnections of features formerly typical of separate modes of human expressive culture (very typically of playful, mimetic and narrative activities – i.e. competition games, dramatic and dialogic art and

oral narration – Janeček 2005), thereby extending the game phenomenon far beyond its classical Huizinga and Caillois definitions. Thus works of these authors have become partly outdated in relation to studies of contemporary games and playful activities – invasion of these syncretistic interactive and multimedia games (“postmodernist games”, in the words of Ivan Wagner – Wagner 1995) thus breaking the Caillois dogmatic classifications of the four basic principles of play like the house of cards in the well-known saying. Caillois’s four basic principles of play (*agon* – competition, fight, *alea* – coincidence, fortune, *mimicry* – imitation, pretension and *ilinx* physical vertigo, delusion of senses) in his words may only be combined in play in certain ways and not in other ways – except for the combination of the principle of competition (*alea*) and imitation (*mimicry*), which in his opinion of is “prohibited” or “incompatible”. However, a whole range of modern games, such as the board *RPGs* / *role playing games* (Fine 1983), the mimetic *LARPs* (Moravcová 2010) or their computerised versions, such as the collective online games played by thousands of players simultaneously across the Internet *MMORPG* (*Massive(ly)-Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game* (see <http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/MMORPG>) do combine both of these principles quite naturally – competitiveness consisting in overcoming obstacles, or duels between individual players, and pretension of fictitious, fantasy identity, in addition by the option of economic profit of the players also compromising the fourth game principle defined by Caillois, namely games as essentially *unproductive* activities.

The current syncretistic games are also interesting for researchers due to their exceptional level of interactivity and multimedia nature, connected with the “new media”, mainly characterised by construction of virtual realities. Research into these syncretistic games is also interesting due to their close relation to the gaming industry and popular culture in general, which on the one hand uses them for exploitation and commercialisation of individual leisure time and on the other offers to players an important source of inspiration for their individual creative – especially narrative and mimetic – activities of folklore type. And last but not least these syncretistic games are also interesting due to the fact that they grasp themes whose studies have been reserved for folklorists with unprecedented pace, often more quickly and more profoundly than scientific discourse itself.¹¹

NOTES:

1. The present study represents a reworked and updated version of the text *Game Over? Aktuální témata domácího etnologického studia dětské hry* (Current themes of domestic ethnological studies of children's games), published in the journal *Národopisná revue* 20, no. 3 (2010): 155–161.
2. A summary of Czech folkloristic research of games is presented by Jana Pospíšilová (2005: 118–121) and Dana Bittnerová (2001), and another attempt at summarisation of international folkloristic research of games in the period before Second World War is represented by the entry *Games* in the *Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (Fried 1949).
3. Huizinga identifies five main characteristics that play must have: 1), play is free, is in fact freedom, 2) play differs from everyday "ordinary" or "real" life, 3) play is distinct from "ordinary" life both as to locality and duration, 4) play creates order which has to be absolute and supreme, and 5) play is connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained from it (Huizinga 2000: 20).
4. Caillois identifies six main characteristics of play: 1) it is free, or not obligatory 2) it is separate (from the routine of life) occupying its own time and space, 3) it is uncertain, so that the results of play cannot be pre-determined and so that the player's initiative is involved. 4) it is unproductive in that it creates no wealth and ends as it begins, 5) it is governed by rules that suspend ordinary laws and behaviours and that must be followed by players; and 6) it involves make-believe that confirms for players the existence of imagined realities that may be set against 'real life' (Caillois 1998: 31–32).
5. "Scholars studying folk traditions long ago noticed that songs and children's games often remain the last surviving form of ancient religious rites... For example blind man's buff originates in the procedures used to be applied in selection of human sacrifice." (Lédl 2007: 67)
6. For many reasons inspiration may even be represented by the simple classification of games into 1. *Exercise games* (with the essence represented by movement and comparison of strengths, speed or dexterity), 2. *Handling games* (consisting in specific handling of a certain object), 3. *Thematic games* (imitation games "imitation of something"), 4. *Constructive games* (with the result of a work or object) and 5. *Didactic games* (with an educational purpose) – see Bláha 2007: 33.
7. See for example collections of the Brno department of the Institute of Ethnology, the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic including about 7,000 records of children's games (Pospíšilová 2006: 75).
8. An interesting example of a study of transmission of formalised children's games in their current social context is represented by the work by Bittnerová 1999.
9. For example English children in their games in 1960s actively replayed the contemporary event of the attack on the American president John F. Kennedy (Opie 1969), while American children in 1940s imitated the contemporary war with Japan (Potter 1949: 339). Many children's games keep memories of much more archaic historic events – this mainly applies to the counting rhymes accompanying

games. For example the most popular counting rhyme of American children with the text *Eeny, meeny, miny, mo, catch a nigger by a toe* clearly preserves a memory of period discussions about the Refugee Slave Act of 1850, which the children overheard from their parents – different versions of this counting rhyme long preserved the difference in approach to the refugee slaves between the states of the Northern Union and the Southern Confederation (Potter 1949: 340). Similar features may be found in children's folklore in general, for that matter – for example see the current children rhymed parodies such as *Skákal Klaus přes Bauhaus* which by their poetic shortcut resulting from geniality typical of children who grasp cultural aspects of the economic transformation and early capitalism of 1990s perhaps much more accurately than other authorial artistic expressions (Votruba 2007). This very search for reflections of period social and cultural phenomena in children's games appears more fruitful for research than the search for their links to archaic mythological systems, as has traditionally been done by local ethnologists with the girls' ritual spring games On Elise (Herlička, Liška – see for example Orlov 1928: 120–123 and others).

10. The basic texts analysing role playing games include, in addition to the foundation study by Fine (Fine 1982), above all Mackay 2001, Szeja 2004 and Williams 2006. Full versions of the 8 unpublished graduation theses on hero themes, defended at local universities, together with a couple of other texts can be found at <<http://studierpg.unas.cz/>>.
11. A good example may be for example the successful party game *Black Stories* by the German author and collector Holger Bösch, recently translated into Czech, and representing a commercial version of the children's and youth folklore game with horror-detective riddles (*Horror-Rätsel*), which has not yet been adequately professionally studied (Brill 1996; Janeček 2007: 99). The here contained 50 "black stories", detective and horror verbal games in the form of intentionally complicated or even absurd situational riddles also include 11 narrations belonging to the internationally spread classified contemporary legends (types *The Scuba Diver on the Tree*, *AIDS Mary*, *Headless Motorcyclist*, *The Kidnapped Wife*, *The Concrete Cadillac*, *The Name that Brings Death*, *The Relative in the Urn*, *The Death Car*, *The Kidney Heist*, *The Runaway Grandmother*, and *The Economical Car* (Brunvand 1993, in the Czech context Janeček 2006), the vast majority of the others being either directly inspired by them or close to them or to children pseudo-thrillers by their poetics (Janeček 2007). Similarly the popularity of "urban legends" (contemporary legends) is used by the popular British knowledge and riddle game *Urban Myth. The Truth Is In Here* (London: Rumba Marketing, 2005). Its 194 questions present not only these legends but also rumours, superstitions, fabrications and blockbusters including historic and cultural curiosities and common knowledge obtained at school in a colourful pop culture mixture divided into six thematic categories strikingly reminding of columns of the current tabloids: *Celebrities*, *Health*, *Crimes*, *World*, *Nature* and *Life*.

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The paper was submitted in relation to section of „Trivial Literature“ of the project PRVOUK 09 - „Literature and Arts in Inter-Cultural Contexts“ of the Charles University in Prague.

Summary

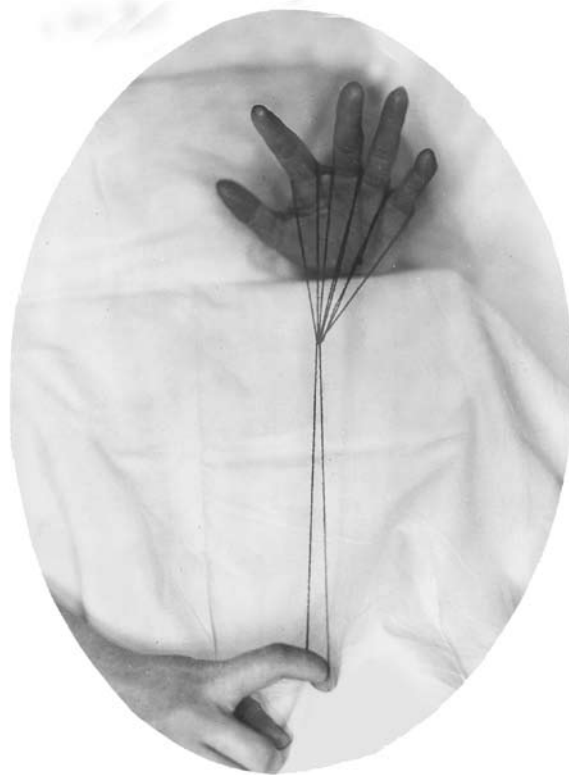
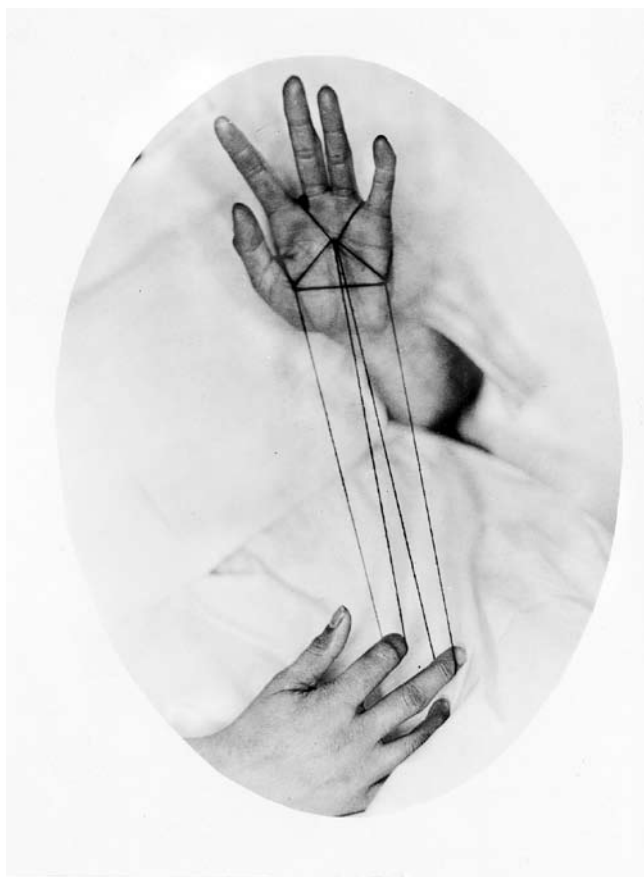
The study presents an overview of folkloristic research of children's games and play activities conducted on the territory of the Czech Republic since half of the 1800s. After brief presentation of historical folkloristic and ethnological approaches, which played an essential role in shaping general interest in games and playing in academical discourse, it presents three main thematical fields which Czech game and playing research should possibly follow. Folkloristics and ethnology can contribute to the academical study of games and playing in a significant way even today when also other humanities and social sciences, such as psychology and pedagogy, deal with that theme. The first field is developing useful classification and possibly even index of children's formalized games; this task is well prepared because of many historical classification systems and newer contributions, such as proposal for Type-index of Children's Games by Gareth Whittaker (2012). The second field is documentation, analysis and interpretation of contemporary children's formalized games, which are far from being extinct, and – last, but not least – the documentation, analysis and interpretation of contemporary syncretical games such as computer and console games, RPGs and LARPs, including the research of their relation to the entertainment and gaming industry and the popular and mass culture.

Key words: Czech classifications of children's games; indexes of children's games; children's play; ludic activities; tabletop games; gaming industry; folkloristics; Czech Republic.

STRING GAMES IN FRANTIŠEK POSPÍŠIL'S PHOTO DOCUMENTATION

It is a more than difficult task to visualize such a vivacious and changing phenomenon as children's games. Its documentation is nearly impossible without using audio-visual means. Nevertheless, we can see another form of visualization made by means of three-dimensional documents at numerous specialized exhibitions (representing museums and private sources) that proceed on well-established stereotypes of collections and exhibiting. A cliché of such presentations, at which arrays predominate of dolls (preferably with brand names) followed by bears, construction kits or cars and so on, still respects the distinction between rural and

urban environments. In the last decade, a new trend has emerged, which stresses a wider context: the setting in which the object was used. At such presentations, however, everyday simple activities and objects of children's play are missing; they disappeared or have even died out as a consequence of new technologies penetrating the leisure time sphere. This can be best illustrated by the fact that [in today's world] we can seldom see children jumping rope or playing marbles. The objects of the past everyday life have become history. The more changes penetrate the extending cultural themes, the more objects move to the position of cultural relicts.



String games, Gliwice. Photo by H. Kiszewski, February 2, 1929. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

Specialized ethnologic publications usually pay little attention to simple children's games and toys because they instead focus on lathed items produced in traditional toy centres in the Bohemian-German borderland and on the border between two Czech lands – Bohemia and Moravia. In the 1980s, the Austrian researcher Volker Kutschera paid marginal attention to simple toys; thanks to him these artefacts are called 'bio-toys' (Kutschera 1985: 261). The existence of simple toys was reflected at the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition held in Prague in 1895 – a turning point for the development of Czech ethnography – in a short text in the catalogue, which fully agreed to Kutschera's definition specified 100 years later: "...in the summer, the toys grow in fields and on trees, in meadows and ridges. What a pity that that neither these fading and edible toys nor making small ponds and other children's recreational activities in the nature could be depicted." (*Národopisná výstava československá* 1895: 217). This quotation exceeds a mere description of the genre; it differs from a romantic

approach that emphasized mainly the ancient quality and aesthetic values of traditional culture. Nevertheless, the exhibition managed to illustrate the short description only vaguely. Besides typical traditional folk toys, such as lathed products from the village of Skašov and the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands, which became a synonym for the Czech folk toy, the display cases also showed simple cut-out sheets or paper jigsaw puzzles. (*Národopisná výstava československá* 1895: 218). They documented that anything can be used for playing; however, the significant issue is the role that the object concerned accepts after it enters a precisely defined space of imagination at playing. The contributions, which served as instructions for the production of today's 'bio-toys', were published in *Český lid* [Czech People], one of the oldest scholarly journals, edited in 1891–1914 and 1924–1932 by Čeněk Zíbrt (1864–1932), cultural historian and ethnographer. In 1905, the journal published a short article on simple toys made of natural materials, stressing that they represented entertainment



String games of Moravian Croats (Jevišovka or Dobré Pole). Photo by F. Pospíšil. 1920s. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.



String games, German language island (Kučerov). Photo by F. Pospíšil. 1920s. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

for dispossessed village classes. The next issue of the journal (1905) commented on the shapes made of dried fruits and egg shells, and there was an article on paper jigsaw puzzles, written by František Homola. However, the primitive games stayed in the background of the researchers' interest; they focused on the production of turned toys, and they paid marginal attention as well to smoked toys from the ethnographic area of Wallachia.

It is important to stress that the fundamental Czech ethnographic literature (Hercík 1951) commented on the games, placing them, as a result of activities of children and their close environment, at the beginning of the development and quality scale.

Neglecting the short lifespan of the material, which is moreover exposed to the extensive use of its child owners, no other type of toys is as difficult to include into



*String games, the Balkans. Photo by F. Pospíšil. 1920s.
Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.*

a museum system as the toys made of products of nature, which – when the play is over - become again ordinary chestnuts, stones, and so on. The same scenario applies to textile yarns changing into threads or strings when the game is over. If it is hard to display these objects at an exhibition, making them part of the museum system is even more difficult, because such activities require photo/movie recording in addition to traditional three-dimensional documentation. This requirement, natural and easily implementable today, was in no way usual in the past. That is why we value so much the unique three-dimensional documents stored at the collections of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum in Brno, accompanied by photo documentation from field research.

Both museum activities mentioned above, the collection and the documentary one, relate to the work of **František Pospíšil (1885–1958)**, curator of the Museum department. His professional career, which started with his profession as a teacher at technical schools, fully developed in 1920 when he was assigned to the Moravian Regional Museum where he worked until 1945. At the beginning of his interest in traditional culture, he concentrated on folk dance, and this theme marked his next professional development. In 1921–1931, when documenting men's dances with weapons, he used a film camera for documenting men's sword dances in most places of their European occurrence. In Brno, he first worked as an administrator at the ethnographic department, later becoming the head of it. On his previous journeys locally and internationally, he visited and studied all significant museum collections, which contributed highly to his expertise in museum work. In the period of the Monarchy, he was one of many co-operators with the Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde in Vienna, for which he collected artefacts from Moravia. In the Moravian Regional Museum, he devoted himself mainly to agrarian ethnography and customs and traditions; he compiled a collection of photographs and films and bequeathed his extensive library to the institute. On his journeys abroad, he collected numerous exotic artefacts, which now are a part of the collections of the Anthropos Pavilion of the Moravian Museum in Brno and the Náprstek Museum in Prague.

After the years of work in Brno (1920–1945), Pospíšil's professional interest as enthusiastic researcher, whose

activity mirrored the events in ethnography in Europe, was concentrated especially on un-researched themes. The desire to search for new themes ignored by others resulted in his study of national minority groups, in his interest in folk religiosity and naive art, and in making film documentaries of the sword dances. His collection of material documents of a specific group of games with textile yarns confirms his interest in non-traditional genres. It consists of two sets of paper mats with tight



String games, German language island (Kučerov). Photo by F. Pospíšil. 1920s. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

cotton yarns forming different pictures, which are attached to the mats by threads. The first set (Item HČ 553/1-2) includes two sheets of wrapping paper with the Czech title *Odbíračka. Odrhovačka* [local names of string games], and the location, Slavkov u Brna. The sheets display fifteen stitched-on shapes created by cotton yarn, which represent different figures of the game. The collection is dated 1937 and signed by its author, teacher Marie Surmová, who provided each pattern with a title. The second set, dated 1944, (Item HČ 551/1-5), comes from Šlapanice and is similar to the first set. The set was



String games, Vlčnov. Photo by F. Pospíšil. 1920s. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

completed by pupils by name Burešová and Tobiášová, who sewed the yarns creating the final stage of the game to the cardboard, like Surmová did before. Apart from the information (position's name), there also is a partial written instruction explaining how to position and move the hands. There is one more extensive set, (Item HČ. 551/1-24), which includes twenty-five big-sized cardboards on which schemes of hands holding tight yarns are drawn. For more complex figures, detail drawings of different stages were made. The author named on each sheet is Otilie Jelínková, domestic science teacher, who came from the community of Svítálka near Havlíčkův Brod. The sheets are dated 1932.

If we take into consideration the comparative method Pospíšil used, it is no surprise that the estate after his death also involved correspondence. Its range and focus highly exceeds his Czech locale. While Pospíšil collected the material with the help of teachers and pupils from Moravia, he consulted the issue with the help of museums on an international level. Thanks to his personal contacts, he acquired a set of instructive photographs from the museum in Bytom, Poland, in 1929. The set consists of seven small-sized pictures portraying details of hands when passing the string. On the reverse side, the name of the corresponding shape is written in pencil. Each photo is dated 5 January 1929 and it provides a seal of the photographer, Hans Kiszewski from Gliwice, Poland. String games were also the subject matter of Pospíšil's correspondence with a curator in the museum in Utrecht, Holland.

Pospíšil continued in his research also on his study journey in the USA in 1930–1931. He collected the items during his lectures at mission schools in Indian reservations. He divided the acquired material into two groups. The first one, being considered a signal opening the theme, consisted of the photo documentation published in the study *Etnologické materiále z jihozápadu USA* [Ethnologic Materials from the South-West of the USA] (Pospíšil 1932). A limited set of twelve photographs portrays children, both individuals and pairs, playing the game: they pass the strings back and forth, and at the final stage they demonstrate the finished figure. Pospíšil was so concentrated on the matter of the event that he forgot the composition in three photos and the object, a person, is presented as a fragment with the lower part of a face. Pospíšil does not provide any commentary on

the pictures. It is only in the list of photographs when a short description in English can be found: “cat’s cradles – string figures – from SW” and he continues in Czech “string games, yucca strings for passing back and forth, transitions, tomcat’s trousers, cat’s cradle, writing, violin, spider, water, saw, etc.” (Pospíšil 1932: 246) His serious interest in the writing of a monograph of string games is demonstrated by the announced content of the second volume, whose introductory part should have been devoted to the theme. The intended work was to be developed on the comparative approach, which he successfully used when he studied the sword dances. The researcher’s intention was to compare “the materials collected among North-West Indians [Navahos and Apaches], in Moravia, and with the Slavs in general. Geographic expansion in America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and Oceania. Ethnologic analysis and synthesis of the material. An example of worldwide expansion of a certain ethnologic phenomenon.” As in many other cases, the intention remained in plans, and Pospíšil did not publish a second volume.

Pospíšil’s devotion to the theme can be traced in other photos taken by Pospíšil. Large photo documentation portrays situations at play across the age, social and geographical spectrum. The researcher did not limit himself to children’s amusement; it was also adult women who posed in front of his camera. On the reverse side of a photo with the seal dated 7 May 1936, there is a short postscript alongside the legend ‘Katarína Jagošová, 76 years old, Hrubá Vrbka near Strážnice No. 130’ written by Pospíšil. The portrayed woman attached her dedication for the photographer with a heavy hand “*v napamatku jagošova*” [incommemoration jagošova]. It is obvious that Pospíšil succeeded in breaking the barrier between the observer and the object, which is also evident in the relaxed position of the old woman seated on her doorstep, who demonstrates a string figure in front of the camera. It is true that this shot is exceptional because other photos capture children and young people from various regions of Moravia. A portray of a boy from the village of Hluk in the Slovácko region also captures the onlooker’s attention; not only because the boy integrated all his limbs to demonstrate the game: simultaneously the photographer managed to take a well composed large scene with focus on a detail of the game. The unintentionally artistic position in which the demonstrating boy was arranged made

the photo a timeless picture that even many years after captures the attention even of someone not interested in children’s games.

Pospíšil, as a researcher of string games, showed his concentration on the study of national minorities at the same time. For long time, Pospíšil devoted himself to the research of the culture of Moravian Croats settled in



String games, Katarína Jagošová (Hrubá Vrbka). Photo by F. Pospíšil. May 7, 1936. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

South Moravia in the surrounding of the town of Mikulov. There he also took photos of Croatian girls when they were passing the strings. Another object of his attention came from the German language island in the region of Vyškov, where Pospíšil took a picture of two girls from Kučerov. During his journeys to the Balkans, Pospíšil documented several other scenes of passing the strings in pairs and those of final figures demonstrated by individuals. Based on the archive documents about his journeys we can assume this happened between the years 1920 and 1930.

While it was the countryside that became the locale of Pospíšil's above mentioned pictures and their protagonists wore traditional folk dress from the region concerned, it is the town that is in the background of five more photos. In town exteriors, Pospíšil let young women pose dressed according to the fashion of that period, demonstrating the details of particular patterns. Pospíšil

also photographed two young men in city suits; one of whom used the same technique and helped himself with his mouth when passing the string, as did the village boy previously in another photo taken in the traditional folklore village of Vlčnov in Slovácko Region.

In his collection within the scheme city – village – minorities – women – men – old – young, František Pospíšil expressed all the aspects which are crucial for the context of string games. With the help of three-dimensional documents, he was able to document the genre in its comprehensiveness. If we realize that similar items for playing string games occur in Czech museum collections (and abroad as well) only rarely, the legacy of Pospíšil becomes apparent even more. The set collected by Pospíšil, neglected for many years, substantiates the changes in value orientation both in ethnology and museum science.

Hana Dvořáková

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String games. Photo by F. Pospíšil. Brno? 1930s. Archive of the Ethnographic Institute of the Moravian Museum, F. Pospíšil fund.

CZECH TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND THE UNESCO REPRESENTATIVE LIST OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF HUMANITY

Experts from the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic and the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice, Czech Republic, were at the birth of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. Although the country ratified the convention only in 2008, the protection of folklore and traditional culture expressions has a long and rich history in the Czech Republic. Several intergovernmental meetings have taken place in the premises of the National Institute of Folk Culture since the 1990s. The most visible outcomes of the implementation of the convention are four inscriptions on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This prestigious list contains a selection of extremely valuable elements of traditional culture from around the world which communities, groups and individuals regard as expressions of their identity and pass down from generation to generation via traditional modes of transmission. An inscription entails preparation of a safeguarding plan: a set of measures that will secure the viability and sustainability of the nominated elements and contribute to a greater visibility of intangible cultural heritage in general and the elements in particular. Since the first inscription in 2008, the awareness of the importance of safeguarding and renewal of traditional knowledge and culture has indeed risen and UNESCO's efforts have inspired many communities to develop new activities in this field.

The Slovácko Verbuňk – Dance of Recruits

The *verbuňk* is an improvised male dance which is performed collectively or solo. It is practised in the south-eastern part of the Czech Republic, in the ethnographic

region called Slovácko, part of a larger historical area of Moravia. Nowadays it is one of the most characteristic and emblematic dances in the area. Its popularity was raised first of all thanks to the “Competition for the Best Dancer of the Slovácko *Verbuňk*” which has been organized annually by the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice since the 1960s.

The term *verbuňk* is derived from the German word *Werbung*: recruiting. The origin of the dance itself is related to the dances performed when drafting young



Competition for the Best Dancer of the Slovácko Verbuňk. Strážnice 2004.



The Slovácko Verbuňk – Dance of Recruits. Lanžhot 2000.

men to the army, which were common in the Czech lands until 1781. The dance consists of three parts: singing, a slow dancing part and a fast dancing part. These parts repeat several times, and a certain types of songs is related solely to the dance. There are six distinct regional types of the *verbuňk* in the areas of Strážnicko, Kyjovsko, the Hanakian Slovácko, Horňácko, Uherskohradištsko, and Podluží. Since the inscription on the UNESCO Representative List, the number of dancers from these and other regions has been increasing.

The *verbuňk* dance is an inseparable part of virtually all events related to the cycle of annual customs as they are celebrated in the region today. Most often it is performed during *hody* – an annual feast held on the occasion of the day of a patron saint to whom the local church is consecrated. However, there are many other occasions for the performance of the *verbuňk* like weddings, harvest festivals, balls and other community gatherings. The *verbuňk* is an emotional dance which has more roles than just entertainment. One of its strongest aspects is improvisation, which forces the dancer to show his skills, art and dexterity. Men have always competed in the *verbuňk*, and compared their abilities. The *verbuňk* has also had an erotic function – attracting girls and women, especially in the period of the search for life partners. For more information see <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00147>>.



Shrovetide Door-to-Door Processions and Masks in the Villages of the Hlinecko Area. Studnice 2006.

Shrovetide Door-to-Door Processions and Masks in the Villages of the Hlinecko Area

Shrovetide door-to-door processions and masks from the Hlinecko area were inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List in 2010. The Shrovetide carnival tradition is widespread all over the country. However, in Hlinecko it has taken a specific form with specific masks and roles of masked men called *maškarádi*. The Shrovetide period lasts from Epiphany until the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday which used to be reserved for the final celebration preceding forty days of Lent and strict fasting. The carnival used to close the winter period of feasts, hog-slaughtering, weddings and balls. It was a fertility rite whose main aim was to secure a good harvest in the following growing season. Specific songs, dances and rituals were attached to the days when the carnival peaked. At the same time, it was an occasion to hold the last feast before the long period of fasting, throw away common social norms and indulge in revelry.



Shrovetide Door-to-Door Processions and Masks in the Villages of the Hlinecko Area. Vortová 2012.

The door-to-door carnival procession is held in the villages of Hamry, Studnice, Vortová, and Blatno. Men put on masks and costumes, and go around the village while singing, dancing, visiting every house, and communicating with the inhabitants. Villagers prepare food, drinks and financial gifts for the masked men and wait for them with great excitement. Nowadays, the social function of the ritual prevails. Nevertheless, certain acts to secure fertility, especially of young women, are performed. The masks are divided into two groups – *Red* and *Black*. The number of *Red* masks is fixed and they are reserved for unmarried men. They include the *Spotted Man*, the *Wifie* and the *Turks*. The *Black* masks include the *Straw Man*, the *Mare*, the *Knacker*, the *Huckster* and the *Chimneysweep*. The carnival is concluded with a ritual called *killing of the Mare*. The *Knacker* enumerates the



The Ride of the Kings from Skoronice, Kyjov 2008.

sins of the *Mare* which she supposedly committed during the past year and then the *Mare* is killed. After a short time it is restored to life and the masks and onlookers rejoice and dance happily around. This is a symbolic act of ending the winter and bringing in the spring and new life. For more information see <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00397>>.

The Ride of the Kings in South-Eastern Moravia

The *ride of the kings* was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List most recently, in 2011. This custom used to be spread in different forms all around Moravia and it was well-known also in Bohemia and Silesia. However, it almost disappeared and today it is preserved and regularly performed in four towns and villages in south-eastern Moravia: in Hluk, Kunovice, Skoronice, and Vlčnov, and in two more villages outside this area, in Doloplazy and Manerov. The figure of a *king* or a *queen* used to play a central role in Pentecost folk traditions throughout the country, to which this event is related. The rituals performed by the youth in the period of Pentecost used to have the nature of initiation rites. Young men had to prove their skills while riding horses, wrestling or in another manner. The *ride of the kings* still partially keeps its initiation function, while the social function prevails.

The *ride of the kings* is a ceremonial procession of men wearing festive folk costumes on richly decorated horses, which used to be held on Whit Monday; today it takes place in every village or town on a different



The Ride of the Kings, Hluk 2008.

date. The main character in the procession is the *king*: a 10–12 year old boy dressed in women's ceremonial costume. He wears a headdress and he has a rose in his mouth as he is not allowed to speak a word. Two *squires* with unsheathed sabres ride by his sides to protect him. They are accompanied by chanters who chant short rhymes commenting on current events in the village and good or bad qualities of its inhabitants. They receive gifts for their performance.

The preparations for the festival last many months and the whole community participates in it. In some villages, the riders hold many meetings to prepare for the ride and the king, who is selected by the riders and plays a key role in the procession, is ceremonially introduced to the public. For more information see <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00564>>.

Falconry – a Living Human Heritage

Falconry is an element with the largest number of countries having it inscribed together on the UNESCO Representative List as a multinational nomination: the Czech Republic, the United Arab Emirates, Austria, Belgium, France, Hungary, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Morocco, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Spain, and the Syrian Arab Republic; they all participated in the inscription. In every country, falconry plays a slightly different role in society and its forms depend first of all on the terrain and the habitat. Altogether it can be found in more than sixty countries of the world. In the Czech Republic, it is practised

and safeguarded by the Falconry Club of the Bohemian-Moravian Hunting Union, founded in 1967. There are 21 regional centres which associate individual falconers who have successfully passed relevant examinations and are licensed to practise the activity.

Falconry is the art of training and flying falcons, eagles, hawks or other birds of prey to take a quarry, but it also includes breeding and caring for birds. Its history is more than 4000 years long and it probably originated in the steppes of central Asia. In the Czech lands it appeared for the first time in the eighth or ninth century A.D. While in the past, falconry was used as a way of obtaining food, today it is perceived more as a recreational activity which links people to nature. Its role changed for the first time during the Middle Ages when it served as a favourite pastime of the nobility. Later on it was integrated into a larger concept of gamekeeping. Falconry does not comprise only hunting any more; public education about the birds, their physiology and role in the nature, their protection and professional utilization, especially in the protection of airports and vineyards, are inseparable parts of modern falconers' activities. Over the years, falconers have developed their own terminology, moral philosophy and way of dressing. Strong values accompanying falconry in the world are camaraderie and sharing among falconers and a strong relationship and spiritual bond with their birds. (For more information see <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00011&RL=00732>>.

Eva Románková



Falconry – Opočno 1967.



Falconer with golden eagle.

THE LIST OF INTANGIBLE ELEMENTS OF TRADITIONAL FOLK CULTURE OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

The List of Intangible Elements of Traditional Folk Culture was developed in line with the philosophy of the UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage which promotes inventorying and raising awareness of non-material cultural expressions. The national list has been inspired by the world Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and its main aim is to promote important cultural elements and ensure their permanent protection, documentation and sustainable development. The nomination process demands active participation of the communities of bearers at all stages of preparation of nomination files and their strong commitment to safeguard the elements in the future, especially by non-formal means of transmission. The body entrusted with examination and evaluation of the nomination files is the National Council for Traditional Folk Culture. The elements are inscribed by the decision of the Minister of

culture. The National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice is responsible for maintaining the national inventory. There are five categories which are considered to constitute intangible cultural heritage: oral traditions and expressions, traditional performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship. To date, there are eight elements included in the list. The first four of them were inscribed together with their inscription on the Representative List (the *verbuňk* dance, Shrovetide door-to-door processions of masks in the Hlinecko area, falconry, and the *ride of the kings*), as a listing in a national inventory is a necessary precondition for the world listing. Other elements have been inscribed later without direct association to the UNESCO nomination process. More and more communities are currently interested in having their elements inscribed and promoted on a national level.

The Wallachian *Odzemek* is another individual male dance whose specific form has been preserved in the north-eastern part of Moravia, in the ethnographic region called Wallachia. However, the *odzemek* can be found in much the wider cultural area of the Carpathian Mountains, particularly in Poland, Slovakia, Ukraine,

Romania, and partly also the southern and northern parts of the east of the Czech Republic. Its principal features resemble the *verbuňk*, but the origin and form of the dance is different. It is related to the pastoral culture of the Carpathians and its origin can be traced down to the 17th century. Originally it was danced by shepherds on the pastures, during dance parties or as a part of ritual folk plays. Currently, the *odzemek* is practised, preserved and developed primarily by members of folk dance groups who cherish the dance and consider it as the most demanding and the best piece of their art.

Gamekeeping represented by the Bohemian-Moravian Hunting Union includes breeding and protection of game and care for the sustainable development of their habitat, as well as hunting for the purpose of controlling undesirable increase in populations of individual species which could threaten the balance and natural development of other animals. Gamekeeping is a complex cultural expression which covers the knowledge of nature and its protection, special language, customs and traditions but also philosophy and ethics. While the original purpose of the activity in pre-historic times was to obtain food, during the Middle Ages it gained a new function as a popular pastime of the aristocrats. Today, gamekeeping is perceived primarily as a protective and management activity which springs from the original tradition.



Competition for the Best Dancer of the Wallachian *Odzemek*, Rožnov pod Radhoštěm 2009.

The Easter custom of **burning the Judas** used to be widespread in the whole country and used to take different regional forms; however, during the 20th century it declined critically. Nowadays, its richest form has been preserved in 29 villages of Pardubice County. The ritual procession is held by young boys on Easter Saturday. On this day, a three-day round culminates in processions with rattles and wooden clappers, which replace church bells. One of the boys represents Judas, the Biblical traitor of Jesus Christ. He is dressed in an elaborate costume made of straw, hay or another material, which is ritually burnt at the end of the procession. Although the ritual refers to a biblical story, its origin is probably much older, pre-Christian, and it is related to purifying and fertility rites.



Burning the Judas, Stradouň 2012. Photo H. Vojanec. Archiv of the SLS Vysočina.

The history of the last item which is inscribed on the national list – **puppetry in East Bohemia** – dates back to the second half of the 18th century, when roving nahradit puppeteers started travelling the country. Since the 19th century they played primarily for children on Saturdays and Sundays. Nowadays, more than fifty amateur and several professional puppet theatre groups exist in forty villages of Hradec Králové and Pardubice Counties. The key institution focusing on preservation and documentation of traditional puppetry is the Chrudim Puppetry Museum. The original puppeteers used to have an important role of mediators of professional dramatic culture to the wide folk public. It is not only puppeteering, but also the traditional craft of puppet making, carving and decorating puppets, which form a complex tradition of this popular, non-professional form of drama.



Puppetry in East Bohemia: Puppets made by Antonín Sucharda sr. (app. 1840s – 1850s).

The INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC, public non-university research institution (EÚ AV ČR, v. v. i.)

The Institute of Ethnology is an independent public research institution focused on the areas of ethnology, folklore, the history of music and other fields directly related to these topics. It is located in Prague and Brno and includes about 50 employees, out of which approximately 35 are research fellows and heads of research teams. The Institute of Ethnology does the basic as well as the applied research, provides information services, methodological counselling for research surveys, and expert analyses. It also provides the teaching of specialized courses. The Institute processes its documentary collections, runs three scientific libraries and publishes three scientific journals: *Český lid – Etnologický časopis (Czech People – Ethnological Journal)* which obtained an impact factor in 2011, *Hudební věda (Musical Science)* and *Historická demografie (Historical Demography)*.

The Institute runs projects in the field of historical ethnology, ethnomusicology, ethnochoreology, and urban anthropology; it also focuses on studies of national, social and ethnic minorities both in the Czech Republic and abroad: its latest studies explored the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. The Institute participates in two joint doctoral programmes in the field of ethnology; the first one with the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, the second with the Faculty of Arts of the University of West Bohemia in Pilsen.

The Institute is well known all over the academic community for its extensive editions of folk songs especially from Moravian regions, for the Ethnographical Atlas of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia series, for publications on folk culture in Brno and surroundings, for books on the integration of foreigners in the Czech Republic, Czechs abroad, and Roma/

Gypsy migrations. The publications are predominantly published in Czech, English and German. The exclusively English language series are the Prague Occasional Papers in Ethnology issued by the Department of Ethnic Studies. The Institute also focuses on documentary films and audio records; they are produced by two seats of the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic: by its Department of Ethnomusicology in Prague and by the Brno Branch of the Institute. For more information about the Institute go to <www.eu.cas.cz>.

Zdeněk Uherek

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FOLK CULTURE (NÚLK)

The National Institute of Folk Culture (hereinafter NÚLK) was founded in 1956 in connection with the development of the folklore movement and its needs. However, the major reason for its foundation was the Strážnice folklore festival. The history and activities of the Institute were reflected in numerous specialized publications (e.g. Jančář 1995, 2006; Krist 2008). In the course of time, the Institute achieved an important position because it attracted important personalities from the branch of ethnology from the whole of Czechoslovakia. This professional collaboration has not been interrupted even after the political separation of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic into two independent states.

The Institute has focused on documenting different expressions of folk culture; its exhibition and publication activity has grown gradually. Its renown was supported especially by the quarterly-published *Národopisné aktuality [Ethnographical News]* journal which appeared in 1964 for the first time; since 1990, the journal has been published under the title *Národopisná revue [Journal of Ethnology]*.

The employees of the Institute worked in different commissions of the *Národopisná společnost československá* [The Czechoslovak Ethnographic Society]; gradually they took more positions in sub-commissions of the Czechoslovak section of the International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathian Mountains and the Balkans (ICCCB), which contributed to the development of professional and research work. In the early 1970s, national ethnographic symposiums and different workshops were organized, which enabled the publishing of the results of research of not only big academic institutes and university departments, but also especially ethnographers from regional and local museums. The symposiums supported the development of ethnologic work in the whole country. Their professional focus was mostly in harmony with suggestions by the ICCCB sub-commissions in cooperation with the Institute in Strážnice, which tried to respond to different topical initiatives. At that time, the Institute became involved in the fulfilling of the State Plan for basic research and especially research into customs, the folklore movement, and folk architecture. Long-term work on documenting the architecture resulted in the conception and building of the Open-Air Museum of Rural Architecture in South-East Moravia.

Political and social developments after 1989 resulted in essential changes. The Institute became a state-funded organization controlled by the Ministry of Culture with a focus on traditional folk culture. Its activities were to cover the whole Czech Republic. It could focus on documentation, research, and publication activities, and it entered into numerous foreign relations, especially those with UNESCO and CIOFF, i.e. the International Council of Organizations of Folklore Festivals and Folk Arts which works as a consultant within UNESCO. However, it was essential to emphasize the use of modern procedures when documenting different folk culture expressions, especially folk dances,

customs, folk crafts and techniques used in folk art. In 1992, the *Lidové tance v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* [Folk Dances in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia] project started to record folk dances in the whole of the Czech Republic. This activity resulted in a video encyclopaedia whose first series captured 1035 folk dances; the second series documented men's dances, and the third series focused on dances in selected locations and micro-regions. A similar method was used to document folk crafts and techniques. Dozens of publications with enclosed video records were made available to the public. The goal of the Institute is to identify, document, treat, and safeguard the cultural heritage in a proper way and to protect it for future generations. As a matter of course, the Institute demonstrates the traditions of folk culture at the International Folklore Festival in Strážnice and programmes at the Open-Air Museum.

The publishing activities of the Institute are extraordinary large. In addition to what is mentioned above, the Institute has published many proceedings from the symposiums held in Strážnice as well as publications based on research projects. These projects were devoted to many topics, such as children's folklore groups and their role in forming the value orientation in children's relation to home (*Společenství dětí... [Community of Children....]* 1997; *Dětský folklor dnes... [Children's Folklore Today....]* 2007; Frolcová et al. 1997.), and the use or misuse of folk traditions in the cultural development of the Czech Republic (Jančář 2000; Pavlicová – Uhlíková 1997; Vondrušková 2000; *Malý etnologický slovník [A Little Dictionary of Ethnology]* 2011). Another important field, which contributes to the research and results of the activity of the NÚLK, has been the ongoing and developing cooperation with UNESCO. The project known as "Living Human Treasures" is implemented in the Czech Republic under the title "Bearers of the Folk Craft Tradition" (Šimša 2007a, 2007b). Generally said the Institute's cooperation with UNESCO is voluminous.

Worth mentioning are e.g. organization of international consultancies with experts from Central and East Europe and the results thereof, or nominations of selected expressions of traditional folk culture for the inscription on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Krist 2006; *Intergovernmental Working Conference...* 2009; Blahůšek et al. 2008, 2010; Blahůšek – Vojancová 2011; Blahůšek – Teturová 2012).

When many new folk ensembles and folklore festivals came into being after 1989, the Institute initiated in association with the National Information and Consulting Centre for Culture in Prague and the Folklore Association of the Czech Republic a four-semester study "Škola folklorních tradic" [The School of Folk Traditions] in the form of a retraining course. For the needs of this course, many publications were written (Ondrušová – Uhlíková 2006, 2007; Jančář – Krist 2007, comp. hereinafter Jančář 2006: 85–100). The consultancies with experts from Central and East European countries resulted in the first proposals to draw up the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Czech Republic presented these proposals in Paris, initiating the works on their wording. At the same time, the works on the "Strategy of Improved Care for Traditional Folk Culture in the Czech Republic" started. The Czech government approved this Strategy in 2003; its new version is valid for 2011–2015 (see *The Strategy of Improved Care...* 2011). In the Strategy, the government anchored the obligations of the state, and the recommendations for self-government; it invited the non-governmental organizations to cooperate on the protection of and the care for the folk culture that constitutes an integral and important part of the intangible cultural heritage. The government decided about many tasks the NÚLK had to fulfil. First, a group of experts compiled a manual called *Identifikace a dokumentace jevů tradiční lidové kultury v České republice*

[*The Identification and Documentation of Expressions of Traditional Folk Culture in the Czech Republic*] (2006), after which the publication followed titled *Metodika identifikace a dokumentace jevů tradiční lidové kultury v České republice v kontextu Koncepce účinnější péče o tradiční lidovou kulturu na léta 2011–2015* [The Methodology of the Identification and Documentation of the Expressions of Traditional Folk Culture in the Czech Republic in the Context of the Strategy of Improved Care for Traditional Folk Culture for the Years 2011–2015] (2011). These materials made it possible to collect a huge quantity of data on selected cultural expressions according to a unified procedure, and to include them into the database gradually.

The Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic worked on a research project "National and Cultural Identity" in which the NÚLK espoused its solution of two five-year-long research projects. One of them focuses on technologies used in traditional clay architecture in Moravia, including relations to the Central Danube Valley; the other one is aimed at traditional dress in Moravia, including the identification, analysis, context, conservation and sustainable condition of collection materials from 1850–1950 (see Křížová – Šimša 2012). These projects as well as the other ones, which are based on the NÚLK Deed of Foundation, guarantee that Institute will continue benefiting the development of ethnology in our country.

Jan Krist

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THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS, CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE

Ethnographically focused subjects have been taught at Charles University in Prague since the second half of the 19th century and with higher intensity since the beginning of the 20th century as a part of humanities and philology (mainly Literary Science, Slavonic studies, German studies, but also Geography). These were mostly represented by research aimed at folkloristics, such as Adolf Hauffen, Jiří Polívka, August Sauer and Václav Tille, but also by e.g. archaeologist Lubor Niederle.

At the university, divided into a Czech and a German section since 1882, the teaching of ethnography was institutionalized after the formation of the independent Czechoslovak state in 1918; in this respect, Prague University is one of the first Central-European universities at which ethnology (ethnography as to the terminology of that time) was established

as an independent discipline. In 1919, the Chair of German Ethnography, Language and Literature (Lehrstuhl für Deutsche Volkskunde sowie für deutsche Sprache und Literatur) was founded at German University. The Chair was led by Prof. Adolf Hauffen who became the first professor of ethnography in the then Czechoslovakia. Regular lessons commenced in 1922. In that year, senior lectureship was permitted for the discipline and Gustav Jungbauer became the first senior lecturer. In 1929, the Chair was converted into an independent Seminar of German Ethnography (Seminar für deutsche Volkskunde).

The teaching of ethnology at Czech University is connected with Karel Chotek, a founder of domestic ethnography, which was widely understood as a cultural-historical and cultural-geographical branch. Chotek led the Seminar of Ethnography that started its regular lectures in the academic year 1935/1936. This promising development, which might have resulted in a closer collaboration of both ethnic (i.e. German and Czech) branches of ethnographic research, was unfortunately interrupted by the World War II.

The teaching of ethnology under the leadership of Karel Chotek as the director of the Czech Ethnographic Seminar and the cooperation of other leading ethnographers (e.g. Drahomíra Stránská) continued immediately the teaching at Czech universities was restored after 1945. The library of the German Seminar of Ethnography – unfortunately without lecturers, who left the university partially during the war – became a part of the Czech Seminar. In 1948 and 1949, ethnography became a basic subject for specialized study at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague, as it was taught at the Departments of Ethnography and Prehistory. The following years were marked by reorganizations; in 1953, an independent Department of Ethnography under the leadership of Otakar Pertold was founded; in 1958, the Department became a part of the Department of

Czechoslovak History and Archival Studies led by Otakar Nahodil. The situation became stable in 1960 when an independent workplace was founded: the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics led by Karel Dvořák. This Department in its independent form has been in existence to the present day. In 1971, Antonín Robek became the head of the Department; under his leadership, the Centre for Ibero-American Studies, led by Josef Polišenský, became a part of the Department between 1972 and 1981. In 1982, the Department was reorganized again and divided into four sections: Ethnography, Folkloristics, Non-European Ethnography, and Museology. In 1987, Bohuslav Šalanda became the head of the Department; František Vrhel became the head of the Department after political changes in 1989 and he continues to lead the Department today. At that time, after the year 1989, the Centre of Ibero-American Studies separated from the Department. In 1991, the Department changed its name to the Department of Ethnology; since 1993, it has had the name the Institute of Ethnology (IE).

The educational and research activities of the IE were considerably topical at that time: both by accentuating the international trends in research and internationalizing the teaching thanks to regular lectures by leading ethnologists of Czech and Slovak origin who worked abroad (e.g. Leopold Pospíšil, Zdeněk Salzmänn, Milan Stanek), and short-time educational stays of other foreign lecturers. The educational and research collaboration with the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, the National Museum, and other professional institutions, including collaboration with the Ministry of Culture in the case of applied ethnologic research was also emphasized. The internal organization of the IE included a Seminar of General and Extra-European Ethnology focused on sociocultural anthropology as well as area and comparative interpretation of the discipline (former Völkerkunde), the Seminar of Czech and European

Ethnology that continued the tradition of ethnographic research (former Volkskunde) including the reflection on approaches of modern European ethnology and anthropology of Europe and the emphasis put on ethnic issues; the Seminar of Folkloristics developed especially comparative and genological research. In 2013, the Section of Culturology of the dissolved Department of Culturology was affiliated to these three seminars.

The contemporary study of ethnology runs in the form of a three-year bachelor degree programme and subsequent two-year master studies. The goal of the study programme is to equip graduates with theoretical and practical knowledge of the discipline's theory and methodology, and to offer them an overview of particular cultural areas including the practical ability to work in a different cultural and ethnic environment. The study is implemented in the form of an internationally acknowledged credit system, either independently or in combination with other disciplines, especially history, archaeology, history of art, musicology, literary science, sociology, African studies, Oriental studies, and philological disciplines; recently the collaboration with Vietnamese and Indonesian studies has developed. These combinations give power to the development of ethnology as well as combined disciplines; at the same time, the graduates are well equipped with necessary skills when looking for employment. The bachelor degree programme is to prepare the students for immediate practical work: especially at scientific, specialized and cultural institutions, state administration, mass media and non-profit area. The teaching basis includes a general introduction to ethnology, anthropology and folkloristics, developed in particular applications of the discipline's concept. These applications involve the issues of material, spiritual and social culture with special stress put on ethnicity, area studies, and issues of ethnological methodology including ethnographic fieldworks. The master's

study is specialized, usually focusing on one of three basic fields: general ethnology, ethnology of the Czech lands and Europe, and folkloristics. During their study, students are guided towards independent research, the results of which they include into their bachelor or master theses. In cooperation with the Faculty of Arts of Charles University and other institutions, students can take part in a semester or longer educational stays at foreign universities (especially thanks to the CEEPUS and ERASMUS programmes), museums or other specialized institutions, including excursions and independent fieldwork. After having defended their rigorous thesis and passed the rigorous examination, exceptional graduates can be awarded a Ph.D. degree. The Institute of Ethnology also is a training centre to get the scientific Ph.D. degree; the centre is coordinated by the professional council whose chairman is František Vrhel. Scientific and cultural activities of the students of the Institute of Ethnology enjoy a long tradition. After a period focused on students' team research and activities related to the journal *Cargo*, this tradition has been evident especially in the activities of a students' club called *PAKET – Pro Aktivní Etnologii (For Active Ethnology)*.

Scientific research of teachers of the Institute of Ethnology has always been connected with their educational activities; for more than fifty years of the independent department, the results of their fieldwork as well as those of their museum and archive investigations have been published in many monographs, educational texts and studies in local and international journals and almanacs. These include, for instance, numerous educational texts devoted e.g. to the history of Czech ethnography (1964, 1976), the research of social relations (1965), spiritual culture (1965), ethnology of extra-European regions – Africa (1964), Australia and Oceania (1964), theory of culture (1972), fundamentals of ethno-linguistics, (1981), anthologies of texts dealing with the beginning of exotic

ethnography (1983), and folk dress in Bohemia (1984). It is important to note the university series *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philosophica et Historica. Monographia*. In these series, various papers were published on traditional farming (1970), ethno-history (1973–1977), family and social relations in Slovakia (1978), folklore epics (1983), folk dress (1984), traditions in cultural and social life (1985), amateur theatre called 'neighbourly theatre' (1985), tradition and ethnography (1989) etc. Since 1967, Department teachers published regularly in the *Ibero-Americana Pragensia* series, where they focused on themes from linguistics, ethnography and folkloristics. The *Studia Ethnographica/Ethnologica* series with its broad range of themes, which originally paid attention rather to material texts, was the major publication platform since 1972; since the 1990s, the content was extended by theoretic studies. Since 2010, the reviewed *Studia Ethnologica Pragensia* journal has been the major carrier of publication activities of the Institute of Ethnology. The journal is issued twice a year; it publishes studies, reports, reviews and other professional texts in Czech and English, as well as in other European or world languages.

The contemporary research and publication activities of the Institute of Ethnology which have been presented in the form of independent monographs lately, focus – besides the aforementioned ethnology, anthropology and folkloristics – on ethnic minorities in Europe (1994), the anthropology of sexuality (2002), marriage and sexuality from the anthropology perspective (2002), pre-Columbus literature (2003), folk theatre (2004), folk dress (2005), contemporary legends and rumours (2006, 2007, 2008), Tajikistan and Turkmenistan (2007), reflection of sexuality cultures (2007), ethno-historical and language phenomena of Central Asia (2009) as well as anthropology of kinship (2010) and collective expressions of domestic subcultures (2011), survival and revitalization of ethnic minorities' languages (2012) and the material

culture of Central Asia in Czech museum collections (2012). Partial studies develop a rich spectrum of the themes that relate to discipline, including theoretic reflection on the tradition of ethnologic structuralism and linguistics, and historical reflection on domestic ethnographic, folkloristics and museology activities that are then projected to educational activity correspondingly.

Petr Janeček

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THE INSTITUTE OF EUROPEAN ETHNOLOGY AT THE FACULTY OF ARTS, MASARYK UNIVERSITY BRNO

The beginnings of the teaching of ethnology (ethnography) at Masaryk University in Brno go back to 1933 when Antonín Václavík (1891–1959) was awarded a university lecturer degree for the discipline of Czechoslovak ethnography at the Faculty of Arts. He began with selective lectures in Brno; however, folkloristics had already been part of the literary studies, taught by Jiří Horák, Stanislav Souček and Frank Wollman. After the liberation of Czechoslovakia and restoration of the system of university education, the independent Seminar for Ethnography and Ethnology was founded in the academic year 1945/46, after Václavík was appointed to the professorship. Since that time, the university department has undergone numerous reorganizations: in 1964–1970, when chaired by Richard Jeřábek, its name was the Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics; but during the period of normalization, it became a part of the Department of History as its division of Ethnography and Folkloristics. In 1991, the Department achieved its independency again and became the Institute of European Ethnology. With its name and orientation, the Institute has responded to modern trends of the discipline, focusing especially on ethnologic studies within European Studies. As such, it is the only and unique university department (both scholarly

and educational) which intentionally and systematically focuses on the study of the Czech ethnic group and its culture, and the research of its ethnic and cultural relations to the countries of central and south-eastern Europe.

The contemporary study of ethnology is organized in the form of a three-year bachelor degree programme and subsequent two-year master studies. It is implemented in the form of a credit system, either independently, or in combination with other disciplines, especially those of history, arts, and social studies. Selected lectures and seminars focus on general introduction to the discipline, its history, and methodology. Other courses provide the students with a basic understanding of the traditional culture of the Czech ethnic group and its relation to the Slavonic and European cultures, including the aspects of traditional material culture (occupation, house, dress), as well as the social (family and annual cycle) and spiritual (folk faith, folklore) culture. Master studies deal with ethnic history and culture of European nations and national minorities. The lectures and talks on non-European ethnology subvert the perspectives of ethnocentrism and Eurocentrism. External teachers from specialized central academic and museum institutions give lectures at the Institute as well. Their lectures focus on specific issues of urban ethnology, ethnic issues, and culture of small social groups, foreigners, children and young adults. Apart from lectures and seminars, field research has become an integral part of the university education of in ethnology. Field research is aimed at the documentation of traditional cultural expressions in particular ethnographic areas in Moravia as well as at contemporary forms of social and cultural life in rural and urban environment. Required practical training in museums is to acquaint the student with ethnographic collections and activities of a particular museum.

The history of field trips, both local and international, has been quite long

in the Institute. International field trips were introduced by Richard Jeřábek in 1962. Students visited the countries of the former socialistic blocks first, and after 1989 they went to various countries of the rest of Europe: Italy and Spain in the south; France, Germany, Great Britain in the west; and Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in the north. There the participants explored ethnic history of European nations; visited historical and artistic monuments; were introduced to the remnants of traditional culture as well as living cultural phenomena. In the 1990s, in connection with the Profile of an Ethnographic Region series of seminars [Profil národopisného regionu], domestic field trips were organized as well. Their aim was to introduce particular ethnographic regions in Moravia and Silesia to the students. At present, Daniel Drápala leads specialized field trips in the Czech Republic and abroad: Austria, Germany (Lusatia), Poland (the regions of Kladsko and Ciesyn), and especially Slovakia.

After successful graduation from their master studies in ethnology, the graduates can continue in doctoral study, which is offered both in the full-time mode, and the combined mode. The themes of doctoral dissertations are wide: they mostly focus on contemporary domestic or foreign social and cultural phenomena. Recently, the doctoral students have focused on Kosovo, Neo-Paganism in Russia, Evangelic minority of expatriates in the Serbian Banat, Muslims in the Czech Republic, and so on. The Ph.D. degree is a precondition for the scientific and research work at universities or academic institutions. After having defended their rigorous thesis and passing the rigorous examination, the graduates are awarded the PhDr. degree. Most graduates from the discipline apply for jobs at national or regional museums, institutions for the preservation/safeguarding of listed monuments, mass media, cultural institutions, and state administration. The Institute keeps in touch with many of its graduates and invites them to journeys

abroad or specialized events, which it organizes.

Scientific research has always been a part of the teachers' work. In the 1950s, the monograph entitled *Výroční obyčej a lidové umění* [*The Annual Customs and Folk Art*] (1959) was expected to highlight Antonín Václavík's research. Unfortunately, the editors' inorganic actualizations interfered with Václavík's conception, and now such editing serves as the evidence of indoctrination of scientific work in the 1950s. In the 1960s, valuable collective monographs originated at the Department of Ethnography and Folkloristics about the South-Moravian ethnographic area of Podluží (1962) and the ethnographic area of Hornácko in the Moravian-Slovakian borderland (1966). In the 1970 and 1980s, the research focused on contemporary village and started to monitor the cultural and social changes caused by the collectivization of agriculture. Apart from that, scholars published the results of their own individual research, such as on bibliography and historiography of the discipline, as well as traditional transport and graphic folk culture (Richard Jeřábek), on material and social culture (Václav Frolec), ethnomusicology (Dušan Holý), and semi-folk literature and contemporary folklore (Bohuslav Beneš).

Since the 1990s, in connection with gradual generation changes at the Institute, scientific research has been implemented in the form of individual and collective grants. Since 1993, the Institute of European Ethnology and the Prague Institute of Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic had conducted research for the project that resulted in the publication of *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [*Folk Culture. An Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*] (2007). Since 2005, the Institute of European Ethnology of Masaryk University has been involved in an interdisciplinary research intention of the Institute of Archaeology and Museology.

Its task was to compare "the living and the dead culture" (Alena Křížová, Miroslav Válka). Currently published results from the area of rural culture, folk dress and fine art can be found in the *Ethnologic Studies* series [*Etnologické studie*] and *Ethnologic Materials* series [*Etnologické materiály*] alongside the findings of individual research or papers presented at conferences.

In 2011, the Institute joined the structural funds of the European Union with the project called *The Development of Cooperation and the Increase in Research Competences within the Network of Ethnologic Institutions* [*Rozvoj spolupráce a zvyšování výzkumných kompetencí v síti etnologických institucí*] (chaired by Roman Doušek). The aim of the project is to increase the competence of students through study stays in different institutions of the discipline. Students of ethnology are educated at the Ethnographic Institute of Moravian Museum (practical training for their museum work) and at the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. In addition, the project includes workshops or publishing of methodological textbooks. (R. Doušek: *Etnologický výzkum tradičního stavitelství* [*Ethnologic Research of Traditional Architecture*] 2013). Since 2012, the Institute has been involved in the National and Culture Identity applied research of the Ministry of Culture called *Geografický informační systém tradiční lidové kultury 1750–1900* [*The Geographic Information System of Traditional Folk Culture 1750–1900*] (chaired by Daniel Drápala). The interconnection of written sources, iconographic sources, and three-dimensional materials with their localization on a map allows monitoring the borders and the diversity of the phenomena of traditional folk culture. As a result, the project contributes to the further development of ethno-cartographic research, its forms and methods.

Many details concerning the profile of the Institute of European Ethnology of Masaryk University are available in an almanac to its 60th anniversary, *Almanach*

k 60. výročí Ústavu evropské etnologie [*The Institute of European Ethnology 60th Anniversary Almanac*] (2006). In addition to basic data from the history of the Institute, the Almanac provides a full list of theses defended during the department's existence, a full list of graduates, and bibliography of teachers and lecturers. An appendix refers to comments and reviews published in professional local and international journals.

Miroslav Válka

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CZECH ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY (CES)

The Czech Ethnological Society is an association of professionals working in the fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology. The history of the Czech Ethnological Society is closely related to the establishment of ethnology as an academic field in the Czech lands. The idea of establishing this type of association was conceived in 1891. The association was founded in 1893 as the Czechoslovak Ethnographical Society in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The society's original purpose was to organize a large exhibition in Prague; this primarily covered traditional culture and traditional architecture (a whole village was built) of the Czech lands, Slovakia and other Slavic countries, and the society also aimed to publish an encyclopaedia. In 1904, following the opening of the Ethnographical Museum, where the collections gathered for the large Czechoslovak Ethnographical Exhibition held in 1895 were deposited, the society was renamed the Czechoslovak Ethnographical Museum Society. In 1922, the collections were transferred to the National Museum and the Agricultural Museum in Prague. The transfer of these collections enabled the members of the society to develop their research and publication activities.

In the interwar period, the society concentrated on gathering materials in order to publish an ethnographical encyclopaedia and an ethnographical atlas. Society members published regional monographs as well as methodological literature, organized courses for local amateur historians and ethnographers and carried out surveys.

In the late 1950s, the development of the society was hindered by the establishment of the Society of Czechoslovak Ethnographers by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences which took over most of the research activities. In

1963, due to the political climate, the Ethnographical Society was united with the Society of Czechoslovak Ethnographers and its original name and structure ceased to exist. During the period of what was called 'normalization', some society members were expelled and persecuted. The rest of them continued to publish the results of their research; they held conferences and seminars and established several specialized commissions. Regular communication with correspondents flourished as well.

In 1989, along with the Velvet Revolution which ended the Communist era in Czechoslovakia, a new stage in the development of the society started. The society returned back to its original principles of membership and it opened up to professionals as well as non-professionals interested in ethnology. In 1990, an overall report covering the period from 1948 (the establishment of socialism) and 1990 (the return to democracy) was elaborated. After the year 2000, the society was registered at the Ministry of the Interior as a charity with a new constitution, and it was integrated in the Council of Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic. A new name, the Czech Ethnological Society, was adopted.

Since 1906, the society has been publishing the Ethnographic Journal – a refereed journal in which society members, students of ethnology and anthropology and local correspondents publish their studies, reviews and other contributions. The name and content of the journal has been reflecting the changes in organizational structure and focus of the society. Besides the journal, the society publishes a newsletter three times a year. Recently, the society has been concentrating on digitalizing their older publications and creating bibliographies.

Today the society has more than 250 individual members specializing in different aspects of traditional culture and cultural history and twenty collective members which include museums, open-air museums and academic institu-

tions. The members meet regularly for conferences and workshops and once every three years for the General Assembly. The Czech Ethnological Society has two special commissions: Commission for Folk Architecture, and Commission for Folk Customs. It actively collaborates with its partner institutions: The Ethnographical Society of Slovakia, and the ICCN: Inter-City Intangible Cultural Cooperation Network.

In 2010, the Czech Ethnological Society was invited as an accredited non-governmental organization to become a member of the Consultative Body of the Intergovernmental Committee of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a member of this body, it was entrusted with evaluation of nominations to the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, nominations to a register of best practices for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, and requests for international assistance for State Parties' safeguarding efforts. Information about CES is available on web pages <<http://www.narodopisnaspolecnost.cz>>.

Daniel Drápala, Eva Románková

CZECH ASSOCIATION FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY (CASA)

CASA is a civic association of academics and students in social anthropology and related disciplines. It is part of the academic community of the Czech Republic and belongs to the category of scientific societies. It's approximately 50 members are predominantly teachers and research fellows of social, cultural and integral anthropology and ethnology from universities and academic institutes in the Czech Republic and abroad. The aim of the CASA is to support the development of scientific research and

education in social anthropology and to represent Czech social anthropology in relation to the government, public and non-governmental organizations and on international anthropological forums. The CASA members also strive to popularise the achievements of social anthropology among wider public, to create and cultivate relations among social anthropologists and specialists of related disciplines in the Czech Republic and internationally, and to maintain contacts and establish cooperation with similar professional organizations in the Czech Republic and abroad. CASA is a relatively young institution. It was established in 2008, and since it has been accepted by the Council of the Scientific Societies of the Czech Republic and the World Council of the Anthropological Associations. CASA organizes biannual conferences usually in co-operation with the Slovak Association of Social Anthropologists, publishes *Cargo* scientific journal, and together with The Sociological Publishing House (SLON) issues the *Cargo* book series. Among others, the *Cargo* books have introduced Piers Vitebsky and Amitav Ghosh to the Czech audience. The CASA runs a monthly Gellnerian Seminar in Prague, a meeting with a glass of wine, and with a key lecture of an invited guest, usually a visiting professor to the Czech Republic. The annual CASA General Assembly is another platform of the members meeting. It usually includes the Ladislav Holý lecture, a public lecture with an invited lecturer, usually a leading personality in anthropology invited to Prague especially for that purpose. The Gellnerian Seminar is run either in English or in Czech, it depends on lecturer's choice; the Ladislav Holý lecture has been given in English only.

CASA is directed by the general assembly, executive committee and the president (the executive committee and the president are elected for two years). Information about the CASA and its social events are available on web pages <<http://www.casaonline.cz>>.

Zdeněk Uherek

MUSAIONFILM: THE MUSEUM FILM FESTIVAL IN UHERSKÝ BROD

Audiovisual media and modern technology have become part of our everyday lives and they are available for everybody. Therefore, the question arises how they can be used in museum work. As early as in 1998, when celebrating 100 years of its existence, the J. A. Komenský Museum in Uherský Brod offered museum employees help in their actual or intended work with audiovisual media. This was the reason for launching Musaionfilm, an annual festival of video-works made at museums, or related to museums. The festival is organized as a workshop at which films relating to museum work are screened and discussed. In this way, Musaionfilm also functions as a school or a workshop, because experts from different disciplines of cinematography or experts in modern technologies provide museum staff with professional aid, acquainting them with new trends in the discipline. Originally, the Musaionfilm started as a non-competitive three-day festival; nevertheless, in 2012, at its 15th anniversary, it adopted a new award for most remarkable film of the year to be presented on its second day. The films in question are predominantly produced by Czech museums, but television and other production companies take part in the festival, as well as foreign guests. Musaionfilm usually takes place in the first week of June, from Wednesday to Friday,

at the museum premises in the town of Uherský Brod. The festival includes a working part: projections, discussions, and workshops with lecturers, and cultural programme in the evenings, which gives opportunity for informal gathering and socializing.

For the purpose of the festival, a 'museum film' is characterized as a film whose aim, origin and further use is connected to the mission of a museum institution (despite its production, either a museum institution, or professional/amateur film-makers). The designation and classification do not relate to the genre of the film, but to its purpose. As to the genre, documentary films prevail, sometimes including elements of a feature film. Animations are presented as well. The festival also features films from museum collections and archives. The recommended length of the film is 20 minutes (this length, however, can be exceeded). The showcased films are presented in specialized projection blocks according to their themes. The scope of themes includes events at museums from the previous year, museums themselves, permanent exhibitions, short-term exhibitions, monuments, arts and crafts, ethnology, folklore, technology, personalities, art, traditions, nature, curiosities, archive photographs and films from museum collection. The projection blocks are followed by discussions at which the lecturers discuss with the participants of the show. These discussions include analyses of individual films and their consequent evaluations, comments on the possible impact of the film on its audience, and concluding professional advice for its makers. The benefits of the presence of professional film-makers is visible not only at these discussions; apart from that, many lecturers, cinematography and museum professionals run independent specialized workshops where they present more examples of how to work with the means of expression in an audiovisual work.

Since the foundation of Musaionfilm, a video library has been built up. It



includes the films provided on a voluntary basis by the attendees. The video library is situated in the projection hall of the J.A. Komenský Museum in Uherský Brod and can be accessed both by museum professionals and the general public.

The festival award is symbolized in the figure of Černý Janek (Black Janek). In 2012, the award went to the director Václav Hron and his documentary film *Nehodní žití* [*Unworthy of Living*]. The film pays attention to the Roma holocaust during World War II (Lety near Písek – the Lidice Memorial). In 2013, the award went to *Františka* directed by Karel Veleba (The Vysočina Museum in Třebíč). The film focuses on Františka Kyselková (1865–1951), a folk song collector. The award winner is announced by a jury consisting of lecturers and organizers of the festival.

The 17th annual Musaionfilm will take place in Uherský Brod on 4th – 6th June 2014. For more information, go to www.musaionfilm.cz

Aleš Kapsa

FOLK CRAFTS AND FOLK ART MANUFACTURE IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC

In the mid-1990s, the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice came up with the idea of documenting the contemporary appearance of significant elements within the traditional folk culture. The first project focused on the documentation of dances, and it was followed by the UNESCO-supported video-documentation of traditional crafts. The team which worked on the implementation of the idea consisted of Josef Jančář, who was the author of the project, and recognized experts, such as Karel Pavlišťík, Běla Minaříková, Alena Vondrušková, Ivo Frolec, Olga Floriánová, Jan Krist, and Vlasta Ondrušová, among others. The team work resulted in a complete series of documents [in book and video formats] called Folk Crafts and Folk Art Manufacture in the Czech

Republic. The individual volumes are arranged according to raw materials – including Clay, Wood, Leather, Metal, Glass, and Textile – and they are subdivided according to specific techniques. The volume on Textile, for instance, further focuses on embroidery, lace, weaving, and knitting. The Centre for Folk Art Production in Uherské Hradiště (*Ústředí lidové umělecké výroby, ÚLUV* in Czech) produced its book series called Folk Manufacture Techniques. In spite of the similar topics, the scope and aims of the two projects differ. The Folk Crafts and Folk Art Manufacture in the Czech Republic provide not only a specialized thematic study and film documentary. The aim of the team (in which individual authors cooperated with film director Rudolf Chudoba and camera operator Jan Štangel), was to provide a testimony which would picture both a craftsman in his creativity, as well as the process and final unique product. The necessity to seek the present day individuals who know traditional techniques led to a gradual acquaintance with many excellent handicraftsmen. However, this also revealed shocking findings that traditional techniques which were alive only twenty years ago either do not have any followers today, or are passively known by a few survivors only.

Martin Šimša

STANISLAV BROUČEK – RICHARD JEŘÁBEK, EDS. FOLK CULTURE. ETHNOGRAPHIC ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, AND SILESIA. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2007.

An idea to compile an ethnographic encyclopaedia, as one of the principal tasks of the developing field, appeared for the first time in the Czech lands at the end of the 19th century, alongside the preparations for the Czechoslovak Ethnographic Exhibition (1895). However, the goal – unlike that of the Ethnographic

Museum – was not achieved, even though the first strikingly wide concept of the encyclopaedia was elaborated by Emanuel Kovář, a cultural historian and active secretary of the exhibition, and published in the journal *Národopisný sborník* [*Ethnographic Anthology*] in 1897. Later on Karel Chotek, who devoted himself to the task, created an outline called Program soupisu národopisného [*A Programme of Ethnographic Listing*] (1914). The Programme was aimed at publishing regional monographs that were to collect ethnographic and folkloristic materials for the proposed encyclopaedia. This project did not have a successful ending either.

The idea of an ethnographic encyclopaedia was revived only after 1989. At that time, the system of science funding allowed funds to be obtained even for a large synthetic work. A proposal to put together entries on traditional folk culture of the historical Czech lands, i.e. Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, into an encyclopaedia, was put into practice at the Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics in Prague (which is the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic today). The Institute was supported in its effort by the Institute of European Ethnology at Masaryk University in Brno under the leadership of Professor Richard Jeřábek. R. Jeřábek with his team had been preparing a lexicographical manual titled *Biografický slovník českých národopisců* [*The Biographical Dictionary of Czech Ethnographers*] since 1988. Therefore, the proposed encyclopaedia could focus solely on subject headings because to a large extent the biographical section was processed or almost completed.

The funding of the *Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [*The Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*] project was granted in 1993. Stanislav Brouček and Richard Jeřábek became the main editors, Lubomír Tyllner became the secretary of the editorial board. A wider editorial team included several co-editors

and was divided into the following lexical groups: 1) Theory and methodology of the branch; 2) The history of ethnography; 3) Ethnographic regions; 4) Material culture; 5) Folk visual art; 6) Folklore and Folkloristics; 7) Spiritual culture.

Apart from experts from academic and museum institutions, the team of collaborators included ethnographers emeriti from different professional backgrounds. The Prague publishing house Mladá Fronta published the work in three volumes under the title *Lidová kultura. Národopisná encyklopedie Čech, Moravy a Slezska* [Folk Culture. The Ethnographic Encyclopaedia of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia] in 2007. The work has a structure of a dictionary; the entries are of different extents and in alphabetical order; at the end there is a bibliographic list of literature in chronological order – there the reader can get more information about any corresponding issue. The biographic section (1st Volume) of the Encyclopaedia has 284 pages of text and black-and-white photographs of important representatives of the field. The subject section of the Encyclopaedia is divided into two parts (2nd Volume A–N has 634 pp.; 3rd Volume O–Ž has 655 pp., altogether 1289 pp.). Selected entries are accompanied with black-and-white photographs and drawings; colour pictures, divided according to themes (house, dress, folk art, customs and habits) are included in the above mentioned thematic (lexical) groups.

The biographic section was compiled by Richard Jeřábek whose previous extensive bibliographic and lexicographic work was recognized and regarded. Ideological restrictions, applied before November 1989, were already lifted when the Encyclopaedia was in the making. The only criterion consisted in the author's professional work and publication activities, no matter whether their influence was regional or national. Besides Czech ethnographers, the entries in the biographic section included also selected important foreign researchers who dealt with traditional folk culture of

Czech ethnic groups and published their works in the Czech or foreign press (Franjo Miklošič, Matija Murko, Milovan Gavazzi, Natalja N. Gracianskaja, Cvetana Romanská, Petr G. Bogatyrev, Roman O. Jakobson, and Dumitru Crânjală). Leading representatives of the Czech National Revival represent the scientific level of early ethnographic research in the Encyclopaedia. They are philologists, literary scientists, writers and collectors of folk literature, such as Josef Dobrovský, Václav Hanka, Josef Jungmann, František Ladislav Čelakovský, Pavel Josef Šafařík, Karel Jaromír Erben, Božena Němcová, and František Sušil. Contributing to the development of the field were also scientists from related areas, who were educated in history (Lubor Niederle, Čeněk Zíbrt, Zikmund Winter, Josef Macůrek, Josef Polišenský, and Josef Petráň), philology (František Bartoš, Václav Machek, and Jan Eisner), literary science (Václav Flajšhans, Jiří Polívka, Jan Jakubec, Jan Máchal, Václav Tille, and Václav Černý), musicology (Otakar Hostinský, Leoš Janáček, Vladimír Helfert, and Ludvík Kuba) and sociology (Inocenc Arnošt Bláha). The volume also includes entries on outstanding Czech travellers, such as Jiří Viktor Daneš, Alberto Vojtěch Frič, Emil Holub, and Enrique Stanko Vráz of the older generation, or Miroslav Stingl and Mnislav Zelený of the next generation.

Considering the fact that there was a large German minority in the Czech lands until 1945, the Encyclopaedia also includes a selection of the most important ethnographers who focused on research into the traditional culture of Germans living in the Czech borderlands and in inland language islands. Academic disciplines are represented by Adolf Hauffen and Gustav Jungbauer, who published an article about the culture of Czech Germans in the book *Československá vlastivěda* [Czechoslovak National History and Geography] (1936). Josef Blau wrote about the culture of Germans living in the Bohemian Forest; Emil Lehman, a nationally-oriented author of the

comprehensive volume *Sudetendeutsche Volkskunde* (1926) paid attention to the culture of the Hřebečsko region. So did Josef Hanika, who focused on 'ethnography of expatriates' after the World War II.

Besides the aforementioned scholars, the Encyclopaedia contains information about the lives and works of all Czech graduated ethnographers and folklorists from the academic world, museums and other cultural institutions, as well as those of non-graduated authors, who played an important role in the development of ethnography because of their research or collector's activities. These include the pioneers like Jiří Horák, Karel Chotek, Vilém Pražák, Drahomíra Stránská, and Antonín Václavík and their students, ethnographers Richard Jeřábek, Václav Frolec, Jaroslav Kramář, Vladimír Scheufler, Jaroslav Štika, and Josef Vařeka, folklorists Jaromír Jech, Vladimír Karbusický, Dagmar Klímová, Zdenka Jelínková, and Oldřich Sirovátka. In connection with the development of the field after the year 1989, the Encyclopaedia also published the names of important anthropologists of Czech ancestry, such as Arnošt Gellnar, Ladislav Holý, Leopold Pospíšil, and Zdeněk Salzmann, or contemporary Czech authors of anthropological publications.

Two subject volumes of the Encyclopaedia include theory and methodology of the field, historiographic entries on the development of the discipline and its transforming discourse, ethical and ethnographic regionalization as well as differentiation in the historical Czech lands, as well as a detailed analysis of aspects of traditional material, social and spiritual culture of the Czech ethnic group or ethnic minorities that lived or still live in the Czech lands. Even though the traditional Czech ethnography focused especially on rural culture, the Encyclopaedia also deals with the urban environment researched after World War II. The phenomena of traditional culture had been disappearing irregularly since the second half of the 19th century

in connection with industrialization and progressive modernization of the Czech society. The *Encyclopaedia* captures this decline in entries that reflect the above mentioned development and the principal social and political changes after the crucial years 1848 and 1968. The impact of the changes has become evident in all spheres of the life of the Czech society, as is seen in related entries, such as assimilation, collectivization of agriculture, ethnicity, folklorism, cultural area, nationalism and Romani culture. The editorial staff made every effort to provide a complex view of the ethnic culture of Czechs, including the contemporary social and cultural phenomena which are part of the everyday life of the modern Czech society.

The reviews of the *Encyclopaedia* appeared in the professional and daily press both locally (*Český lid – Etnologický časopis*, *Ethnologia Europae Centralis*, *Národopisný věstník*) and internationally (*Slovenský národopis* Bratislava, *Etnografski glasnik* Beograd). The reviewers appreciated the imposing extent of the work that established the Czech ethnology in the international sphere and that became a historical milestone for its development. Critical comments were directed at the extension of some summarizing entries or at the insufficiently formulated system of references.

The three-volume encyclopaedic compendium completed the more than a century long period of the development of a social and scientific discipline which is now called ethnology, or, more specifically, European ethnology. However, in the Czech Republic, the discipline still recognizes its early development and the term which was used initially, namely *národopis*. The present *Encyclopaedia* reflects this as well. The research into traditional folk culture, even though it is a closed historical category of the national culture for the greater part, still has its justification especially in today's globalized post-modern age because numerous phenomena and problems from the genesis and development of

folk culture have not been clarified so far. The contemporary Czech society opens many new research topics for the discipline as well. The new *Ethnographic Encyclopaedia* can become a basic tool to deal with them.

Miroslav Válka

CULTURE, SOCIETY, TRADITIONS: COLLECTION OF STUDIES FROM ETHNOLOGY, FOLKLORISTICS AND SOCIOCULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY I–IV. Praha / Brno: Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, a public non-university research institution (EÚ AV ČR, v. v. i.), 2005–2011. 221, 221, 150 and 286 pp.

The aim of this ethnological book series is to provide the public with synoptic works from selected topics studied continually at the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, a public non-university research institution. Although the individual texts are mostly related to the empirical material collected on the territory of the Czech Republic, they are predominantly of larger theoretical impact.

The first volume includes texts prepared at the Brno Branch of the Institute. The studies are: "Cultural Stereotypes in Ethnology and Other Social Sciences" by Lucie Uhlíková, "The Topic of Birth and Death in Czech Ethnography" by Alexandra Navrátilová, "The Folklore and Ritual in the Yearlong Cycle" by Věra Frolcová, "The Culture of Children" by Jana Pospíšilová, "Folk Songs and Contemporary Singing as Exemplified in Moravia and Silesia" by Marta Tonciová, and "Czech Ethnography and Folklore Studies in Moravia: From the Pioneers to the Ethnographic Movement 1800–1918" by Karel Altman. The studies refer predominantly to Moravian and Silesian ethnographical material and represent the orientation and results of the Brno

or Moravian ethnological school. This is particularly highly valued for intensive field ethnographic work in Moravian and Silesian communities where traditional folk culture is still alive in various forms.

The second volume represents ethnographical work of the Department of Ethnic Studies located in Prague. The first study "History of German Ethnography in the Czech lands" by Petr Lozoviuk provides the reader with the first more coherent outline of German ethnography in the Czech lands which existed there from the 19th century to 1945. The subsequent studies are "Newly Populated Border Regions in the Czech Lands" by Naďa Valášková and Zdeněk Uherek, "Roma Studies and the Institute of Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic" by Renata Weinerová, "In Search of Trust: the Vietnamese Ethnic Group in the Environment of the Czech Majority Society" by Stanislav Brouček, and "Guided Migrations after 1989" by Zdeněk Uherek and Naďa Valášková. The studies represent the most frequent research topics of the department which are migrations, migratory groups and minorities in the Czech Republic and elsewhere.

The third volume is a monograph called *Czech Prosaic Folkloristics in 1945–2000* written by Marta Šrámková. The publication summarizes the history of Czech prosaic folkloristics after 1945 with regard to particular genres. It gives an overview of the most important works and their topics. Particular attention is devoted to the research of miners' folklore, bandit folklore, fairy tale research, research of legends, anecdotes, life stories, and oral history. A separate section deals with Czech comparative studies, research of the Czech border regions and a study of Czech minorities abroad. The volume also summarizes the results of archive studies on the efforts of amateur collectors at the period when the Czech nation was constituted in the 19th century, and methodological chapters, a chapter on the problems of present-day research, and a study on folklorism.

Surveys of catalogues, MA and PhD theses, folk editions, and a bibliography are enclosed.

The collective monograph called *Music and Dance Folklore in Editing Practice* is the fourth and last volume of this series so far. The aim of the book is to provide an outline of folk editions in the Czech lands and to formulate and explain problematic areas related to the practice of editing in these fields. It has been designed as a recapitulation of the issues dealt with in the past, and as a summary of previously scattered information, while at the same time reflecting the current development in particular fields of research related to editing. The authors of individual chapters are: Lucie Uhlíková, Marta Toncrová, Jiří Fiala, Zdeněk Vejvoda, Daniela Stavělová, Helena Beránková, Jitka Matuszková, Jan Blahůšek, Jiří Traxler, Hana Urbancová, Jarmila Procházková, and Gerda Lechleitner. Lucie Uhlíková and Marta Toncrová edited the volume and wrote an introduction to it as well. The book contains an English summary and an index.

Zdeněk Uherek

ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES AND ETHNOLOGICAL MATERIALS: Edition Series of the Institute of European Ethnology at Masaryk University in Brno

The Institute of Ethnology at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, has been publishing the edition series titled *Ethnological Studies* since 2006. The initiative started with the Institute's involvement in 'Comparative Research of Social Structures in Extinct and Living Cultures', which was a specific part of a research project of the Institute of Archaeology and Museology; the Institute of European Ethnology also published a volume of papers from a joint conference of archaeologists and ethnologists from the academy and museums. The papers

were focused on rural material culture, agricultural production, handicrafts, and dress: Alena Křížová – Miroslav Válka, eds. *Středověké a novověké zdroje tradiční kultury [Mediaeval and Modern Resources of Traditional Culture]* (ES 1, 2006). In the following years more specialized volumes were published. These included a collection aimed at agriculture: Miroslav Válka et al.: *Agrární kultura. O tradičních formách zemědělského hospodaření a života na vesnici [Agrarian Culture. On Traditional Forms of Farming and Rural Life]* (ES 4, 2007); a volume on ornaments, dress, and jewels: Alena Křížová et al.: *Ornament – oděv – šperk. Archaické projevy materiální kultury [Ornament – Dress – Jewel. Archaic Expressions of Material Culture]* (ES 5, 2009); a volume on architecture, production, dress, and phenomena of social and spiritual culture: Alena Křížová et al.: *Archaické jevy tradiční kultury na Moravě [Archaic Phenomena of Traditional Culture in Moravia]* (ES 9, 2011), as well as a volume on pictorial documents: Alena Křížová et al.: *Ikonografické prameny ke studiu tradiční kultury [Iconographic Sources for Study of Traditional Culture]* (ES 11, 2011).

Monographs are considered a significant part of the series. These include a dissertation work by Jana Nosková: *Reemigrace a usídlování volyňských Čechů v interpretacích aktérů a odborné literatury [Re-emigration and Settlement of Volhynia Czechs in the Interpretations of Participants and Specialized Literature]* (ES 2, 2007), and a dissertation work by Roman Doušek: *Sebranice a jejich rychtář Ondřej Kanýz (1694–1761). Vesnická komunita a její kultura v první polovině 18. století [The Village of Sebranice and its Village Mayor Ondřej Kanýz (1694–1761). Village Community and its Culture in the first half of the 18th century]* (ES 6, 2009). Two habilitation theses written by the Institute's academics were published as well; by Martina Pavlicová: *Lidová kultura a její historicko-společenské reflexe (mikrosociální sondy) [Folk Culture and its Historical and Social Reflections*

(micro-social probes)] (ES 3, 2007), and by Miroslav Válka: *Sociokulturní proměny vesnice. Moravský venkov na prahu třetího tisíciletí [Sociocultural Changes in the Village. Moravian Countryside at the Turn of the Third Millennium]* (ES 8, 2011).

In 2009, the Institute commemorated the death of its founder, Professor Antonín Václavík, and it took part in organizing a conference in Luhačovice together with the Czech Ethnographic Society. Papers read at this conference served as a basis for a collective monograph called *Antonín Václavík 1891–1959 a evropská etnologie [Antonín Václavík 1891–1959 and European Ethnology]* (ES 7, 2010), edited by Daniel Drápala. In honour of what would have been the 80th birthday of Professor Richard Jeřábek, Václavík's follower, Jeřábek's studies on folk visual art were published as *Lidová výtvarná kultura. Dvacet dva příspěvků k teorii, metodologii, ikonografii a komparatistice [Folk Visual Art. Twenty-two Contributions on Theory, Methodology, Iconography, and Comparatistics]* (ES 10, 2011). Many of these studies were published abroad originally. They have been made available for Czech readers for the first time. In her book *Cestami lidového tance. Zdenka Jelínková a česká etnochoreologie [On the Ways of Folk Dance. Zdenka Jelínková and Czech Ethnochoreology]* (ES 13, 2012), Martina Pavlicová assessed Zdenka Jelínková as an important personality of Czech ethnochoreology. During the last decade, the academics from the Institute of European Ethnology have revived their long-term cooperation with the researchers from Slavic countries and the Balkans. Apart from personal contacts and participation in conferences with written outputs, they put together a volume which compares traditional procedures in farming in Central Europe and a part of Southern Europe: Zygmunt Kłodnicki, Miloš Luković, Peter Slavkovský, Rastislava Stoličná, and Miroslav Válka *Tradiční agrární kultura v kontextu společenského vývoje střední*

Evropy a Balkánu [Traditional Agrarian Culture within Social Development in Central Europe and the Balkans] (ES 12, 2012).

Alongside the Ethnological Studies series, a series titled Ethnological Materials was established. In its first volume, a manuscript was published of the bibliography of ethnographic entries from Czech social journals in the second half of the 19th century: Emil Malacka: *Národopisné materiály v českých kulturně-historických časopisech 2. poloviny 19. století [Ethnographic Materials in Czech Cultural and Historical Journals of the 2nd Half of the 19th Century]* (EM 1, 2009). The edition will continue making various sources available, and it will focus on lists of bibliographical references and specialized dictionaries.

Individual volumes of Ethnological Studies are unified by the professional level of texts, summaries translated to foreign languages, adequate illustrations, as well as unifying design given by the Metoda Brno graphic studio. Reflecting the specialization and research of the Institute of European Ethnology as well as the actual development in the discipline, new volumes within material, social and spiritual culture are prepared annually.

Alena Křížová

ALENA KŘÍŽOVÁ – MARTIN ŠIMŠA. LIDOVÝ ODĚV NA MORAVĚ A VE SLEZSKU I. IKONOGRAFICKÉ PRAMENY DO ROKU 1850 / TRADITIONAL FOLK DRESS IN MORAVIA AND SILESIA I. ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES UNTIL 1850. Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2012, 255 pp, 221 pics.

Iconographic sources are invaluable sources of knowledge needed for the study of folk dress. They are often the only ones if the archive and literary sources from older periods are missing. After World War II, specialized press in the then Czechoslovakia paid more and

more attention to these documents; if they should appear as separate sheets, or as a part of larger convolutes. Because of their separate locations, however, many of them were unknown or unavailable for many researchers. That is why experts appreciated the new initiative of the National Institute of Folk Culture in Strážnice to make the documents on folk dress in Moravia and Silesia available in a complete publication. The Institute supported its intention by the project titled Traditional Folk Dress in Moravia and Silesia – identification, analysis, conservation and sustainable condition of materials collected between 1850 and 1950. Martin Šimša, the research project worker and one of the authors of the reviewed publication, invited Alena Křížová, an ethnologist and cultural historian from the Institute of European Ethnology of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University in Brno, to cooperate on the project.

Both authors searched for iconographic documents with depictions of Moravian and Silesian folk costumes in archives, libraries, secular and sacred monuments, museums, and galleries. The volume includes reproductions of graphic art works, oil paintings, pictures included on maps, manuscripts, paintings on plaster, and shooter targets. Some of these documents have been published for the very first time. Three-dimensional objects were left aside – except for ceramic and glass clocks, on which figures wearing folk costumes appear occasionally. For the catalogue with reproduced documents, the authors chose chronological order; the oldest record dates back to 1680. Each reproduction is supplied with its original title, information about the technique used, size, and location where it is stored. The data are completed with a brief description of the depicted dress; it points out interesting details or possible inaccuracies in the author's interpretation.

Two specialized chapters open the volume. In the first one, Martin Šimša

compiled a survey of research on iconographic sources of folk costumes in Moravia and Silesia. Its beginnings can be traced back to the last two decades of the 19th century. Also, after World War II, many researchers were attracted by different albums from the 19th century, which – within other costumes of the territory of the Habsburg monarchy – captured Moravian and Silesian folk costumes, such as in the pictures by G. V. Kininger. In addition to unique findings with depictions of folk costumes, one publication was significant of the set of pen-and-ink drawings portraying the inhabitants of Wallachia. The set was drawn by J. H. A. Gallaš and it originated in the first half of the 19th century. A real discovery is represented by the set of gouaches from 1814, published by Miroslava Ludvíková (*Moravské a slezské kroje. Kvaše z roku 1814 [Moravian and Silesian Folk Costumes. Gouaches from 1814]*. München – Brno, 2000). Because of the coherent publication of the gouaches, these have not been included into the reviewed book; however, both publications complement each other.

In her chapter, Alena Křížová deals with the authors of iconographic sources. She divides the documents into works by academic painters, figural staffages on maps and vedutes, shooter targets, shop signs, clocks with paintings, graphic art works, illustrations to topographic works, and albums with folk costumes. Her text provides many details which have been unknown so far and which correct different mistakes that appeared in specialized literature.

The publication by Martin Šimša and Alena Křížová represents a valuable material basis for the study of folk dress in Moravia and Silesia. Because it is equipped with a parallel English translation, international scholars will find it very useful as well. However, the project will be complete only after the publishing of the planned second volume that is to capture iconographic sources from 1850 until the beginning of the 20th century.

Alena Jeřábková

EDITORIAL

A special issue of the Journal of Ethnology, a professional journal concerned with ethnology, is published in English for the first time in the history of this periodical. The intention is to explain to foreign readers the ethnologic production in the Czech Republic which – within the last twenty years – has opened up from the traditional themes of the discipline to the reflection of cultural and historical issues of the society. It is the intersection of the researched questions and methodological approaches, which result both from knowledge of the life of traditional social classes and from new theoretical streams, which show the importance of ethnology within the contemporary research discourse. The contributions included in this special issue have been chosen from this point of view. The topics pertain to studies published in the Journal of Ethnology within the last five years, however, they were revised not only to update the investigated theme but also to explain the theme to a maximum extent to the professional public coming from a different cultural environment.

In addition to the studies, the issue contains also photo documentation with selected traditional expressions. The structure of the discipline in the institutional field, its teaching at universities and some interesting publication projects are presented as well. The reports selected for the special issue of Journal of Ethnology in English language have been chosen with a sole aim: to give an overview about the position Czech ethnology as a dynamic discipline, interconnecting the past and the present, occupies today.

SUMMARY

The special issue of Journal of Ethnology 5/2013 presents an overview of the professional production of Czech ethnology. In her study (*Moving Beyond Borders: Vráz, Frič and Kořenský*), Barbora Půtová introduces three hitherto non-acclaimed Czech travellers – E. S. Vráz (1860–1932), A. V. Frič (1882–1944), J. Kořenský (1847–1938) – who crossed the borders between Europeans and the exotic world. Stanislav Brouček presents the results from the long-term research of personal testimonies of Czech expatriates living in South Africa (*On Reflection of the Past in Memory. Czechs in the Republic of South Africa*). Martina Pavlicová and Lucie Uhlíková focus on the function of folklore and folk traditions in Czech environment in the period of the totalitarian regime (*Folklore Movement and its Function in the Totalitarian Society /on an example of the Czech Republic in the 2nd half of the 20th century*). Martin Šimša provides insight into the origin of a selected type of male trousers in folk dress (*Long Woollen Cloth Trousers – Medieval Heritage or Carpathian Attribution of Shepherd Culture?/*). Petr Janeček introduces the readers to the anthropological phenomenon of play significantly touching upon the culture of children (*Current Studies of Games and Plays in the Czech Republic*). Material column publishes two contributions: Hana Dvořáková introduces the work of the ethnologist František Pospíšil (1885–1958) and his research of childrens string games (*String Games in František Pospíšil's Photo Documentation*); Eva Románková comments on the principles of the Safeguarding of traditional folk culture in the Czech Republic and its collaboration with the UNESCO (*Czech Traditional Culture and the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*). The Journal also publishes reports about the activities of Czech ethnologic community and introduces the structure of the discipline in the Czech Republic.

JOURNAL OF ETHNOLOGY 5/2013, Vol. XXIII

Published by Národní ústav lidové kultury, 696 62 Strážnice, Czech Republic (IČ 094927)
Telephone 00420-518 306 611, Fax 00420-518 306 615, E-mail: info@nulk.cz

Journal of Ethnology (Národopisná revue) is a professional ethnologic reviewed journal. It is published four-times a year, always at the end of the corresponding quarter. The review procedure rules as well as all other information for the authors of the contributions please find on the website <<http://revue.nulk.cz>>.

The periodical is registered in the following bibliographic databases: AIO (The Anthropological Index Online of the Royal Anthropological Institute), GVK (Gemeinsamer Verbundkatalog), IBR (Internationale Bibliographie der Rezensionen geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlicher Literatur) + IBZ (Internationale Bibliographie geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlicher Zeitschriftenliteratur), RILM (Répertoire International de Littérature Musicale), CEJSH (Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities) a Ulrich's Periodicals Directory.

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Tisk / Printed in LELKA, Dolní Bojanovice

Datum vydání / Published: December 31, 2013

ISSN 0862-8351

MK ČR E 18807

